Black Males' Perceptions of and Experiences with the Police in Toronto

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Centre for Criminology and Sociolegal Studies
University of Toronto

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2014

Abstract

Canada is commonly depicted as a diverse and tolerant immigrant-receiving nation, accepting of individuals of various racial, ethnic, and religious backgrounds. Nevertheless, Canadian institutions have not been immune to allegations of racial bias and discrimination. For the past several decades, Toronto’s Black communities have directed allegations of racial discrimination at the police services operating within the city. Using a mixed-methods approach, this thesis examines Black males’ perceptions of and experiences with the police in the Greater Toronto Area. In order to provide a comprehensive examination of this issue, this thesis is comprised of three studies with three distinct groups of Black males. The first of these three studies utilizes data from a representative sample of Black, Chinese, and White adults from the Greater Toronto area to examine racial and gender differences in perceptions of and experiences with the police. The second study draws on data from a sample of young Black men recruited from four of Toronto’s most disadvantaged and high crime neighbourhoods to examine the views and
experiences of those most targeted by the police. The final study involves interviews with Black male police officers in order to draw on the perspectives of those entrusted with enforcing the law. In line with a mixed-model hypothesis, the findings suggest that Black males’ tenuous relationship with the police is a product of their increased involvement in crime, as well as racism on the part of police officers and police services. Using insights drawn from Critical Race Theory, I suggest that both the increased levels of crime and the current manifestations of racism have a common origin in Canada’s colonial past.
Acknowledgments

I would first like to thank the 559 Black males whose views and experiences are captured herein; this work is for you. I want to thank my mother for teaching me to question the status quo, and my father for showing me how to do so. I would also like to thank my sisters and my friends for their ongoing support, even when this thesis kept me distant. I owe much debt and gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Scot Wortley. The guidance, support and opportunities you have provided me over the past decade have been invaluable. You are a great mentor and a true friend. I look forward to many more years of collaboration ahead. I would also like to thank the faculty, staff and my fellow graduate students at the Centre for Criminology and Sociolegal Studies for their encouragement. In particular I would like to thank my thesis committee Dr. Rosemary Gartner, Dr. Matthew Light, Dr. Carl James, and informally, Dr. Mariana Valverde and Dr. Tony Doob. You have all helped improve this work immensely. I also want to thank John Fraser, former master of Massey College at the University of Toronto, as well as the staff, Sr. and Jr. Fellowship of the College. The College provided a wonderful space to fraternize and nurture my intellectual curiosity. I am indebted to the numerous organizations who provided the funding that enabled me to carry out this research: the Association of Black Law Enforcers; the American Society of Criminology – Division of People of Color on Crime; the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews; the Black Business and Professionals Association; Massey College; the Centre of Criminology and Sociolegal Studies John Beattie Fund; the Ontario Graduate Scholarship; and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Finally, I would like to thank my partner, Vanessa, for your love and for helping to push me through the last few months of this endeavor. This would have been much more difficult without you.
# Table of Contents

Abstract .................................................. ii
Acknowledgements .......................................... iv
List of Tables ............................................. vi
List of Appendices ......................................... ix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Theoretical Frameworks</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Race, Gender and Policing: Results from a Survey of Toronto Residents</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Young Black Men and Policing in Toronto</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Insider Perspectives on the Policing of Black Communities</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Discussion</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reference List</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Tables

Table 3.1  Characteristics of Survey Respondents by Race 71
Table 3.2  Percent of Respondents Who Feel that the Police 73
   Are Doing a “Good Job” Of Performing Various 73
   Duties, By Race
Table 3.3  Mean Scores on the Police Evaluation Index, by Race 74
Table 3.4  Mean Scores on the Police Evaluation Index, by 74
   Gender by Race
Table 3.5  Mean Scores on the Police Evaluation Index, by Race 75
   by Gender
Table 3.6  Percent of Respondents Who Perceive Police Bias, 77
   by Race
Table 3.7  Mean Scores on the Police Bias Index, by Race 78
Table 3.8  Mean Scores on the Police Bias Index, by Gender 79
   by Race
Table 3.9  Mean Scores on the Police Bias Index, by Race 79
   by Gender
Table 3.10 Percent of respondents who believe that Racial 80
   Profiling is a Problem in Canada by race.
Table 3.11 Percent of respondents who believe that Racial 81
   Profiling is a Problem in Canada by race by gender.
Table 3.12 Percent of respondents who believe a Black person 82
   is more likely to be unfairly or wrongly shot by the 82
   police than a white person by race.
Table 3.13 Percent of respondents who believe a Black person 82
   is more likely to be unfairly or wrongly shot by the 82
   police than a white person by gender by race.
Table 3.14 Percent of respondents who believe a Chinese person 83
   is more likely to be unfairly or wrongly shot by the 83
   police than a white person by race.
Table 3.15 Percent of respondents who believe a Chinese person 83
   is more likely to be unfairly or wrongly shot by the 83
   police than a white person, by gender by race.
Table 3.16 Number of Times Stopped by the Police in the Past 85
   Two Years, by Race
Table 3.17 Percent of respondents who reported being stopped by the police on multiple occasions in the past two years, by race and gender 86
Table 3.18 Percent of respondents who reported being searched by the police, by race 87
Table 3.19 Percent of respondents who reported being searched by race by gender 87
Table 3.20 Respondents feelings about their last police encounter, by race. 88
Table 3.21 Respondents feelings about their last police encounter, by race, by gender. 89
Table 3.22 Percent of respondents who have personal or vicarious experience with police racial profiling, by race. 90
Table 3.23 Percent of respondents who have personal or vicarious experience with police racial profiling, by race and gender 91
Table 3.24 Logistic Regressions Predicting Multiple Police Stops 93
Table 3.25 Logistic Regressions Predicting Police Stops for Black Males 95
Table 3.26 Logistic Regressions Predicting Police Searches 96
Table 3.27 Logistic Regressions Predicting Police Searches for Black Males 98
Table 3.28 OLS Regression on Evaluations of Police Performance 100
Table 3.29 OLS Regression on Evaluation of Police Performance for Black Males 102
Table 3.30 OLS Regression on Perceptions of Police Bias 103
Table 3.31 OLS Regression on Perceptions of Police Bias for Black Males 105
Table 4.1 Sample Characteristics Measured During Pre-test Interviews 119
Table 4.2 Youth Perceptions of Performance/Trust and Confidence in the Police 121
Table 4.3 Youth Perceptions of Police Bias and Corruption 123
Table 4.4 Percent of Respondents Who Have Been Stopped and Searched by the Police in Previous Six Months 125
Table 4.5  Percent of Respondents Who Feel they were Treated Fairly or Unfairly during their Last Police Stop

Table 4.6  Percent of Respondents Who Feel they were Treated Respectfully or Disrespectfully when Dealing during their Last Police Stop

Table 4.7  Percent of Respondents Who Have Been Arrested by the Police in Their Lifetime and the Last Six Months

Table 4.8  Percent of Respondents Who Report Being Falsely Arrested by the Police

Table 4.9  Percent of Respondents who Report Having a Negative Police Experience with the Police

Table 4.10  Percent of Respondents who Report Having a Positive Police Experience with the Police

Table 4.11  Percent of Respondents Who Report Having a Negative Experience with the Police by Type of Experience

Table 4.12  Percent of Respondents Who Report Having a Positive Experience with the Police by Type of Experience

Table 4.13  OLS Regression on Police Performance, Trust and Confidence Index

Table 4.14  OLS Regression on Police Bias and Corruption Index

Table 5.1  Percent of respondents who feel the police treat Black people the same as white people

Table 5.2  Percent of respondents who believe the police treat Black people worse than white people

Table 5.3  Percent of respondents who feel the police treat Black people differently, by frequency

Table 5.4  Percent of respondents who believe the police are more likely to use physical force on Black people than white people

Table 5.5  Percent of respondents who feel that Black people are more likely to be unfairly shot by the police than white people

Table 5.6  Percent of respondents who feel that perceptions of police bias held by Black people are justified

Table 5.7  Percent of respondents who feel that Black people’s claims about negative police treatment is justified.
## List of Appendices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appendix</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Appendix A</td>
<td>Perceptions of Crime and Criminal Injustice 2006 Survey</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix B</td>
<td>Chapter Three Variable Coding</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix C</td>
<td>Prevention Intervention Toronto Client Interview</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix D</td>
<td>Chapter Four Variable Coding</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix E</td>
<td>The Perceptions and Experiences of Black Police Officers Participant Interview</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1
Introduction

Canada has an international reputation for being a diverse, tolerant nation comprised of people from numerous racial, ethnic, religious and cultural groups (Wortley and Owusu-Bempah, 2012: 11). Canadian Heritage, the federal government ministry responsible for culture, language and multiculturalism, proudly asserts that Canada’s experience with diversity distinguishes it from most other countries, stating that Canada’s “32 million inhabitants reflect a cultural, ethnic and linguistic makeup found nowhere else on earth” (Canadian Heritage, 2009). Canada’s diversity has been largely fuelled by recent immigration practices. Attracted by the country’s relatively high quality of life, and reputation as an open and inclusive nation, well over 200,000 immigrants arrive in Canada each year (Canadian Heritage, 2009). However, as with many racially diverse countries, Canada has not escaped problems related to racism and racial injustice. Indeed, racism and racial discrimination are contentious issues in Canada. While many groups, institutions and individuals deny the existence of racism in Canada’s multicultural society, others argue that discriminatory treatment based on race permeates every sector of society and affects racialized people on a daily basis (Jiwani, 2002; Henry and Tator, 2005).

The police have been a major focus of contemporary discussions and investigations of racism in the Canadian context (Commission, 1995; Wortley, 2003; Tanovich, 2006; Tator and Henry, 2006). This may be unsurprising given the symbolic nature of the police, and the power and authority the institution wields over the citizens of the nation. Indeed, the police are often held up as exemplary in a democratic society; as Ericson and Haggerty (1997) remark, “the police are a central symbol of Canadian identity” (287). Nevertheless, evidence illustrates that racialized Canadians—particularly Black people of Afro-Caribbean descent—are over-
represented in a host of policing outcomes (stop, search, and arrest statistics, for example), and hold negative attitudes towards the police. This leads commentators to suggest that the police are biased against Black Canadians, especially Black males (Rankin, 2010a; Tator and Henry, 2006). Drawing on data from three studies, this thesis presents an examination of Black males’ perceptions of and experiences with police in the Greater Toronto Area.

This chapter begins by presenting the historical background documenting the history of police relations with Black Torontonians. The chapter then explores this history in the context of the academic debate over the causes of “Disproportionate Minority Contact;” that is, the current explanations put forth to explain Black over-representation in policing (and other criminal justice) outcomes. The final two sections of this chapter provide an account of why police/race relations have received relatively little research attention in Canada, detail the main contributions of the thesis, and provide an outline of the chapters that follow.

**Background: Black Immigration and Increasing Police Tension**

In his historical analysis of systemic racism in Ontario’s criminal justice system, Clayton Mosher documents how the police used public order offenses discriminately as a means of controlling Toronto’s Black population in the early 20th century (1998: 170). As the immigration reforms of the 1960s opened up Canada’s doors to immigrants from non-European countries, an influx of Black immigrants arrived, many of whom settled in Toronto (Milan and Tran, 2004; Chui et al., 2008). It was not long after that tension between Toronto’s growing Black communities⁠¹ and the police escalated and then peaked following a series of police shootings involving Black males in the late 1970s (Wasun, 2008). For example, on August 9th, 1978 a white police officer shot and

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¹ I use the term “Black communities” rather than “Black community” to recognize the diversity within Toronto’s Black population. There is no one homogeneous Black community in Toronto, but rather many communities comprised of people with diverse backgrounds, cultural orientations, and lived experiences (see also Ezeonu, 2008).
killed 24 year old Buddy Evans in a Toronto nightclub (Nangnaya, 2011). The officer’s acquittal, following an 11-week inquest, prompted a rally organized by the Sikh-led Action Committee Against Racism. One year later, 35 year old Albert Johnson was shot to death in his apartment by two white officers (see Wasun, 2008). This shooting again sparked community mobilization. Dudley Laws, who would become an important figure in the fight against police discrimination, formed the Albert Johnson Defense Committee Against Police Brutality. In October of 1979, members and supporters of this Committee gathered outside of city hall to protest the death of Johnson (Wasun, 2008). The two officers involved in the Johnson shooting were ultimately acquitted of manslaughter charges and the Ontario government responded to the demonstrations with institutional reform. For example, in 1981 the province enacted a three-year pilot project under the Metro Toronto Police Force Complaints Project Act called the Office of the Public Complaints Commissioner. The Office, intended to provide an improved civilian complaint system to deal with incidents of police brutality, faced much criticism from members of Toronto’s Black communities because it was seen to be biased in favour of the police (Wasun, 2008).

A second series of police shootings involving Black men in the late 1980s prompted further community mobilization. Days after the 1988 police shooting of 44-year old Lester Donaldson in his Toronto rooming house apartment, the Black Action Defense Committee – formed by Dudley Laws and Charles Roach – organized a demonstration in front of the police division where the suspect officer worked. A second police shooting that year further enraged members of Toronto’s Black communities, increasing racial tensions in the city. On December 8, 1988, 17-year old Michael Wade Lawson was shot in the back of the head by a Peel regional police officer using an illegal hollow-point bullet, a type of enhanced ammunition banned under
Ontario’s Police Services Act (Wasun, 2008). Public demonstrations continued after the acquittals of the officers involved in these cases.

In response to this social unrest, the provincial government formed the Task Force on Race Relations and Policing, with a mandate “to address promptly the very serious concerns of visible minority communities respecting the interaction of the police community with their own” (Lewis, 1989). The Task Force concluded that racialized Ontarians felt that they were policed unfairly, and noted that the lack of public confidence posed a major challenge to effective policing (Lewis, 1989). The Task Force also made a number of recommendations on hiring, training and accountability measures related to the policing of an increasingly diverse province, and called for the creation of a civilian oversight body to investigate police shootings (Lewis, 1989; Ontario, 2003). In 1990, in response to this recommendation, the provincial government created the Special Investigations Unit (SIU) to increase police accountability in the investigation of cases involving the serious injury or death of a civilian (Wortley, 2006). Unfortunately, the SIU has faced allegations of having a pro-police bias, similar to the earlier Office of the Public Complaints Commissioner (Rush, 2012).

The early 1990s showed promise in improving the relationship between Toronto’s Black communities and the police. In the wake of the Yonge Street riots, New Democrat leader and provincial premier Bob Rae tasked Stephen Lewis, former Ambassador to the United Nations, with preparing a report on race relations in Ontario. Lewis identified anti-Black racism as a major point of concern and recommended that a commission be struck to investigate racial discrimination in all facets of the Ontario criminal justice system. The Commission on Systemic

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2 On May 4, 1992 a demonstration was organized outside of the U.S. consulate building in downtown Toronto to protest the acquittal in Los Angeles of the officers accused in the police beating of Black motorist Rodney King. The demonstration spread from the immediate vicinity of the U.S. consulate to Yonge Street, a main commercial thoroughfare. Demonstrators defaced property, broke storefront windows and looted local establishments. These events came to be known as the “Yonge Street riots” (Anisef and Lanphier, 2003: 401).
Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice was subsequently formed to “inquire and make recommendations about the extent to which criminal justice practices, procedures and policies in Ontario reflect systemic racism” (Commission on Systemic Racism, 1995: i). Anti-Black racism was to be a focal point of the Commission’s work. In its final report, the Commission provided evidence that Toronto residents perceived the police to discriminate on the basis of race, and that the police did so in practice, for example, by stopping Black Torontonians at twice the rate of whites (Commission, 1995: ix). The Commission made almost 80 recommendations related to policing. However, drastic political change was underway in the province that ushered in wide-ranging changes – changes that affected Black Torontonians. Indeed, a newly elected Conservative government displayed little concern for issues of racial discrimination, and focused instead on both supporting and enhancing police powers.

**Changing Political Climate**

In their contribution to the Review of the Roots of Youth Violence\(^3\), Walcott and colleagues (2008) credit the introduction of neo-liberal policies with exacerbating the conditions that foster violence within Black communities, thus influencing the way young Black men in Toronto are policed. Walcott et al. argue that the wave of neo-liberalism that swept through many Western nations helped to push Black Ontarians further toward the margins of Canadian society. The election of Mike Harris as Premier of Ontario in the mid-1990s saw the formal introduction of neo-liberal practices in the province via his “Common Sense Revolution” (2008: 335). The erosion of the welfare state – characteristic of the neo-liberal agenda – resulted in the elimination of employment equity, termination of after-school programs, the closing of

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\(^3\) The Review of the Roots of Youth Violence was an inquiry and subsequently a report commissioned by the Premier of Ontario following the high-profile shooting of a teen inside a Toronto secondary school in 2007.
recreational facilities, and cuts to social assistance and social housing programs (Walcott et al., 2008: 336; Khenti, 2014). Walcott et al. contend that these changes had dramatic consequences for the social and cultural lives of Ontarians and worsened the circumstances of those already on the margins – intensifying conditions conducive to interpersonal violence. Accompanying these economic and cultural policies was the introduction of new surveillance and management tools, and the demonization of certain populations. Much like the demonization of Black youth during the “mugging crisis” in Thatcher’s Britain and the over-policing of Black and Latino communities that intensified under President Reagan in the United States, neo-liberalism brought with it new ways of managing populations deemed problematic in Ontario (Walcott et al., 2008). Harris’s “Common Sense Revolution” was accompanied by an increased focus on policing, debates around tougher sentences, longer prison terms, and the possible adoption of three-strikes legislation (Walcott et al., 2008). This period also saw the introduction of zero-tolerance policies in schools, which disproportionally excluded Black students and contributed to what some have dubbed the “school-to-prison pipeline” (OHRC, 2003; Rankin and Contenta, 2009).

The erosion of the welfare state along with the introduction of new forms of surveillance has disproportionately impacted Black people in Toronto, particularly young Black men. Available evidence suggests that violent crime in Toronto has become increasingly concentrated amongst young urban Black males residing in poor communities (Wortley, 2008; Khenti, 2013). As Gartner and Thompson (2004) point out, between 1992 and 2003, the average homicide victimization rate for Blacks in Toronto was almost five times higher than the overall homicide rate in the city. This concentrated violence is used to justify the ramping up of a law and order agenda that targets young Blacks, rather than dealing with the root causes of violence, such as poverty, racism and marginalization. While “Jamaican gangs” and youth street gangs held the
attention of the police throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, it was the Boxing Day shooting of Jane Creba in 2005\(^4\) that helped to propel the policing agenda. In response to Creba’s death, the provincial government announced $51 million in funding to help fight gun and gang violence. This funding package included money for more police officers and crown attorneys; the creation of dedicated major crimes courts; $26 million to create and operate a “state of the art” operations centre for the provincial Guns and Gangs Task Force; and funding for the Toronto Anti-Violence Intervention Strategy (TAVIS) (Ontario, 2006). TAVIS is an intensive “hot spot” policing strategy that involves the targeted deployment of police officers to neighbourhoods affected by violence. TAVIS is undeniably enforcement-focused and has faced criticism due to its targeting and mistreatment of young Black men. As Rankin and Winsa of the Toronto Star point out, the intelligence gathering activities of TAVIS offices have done much to strain police-community relations (Rankin and Winsa, 2013a).

**Work of the Toronto Star**

The Toronto Star newspaper deserves much credit for bringing attention to the policing of Black males in Toronto. To date, the Star has produced four series on race and policing using data obtained through freedom of information requests to the Toronto Police Service (Rankin et al, 2002a; Rankin 2010; Rankin and Winsa, 2012a; Rankin et al., 2013a). In the first of these series, the Star analyzed arrest data collected by the Toronto police from 480,000 incidents (representing the total population of criminal charges – approximately 800,000) that took place between late 1996 and early 2002. The Star concluded that justice in Toronto was different for Blacks and whites. The analysis showed that Black people charged with one count of simple

\(^4\) Creba’s death was an inter-racial homicide involving Black male suspects and a white female victim. 2005 was coined “year of the gun” because the number of gun related homicides in Toronto reached an all time high.
drug possession for marijuana were more likely than whites to be taken to the station upon arrest for processing, and once there, Blacks were held overnight for a bail hearing at twice the rate of whites (Rankin et al., 2002a). The original Star series also documented the “Driving While Black” (DWB) phenomenon by showing that Black motorists were more likely than whites to be ticketed for violations that arose only after the initial stop took place (known as “out of sight” driving offences). The Star went so far as to suggest that “the police target Black drivers” (Rankin et al., 2002b). The original series received praise from many in Toronto’s Black communities, and from civil liberty and human rights organizations (Tator and Henry, 2006). However, the Chief of the Toronto Police Service quickly denied the allegations (Fantino, 2002). Furthermore, the Toronto Police Association filed a $2.7 billion class action libel suit claiming damages against the Star on behalf of all sworn officers (Tator and Henry, 2006). The suit was later dropped. Subsequently, a group of Black officers announced that they felt that racial profiling existed; that they had been victimized by the practice themselves; and that they had seen their peers engage in racial profiling (Mascoll and Rankin, 2005).

In 2010 the Star produced its second series on race and policing entitled “Race Matters.” This series was based on information collected from over 1.7 million “contact cards” (known internally as 208s or “Field Information Reports”) that police had filled out during civilian encounters between 2003 and 2008 (Rankin 2010a; 2010b). The police do not fill out contact cards for every civilian encounter, but rather when an officer wants to document an interaction for intelligence gathering purposes (Owusu-Bempah, 2011). These cards contain information about the encounter as well as personal details about the civilian including age, gender and skin colour. The police argue that such documentation is useful in keeping track of individuals and provides information that may be useful in solving crimes (Owusu-Bempah and Wortley, 2014).
The Star’s analysis found that Black males between the ages of 15 and 24 were stopped and documented 2.5 times more often than white males of the same age (Rankin 2010a; Rankin 2010b). Interestingly, the data also shows that differences between Black and white carding rates were most pronounced in more affluent, predominantly white areas of the city. This finding may indicate that Black people seem “out of place” in these neighbourhoods, and thus draw the attention of the police (countering police claims that officers only target people in high crime neighbourhoods).

Finally, in 2012, “Race Matters” was followed up by “Known to Police,” a series of articles that also focused on the contact card data, this time collected between 2008 and mid 2011. The Star’s analysis found that while Black people comprised 8.3% of Toronto’s population, they accounted for 25% of the contact cards filled out over this time period (Rankin and Winsa, 2012a). The data also showed that Black people were more likely to be stopped in each of the city’s 72 police patrol zones, and that again, Blacks were more likely to be stopped in areas that were predominantly white (Rankin and Winsa, 2012a). This Star series once again drew public attention, and the Chair of the Police Service Board announced that steps would be taken to address carding disparities (Rankin and Winsa, 2012b). Included in the Board’s proposals was a review of the carding practice by the City Auditor. This review never took place. However, the Board is still working to deal with the issue, and has adopted a new policy to restrict the use of contact cards (Rankin and Winsa, 2013b; Rankin and Winsa, 2014).
Whitewashing?

Due credit must be given to the Toronto Star for bringing public attention to the policing of Black people in Toronto. However, the original Star series claiming that the Toronto police engage in racial profiling was met with staunch opposition from the Chief of Police and his supporters. For example, Julian Fantino (former chief of the Toronto Police Service) said, “we do not do racial profiling … There is no racism … we do not look at, nor do we consider race or ethnicity, or any of that, as factors of how we dispose of cases, or individuals, or how we treat individuals” (Toronto Star, 2002: A14). Similarly, Craig Brommell, president of the Toronto Police Association at the time, stated in a news release that “[no] racial profiling has ever been conducted by the Toronto Police Service” (Porter, 2002b: A6). Even local politicians weighed in to offer their denials of racism and support of the police. Mayor Lastman declared “I don’t believe that the Toronto Police engage in racial profiling in any way, shape, or form” (Toronto Star 2002a: A9). Notably, one of the first pronouncements made by current chief Bill Blair, Julian Fantino’s successor, was an admission that racial profiling by the police was in fact a reality in Toronto (James, 2005). However, this admission appears to be tokenistic. For example, data analyzed by the Toronto Star showed that Black males aged 15–24 were stopped and documented 2.5 times more often than white males of the same age (Rankin 2010 b). In response to a presentation of this data, Blair stated: “[w]e look at it as neighborhoods because that’s where the crime is taking place. There’s a whole bunch of reasons … I don’t think that race is one of them” (Toronto Star, 2010). However, while Blair acknowledged some of the factors that lead to criminality, such as poverty, unemployment, and marginalization, this same data showed Blacks to be most over-represented in documented police stops in more affluent areas of the city – areas with large white populations, small numbers of racial minorities, and relatively low levels of
crime. As such, Blair’s response appears to be an updated and more sophisticated version of his predecessor’s denials.

The allegations and denials surrounding racial discrimination and policing which played out in the pages of the Toronto Star and other Canadian newspapers mirror the debate over the causes of racial disparity in policing outcomes (and other criminal justice statistics) within the academic literature. This debate, often discussed in terms of “Disproportionate Minority Contact,” proliferated in the United States in the late 1980s and early 1990s following the publication of William Wilbanks’ *The Myth of a Racist Criminal Justice System* (1987) and Coramae Richey Mann’s (1993) *Unequal Justice*. Current explanations of Disproportionate Minority Contact run on a continuum. On one end are those, like Wilbanks, who suggest that the criminal justice system (including the police) is virtually colour-blind, and that the assertion that the justice system is racist is a “myth.” On the other end of this continuum are those, like Mann, who suggest that the justice system unequivocally discriminates on the basis of race (Piquero, 2008). As Piquero (2008) suggests, this continuum can be viewed within a framework comprised of three hypotheses: 1) the “differential involvement hypothesis” asserts that racial minorities are over-represented at all stages of criminal justice processing because they commit more crimes, and for extended periods of their lives; 2) the “differential selection and processing hypothesis” that suggests racial minorities and minority communities are more intensely surveilled by the police, and subject to discrimination in court and correctional systems; and 3) the “mixed model hypothesis” which asserts that both differential involvement and differential processing, combined, result in the over-representation of racialized people in criminal justice statistics (Piquero, 2008: 63-7).
As a result of the denials of the Star series conclusions by the Chief of Police and his supporters, the police hired an academic to reanalyze the data, which unsurprisingly resulted in different conclusions (Harvey, 2003). Subsequently a debate ensued in the *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice* in which parties on both sides attempted to sway opinion on the matter (see Gold, 2003; Melchers, 2003; Wortley and Tanner, 2003; Gabor, 2004; Wortley and Tanner, 2005). However, this debate centred as much on research methodology as it did the policing of Blacks in Toronto. Wortley and Tanner (2003) challenged the reanalysis conducted by Harvey on behalf of the police, and presented their own research findings that provided support for the Star’s conclusions. Parties that challenged the suggestion that the Toronto Police Service engaged in racial profiling included Alan Gold (2003), a Toronto lawyer who argued that the original analysis by the Star had lacked a proper “benchmark” or comparison population upon which to base a claim of racial disparity. Gold called the Star’s analysis “junk science” and inaccurately referred to survey data presented by Wortley and Tanner as “anecdotes in bulk” (2003: 397). Similarly, Gabor attacked the definition of racial profiling provided by Wortley and Tanner (2003), arguing that they had misused the term. Gabor also argued that the distribution of crime and thus police deployment practices vary by geographical location, which results in disproportionate police-minority interactions in certain areas (2004: 459-460). Importantly, Gabor argued that “baseless accusations” can inflame conflicts in the community and discredit the police and the justice system (2004: 460-461). However, he had little to say about the impact on the community of the almost immediate outright denial of racism that came from the Chief of Police. Gabor argued that allegations of racial profiling ought to be supported by conclusive evidence of systemic racial bias (2004: 463). However, as he should well know, a lack of readily
available race-based criminal justice data makes such an endeavor particularly difficult within the Canadian context (see Gabor, 1994).

Few other Canadian studies have examined Blacks’ experiences with the police in Canada (see Neugebauer-Visano, 1996; James, 1998; Wortley and Tanner, 2005; Wortley and Owusu-Bempah, 2011a, b), or have examined Disproportionate Minority Contact in the Canadian context. A notable exception is a piece by Fitzgerald and Carrington (2011), who used data from a nationally representative sample of youth aged 12-17 years to test whether disproportionate contact with the police was due to differential involvement in crime, or differential treatment by the police due to increased risk factors. Their study found no support for either hypothesis; instead, the authors suggest, like Wortley and Tanner (2005) before them, that disproportionate minority contact with the police was due to racially discriminatory policing practices (Fitzgerald and Carrington, 2011: 473). Fitzgerald and Carrington do note, however, that the debate over the causes of Disproportionate Minority Contact in Canada is not over, and they stress the need for more comprehensive data (2011: 473-5).

Access to appropriate data is a major factor hindering progress in determining the causes of Disproportionate Minority Contact with the police in Canada. Although the Toronto Police Service – like services in Ottawa, Montreal, and Edmonton – collect race-based data from civilian interactions and on suspects and victims in criminal cases, the mandates of these organizations do not require that such data be made readily available to the public (Wortley, 1999; Wortley, 2003; Miller and Owusu-Bempah, 2011). In fact, until late 2010, the Toronto Police Service Board had an official policy prohibiting the release of race-based data by the Toronto Police Service (Owusu-Bempah, 2011). The Toronto Star’s court battles over access to data provide evidence of the reluctance on the part of police services to release race-based
statistics. The de facto ban over the release of racial data, which extends throughout the Canadian criminal justice system, is reflective of a broader Canadian sentiment (Owusu-Bempah and Wortley, 2014). Unlike our American neighbours, Canadians are uncomfortable discussing race and racial differences, preferring instead to use the language of ethnicity and culture. This reluctance to discuss race is evident in the history of the Canadian census that for decades used ethnic categorizations as a proxy for measuring race (Thompson, 2010). The Canadian government also uses the term “visible minority” to refer to the country’s non-white, non-Aboriginal populations. This moniker masks immense differences among those considered “visible minorities,” and also serves to obscure the practice and effects of racial discrimination in Canadian public institutions.

It has been argued that Canada’s official policy of multiculturalism – rather than protecting the interests of minorities – provides a convenient veil behind which discrimination continues to flourish. As Henry and Tator make note:

…multiculturalism as an ideology has provided a veneer for liberal-pluralist discourse, in which democratic values such as individualism, tolerance, and equality are espoused and supported, without altering the core of the common culture or ensuring the rights of people of colour (2005: 50).

The lack of readily available data, combined with a reluctance to investigate allegations of racism in policing, has contributed to a relative dearth of Canadian academic literature on the matter (relative to the United States and United Kingdom, for example). Because data are hard to come by, issues of racial disparity and racial discrimination in policing seem like foreign problems to many Canadian academics, politicians, policy makers and members of the public alike. For example, few would readily accept the fact that Black people are more likely to be stopped and searched by the police in Toronto than African Americans are to be stopped and frisked by the police in New York. However, this is exactly what the available data illustrates
(Rankin et al., 2013). So while we know that Black men are over-represented in police stop and search practices in Toronto and often view the police negatively (Neugebauer-Visano, 1996; James, 1998; Wortley and Tanner, 2005; Wortley and Owusu-Bempah, 2011b), we still know relatively little about the causes of these racial disparities, which factors shape the nature of police interactions with Black males, or how Black men feel about their experiences with the police. Furthermore, we know very little about within group differences among Black males with respect to their perceptions of and experiences with the police.

**Main Aims and Contributions of the Present Research**

The police need cooperation from members of the public in order to effectively control crime (Tyler and Fagan, 2008). This cooperation involves citizens obeying the law and working with the police to combat crime (i.e. acting as a witness and providing information) (Tyler and Fagan, 2008). Members of the public will only cooperate with the police if the police are viewed as legitimate authorities who are entitled to be obeyed. Such legitimacy is produced, in part, by the manner in which the police treat members of the public during police-citizen encounters (procedural justice) (Tyler and Fagan, 2008). So, the negative police treatment of Black men, and the negative perceptions of the police that these interactions produce (not only among Black men, but also entire communities), may thus impact community safety by influencing citizens’ willingness to cooperate with the police. Thus, the very policing practices employed in marginalized neighbourhoods to combat crime might actually have the opposite effect, reducing police legitimacy and thus contributing to criminal behaviour and an uncooperative public.

The aim of this thesis is to provide an in-depth and more comprehensive examination of Black males’ perceptions of and experiences with the police in Toronto. While I acknowledge
that an examination of the causes of observed racial disparities in police contact is important, I believe it is also important to investigate the complexity of police interactions with Black males in order to gain an understanding of what exactly takes place during these involuntary encounters (see Brunson, 2010). In doing so it may become possible to identify the conditions that account for Black peoples’ high levels of dissatisfaction and negative experiences with the police, and better understand how these relationships can be improved (Stewart et al., 2009). The focus of this thesis is on the perceptions and experiences of Black males, precisely because this group has the most frequent and most negative encounters with the police (Skolnick, 1966; Jones-Brown, 2007).

An equally important aim of the thesis is to contribute to the extant literature, which will be achieved in three main ways. First, the thesis is comprised of three studies capturing very different groups of Black men – something rather distinctive to the present research. The first study involves a representative sample of adult Torontonians. The analysis of views and experiences of this random sample of adults from across Toronto is followed by an examination of the views and experiences of a group of over 300 young Black men drawn from four of Toronto’s most disadvantaged neighbourhoods who have been in, or are at risk of, conflict with the law. The third and final sample involves a group of 51 Black male police officers. By incorporating these three distinct samples, I am able to compare and contrast the views and experiences of three very different groups of Black men in order to uncover similarities and differences in their views and experiences with the police. These three groups together yield information on a larger number of Black citizens than is typical of other studies that are both quantitative and qualitative in nature.
Second, this thesis contributes to the extant literature by documenting the views and experiences of Black male law enforcers. Very few studies have focused on the experiences of Black police officers (see Alex, 1969; Leinen, 1984; Holdaway and Baron, 1997); fewer still have examined, in depth, Black officers’ perspectives on the policing of Black communities (see Bolton and Feagin, 2004). I believe that Black male police officers have a unique perspective from which to comment on the policing of Black men because they are familiar with being policed as Black men, as well as policing Black males. As such, their perspectives are of great value, especially when compared and contrasted with those of other Black males, including the views of the young Black men, the group most targeted by the police. Finally, the mixed methods approach utilized in this thesis allows for the inclusion of both descriptive quantitative data, useful for testing relationships between variables, and rich qualitative information, useful for providing context and meaning to the quantitative results.

**Organization of the Thesis**

This thesis consists of six chapters including the introduction. In Chapter Two, I present a review of the literature documenting Black males’ perceptions of, and experiences with, the police. Chapter Two also provides an overview of the theoretical framework employed in the thesis. Here, I first review the theoretical orientations previously employed to examine Black citizens’ perceptions of and experiences with the police, including those from social conflict and social disorganization perspectives. I next provide an account of how critical race theory can be used to examine the policing of Black males in Toronto, paying particular attention to the historical development of the concept of race, how Blackness has become associated with crime and danger, and the resultant impact on the contemporary policing of Black men. In Chapter
Three I utilize data from a representative sample of Black, Chinese, and White adults from the Greater Toronto area to examine racial and gender differences in perceptions of and experiences with the police. Here, a special emphasis is placed on the perceptions and experiences of Black males within the sample. The chapter illustrates that Black men are more likely than members of other racial/gender groupings to be stopped and searched by the police, and to feel negatively about their treatment at the hands of the police. Furthermore, the chapter shows that these frequent, negative experiences increase perceptions of police bias amongst both Black males and Black females, illustrating the importance of vicarious experience with the police.

Chapter Four presents data analysis from an evaluation of a gang intervention and prevention program (Prevention and Intervention Toronto) that explores the attitudes and experiences of young Black men from four of Toronto’s “priority neighbourhoods.” Here, the results of quantitative analysis of the young men’s perceptions of the police are presented along with their qualitative descriptions of their treatment. The findings from this chapter illustrate that these young Black men experience very high levels of police stops and searches, and report being subjected to verbal and physical abuse at the hands of the police. The findings also show that these young men have very negative attitudes towards the police with respect to police performance, and perceive high levels of police bias and corruption. Finally, the multivariate analysis presented in this chapter shows that negative experiences with the police increase negative perceptions of the police, while positive experiences have only a marginal impact. The multivariate analysis further shows that perceptions of the police are also related to the youth’s perceptions with regards to education and employment; those youths with positive attitudes

5 The priority neighbourhood designation has been given to 13 of Toronto’s 140 neighbourhoods. At the time of designation these neighbourhoods lacked critical services and facilities (e.g. community centres and libraries) and housed a disproportionate level of high needs populations (e.g. children and immigrants). These neighbourhoods were also characterized by high levels of crime and disorder. More information about the “priority neighbourhoods” is provided in Chapter Four.
towards the police also report positive attitudes towards education and employment (and vice versa), indicating a possible relationship between the young mens’ views of different social institutions.

In Chapter Five I present the analysis of data from a sample of Black male police officers from the Greater Toronto Area. The findings of the analysis of the police officers’ perceptions of police bias and the policing of Black communities in Toronto are presented here. Also discussed are the officers’ experiences in policing Black communities, and their suggestions to improve strained relations. In this chapter I show that the Black male police officers hold similar views to the other groups of Black males, believing the police to be biased against Black men and Black communities. The officers also report having witnessed the differential treatment of Black men in the course of their duties. Importantly, these officers hold a nuanced understanding of why this differential treatment takes place; much like the debate over Disproportionate Minority Contact, the officers attribute the differential treatment to both bias on the part of police officers, and the increased involvement of Black men in certain types of crime. Finally, in Chapter Six, I provide a summary of the important findings of this research, and discuss similarities and differences in the perceptions and experiences of the three groups of Black males. In Chapter Six I also present the theoretical implications of the research findings, relating the findings of this Canadian study to previous research from the United States and United Kingdom. Here, I explain the similarities in Black males’ perceptions of and experiences with the police in these three countries by reference to their respective colonial histories, as suggested by critical race theories. This chapter ends with a discussion of suggested areas for future research, and with several policy implications emanating from the thesis.
CHAPTER 2
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

Public perceptions of the police are an important social issue. Previous research has shown that citizens’ views of the police are shaped by the nature of both personal and vicarious experiences (Weitzer, 2010). This body of research has also consistently found that citizens’ attitudes towards the police are influenced by racial background (Weitzer, 2010). However, the vast majority of these studies have been empirical in nature and have failed to theoretically account for observed racial differences in both perceptions of and experiences with the police (Bolton and Feagin, 2004; Warren et al., 2011). The aim of this chapter is to situate the present study within the existing body of literature that has examined racial differences in citizens’ perceptions of and experiences with the police, and to lay out a theoretical framework for the thesis. The chapter begins by explaining why citizens’ attitudes towards the police are a matter of public concern. Next, the chapter reviews the theoretical orientations previously employed to account for racial differences in perceptions of and experiences with the police. The following section of the chapter presents an overview of Critical Race Theory which is used to frame the thesis. The fourth and fifth sections of the chapter review the specific individual and contextual level variables known to influence perceptions of and experiences with the police, and introduce the reader to previous Canadian research in the area. The chapter concludes with a presentation of the research questions and a brief overview of the mixed methodology utilized in the thesis.

The Importance of Examining Perceptions of and Experiences with the Police

Public perceptions of the criminal justice system are important for a number of reasons. First of all, the criminal justice system is the cornerstone of a democratic society, and citizen
confidence in this institution is necessary for democracy to flourish. On the other hand, negative attitudes towards the criminal justice system can lead citizens to question the legitimacy of both the justice system and the state itself (Brunson & Miller, 2006: 632). Citizens’ perceptions of police legitimacy are formed, in part, by the manner in which the police treat members of the public during police-citizen encounters. If citizens are treated unfairly by the police, they are less likely to view the police as a legitimate authority (Tyler and Fagan, 2008). Perceptions of illegitimacy can have two important implications for criminal justice and society at large. First of all, the criminal justice system and the general public have an interdependent relationship. The general public is reliant on the system to fight crime and punish offenders, but the system is dependent on the public to bolster its legitimacy, and also to properly administer justice. Without confidence in the system, citizens become alienated and reluctant to cooperate with the police and the courts as victims, witnesses, complainants, and the accused. Such a situation would thwart the efforts of the police to control crime and maintain social order (Decker & Smith, 1980; Murty et al, 1990; Kaukmen & Colavecchia, 1999).

Secondly, there is growing concern that perceived injustice itself causes criminal behaviour (Tyler, 1990; Lafree, 1998). Russell (1996), for example, argues that perceptions of criminal injustice and “unfair penalties, combined with a lack of sanctions for race-based harms, diminishes faith in the justice system, which in turn sets the stage for criminal offending.” Likewise, negative views of the police can lead to social unrest. The riots of the 1970s and 1980s in such places as London, Bristol and Birmingham in Great Britain, and those of the 1980s and 1990s in Miami and Los Angeles in the United States, are clear evidence of this. Each of these riots was a result of negative perceptions of the police held primarily among racial minority groups. The British riots were sparked by oppressive, intrusive and heavy handed policing in
Black communities, while the Miami and Los Angeles riots were sparked by police beatings of racialized men (Murty et al., 1994). Such instances highlight the importance of positive public attitudes towards the police, and the critical role that police treatment plays in the development of police legitimacy and attitudes towards the police more generally.

**Criminological Perspectives on Race, Crime and Policing**

Although research has consistently shown that Black citizens are disproportionately stopped, searched and arrested by the police – and that they hold more negative attitudes towards the police than members of other racial groups – very few of these studies have been theoretically driven (Chan, 2004; Bolton and Feagin, 2004; Warren at al., 2011). Nevertheless, accounting for these racial differences has been a point of debate among academics, especially within the American literature (Wilbanks, 1987; Wilson and Herrnstein, 1985; Mann, 1993; Herrnstein and Murray, 1994; Tonry, 1995). As noted in the previous chapter, explanations for the over-representation of Black and other racial minorities within the justice system are often framed in terms of “Disproportionate Minority Contact,” and exist on a continuum. To reiterate, the main perspectives along this continuum include: 1) the differential involvement hypothesis; 2) the differential selection and processing hypothesis (bias/discrimination model); and 3) the mixed model hypothesis (Piquero, 2008: 63-7). Some scholars have also employed traditional criminological theories to account for racial differences in policing outcomes and citizens’ attitudes towards the police. These theories are drawn from biological, sociological and
psychological perspectives. Below, I present a brief review of these theories as they fit within each of the three perspectives of the Disproportionate Minority Contact paradigm.\(^6\)

**The Differential Involvement Hypothesis**

The Differential Involvement Hypothesis holds that racial minorities are over-represented in criminal justice outcomes because they commit more crime for extended periods of their lives, and are more likely to be involved in the serious types of crime that result in official criminal justice processing (Piquero, 2008: 64). Therefore, any observed racial differences in citizens’ levels of contact with the police are reflective of racial differences in levels and types of criminal offending. Some of the earliest criminologists concerned themselves with explaining racial differences in criminal behaviour. Cesare Lombroso, for example, often considered one of the fathers of criminology, explained these differences from a biological perspective. Influenced by the writing of Darwin, Lombroso applied Darwinian theories to the study of army personnel in southern Italy, concluding that the citizens of this region were not only inferior human beings, but also “lazy, incapable, criminal and barbaric” (Vold et al., 1998: 42-3). Lombroso based this assessment on the belief that the presence of Africans and “Eastern elements” contributed to the regional inferiority that he observed (Gabidon, 2007: 10). In his book *The Criminal Man* (1876), Lombroso put forth the argument that the races could be ranked in a hierarchy, and that inferior races could be distinguished by their asymmetrical physical features and inferior intellect (Lombroso1876; Webster, 2007:13).

Lombroso believed that criminals were evolutionary throwbacks, atavistic in nature, and explained white criminality by way of reference to the more ‘primitive races.’ Throughout his

\(^6\) It should be noted that this summary by no means represents an exhaustive review of all the theories related to race, crime and criminal justice. For a full review see Gabbidon, S. (2007) *Criminological Perspectives on Race and Crime*. New York: Routledge.
work, Lombroso made clear the importance of race in explaining criminal behaviour. More modern biological theories based on evolution, genetics and intelligence include the works of Herrnstein and Murray (1994) and Rushton (1997). The main argument of these works is that Black people (and some other racial minorities) are biologically (or genetically) inferior – in other words, these theorists maintain that certain racial groups are less evolved, less intelligent, more aggressive, and more impulsive than others. These biological traits, in turn, are said to contribute to these groups’ over-involvement in crime and over-representation in the criminal justice system. Although not always explicitly stated in this body of research, Blacks’ perceptions of and experiences with the police can be explained by their increased contact with the police, which is due to their high levels of involvement in crime. It should be noted that many theories of crime emanating from a biological perspective have largely been refuted and have lost favor, being replaced by sociological and psychological perspectives (see Roberts and Gabor, 1990).

Sociological perspectives on race and crime focus on societal and structural factors known to cause criminality. The work of W.E.B. Du Bois paved the way for sociological research on crime in general and on race and crime in particular (Gabbidon, 2007: 51). Du Bois studied the high levels of crime amongst Blacks in Philadelphia, and later Atlanta, around the turn of the 20th century. He concluded that mass migration from the rural South to the urban North created adjustment problems for Black people, and that these adjustment problems sometimes led to criminal behaviour (Gabbidon, 2007: 51). Du Bois also highlighted variables such as age, unemployment, poverty, and discrimination as significant factors leading to criminality. Importantly, in the context of this thesis, Du Bois noted that Black people were arrested for less cause than whites (Gabbidon, 2007: 51). Some of Du Bois’ ideas were taken up
by the “Chicago School” sociologists. Specifically, social disorganization theory and the ecological approach – developed by researchers at the University of Chicago in the 1920s – explained increasing levels of crime by referencing immigration and immigrant re-settlement patterns. Immigration, it was argued, caused a breakdown of informal social control that resulted from high rates of population turnover – and high crime rates – in certain areas of Chicago (Gabbidon, 2007: 56). In addition to fluctuating populations and impoverished residents, these socially disorganized areas had higher percentages of Negro (Black) residents (Gabbidon, 2007: 56). More contemporary research has confirmed the importance of concentrated inequality and physical/social isolation in contributing to crime and violence amongst Blacks (Wilson, 1987; Sampson, 1987; Sampson and Groves, 1989; Sampson and Wilson, 1995). Furthermore, it has been argued that Black residency in socially-disorganized, high-crime neighbourhoods can at least partially explain this group’s high level of contact experiences with the police.

Other studies on race, crime and policing have employed social strain theories to explain high rates of offending Blacks. This perspective points to the strain caused by the disjuncture between culturally defined goals and one’s ability to achieve these goals as a cause of criminality (Merton, 1938: 672-3). Merton (1938), a founder of this perspective, argued that some individuals who are not able to achieve culturally desirable goals through legitimate means will resort to alternative (illegal) means of doing so. Merton recognized that Black people experience acute strain as a result of internalizing socially desirable goals, while at the same time being systematically blocked from legitimately achieving these goals due to the existence of widespread and institutionalized racial discrimination. He wrote:

Certain elements of the Negro population have assimilated the dominant caste’s values of pecuniary success and advancement, but they also recognize that social ascent is at present restricted to their own caste almost exclusively. The pressures upon the Negro which would otherwise derive from the
structural inconsistencies we have noticed are hence not identical with those upon lower class whites. (p. 680)

Merton understood that the social position of Black people in the United States greatly limited their access to legitimate opportunities, and that they could not thus achieve the same status position as whites (Gabbidon, 2007: 69). As a result, some Black people would turn to criminality in an attempt to achieve these goals (“innovators”) while others would eschew them all together (“retreatists”) (Merton, 1938; Gabbidon, 2007). These retreatists, Merton argued, are “in society but not of it,” meaning that they do not share the same common goals or value systems as the general population (Merton, 1938; Gabbidon, 2007). Recent tests of strain theory have produced mixed results amongst white, Black and Hispanic populations (Cernkovich et al., 2000; McCluskey, 2002).

Subcultural theory is another sociological perspective which has argued that Black offending is rooted in economic disadvantage. Subcultural theory suggests that the experience of systematic social exclusion and blocked occupational opportunities results in status frustration, which may in turn contribute to the development of alternative goals and value systems that conflict with middle class standards (Gabbidon, 2007: 83-100). In *Code of the Street*, for example, Anderson (1999) argues that, as a result of their alienation, Black people in many impoverished inner-city communities have developed an oppositional culture with its own value system. This alternative value system puts a premium on respect, and the use of inter-personal violence to defend oneself and one’s reputation against personal attacks. As a result, levels of inter-personal violence are high in these neighbourhoods, resulting in an increased police presence and a higher level of police interaction with neighbourhood residents. Likewise, the subculture of violence theory attributes the over-representation of African Americans in violent
crime statistics to an alternative value system that views physical aggression as a socially acceptable response to certain stimuli (Wolfgang, 1958; Curtis, 1975; Silberman, 1978). Recent tests have provided limited support for subcultural theories, leading some to suggest that the continued use of these theories to explain racial differences in violence is both unfair and potentially racist (Cao et al., 2000, 58 as cited in Gabbidon, 2007: 99).

In sum, these theories attribute Blacks’ over-representation in police and other justice statistics to elevated levels of offending caused by either individual (biological/genetic) or social (disorder/strain/sub-cultural) factors. On the other hand, theories that can be grouped under the *differential selection hypothesis* attribute Blacks’ over-representation in police statistics to discrimination and bias on the part of the police.

**Differential Selection Hypothesis**

The Differential Selection Hypothesis asserts that a combination of differential selection (differing police presence, patrolling and surveillance activities) and differential processing (differences in the application of discretion, for example) result in Black people having more contact with the police, and being formally processed at higher rates than white people. This hypothesis argues that Blacks are discriminated against by the police and receive harsher treatment than do other citizens, thus explaining their over-representation in policing statistics and their negative appraisals of the police (Piquero, 2008:65). Some of the theories reviewed above are also relevant in the context of differential selection. For example, scholars have argued that the police tend to be more aggressive and punitive in socially disorganized neighbourhoods. Police often perceive these neighbourhoods as “bad areas,” and also perceive the residents and their behaviours as suspicious (Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969; Stewart et al., 2009). This
perception of these areas as more dangerous and risky may prompt officers to act more aggressively with neighbourhood residents in order to maintain control and ensure their own personal safety (Stewart et al., 2009). The police may also act in a discriminatory and aggressive manner in disorganized and impoverished neighbourhoods because they perceive the residents to lack agency or a means of recourse in dealing with police misconduct (Weitzer and Tuch, 2006).

Conflict theories have also been used to examine discrimination in the administration of justice by focusing on the way in which power struggles between different individuals and groups influence who is policed, and how (Gabbidon, 2007). As early as 1901, Du Bois published an article explaining how the convict lease system in the American South promoted the enactment of laws designed specifically to draw Black people into the criminal justice system. This early criminalization process was established in order to replace the free labour of slaves and to maintain the privileged status of Southern white landowners (Gabbidon, 2007). More recently, the conflict perspective has been applied to the phenomenon of racial profiling to help explain the over-representation of Blacks in traffic and pedestrian stops by the police (Weitzer and Tuch, 2002; Wortley and Tanner, 2005). Many of the race-based articulations of conflict theory have their roots in social threat theories, asserting that culturally dissimilar minority groups are perceived as a threat to the established social order, and that the police are employed to control such threats (Liska, 1992; Blauner, 1972). Racial threat theories suggest that the social control of racial minorities, including discriminatory police treatment, will increase as the relative size of the minority population increases (Jacobs and O’Brien, 1998). As such, Black people may be subject to the greatest levels of police discrimination in neighbourhoods where they comprise a relatively large or increasing proportion of the population (Stults and Baumer,
2007 in Stewart et al., 2009). In addition to these sociological explanations, a number of psychological perspectives have been utilized to explain police discrimination against Blacks.

Research on cognitive and implicit bias provides another perspective useful for understanding Black males’ experiences with the police. Implicit bias refers to the attitudes and stereotypes that influence our understanding, actions, and decision-making processes in an unconscious manner (Staats and Patton, 2013). Implicit biases, as the name suggests, are activated unconsciously and without control, and may be transmitted or produced through visual media (Staats and Patton, 2013; Weisbuch et al., 2009). Excessive news coverage portraying Blacks as criminal, for example, can lead to the formation of implicit bias (Staats and Patton, 2013). Research with police officers has examined implicit bias in law enforcement settings. Eberhard et al. (2004) presented pictures of white and Black faces to police officers and asked the officers to choose which face looked criminal. They found that the officers chose the Black faces over the white ones, particularly when the Black face had stereotypically Black features. Automatic implicit bias has also been found to negatively influence officers’ interpretations of Blacks’ behaviour (as suspicious or aggressive), and the perception of Blacks as more blameworthy, thus meriting harsher sanctions (Graham and Lowery, 2004; Richardson, 2011).

Importantly, research with both police officers and ordinary citizens has shown the strong association that exists between Blackness and the assumed presence of weapons – often referred to as shooter or weapons bias (Staats and Patton, 2013). In these studies, participants were more likely to identify guns when primed with a Black rather than a white face, and to shoot unarmed Black suspects more often than unarmed white suspects (Payne, 2001; Correll et al., 2002). When patrolling Black neighbourhoods or interacting with Black citizens, police officers may therefore unwittingly rely on racial stereotypes about Blacks, associating them with crime and
violence. This may influence the types of actions they take when encountering a black civilian on the street.

Finally, the differential police treatment of Black people and other racial minorities may result from racial animus or overt and intentional racism. Although many police services have official policies prohibiting racist behaviour, we cannot automatically assume that decisions to stop, search, arrest, and use force will not be influenced by individual racism. This is particularly true when we consider that racism has been identified as a key feature of the conservatism that typifies the police occupational culture (Reiner, 2010: 129).

**The Mixed Model Hypothesis**

A third and final perspective suggests that Blacks’ over-representation in police statistics is a product of both differential involvement in crime and differential processing/seletion by the police (Piquero, 2008:67). Indeed, it is very likely – in light of the theories reviewed above – that Black people are involved in a disproportionate amount of crime because they are disproportionately exposed to those factors known to increase the likelihood of criminal offending (poverty, unemployment, social disorganization, discrimination, social/economic/political marginalization, etc.). Likewise, there is ample evidence to believe – as some police services have themselves publicly admitted – that racially biased policing exists (Owusu-Bempah and Wortley, 2014). It should also be acknowledged that the relationship between differential involvement and differential selection is cyclical. For example, the police may be disproportionately deployed in Black neighbourhoods because of very real problems with violence and disorder. Yet when patrolling these neighbourhoods, officers come to view all residents with suspicion, stopping and searching individuals with less cause than they would in
other neighbourhoods. At least some of these encounters are likely to produce contraband or other offences that would have gone unnoticed in other areas. The discovery of these new crimes could ultimately reinforce the perceived efficacy of focusing policing on minority communities in general, and on minority males in particular (Harris, 1999).

Taken even further, it can be argued that differential selection (as a result of some form of bias/discrimination) can contribute to differential involvement in crime. The over-policing of Black citizens/neighbourhoods is well documented (Rice and White, 2010; Bowling and Phillips, 2007; Owusu-Bempah and Wortley, 2011). If law-abiding Black citizens are frequently harassed and disrespected by the police, these citizens may come to view police authority as illegitimate, which has been shown to increase the likelihood of criminal offending (Tyler and Fagan, 2008). Alternatively, the police may create crime during encounters with law-abiding citizens. Consider the hypothetical example of a law-abiding young Black man who is frequently stopped by the police as he goes about his business. Eventually, this young man is likely to become tired of the police stops, perhaps exhibiting signs of disrespect during the encounter, or worse, objecting to a search of his person. In doing so the young man could be arrested for obstructing justice, assaulting a police officer, or failing to comply with an officer’s directive (Engel et al., 2010). If convicted, this young man is now saddled with a criminal record for “crimes” created by the police. Going forward, the young man is likely to be blocked from legitimate avenues for success due to his criminal record, and thus may resort to crime as a means of survival. The police, then, have turned a law abiding citizen into a criminal through the differential selection and processing of Black people. The “crimes” this individual has committed will also be documented in official police statistics, providing further support for the notion that Black people are more criminal. The entire process thus contributes to a self-fulfilling prophecy.
Theoretical Shortcomings

As Piquero (2008) notes, limitations on available data make it difficult to assess how much weight to attribute to each of the above perspectives. In other words, it is difficult to determine whether differential involvement or differential selection contribute more to the over-representation of Black people in policing statistics. Nevertheless, by identifying individual, sociological and psychological factors, the theories documented above are useful in helping to understand the mechanisms that influence Blacks’ experiences with the police. However, I feel that a more over-arching theory is necessary to better understand Black people’s perceptions and experiences, and to further contextualize other theoretical orientations – a theory that takes into account the historical development of race as a social category, and its influence on social relations in both historical and contemporary contexts. In the past, when a historical perspective has been taken to account for Blacks’ experiences with the police within the mainstream criminological literature, it is usually to trace the roots of modern policing in the United States to the formation of slave patrols in the South following the emancipation of Black slaves (see for example Jones-Brown and Maule, 2010). While such an account might be insightful in the American context, it is hardly appropriate when it comes to explaining Blacks’ perceptions of and experiences with the police in present day Toronto, Canada. Canada has a very different history with regard to race relations than the United States (especially in the context of the traditional Black-white dichotomy that dominates much of the U.S. literature/discussions about race relations).

Furthermore, I feel that previous empirical work and related theorizations fail to account for how and why “race” developed as a meaningful social category, and how this might help explain present day similarities in the policing of Black men in countries such as Canada, the
United States, and the United Kingdom – each of which is experiencing similar problems with regards to police-race relations (see Weber and Bowling, 2012). Chan (2004), for example, acknowledges that “one of the contributing barriers to explaining the complexities of racism in the criminal justice system is the uncritical acceptance of ‘race’ and racial categories” (108). A similar point has been made by Holdaway (1997), who argues that within the criminological literature, there exists an absence of a critical consideration of how race is conceptualized, and a related lack of debate over the theoretical foundations upon which most empirical studies of race within criminology are based (384). Likewise, Bolton and Feagin (2004) suggest that there is often a lack of clarity regarding the definitions of key concepts including race, racism, and discrimination in the empirical studies on race and policing (Bolton and Feagin, 2004: 24-5). In order to address such concerns, I employ Critical Race Theory as the overarching theoretical framework in the present work.

**Critical Race Theory and the Policing of Black Men**

Critical Race Theory (CRT) and its subsequent application in Russell’s (1992) *Black Criminology*, along with Phillips and Bowling’s (2003) *Minority Perspectives*, provides further theoretical direction with respect to understanding Black males’ perceptions of and experiences with the police. CRT emerged from American law schools in the 1980s, drawing much of its intellectual tradition from the Critical Legal Studies paradigm and Civil Rights scholarship (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Critical race theory examines the relationship between race, power, and the law, recognizing racism as deeply rooted within multi-racial societies. Critical race theorists view racism as both normal and functional (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). According to
CRT, racism is normal because it influences the way in which society usually operates. It is also a common, everyday experience for most people of colour. Racism is functional because it serves both psychic and material purposes by advancing the interests of whites – of all social classes – at the expense of other races. Furthermore, CRT scholars understand race as a social construct – a product of social thought and relations rather than a biological reality. In recognizing race as a social construct, critical race scholars also acknowledge that differential racialization occurs – that is, society assigns different characterizations and attributes to different groups at different times to serve different purposes (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Rather than embracing a colour-blind approach to equality, critical race theorists situate race as central to understanding how racial stratification continues to influence the lives of racialized people, while at the same time maintaining white privilege and supremacy (Phillips and Bowling, 2003). In the context of the present project, this would include an understanding of the role that the police play in maintaining white hegemony. By placing race at the centre of the analysis, critical race theory can further highlight the structural inequalities that exist within Canadian society, as well as the way in which Black Canadians have come to be viewed and understood in racial terms. Both of these realities influence and shape Black people’s relationships with the police.

Race and Structural Inequality

Black males’ contemporary experiences with the police cannot be understood without historical contextualization. Paulhamus et al. (2010) contend:

…considering the difficulty of isolating racial profiling outcomes from the larger social and organizational processes that likely drive much of the racial disparities observed in policing outputs, it seems artificial and theoretically simplistic to examine racial profiling as if it exists in a contextual vacuum…

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7 Rather than being an aberration.
Thus, to effectively study and assess racial profiling outcomes, it seems necessary to understand the processes that lead to the conditions that produce the racial conflict in the first place” (250).

In order to address the above point effectively, we need to consider and understand how race emerged as a meaningful social category, and develop a full appreciation of its historical and contemporary impact on people’s lives. Indeed, race and ethnicity are not ahistorical essences (Phillips and Bowling, 2003), but rather concepts “rooted in a particular culture and a particular period of history” (Banton, 2009:67). Early (biological) theories of race were developed at the time of European exploration, colonization and the emergence of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. These theories allowed Europeans to come to terms with the physical differences that they observed in the populations they encountered, and provided a rationalization for their subsequent treatment of non-white people. This latter point is well articulated by Montagu (1963), who argues that: “the idea of race [and of racial superiority] was developed as a direct response to the exploitation of other peoples, to provide both a pretext and a justification for the most unjustifiable conduct, the enslavement, murder, and degradation of millions of human beings” (111). As Khenti (1996) also points out, a common feature of all racial categories was their descending order of classification with Caucasians (whites) at the top, Africans (Blacks) at the bottom, and the other groups falling in between (55). According to early scientific theories of race, white Europeans – at the top of the racial hierarchy – were civilized, while Blacks and others at the bottom (such as Aboriginals) were viewed as inferior; as savage, uncivilized, and of a lower order.

This history is important to the present project because these ideas of racial difference were used by the British and French to justify the settlement and colonization of the territories

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8 Even in those categorization schemes where whites are not at the top of the hierarchy (e.g. that proposed by Philippe Rushton), the supremacy of whites is implied by their being more balanced, or occupying a middle ground vis-a-vis other racial groups (Rushton, 1997).
that would become Canada. In order to assert their sovereignty and control over Aboriginal lands, Europeans employed the notion of “terra nullis,” arguing that because the “savage” Indians were not using the land as the civilized Europeans would, it was empty and free for the taking (Henry and Tator, 2005: 107). White Europeans subsequently settled Canada, and established a system of laws designed to manage and control Aboriginal peoples and other non-white populations (Henry and Tator, 2005). This resulted in the development of what some have termed a “racial state” in which the white population was established as the dominant class with first access to material resources, social power, privilege, and influence (Goldberg, 2001; Razack, 2002).

Thompson (2010) argues that biological racism was integral in shaping Canada’s nation-building and colonial projects at the turn of the 20th century, and suggests that racist ideologies were crucial to the development of Canada as a white settler state (Thompson, 2010: 174). Canada’s colonial project determined who could enter the country and under what grounds (i.e., as free person, an indentured servant, slave, etc.), and dictated the rights and privileges afforded to them. Thompson goes on to argue that – although often hidden – Canadian racial politics have long been concerned with the regulation of non-white bodies through both formal and informal mechanisms of segregation and stratification (Thompson, 2010: 175). Indeed, six of the original 16 legislators of Upper Canada’s first parliament owned slaves, and the institution of slavery was practiced on Canadian soil for over 200 years (Winks, 1997; Walker, 1980; Hill, 1981; Lampert & Curtis, 1989). Although not as pervasive as in the United States, there is little doubt that slavery in the territories that would become Canada contributed to the material wealth and privilege of elite white settlers, while at the same time placing Blacks in a position of extreme social disadvantage (Wortley and Owusu-Bempah, 2011a). Black people were also subject to
racial segregation in schools and other areas of public life that further contributed to their social, political and economic marginalization (Henry and Tator, 2005; Winks, 2008). As the racist ideologies that supported such practices are deeply entrenched and woven into the very fabric of Canadian society, the historical and contemporary experience of racialized people is rooted in this history of colonialism. The system of racial stratification has long privileged whites at the expense of other races, and has resulted in the emergence and entrenchment of the dominant white power structure. This system influences the way that Canadian institutions operate (through structural⁹ and institutional¹⁰ racism), and shapes individual attitudes and social interactions (Henry and Tator, 2005)¹¹.

Many believe that racist thinking continues to validate the mistreatment and social marginalization of Black people in contemporary Canadian society (Jiwani, 2002). For example, the existence of white supremacist groups that oppose the presence of Blacks supports the assertion that overt anti-Black racism is alive and well in Canada (Siegel and McCormick, 2010). Such a view is also supported by data from Statistics Canada, which indicates that Black people stand out as the most common targets of race-based hate crime (Dauvergne et al., 2008; Walsh & Dauvergne, 2009). Research also suggests that Black children continue to be discriminated against in school. Black youths are more likely to be suspended or expelled, are inappropriately streamed into remedial programs, and are less likely to graduate than students from other racial groups (Cladas et al., 2009; Codjoe, 2001). Blacks also continue to face discrimination in the housing and employment sectors (James, 2009; Mendez et al., 2006). Research by Swidinsky

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⁹ Structural racism refers to: “inequalities rooted in system-wide operation of a society that exclude substantial numbers of members of particular groups from significant participation in major social institutions” (Henry and Tator, 2005: 352).

¹⁰ Institutional racism refers to: “racial discrimination that derives from individuals carrying out the dictates of others who are prejudiced or of a prejudiced society” (Henry and Tator, 2005: 352).

¹¹ Individual racism refers to: “a form of racial discrimination that stems from conscious, personal prejudice (Henry and Tator, 2005: 350).
and Swidinsky (2002), for example, indicates that Black males in Canada face the largest earning deficit in comparison to other racial groups, and the lowest level of intergenerational improvement in their economic standing. The marginalization experienced by Black people, as Du Bois pointed out over 100 years ago, no doubt contributes to crime within Black communities to which the police must naturally respond (in line with the differential involvement hypothesis presented above) (Du Bois, 1899). Thus, Blacks’ contemporary experiences with the police should be viewed in light of the emergence of race as a social category, and its place in the history of Canadian society. Indeed, the conditions conducive to crime – to which Black Canadians are disproportionately exposed – have not appeared out of nowhere.

**Race and Racialization: The Making of Black Canadians**

The history outlined above is also important in helping to understand how different groups have come to be classified and defined in racial terms, and what membership in a given racial group represents in the present day. As Phillips and Bowling (2003) point out, “racist ideas drawn from the philosophies of the European Enlightenment have been translated into modern ideologies of racial supremacy based on these socially constructed categories. Humanity is presumed to be divided up into distinct ‘races’ arranged hierarchically with ‘whites’ or Aryans at the top, above darker skin Europeans and Asians, who are, in turn, superior to blacks, who are seen as inherently inferior” (277-8). Just as the structural legacy of colonialism continues to influence Black Canadians’ position in society, this symbolic legacy continues to influence how Black people are viewed. In the context of this thesis I draw upon Desmond and Emirbayer’s (2009) definition of race as “a symbolic category, based on phenotype or ancestry and constructed according to specific social and historical contexts, that is misrecognized as a natural
category” (2009: 236). Race is symbolic because it is created and recreated by human beings – the labels and categories used to classify humans based on observed physical differences are unique to different social and historical contexts, yet in all cases are viewed as natural and unchanging.

As Desmond and Emirbayer (2009) note, Blackness, for example, was developed against whiteness in the context of British and American slavery (338). Religious, philosophical, and (later) scientific reasoning was used to support ideas about supposed biological and genetic differences between the races, which in turn justified the mistreatment and enslavement of non-whites, including Black Africans (Montagu, 1997). This may be best understood by reference to the process of racialization. The term ‘racialization’ is used to describe the “process of categorization through which social relations between people [are] structured by the signification of human biological characteristics in such a way as to define and construct different social collectivities” (Miles 1989: 75). Racialization, therefore, consists of the classification of people into groups by reference to their anatomical features, such as skin colour and facial features, and the making of judgments about their innate and cultural attributes and/or social worth based upon those features. Racialization creates race. Through this process, society constructs and objectifies the fallacious notion of race. It also permits the formulation of policies and procedures whereby power and resources are differentially allocated (Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System, 1995). The effect of this process is the creation of the racialized “other,” who is subsequently excluded from the dominant social, political and economic spheres of society – as evidenced in the discussion on structural inequalities presented above.

During the period of conquest and slavery, racial taxonomies emerged and whiteness became associated with freedom, civilization and superiority, while Blackness was associated
with bondage, social death, and the uncivilized and inferior (Desmond and Emirbayer, 2009). In order to justify their mistreatment, Black people had to be dehumanized, viewed as lesser beings, or as Mills (1997) argues, seen as sub-persons. These differences were viewed as natural, innate and immutable. Over time, the scientific theories that supported such views lost favor to cultural theories that associated observed differences between the races to differences in culture (Montagu, 1963). Nevertheless, modern racial categories were firmly established by the mid 20th century, and old ideas about racial difference remained (Desmond and Emirbayer, 2009). In Canada, Black people have long been viewed as inferior. Indeed, such beliefs were used to restrict the entry of Black people into the country (as highlighted above). For example, J.S. Woodsworth, superintendent of the Peoples Mission of Winnipeg, argued in 1903 that Black people should be excluded from Canada because he felt “[the] very qualities of intelligence and manliness which are essentials for citizens in a democracy were systematically expunged from the Negro race” (Henry & Tator, 2005).

Importantly, through the processes of racialization, Black males are seen as physical threats and have come to be associated with crime and violence. According to Skolnick (1966), black people have come to be seen as “symbolic assailants” or, according to Russell (1998), the “criminalblackman.” Mosher, in his historical analysis of the Ontario justice system, highlighted how Canadian newspapers routinely described the races of offenders, which “served to identify … Blacks as alien … and justified to a certain extent their differential treatment by the criminal justice system” (Mosher, 1998: 126). Media images undoubtedly have a profound influence over how the public thinks about marginalized groups, both in general terms and with regard to crime. The sheer volume of crime news that involves racialized people is enough to convince the average person that the face of crime is coloured. Available research supports this view, and
identifies Black Canadians as the group most associated with criminal behaviour by members of the general public (Henry et al., 1996). One of the most crucial points made by scholars working within a racialization framework is that the criminalization of racialized groups is dependent on the continued (re)production of particular groups as “others” (Jiwani, 2002: 82). Indeed, numerous scholars have pointed out the ways in which Blackness has been criminalized as part of the racialization process. Welch (2007) argues that it was during the 1970s and 1980s in America that the popular stereotype of the young Black man evolved from that of a petty thief or a rapist into an ominous criminal predator. The Black man came to be viewed in much the same way in Canada in the 1980s and 1990s when a wave of neoliberalism spread across the country, introducing new ways of viewing and dealing with undesirable populations (Walcott et al., 2008). Whereas Blacks were once viewed as inferior due to biological or genetic differences, they are today viewed as inferior due to cultural or moral deficiencies that include a propensity for crime.\(^\text{12}\) The belief that Blacks are criminal helps to explain why they are treated differently by the police, even in the absence of any wrongdoing (as suggested by the differential selection hypothesis presented above).

The racialization of crime and the criminalization of Blackness should therefore be seen as an important tool in the social control of Black people, and in the maintenance of the established social (racial) order. As Jiwani (2002) explains: “the emphasis on policing certain groups of people and certain crimes is reflective of the social stratification system underpinning Canadian society. Those at the bottom are considered to be the most prone to crime and the least deserving, and are often perceived by the dominant society as disposed and disposable.” (69)

Furthermore, Jiwani points out that “through the processes of racialization, economic inequality,

\(^{12}\) Other cultural deficiencies associated with Black people include being poor parents, lazy, drug addicted, and welfare dependent.
gendering, and criminalization are fundamentally interlocked and inseparable” (Jiwani, 2002: 14; Razack, 1998). Indeed, the legacy of colonialism has left Black people politically, socially and economically disadvantaged within Canadian society, which manifests itself, in part, through increased participation in crime. This criminality justifies the police response to crime in Black neighbourhoods, which is intensified by the widely held belief that Black people are inherently criminal. The structural inequalities caused by racism and a legacy of colonialism are not perceived to be the cause of crime\(^\text{13}\); rather, Black people themselves are seen as inherently or innately criminal. Importantly, over-policing furthers the structural inequalities experienced by Blacks by alienating them from mainstream society, by supporting the notion that they are inherently criminal, and by saddling many with the markers of a criminal record, ensuring further social exclusion (Harris, 1999). The impact of historical and contemporary racism gets lost in this process; as Desmond and Emirbayer (2009) rightly suggest, racism hides its tracks.

**History in the Context of Modern Theory**

Acknowledging and examining the historical emergence of race as a social category – and its influence on social relations – can help to further contextualize some of the criminological theories presented above. For example, we can see that the early biological theories linking race and crime to biological differences between the races are reflective of the period in which they were originally developed – the heyday of scientific racism. We can also understand the implicit biases exhibited by citizens and police officers in the present day as manifestations of this legacy. Likewise, we can see that the social disorganization and various types of strain disproportionately experienced by Black people are caused by structural inequalities that began with slavery and colonialism. Finally, we can view models of social and

\(^{13}\) As would be predicted by the social disorganization, social strain and social conflict theories presented above.
racial conflict in terms of this history, and in an attempt by dominant (white) classes to maintain
the status and material privileges gained over centuries of racial domination. Such an
understanding may also help us better explain Black males’ perceptions of and experiences with
the police in contexts outside of the United States, where most theoretical orientations have been
developed/applied. In the section below, I review the individual and contextual level factors that
have been previously shown to influence citizens’ perceptions of and experiences with the
police.

**Previous Research on Citizens’ Perceptions of and Experiences with the Police**

Research on citizen attitudes towards the police proliferated in the United States during
the 1960s and 1970s. This was a period of immense social unrest, during which racial tensions
were high and clashes between the police and the public – often Black citizens – were
commonplace. The rioting and disturbances that pitted Black citizens against the police resulted
in publications such as Zeit’s (1965) “Survey of Negro Attitudes towards the Law,” and the
establishment of commissions such as The President’s Commission on Law Enforcement and the
Administration of Justice (1967). These initial works stimulated the development of a large body
of research examining citizen’s attitudes toward, and experiences with, the police. Such studies
have typically examined differences between Blacks and whites with regard to their evaluations
and opinions of the police. However, these studies have more recently expanded to include the
views of Hispanics and other racialized groups (Hagan and Albonetti, 1982; Weitzer and Tuch,
2006; Schuck et al., 2008). Below I present a review of the research that has examined the
various individual and contextual-level variables that have been shown to influence perceptions
of and experiences with the police. Although these variables are grouped under distinct sub-headings, it is important to note that there are interactive effects between these variables (e.g. race, class, age, and area of residence) that shape citizens’ perceptions and experiences (Brown and Benedict, 2002: 543).

_individual-level variables_

_race:_ The importance of race in structuring citizens attitudes and experiences with the police has been confirmed by many studies in the U.S (Zeit, 1965; Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969; Decker, 1981; Leiber et al., 1998; Brunson and Miller, 2006; Gabbidon and Higgins, 2009), Great Britain (Skogan, 1990; Jefferson and Walker, 1993; Sharp and Atherton, 2007), and Canada (Henry, 1994; Wortley, 1996; Wortley et al 1997; Wortley and Owusu-Bempah, 2009). One of the most consistent findings emerging from this line of research is that Black people hold more negative perceptions of the police than do members of other racialized groups (Brunson, 2007). This finding is true not only for the U.S, where the majority of this research has been conducted (Smith et al, 1999; Cheurprakobkit, 2000), but also for Great Britain (Jefferson & Walker, 1993; Holdaway, 2003) and Canada (Wortley 1996; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2009). Some of the factors that account for Blacks’ negative views of the police are presented below.

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14 It should be noted that American research is heavily relied upon throughout this review because most of the research in this area has been conducted there. However, it is important to acknowledge that, although Canada and the United States share a border, there are many differences between the two countries, especially in terms of racial issues. For instance, Canada does not share the same history of deep-seated divisions between racial groups, particularly between Blacks and whites, with the United States. Furthermore, the Black population in the U.S. is both larger and longer standing than Canada’s – the majority of Black Canadians (especially in Toronto) are first, second or third generation immigrants (mostly from the Caribbean). Canada also has an official policy of multiculturalism, the avowed intention of which is to embrace diversity and protect the rights of “cultural groups.” Provided these and other differences are acknowledged, U.S. research can prove useful in helping to understand police-race relations in Toronto.
**Socioeconomic Status:** Socioeconomic status (SES) and race are presented sequentially here because much of the previous research in the area indicates that the impact of class on citizens’ perceptions of and experiences with the police are influenced by race (Brown and Benedict, 2002; Weitzer, 2010). Studies investigating the impact of SES on perceptions of the police have produced mixed results. For example, several studies have found that individuals reporting lower SES have more negative attitudes toward the police than individuals who are better off economically (Benson, 1981; Cao et al. 1996; Huang and Vaughn, 1996). In contrast, Block (1970), Davis (1990) and Parker et al. (1995) found no relationship between SES and attitudes towards the police. Conversely, research by Gamson and McEvoy (1970), Murphy and Worral (1999), and Weitzer and Tuch (1999) has shown that respondents reporting higher SES have more negative attitudes towards the police than those reporting lower SES. Hagan and Albonetti (1982), for example, found that negative perceptions of the police increased with SES for Black respondents – higher-status Blacks perceived more injustice than did lower-status Blacks. The opposite was true for white respondents (see also Boggs and Galliher, 1975; Wortley et al. 1997). This finding may be a product of contact with the police. While high social status has been shown to insulate white people from police contact, this association does not hold for Black people (Wortley and Tanner, 2003). Therefore, higher-status Blacks who expect to be shielded from police contact due to their social status may become particularly disgruntled when they are subject to the same level of police surveillance as their lower-class counterparts.

**Age:** The relationship between age and perceptions of and experiences with the police is apparent from both historical and more contemporary research (Dunham and Alpert, 1988; Jones-Brown, 2000; Jones-Brown 2007; Hinds, 2009; Brunson and Weitzer, 2009; Gabbidon et al., 2011; but see Jacob, 1971; Davis, 1990). Most studies have found that younger people have
more adversarial contact with the police than older people, and are thus more likely to develop negative views about law enforcement professionals (Cao et al., 1996; Chandek, 1999; Cheurprakobkit, 2000; Weitzer, 2010; Davis, 1990). Weitzer, points out that while this age distinction exists across all racial groups, minority youths are especially vulnerable to unwanted police attention, and are thus more likely to hold negative views of the police than white youths (2010: 119). The negative views held by the young Black men in Brunson and Miller’s (2006) research with inner-city youth, for example, were attributed to frequent involuntary contact and poor treatment during these contacts – typical of proactive policing strategies employed in poor minority communities (Brunson and Miller, 2006: 635-637).

Gender: Overall, previous research indicates that gender is not typically a predictor of attitudes or experiences with the police in its own right, but does interact with both race and age (Weitzer, 2010: 119). Research that has examined the race-age-gender triad have found that young Black males are significantly more likely to report having negative experiences with the police, and to report holding negative views about the police, than all other social groups (Weitzer, 2010: 119). Recently, Gabbidon et al. (2011) used a nationally representative sample to examine gender differences in perceptions of police treatment amongst African Americans. Their results indicate that while Black men are more likely to report recently experiencing unfair treatment by the police, there were minimal differences in the characteristics of Black men and women who reported such treatment. They suggest that Black women’s negative experiences emerge from their poor treatment as victims rather than the perpetrators of crime. Furthermore, they found that Black women’s views of the police are more similar to Black men’s than to those of women in other racial groups (Gabbidon et al., 2011: 14). Therefore, observed gender
differences in perceptions of the police appear to be a product of gender differences in the nature of police contact.

Contact with the Police: As indicated above, personal contact appears to influence citizen perceptions of the police. This may be particularly true if contact is initiated by the police officer. As Wortley et al. (1997) note, “formal police stops and interrogations are the most sensitive of police/citizen encounters and … hostility often results when police officers fail to give reasons for their actions” (648). Available evidence suggests that positive interactions with the police tend to encourage more positive perceptions, while negative encounters have the opposite effect (Smith et al., 1991; Worral, 1999). Furthermore, although findings are mixed (see Jacob 1971; Dean, 1980; Huang and Vaughn, 1996; Cheurprakobkit, 2000), Weitzer and Tuch (2006) suggest that negative or unpleasant experiences with the police tend to have a stronger effect on perceptions than do positive ones (Weitzer and Tuch, 2006: 19).

The concept of procedural justice, therefore, appears to be strongly related to the development of negative perceptions of the police. Procedural justice is concerned with process rather than outcome, and in this context refers to the treatment of a citizen by the police during an encounter. As Weitzer and Tuch explain, “process trumps the outcome” – the treatment of the citizen by the police may be more important than the end result of the interaction (2006: 17). Procedural justice was another theme that emerged in Brunson and Miller’s interviews with young Black inner-city men. They write:

While the young men objected to the overall treatment they received by the police, they especially disliked the way officers spoke to them. For example, they noted that police officers routinely used antagonistic language, engaging in name calling, cursing and derogatory remarks … Thus, young mens’ complaints about police harassment were not just about being stopped on a regular basis, but were also systematically tied to their sense that officers refused to treat them with dignity (2006: 628).
Negative treatment by the police may be particularly salient in the development of negative perceptions if such treatment is perceived as being racially motivated. Weitzer and Tuch (2002) conclude that personal experience with racial discrimination has adverse effects on an individual’s perceptions of the police (252). Discrimination may not only be experienced during police initiated contact, but also when citizens seek assistance from the police, such as when they are victimized or witness a criminal act (Kusow et al. 1997; Smith and Hawkins, 1973; Thurman and Reisig, 1996).

In addition to the demographic variables presented above, the influence of contextual-level factors on citizen perceptions of the police has also been examined. Some of these factors are discussed below.

**Contextual level variables**

*Ecological Context:* Police-community relations are shaped by the conditions that characterize a given community. Research has revealed that police practices vary by geographical area, resulting in differential treatment of citizens in different neighbourhoods (Weitzer & Tuch, 2006: 21). As Brunson and Miller note, “many scholars suggest that the consistent finding of minority distrust and dissatisfaction with the police can best be understood with reference to the nature of policing in their communities” (2006: 614). In line with social disorganization and social conflict theories, a neighbourhood’s socio-economic status appears to play a major role in how an area is policed. Research indicates that disadvantaged or higher crime neighbourhoods are more likely to receive punitive or enforcement-oriented policing (Anderson, 1990; Fagan and Davis, 2000). Inner-city neighbourhoods, for example (which tend to have high proportions of racialized populations) are often the site of multiple compound
problems, such as low education levels, high rates of poverty, unemployment, crime and single-parent households – all of which are claimed to be associated with community disorganization and strained police-community relations (Dunham & Alpert, 1988: 521; Weitzer & Tuch, 2006: 22).

Weitzer and Tuch (2006) provide two reasons why a neighbourhood’s socio-economic disadvantage influences policing practices, and why police abuse and misconduct tend to be higher in these areas. First, police abuse may be linked to the opportunity structures of a community. Opportunities for police abuse are higher in disadvantaged communities because of the higher levels of street crime and disorder. The sheer number of officers deployed in these areas is higher, increasing police-citizen contacts and the potential for obtrusive and disputatious contacts. These communities also provide officers with more opportunities to engage in corrupt activities, such as illegal seizure of narcotics for the purpose of resale or personal consumption, or planting evidence on suspects (Weitzer & Tuch, 2006: 22). They also lack constraints on police abuse as the residents are relatively poor and powerless, and therefore less capable of holding the police accountable than are residents of more economically advantaged neighbourhoods.

The level of crime is another neighbourhood condition that appears to influence police-community relations. Again, poor neighbourhoods tend to have higher levels of crime than middle-class neighbourhoods, increasing the frequency of police-citizen contacts and the likelihood that the contact may sour (Weitzer & Tuch, 2006.). People who believe that their neighbourhood is afflicted by drug dealing or gangs and those who believe that crime is a serious problem in their neighbourhoods are also more likely to be critical of the police (Cao et al, 1996; Weitzer & Tuch, 2006: 21-24). It seems intuitive that if police practices differ across
neighbourhoods according to their economic status and racial or ethnic composition, there will be geographical and therefore racial differences in attitudes towards the police (Skogan, 1978; Jesilow et al, 1995; Weitzer, 1999).

Finally, in line with minority threat theories, a neighbourhood’s racial composition may also influence residents’ perceptions of and experience with police discrimination. Stewart et al. (2009) examined the effects of neighbourhood racial composition on perceived experiences with police discrimination amongst a sample of over 700 Black youths. The results indicate that Black youths felt they were most often discriminated against by the police in white neighbourhoods, particularly those that had seen a recent increase in the size of their Black population. Black youths were also more likely to feel that they were discriminated against in neighbourhoods with higher levels of affluence, and those with higher rates of violence (Stewart et al., 2009: 871). Apple and O’Brien (1983), on the other hand, suggest that neighbourhoods with higher concentrations of Black residents provide more opportunities for Blacks to associate with peers who have negative attitudes towards the police, thus increasing their negative perceptions (Apple and O’Brien, 1983). Here, neighbourhood composition influences the opportunity for vicarious experience with the police and may influence how residents are socialized to view the police. These factors are addressed below.

**Socialization and Vicarious Experience:** While a negative first-hand encounter with the police may result in negative perceptions, direct contact is not necessary for evaluating the police negatively (Weitzer & Tuch, 2006). Weitzer and Tuch (2006) illustrate how family members educate their children about the police by noting that some African American families go to great lengths to instruct their children on proper etiquette when dealing with the police (19). This instruction includes awareness of what to do in an encounter with the police, for example,
keeping hands in plain view, avoiding sudden movements or reaching into pockets, and being respectful and courteous towards officers in order to avoid abuse or, at worst, being shot (see also Brunson and Weitzer, 2011). This type of socialization starkly contrasts with much of the dominant white society where children are taught to view the police as a symbol of safety and protection. The lessons Black parents teach their children about the police may help them to avoid negative and potentially deadly encounters, but they also “cannot help but pass the attitudes, resentment and injuries on to the next generation” (Harris, 2002:113).

‘Vicarious learning’ is an effective form of socialization. Simply knowing about another person’s experiences with the police or the justice system, especially if that person is a friend or family member, can lead to the internalization of negative attitudes. Vicarious experience of the police is often transmitted or generated through ‘war stories’ of negative police encounters that are shared between friends – for example, accounts of police harassment or beatings. Rosenbaum et al. (2005) examined the effect of direct and vicarious experience with the police over the previous year on citizens’ attitudes towards the police. They found that while direct experience on its own was not sufficient to change attitudes, vicarious experience was (Rosenbaum et al., 2005). Warren (2011) examined the impact of vicarious experience on perceived disrespect from the police during traffic stops. This study, involving almost 3,000 Black and white drivers in North Carolina, found that vicarious experience, along with distrust of other social institutions, exerted the greatest impact on perceptions of disrespect by the police. While this effect was true for both white and Black respondents, Black respondents reported having heard twice as many negative stories about the police than did white respondents (Warren, 2011). Similarly, Hurst et al. (2000) found that hearing or seeing police misconduct had the strongest effect on perceptions
of policing amongst their sample of youth, again illustrating the effect of police treatment on the development of citizens’ perceptions of the police.

**Summary**

The main finding emanating from previous research, particularly studies that include race-age-gender interaction, is that young Black males are significantly more likely to report bad experiences with the police and to hold negative perceptions of the institution than are other demographic groups (Weitzer, 2010). This finding appears to be influenced by the ecological contexts in which many Black people reside, and the nature of policing in these areas. The literature shows that while direct contact is not necessary for the formation of attitudes towards the police, first hand experiences do appear to have a strong influence on citizen perceptions of the institution. Finally, there appears to be a need to examine within-group heterogeneity in citizens’ perceptions of and experiences with the police. As Weitzer (2010) points out, “one problem with the category ‘Latino’ or ‘Hispanic’ is that it masks internal differences between sub-groups along the lines of ancestry, and immigrant versus native-born status.” (Weitzer, 2010: 11). I would argue that the same is true with regard to Black or African Canadians. Having reviewed mostly American literature on perceptions of the police and police bias, the next section looks at some Canadian findings.

**The Canadian Context**

Despite the abundance of American literature, relatively little Canadian research has examined racial differences in citizens’ perceptions of and experiences with the police. To date, most Canadian studies have focused on racial differences in perceptions of police bias, and have confirmed the finding from U.S. research that Blacks perceive more police bias than do members
of other racial groups (Weitzer and Tuch, 2006; Wortley 1996; Wortley et al., 1997; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2009). However, unlike work in the U.S. (Brunson, 2007; Gabbidon et al., 2011) and Great Britain (Sharp and Atherton, 2007), relatively little Canadian research has focused specifically on within-group differences in Blacks’ perceptions of and experiences with the police (but see Henry, 1994; Wortley et al, 1997; James, 1998). Furthermore, with few exceptions (Satzewich and Shaffir, 2009; Ezeonu, 2010), Canadian research on the views and experiences of Black police officers is virtually non-existent. Therefore, we know relatively little about how negative perceptions of the police develop within the Black population, or about the consequences of these perceptions. We also know very little about how Black law enforcers view the policing of members of their own racial group.

One of the largest studies to examine perceptions of police discrimination in Canada involved a survey of a representative sample of over 1,200 Black, Chinese and white Torontonians, conducted as part of the Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System in the early 1990s. This study was replicated in 2007 to determine the extent to which citizens’ perceptions of bias had changed over the intervening 14-year period. The results indicate that perceptions of police bias had increased amongst Toronto’s Black, white, and Chinese residents. For example, in 1994, 76 % of Black Toronto respondents felt that the police treated Black people worse than white people. By 2007 this figure had increased to 81 %. Similarly, in 1994, 46 % of Chinese respondents felt that the police treated Chinese people worse than white people; by 2007 this figure had increased to 50 %. Interestingly, white respondents’ perceptions of bias against both Black and Chinese Torontonians also increased over this time period. In 1994, 51 per cent of white respondents believed the police treated Black people worse than white people. By 2007 this figure had increased to 59 % (Wortley, 1996; Wortley &
Overall, the findings of Wortley and Owusu-Bempah’s research indicate that perceptions of police bias against Black people are not concentrated amongst Toronto’s Black population. Indeed, a substantial proportion of both white and Chinese Torontonians feel that the police treat Black people differently from the city’s white residents.

Other Canadian studies have examined the perceptions of ‘visible minorities’ as a collective group, and of Chinese and Black Canadians separately. Using data from the 1999 and 2004 General Social Surveys, O’Conner (2008) and Cao (2011) examined visible minority attitudes towards the police. O’Conner (2008) found that visible minorities evaluated police performance more negatively than white Canadians, while Cao (2011) found that visible minorities had less confidence in the police than whites. Chu and Song (2008) examined attitudes towards the police among a non-random sample of 293 Chinese immigrants in Toronto. Overall, the findings indicate that Chinese immigrants have relatively favourable attitudes towards the police. However, respondents who reported having previous contact with the police, and those who did not speak English held less positive views.

In another study, Henry (1994) conducted participant observation and in-depth interviews to examine the general experiences of Caribbean immigrants in Toronto. Using a class-based analysis, she found that a central concern of the Caribbean community in Toronto was their relationship with the police. While members of different classes (e.g. working vs. middle class) voiced different types of concerns, the overwhelming perception of the police amongst her sample was negative and drawn largely from personal and vicarious experience. The perceptions of young people in Henry’s study are particularly telling. Regardless of class, students overwhelmingly viewed the police as the “ultimate oppressor” (Henry, 1994: 202). Finally, Oriola and Adeyanju (2011) examined perceptions of Canadian laws and the justice system held
amongst a select group of Nigerian immigrants in Winnipeg. Based on interviews with 76 adults recruited from a Winnipeg church, Oriola and Adeyanju found that their perceptions were largely mixed, yet more positive than found within the existing literature. Oriola and Adeyanju noted that these positive findings may be explained by the fact that many people in their sample had arrived in Canada within the previous five years, and thus had little direct contact with the police (see also Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2009). Furthermore, the respondents indicated that they preferred not to involve the Canadian criminal justice system in their personal matters where possible, and that they perceived the system here to be preferable to that in Nigeria. Interestingly, Oriola and Adeyanju noted that their respondents were better able to articulate experiences of discrimination within the labour market than the justice system, possibly because of their participation in that sector of society 15 (Oriola and Adeyanju, 2011).

In line with the concept of the “symbolic assailant 16,” American research indicates that Black males (young Black males in particular) have the most negative experiences with the police, being the most likely recipients of police surveillance, harassment and abuse (Skolnick, 1966; Jones-Brown, 2007; Hurst et al., 2000; Brunson & Miller, 2006; Brunson & Weitzer, 2009). The relatively small body of Canadian literature examining this phenomenon indicates that the situation is remarkably similar in this country. A quantitative study of Toronto high

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15 A focus group involving Black immigrants to Winnipeg organized by the Winnipeg Police Advisory Board produced different results than those reported here. The 15 focus group participants who had historical roots in Ethiopia, Liberia, Somalia, Sudan, Nigeria and Ghana believed the police exhibited race-based actions and attitudes, directed towards both youth and adults. The participants believed the police treated newcomer communities with a general lack of respect and generalized the activities of a few to represent the whole community. Furthermore, the respondents spoke of the general harassment of Black youth during everyday activities in public spaces. The consequences related to this treatment were a growing lack of trust amongst newcomer communities and a diminished perception that the police in Canada were any different from the countries from which the respondents had come (Winnipeg Police Advisory Board, 2009).

16 In his observations of police work in “Westville”, Skolnick (1966) concludes: “The policeman … develops a perceptual shorthand to identify certain kinds of people as symbolic assailants, that is, as persons who use gesture, language, and attire that the policeman has come to recognize as a prelude to violence … The patrolman in Westville, and probably most communities, has come to identify the black man with danger” (Skolnick, 1966: 45 and 49, emphasis added) cited in Jones-Brown, 2007).
school students conducted in 2001 asked respondents about their recent contact with the police. The findings indicated that Blacks are subjected to higher levels of police surveillance than are members of any other racial group. Racial differences in police stop-and-search practices remained after accounting for criminal activity, gang membership, drug and alcohol use, and public leisure activities (Wortley & Tanner, 2005). Similarly, Wortley and Owusu-Bempah (2011) examined the self-reported experiences with the police amongst a sample of Black, white and Chinese Torontonians. They show that even after controlling for theoretically relevant variables (such as age, income and public activities), Black respondents were more likely than either white or Chinese respondents to report being stopped and searched by the police.

Qualitative research with youth in Toronto and other Canadian cities also provides insight into the role of the police in the continued social marginalization of Black youth. Neugebauer-Visano (1996) conducted informal interviews with a sample of 63 youths (37 Black and 26 white) recruited from community centres in the Toronto and York regions of Ontario, paying particular attention to the way in which race structured police-youth relationships. All youths interviewed believed that Black males alone suffered the greatest level of police harassment, and while white youth reported negative experiences, they felt that the police treated them as if they were corrigible. Importantly, Neugebauer-Visano found that the youth in her sample believed the police exploited race as a resource, utilizing racist stereotypes drawn from both the police occupational culture and popular culture to determine who is criminal and who is not (Neugebauer-Visano, 1996: 89). Black youth in particular felt that the police view their power as being based upon white supremacy, feeling that the police view non-white skin colour as an indicator of a troublesome identity which denotes a debased or spoiled status. They also believed

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17 This analysis is based on the same 2007 dataset used to examine citizens’ perceptions of criminal injustice discussed above (Wortley and Owusu-Bempah, 2009).
the police liked to see them “squirm” when pressed or questioned – Black youths’ unease and discomfort was thought to bring pleasure to some officers (Neugebauer-Visano, 1996: 91).

Using a similar methodology, James (1998) conducted interviews with 50 Black youths (30 males and 20 females) in six cities across Ontario. James highlights the importance of the streets as the context in which police-Black interactions occur. He notes that the streets are often the only free and available space for poor and working-class people, particularly those who live in apartment buildings (James, 1998: 162). James found that many of his participants reported being stopped and questioned by the police as a matter of routine, and consistently believed that skin colour was the main factor in attracting police attention (James, 1998: 166). Like the youth in Neugebauer-Visano’s sample, James’ respondents also blamed the negative stereotypes about Blacks held by police officers and influenced by the media as contributing to their treatment (James, 1998: 165). Several important points were raised by the youth in this study. First of all, although Black women were viewed by the police with the same level of suspicion as Black men, they were harassed less often and treated differently from Black males when they were stopped. Secondly, respondents felt that the police were better able to distinguish between white males, yet thought that all Black males look the same. Finally, consistent with other studies, middle-class young Black men were just as likely as those from the working class to be stopped, questioned, searched, and harassed by the police (James, 1998: 170). While the views and experiences of both adult and young Canadians are particularly telling, racialized police officers can also provide a distinct perspective on police-race relations. The literature documenting perspectives of Black police officers is presented below.
The Perceptions and Experiences of Black Police Officers

Examining the perceptions and experiences of Black officers is important, given the unique social position they occupy. The literature indicates that Black male police officers experience workplace discrimination at the hands of their colleagues. When out of uniform they assume the status of the “symbolic assailant,” and are subject to increased levels of police scrutiny akin to other Black males (Alex, 1969; Barlow and Hickman-Barlow, 2002). Black policemen also have a firsthand view of the racism and discrimination perpetrated by the police against Blacks and other racial minorities. Because they are familiar with the intricacies, strategies, techniques, and dangers of law enforcement, Black police officers are thus better situated than the average citizen to distinguish between legitimate law enforcement practices and those based on racial discrimination (Barlow and Hickman-Barlow, 2002).

We know very little about the representation of racialized police officers in Canadian police services, and about the professional experiences of Black and other racial minority police in Canada (but see Holdaway, 1996; Chapman-Nahyo 2002; Smith, 2006). But we know even less about how racialized police view the policing of racial minority citizens and communities. Previous research on the experience of Black and racial minority officers, such as studies by Alex (1969) and Leinen (1984) in the United States, and Holdaway and Barron (1997) in Great Britain, has shown that racialized officers face a number of unique challenges and problems in their professional lives. Their findings also touch upon the officers’ views about police treatment of members of their communities in the context of the officers’ professional experiences. For example, Leinen (1984) discusses how white officers’ treatment of the Black community is one of the most persistent sources of conflict between Black and white officers (129). Similarly, Holdaway and Barron (1997) note that while the stereotypical views held by police officers were
not restricted to racial minorities, stereotypical ways of thinking facilitated racial prejudice and possibly discrimination (128).

There are several notable exceptions to the dearth of research on officers’ perceptions of the policing of minority communities. Ioimo et al. (2007), for example, conducted focus group interviews with over 200 police officers of different races to determine whether “bias-based policing” occurs in Virginia. Because “bias-based policing” captures more than issues associated with racial discrimination, it cannot be assumed that their results are directly related to race. Nonetheless, the results of their study indicate that 21% of respondents reported that they believe officers within their department practice bias-based policing, and 15% reported that they had witnessed it themselves (Ioimo et al., 2007: 284). Although they do not specify a percentage, Ioimo et al. report that a considerable proportion of officers thought that bias-based policing was a somewhat serious or serious issue in their department, which suggests that officers believe bias-based policing to be an issue despite current training efforts. Furthermore, they found that minority officers were more likely to believe that bias-based policing is an issue, and to believe that it is both officially and unofficially supported by their police departments.

In the first of two Canadian studies, Satzewich and Shaffir (2009) drew on “informal conversations” with 18 officers (16 male, two female, nine visible minority and nine white) to gain a better understanding of police denials of racial profiling. Satzewich and Shaffir argued that the police subculture can be used to understand how officers both understand and deny the existence of racial profiling. The socialization that takes place within the police subculture, they proposed, heightens officers’ sense of dangerousness and criminality (Satzewich and Shaffir, 18 Ioimo et al define bias-based policing as “practices by individual officers, supervisors, managerial practices, and departmental programs, both intentional and non-intentional, that incorporate prejudicial judgments based on sex, race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, economic status, religious beliefs, or age that are inappropriately applied.” (2007:271)
The officers acknowledged the need to criminally profile, but rejected the assertion that racial profiling takes place; race, however, may be one element of a criminal profile (Satzewich and Shaffir, 2009: 209). Furthermore, Satzewich and Shaffir identified three ways that the police neutralize and deflect allegations of racial profiling. The first strategy – “the intolerance of intolerance” – involves pointing to recent changes in policing, such as initiatives that reflect a commitment to tolerance and diversity and an intolerance of discriminatory behaviour (Satzewich and Shaffir, 2009: 212). The second strategy involves an appeal to multiculturalism, and the argument that the police cannot engage in racial profiling because recruitment mechanisms have changed to increase racial diversity in the makeup of the police force. The final strategy is blaming the victim, or arguing that the problem lies not with the police, but with the individuals and organizations that claim racial profiling is a problem (Satzewich and Shaffir, 2009: 217). Other officers argued that people who make claims about racial profiling do not understand the complexity of police work and hold views that are formed from watching American television. While this work makes an important contribution, it is not without its critics. Henry and Tator (2011), for example, in a rejoinder to the article, argued that Satzewich and Shaffir failed to acknowledge how the police culture provides a fertile environment for racism.

Finally, Ezeonu (2010) utilized official police statements, annual reports and interviews with twelve police officers (four junior Black officers, five senior white officers, and five junior white officers) to examine how the Toronto Police Service has constructed the issue of gun violence within the city. Although Ezeonu’s questions were not related directly to the policing of Black males, his findings may be of use in understanding how the police comprehend and therefore respond to crime within Black communities. Ezeonu found that the predominant frame
used in the police construction of gun violence attributed the problem to the proliferation of gangs, illegal gun smuggling, and illicit drug trafficking (2010). Structural problems that exist within Canadian society were the second frame advanced by the police in constructing gun violence. Structural problems include poverty, unemployment, and the social breakdown of both neighbourhoods and families – all of which link youth violence to economically marginalized communities (Ezeonu, 2012: 152-8).

Ezeonu concludes by stating that police discourse may influence the nature of policing in Toronto (Ezeonu, 2010: 161). He argues that the connections police draw between young Black males and gun violence in Toronto may lead to more aggressive policing of young Black men, and the (re)construction of a notion that they are violent and dangerous. Finally, Ezeonu notes that a major problem is the collateral damage caused by the police targeting of law-abiding citizens. This, he suggests, will have a further negative impact on relations between the police and members of the Black community.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed various theories used to explain Black males’ perceptions of and experiences with the police. Based on the review, I contend that an over-arching framework – one that takes into account the historical development of race as a social category, and its influence on present day social relations – is necessary to better understand police relations with Black people. As such, critical race theory is employed to account for the some of the shortcomings of the previous theories. This review has also highlighted the importance of race in structuring citizens’ perceptions of the police, and illustrated how a number of variables interact with race to influence these views. Although the findings with regard to the impact of class, age,
and gender (for example) are mixed, the extant literature suggests that these characteristics can influence the frequency and nature of police contact, which in turn informs perceptions of the police. As the work of Weitzer & Tuch (2006) and Brunson and Miller (2006) makes quite clear, Black youth who reside in inner cities in the U.S. are particularly susceptible to contact with the police, are subject to police harassment and abuse, and thus to the development of negative perceptions of the police. The views and experiences of this group are therefore influenced by their positions in society and the geographical locations in which they reside.

This area of research is less developed in Canada than in the U.S. However, available evidence indicates that like the U.S., racial differences in perceptions of the police exist – Black Canadians are the most likely to hold unfavorable views of the police (Wortley et al., 1997; Wortley and Owusu-Bempah, 2009). Available evidence also indicates that young Black men are viewed – and very much treated – as symbolic assailants, being subject to increased levels of police surveillance, harassment and abuse, resulting in their further criminalization (Neugebauer-Visano, 1996; James, 1998). Understanding why different racial groups hold different views of the police is important, but there is also a need to document the factors that account for variations in perceptions of bias and negative experiences with the police within racial groups (Stewart et al., 2009). In other words, there is a need to investigate intra-racial differences as well as inter-racial differences. Since Black males are the group most likely to experience negative police interactions and to hold negative views of the police and the criminal justice system, their perspectives may be particularly useful for the development of theory, and the formation of criminal justice policy related to police-community relations. This is particularly true for young Black males who have such disproportionately high levels of police contact and conflict. Unfortunately, we do not fully understand which individual-level and contextual variables
influence views of the police amongst Black Canadians. We also do not know how the views of Black adults and Black youth compare. Finally, we know very little about how Black police officers understand the policing of Black communities in Canada. I endeavor to address some of these gaps in our knowledge by documenting various perspectives on the policing of Black males in Toronto, Canada.

This research project is innovative in that it utilizes data from three groups of Black males in order to develop a well-rounded understanding of how Black men experience the police. In doing so, it utilizes and builds upon previous research that has examined racial differences in perceptions of the police (Hagan and Albonetti, 1982; Weitzer and Tuch, 2006; Wortley, 1996), research that has examined the perceptions and experiences of young Black men (Russell, 1998; Brunson and Miller, 2006; James, 1998), and research on the perceptions of racialized law enforcers (Ioimo et al., 2007; Satzewich and Shaffir, 2009; Ezeonu, 2010). This research will contribute to the criminological literature in four ways: 1) by documenting the perceptions of and experiences with the police of a random sample of adult Black males in Toronto; 2) by documenting the perceptions of and experiences with the police amongst a large sample of young Black men who have been, or are at risk of, conflict with the law in Toronto; 3) by incorporating Black officers’ perspectives and experiences of the policing of Black males in Toronto; and 4) by comparing the perceptions of and experiences with the police of three distinct groups of Black males. The main contribution of this research will be bringing these perspectives together and comparing the results of the different groups. To do so, the thesis will address the following research questions:
Data Source One (representative sample of adult males):
1) Do Black males in Toronto hold different perceptions of police performance and police bias than Black females or members of other racial groups?
2) Do Black males have more frequent police contacts than Black females or members of other racial groups? Are these contacts of a different nature?
3) Do racial differences in the frequency and nature of police contact help explain racial differences in perceptions of the police?

Data Source Two (sample of young Black males who are at risk of or who have been in conflict with the law):
1) How do “at risk” young Black men in Toronto view the Toronto police in terms of their performance, levels of trust and confidence, and perceptions of bias and corruption?
2) What is the frequency and nature of the young Black men’s contacts with the police?
3) Does the frequency and nature of the young Black men’s contacts with the police influence their views of the police?

Data Source Three (Black male police officers):
1) Do Black male police officers perceive racial bias in policing within the Greater Toronto Area?
2) How do Black male police officers understand police treatment of Black citizens and Black communities in the Greater Toronto Area based on their own experiences as police officers?
3) What policy suggestions do Black male police officers put forth to improve relations between Black communities and the police?

To provide a broad perspective on the policing of Black males, a mixed methods approach is used to address the research questions presented above. A mixed methods approach incorporates multiple research techniques, approaches, and concepts (e.g. quantitative and qualitative) within the same study or set of related studies to introduce multiple perspectives, and to provide a more elaborate understanding of a phenomenon of interest (Johnson et al., 2007). Mixed methods approaches may be used in cases in which a quantitative or qualitative approach by itself is inadequate to develop multiple perspectives or a complete understanding of a research problem or question. While quantitative research is useful for gathering descriptive information, examining the relationship between variables, and providing testable and generalizable results, findings gathered through this approach may be devoid of context and meaning (Johnson and
Onwuegbuzie, 2004). On the other hand, qualitative research focuses on context and meaning, providing detailed information about a phenomenon; however, these findings may not be generalizable or replicable (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

In mixed methods studies, researchers purposefully combine quantitative and qualitative data to maximize the strengths and minimize the weaknesses of each type of data. To this end, the findings of the first study in this thesis were used to inform the choice of subjects and development of survey items for the second and third studies. The quantitative findings from the first study revealed that Black males, particularly young Black males, have the highest level of contact with the police and feel most negatively about their treatment at the hands of law enforcers. Thus, the second study involves a sample of young Black men. Furthermore, in addition to quantitative questions (carried over from the first study) that investigate the frequency and nature of the young men’s contact with the police, qualitative questions in which the young men were able to elaborate on their encounters with the police were included in order to contextualize their experiences with law enforcement. Likewise, the study includes a sample of Black male police officers in order to provide a countervailing perspective to that of the adults and youth from the general population. The officers were asked the same structured questions about their views of the police and police bias for triangulation of the findings (to compare the views of Black male adults, youth, and law enforcers), as well as a set of questions derived from the findings of the first and second studies. As a result, this thesis has produced findings that are generalizable, provide multiple perspectives, and are attentive to the lived experience of Black males in Toronto. The use of multiple methods allows for the development of a more complete understanding of the policing of Black males. A detailed description of the methodologies used in each of the three studies is presented at the beginning of chapters three, four, and five.
CHAPTER 3
Race, Gender and Policing – Results from a Survey of Toronto Residents

Racially discriminatory policing has been a point of public concern in Toronto since at least the 1970s following several high profile police shootings of Black men (Wasun, 2008). The issue gained renewed attention at the turn of the millennium when the Toronto Star obtained official police data, and published a series of articles showing that Black people were over-represented in a variety of police outcome statistics. The Toronto Star series paid particular attention to areas where the police have a high level of discretion, such as “out-of-sight” traffic offences (for example driving without a driver’s licence) and simple drug possession charges. The analysis showed that Black people were highly over-represented in out-of-sight traffic offences and drug charges, and that they were more likely to be held in pre-trial detention. These racial differences remain even after controlling for other relevant factors (Rankin et al., 2002a; 2002b). The Toronto Star has subsequently produced several race and policing reports that have yielded similar results (Rankin 2010a; Rankin, 2010b; Rankin and Winsa, 2012). Although these newspaper articles have stirred up considerable public and academic debate about the police treatment of Black citizens, there is still relatively little academic literature that documents how Toronto residents themselves feel about the police and police bias. Thus we know relatively little about how racial differences in police contact influence citizens’ perceptions of the police, and whether observed differences may also be influenced by gender.

Building on previous American and Canadian research that has documented racial differences in police contacts and attitudes towards the police (Hagan and Albonetti, 1982; 19 These offences are typically discovered after a stop has been made and include: driving while under suspension, failing to carry a licence, failing to change address on a licence, and driving without insurance.
Weitzer and Tuch, 2006; Wortley, 1996; Wortley and Owusu-Bempah, 2009), this chapter presents an exploration of race and gender differences in Toronto residents’ perceptions of police performance and police bias. The chapter reviews race and gender differences with respect to contact with the police, and examines how such contact influences attitudes towards the police. This chapter will also specifically focus on whether the perceptions and experiences of Black males differ significantly from Black females, and from both men and women of other racial groups. Race and gender differences are examined here to illustrate that, like other jurisdictions, it is Black men who are disproportionately targeted by police surveillance activities. Furthermore, I compare the views and experiences of Black men and women to show how the increased rates of police stops experienced by Black males also influence the perceptions of police bias held by Black females, fostering perceptions of police bias amongst members of both genders – a finding that does not hold true for either white or Chinese Torontonians.

After reviewing the study methodology, the chapter presents the results of an analysis of racial and gender differences in respondents’ evaluations of police performance, and perceptions of police bias. The chapter then examines the results of analysis of racial and gender differences in experiences with the police. Here, data on police stops are presented, along with self-reported perceptions of police treatment during police encounters. Both personal and vicarious experiences with racial profiling are explored. Next, a series of multivariate models are presented to investigate whether racial differences in police contact can be explained by other theoretically relevant factors. The chapter then comes full circle and examines whether race and gender differences in police experiences can account for race and gender differences in perceptions of the police.
METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents data from the 2007 Perceptions and Experiences with the Justice System Survey (PEJSS). This survey was conducted by the Hitachi Research Centre at the University of Toronto, Mississauga on behalf of Professor Scot Wortley from the Centre of Criminology and Socio-legal Studies, University of Toronto. As discussed earlier, the PEJS is a replication of a survey conducted in 1994 by York University’s Institute for Social Research for the Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System (see Wortley, 1996; Wortley et al., 1997). Both the 1994 and the 2007 surveys employed the exact same sampling procedures. However, the 2007 survey includes a larger sample (N=1522) than the 1994 survey (N=1257). Furthermore, many of the questions asked in the 2007 survey are the same as those posed in the 1994 survey. The 2007 PEJSS was supported by a grant from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

The purpose of the study was to examine citizen perceptions of crime and criminal justice in Toronto – Canada’s largest city. The survey consists of a number of questions designed to measure: 1) perceptions of crime and fear of crime; 2) the perceived effectiveness of the police and criminal courts; 3) the frequency and nature of citizen contacts with the police, criminal courts and customs officials; 4) perceptions of police and judicial bias; 5) opinions about citizen complaints bodies; and 6) opinions about how to deal with possible discrimination within policing. However, the focus of the present analysis is on respondents’ 1) opinions about the performance of the Toronto Police Service; 2) perceptions of police bias or discrimination; and 3) frequency and nature of contact with the police. A copy of the items from the questionnaire are found in Appendix A. Specific survey items used in all analyses are discussed in the appropriate sections below.
A two-stage probability selection technique was utilized to select respondents and to produce a representative sample of Black, Chinese, and white adults\(^\text{20}\) (18 years of age or older) living in Metropolitan Toronto. The first stage of the sampling procedure involved the random selection of residential telephone numbers. This was achieved through the use of a Random Digit Dialling (RDD) procedure that gave all households – listed and unlisted – an equal and known probability of being selected (Tremblay 1982). The second stage of the sampling procedure involved selecting the adult member of the household – 18 years of age or older – with the next birthday. The birthday selection technique is commonly used by survey researchers because it gives each adult within the household an equal probability of being selected. Finally, a screening question was asked to identify the respondent’s racial background. Only those respondents who self-identified as Black, Chinese, or white were asked to complete the entire interview process. Respondents who did not self-identify as one of the three target groups were thanked for their cooperation and excluded from the study\(^\text{21}\).

Telephone interviews were conducted between October 2006 and January 2007. A response rate of 71% was achieved. The interviews were conducted in either English or Chinese (Mandarin or Cantonese dialects), and took an average of 35 minutes to complete. The final sample consisted of 1,522 respondents who identified themselves as Black (N=513), Chinese (N=504), or white (N=505). Table 1 provides a basic description of the final sample. As shown in Table 1, Black respondents are younger than the Chinese and white respondents. Indeed,

\(^{20}\) I acknowledge that people of Chinese ancestry do not constitute a racial group according to the definition of race provided above. On the contrary, Chinese people would be classified as “Asian” within the Canadian context. Black, white and Chinese Torontonians were chosen for the 1994 study because they were deemed by researchers at the Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System to constitute the three largest “racial” groups in Metropolitan Toronto at the time. As such, the Commission’s researchers deemed Chinese people to constitute a “racial group.” As we wanted to replicate the 1994 study as best as possible, only Black, white and Chinese respondents were included in the 2007 survey. However, the Canadian census indicates that in 2006, the three largest population groups in Toronto were whites, South Asians, and Chinese residents (Chui, Tran, and Maheux, 2008).

\(^{21}\) For more information about the survey see Wortley and Owusu-Bempah (2009).
14.4% of Black respondents were between 18 and 24 years of age, compared to only 10% of Chinese and 4.6% of white respondents. With regard to education, Chinese respondents were, in general, more educated than Black and white respondents. Two of every five Chinese respondents (42.3%) had completed a bachelor, graduate or professional degree, compared with 36.7% of white and only 21.5% of Black respondents. Consistent with their lower levels of education, Black respondents also reported lower household incomes than either Chinese or white respondents. Indeed, 43.1% of the Black respondents in our sample had a personal income of $39,000 or less, compared with 35.5% of Chinese respondents and just 20.6% of white respondents. Furthermore, Black respondents were the least likely to report having a household income of $70,000 or more. Finally, white respondents were the most likely to have been born in Canada. Almost three-quarters (73.1%) of white respondents were born in Canada, compared with 19.4% of Black and only 9.3% of Chinese respondents.\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{22} For previous uses of this data set see (Wortley and Owusu-Bempah, 2009; Wortley and Owusu-Bempah, 2011).
### Table 3.1: Characteristics of Survey Respondents by Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demographic Characteristics</th>
<th>Black %</th>
<th>Chinese %</th>
<th>White %</th>
<th>Chi Square Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sex:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>X² = 10.274; df=2; p=.006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>64.9</td>
<td>55.2</td>
<td>58.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-24 years</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34 years</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44 years</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54 years</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64 years</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 years or older</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Employment status:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed full-time</td>
<td>49.1</td>
<td>50.9</td>
<td>53.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed part-time</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>X² = 126.746; df=12; p=.000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary or less</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some high school</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed high school</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>X² = 166.564; df=12; p=.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some post-secondary</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed college</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s degree</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prof / graduate degree</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Household income:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than $39 000</td>
<td>43.1</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>X² = 128.186; df=6; p=.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$40 000 - $69 999</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$70 000 or more</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not reported</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Place of birth:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>73.1</td>
<td>X² = 517.105; df=2; p=.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>80.6</td>
<td>90.7</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marijuana use:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>X² = 53.080; df=2; p=.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>90.9</td>
<td>98.8</td>
<td>86.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Criminal record:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>X² = 15.194; df=2; p=.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>95.9</td>
<td>99.6</td>
<td>96.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marital status:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married / common law</td>
<td>37.7</td>
<td>68.9</td>
<td>55.1</td>
<td>X² = 165.691; df=6; p=.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Contact with police in past years:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>66.1</td>
<td>78.8</td>
<td>79.9</td>
<td>X² = 60.222; df=6; p=.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twice</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three or more</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sample size:</strong></td>
<td>513</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>505</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE PERFORMANCE

In this section, I examine racial differences in citizen perceptions of police performance. All respondents were asked to evaluate whether, in their view, the police are doing a good job: 1) enforcing the law; 2) being approachable and easy to talk to; 3) supplying information to the public on ways to reduce crime; and 4) making their neighbourhood a safe place (see questions B1 to B4 in Appendix A). The primary purpose of the analyses presented below is to examine racial differences in opinions about police performance, and to examine whether these differences varied by gender.

As indicated in Table 3.2, the findings suggest that white respondents tended to hold more favourable views of the police than Black and Chinese respondents. For example, 53% of white respondents believed that the police were doing a “good job” of enforcing the law, compared to 39% of Black and 28% of Chinese respondents. Similarly, 58% of white respondents believed that the police were doing a “good job” of being approachable and easy to talk to. By contrast, only 37% of Black respondents and 30% of Chinese respondents felt the same way. Overall, respondents rated the performance of the Toronto Police Service least favourably with regard to supplying information to the public on ways to reduce crime. Nonetheless, white respondents (38%) were still more likely to think the police were doing a good job in this capacity than their Black (31%) and Chinese counterparts (22%). Finally, just over half of white respondents (51%) felt that the police were doing a “good job” of keeping their neighbourhood safe, compared to only 40% of Black and 30% of Chinese respondents.
Table 3.2 Percent of Respondents Who Feel that the Police Are Doing A “Good Job” Of Performing Various Duties, By Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POLICE DUTY</th>
<th>BLACK</th>
<th>CHINESE</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
<th>Chi-Square Significance Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enforcing the law.</td>
<td>38.8%</td>
<td>28.0%</td>
<td>52.9%</td>
<td>X²=152.360; df=6; p=.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being approachable and easy to talk to.</td>
<td>36.8%</td>
<td>29.6%</td>
<td>57.6%</td>
<td>X²=133.786; df=6; p=.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplying information to the public on ways to reduce crime.</td>
<td>30.8%</td>
<td>21.8%</td>
<td>38.2%</td>
<td>X²=99.086; df=6; p=.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making my neighbourhood a safe place.</td>
<td>40.2%</td>
<td>30.2%</td>
<td>51.1%</td>
<td>X²=103.512; df=6; p=.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sample Size

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BLACK</th>
<th>CHINESE</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>513</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>505</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Police Evaluation Index**

In order to better summarize the results present in the cross-tabulations, a summary measure of police performance was created. The Police Evaluation Index (alpha=.75) combines responses to the four police evaluation questions discussed above. In review, all respondents were asked whether they felt that the police were doing a good, average, or poor job: 1) enforcing the laws; 2) being approachable; 3) supplying information to the public; and 4) keeping their neighbourhood safe. If respondents gave the police a rating of “poor” they were given a score of 0; if they indicated that they “don’t know” how they police were doing they were given a score of 1; if they felt the police were doing an “average” job they were given a score of 2; and if they rated police performance as “good” they were given a score of 3. Responses to these four measures were then combined to create a single index of police performance ranging from 0 to 12 (mean score=7.78). The higher the score on this index, the higher respondents evaluated the police.

Consistent with the results of the cross-tabulations for the separate items presented above, a one-way analysis of variance shows that white respondents evaluated the police more positively than either Black or Chinese respondents. The mean score on the Police Evaluation
Index for white respondents is 8.92, followed by 7.34 for Black respondents and 7.05 for Chinese respondents. These racial differences are statistically significant (F=53.137; df=2; p=.000). A Bonferroni post-hoc test indicates that both Black and Chinese respondents score lower on the Police Evaluation Index than whites. The difference between Black and Chinese respondents is not statistically significant.

Table 3.3: Mean Scores on the Police Evaluation Index, by Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Evaluation Index</th>
<th>BLACK</th>
<th>CHINESE</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Score</td>
<td>7.341</td>
<td>7.054</td>
<td>8.917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample Size</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>F=53.137; df=2; p=.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Further analysis (see Table 3.4) suggests that racial differences in perceptions of police performance exist for both male and female respondents. In general, regardless of gender, white respondents evaluated the police more positively than Chinese or Black respondents. Bonferroni tests further confirm that, for men and women, the difference between black respondents and Chinese respondents is not statistically significant.

Table 3.4: Mean Scores on the Police Evaluation Index, by Gender and Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Evaluation Index</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th></th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Score</td>
<td>7.417</td>
<td>6.917</td>
<td>8.980</td>
<td>7.200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample Size</td>
<td>908</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X^2$</td>
<td>F=36.966; df=2; p=.000</td>
<td>F=17.631; df=2; p=.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The last step in examining police performance involves an analysis of the Police Evaluation Index to determine whether there are within-race gender differences in evaluations of police performance. To do this I selected out each racial group individually and ran the ANOVA by
gender. The scores presented in Table 3.5 are the same as in Table 3.4 (above), however, this analysis shows that none of the within-race gender differences are statistically significant.

Table 3.5: Mean Scores on the Police Evaluation Index, by Race and Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Evaluation Index</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th></th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Score</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>7.417</td>
<td>7.200</td>
<td>6.917</td>
<td>7.221</td>
<td>8.980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample Size</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>505</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X^2$</td>
<td>F=0.423; df=1; p=.516</td>
<td>F=1.523; df=1; p=.218</td>
<td>F=0.355; df=1; p=.552</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In sum, these findings show that, regardless of gender, white respondents tended to evaluate the performance of the Toronto Police Service more favourably than Chinese or Black respondents, and that Chinese and Black respondents’ perceptions of the police were not significantly different. The findings also suggest that, within racial groups, gender does not impact evaluations of police performance. Black males, for example, did not evaluate the police more negatively than Black females. In addition to citizen views about the performance of the police, I was also interested in whether respondents felt that police treat members of certain groups differently. In the next section, I turn to an analysis of racial differences in perceptions of criminal injustice.

**PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE BIAS**

In this section, I present an analysis of citizen perceptions of police bias. All respondents were asked whether they think the police treat 1) poor people the same as wealthy people; 2) young people the same as old people; 3) men the same as women; 4) English speaking people the same as non-English speaking people; 5) Black people the same as white people; and 6) Chinese people the same as white people (see questions C1, C4, C7, C10, C13, and C16 in Appendix A).
Consistent with the findings related to perceptions of police performance, the following analyses reveal significant racial differences in perceptions of police discrimination.

As illustrated in Table 3.6, Black respondents were more likely to perceive police bias than either white or Chinese respondents. Overall, Black respondents were more likely to perceive bias with regards to wealth, age, gender, and the treatment of Black people by the police than were respondents from other racial groups. For example, 71.7% of Black people believed the police treated poor people worse than wealthy people, compared to 59.5% of white and 38.5% of Chinese respondents. Importantly, a substantial proportion of respondents from all racial groups perceived police bias against Black people. Indeed, 73.7% of Black respondents, 55.8% of white respondents, and 48.4% of Chinese respondents felt that the police treated Black people worse than white people. The findings also indicate that white respondents perceived bias primarily with regard to wealth and age. Indeed, higher proportions of white respondents perceived wealth and age bias than they did other forms of bias (i.e., gender, race, and language bias). Chinese respondents, on the other hand, were more likely to perceive bias with regard to race and language than bias on the basis of wealth, age or gender.
Table 3.6 Percent of Respondents Who Perceive Police Bias, By Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POLICE ACTIVITY</th>
<th>BLACK</th>
<th>CHINESE</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
<th>Chi-Square Sig. Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Police treat poor people worse than wealthy people</td>
<td>71.7%</td>
<td>38.5%</td>
<td>59.8%</td>
<td>X²=204.763; df=10; p=.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police treat young people worse than old people</td>
<td>69.0%</td>
<td>42.5%</td>
<td>62.5%</td>
<td>X²=167.422; df=10; p=.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police treat men worse than women</td>
<td>58.1%</td>
<td>31.0%</td>
<td>32.1%</td>
<td>X²=186.550; df=10; p=.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police treat people who do not speak English worse than people who do speak English</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
<td>58.1%</td>
<td>43.4%</td>
<td>X²=50.805; df=10; p=.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police treat Black people worse than white people</td>
<td>73.7%</td>
<td>48.4%</td>
<td>55.8%</td>
<td>X²=180.278; df=10; p=.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police treat Chinese people worse than white people</td>
<td>38.9%</td>
<td>49.1%</td>
<td>22.0%</td>
<td>X²=112.657; df=10; p=.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sample Size | 513 | 504 | 505 |

In order to better summarize the results presented in the cross-tabulations above, a summary measure of police bias was created. The Police Bias Index (alpha=0.80) combines responses to the six questions about police bias. Again, respondents were asked how the police treated 1) poor people vs. wealthy people; 2) young people vs. older people; 3) women vs. men; 4) people who speak English vs. people who do not speak English; 5) Black people vs. white people; and 6) Chinese people vs. white people. If respondents reported that they felt a particular group was treated the same they were given a score of 0; if they reported that they “don’t know” they were given a score of 1; if they felt that they were treated “better” or “worse”, they were given a score of 2; and if they felt they were treated “much better” or “much worse”, they were given a score of 3. Finally, a third set of questions tapped the perceived frequency with which such bias occurs. Responses to this item were coded from ‘1’ if they “did not know” to ‘4’, if they felt that discrimination occurs often. The variables measuring degree and frequency of bias have been collapsed here to develop a scale of overall bias. In most cases, perceived bias goes only in one direction. These analyses were conducted with positive and negative biases separated, which produced very similar findings. Finally, the items do “scale” this way.

---

23 Positive and negative biases have been collapsed here to develop a scale of overall bias. In most cases, perceived bias goes only in one direction. These analyses were conducted with positive and negative biases separated, which produced very similar findings. Finally, the items do “scale” this way.
differential treatment were then multiplied and combined in order to create a single index of police bias ranging from 0 to 87. The higher the score on the Police Bias Index, the greater the level of perceived police bias (mean score=29.11).

Consistent with the results of the cross-tabulations presented above, a one-way analysis of variance suggests that Black respondents perceived more police bias than either white or Chinese respondents (Table 3.7). The mean score on the Police Bias Index for Black respondents is 37.90, followed by 25.12 for white respondents and 24.15 for Chinese respondents. These racial differences are statistically significant ($F=71.394; \text{df}=2; p=.000$). A Bonferroni post-hoc test indicates that both white and Chinese respondents scored lower on the Police Bias Index than Black respondents. However, the difference between white and Chinese respondents is not statistically significant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bias Index</th>
<th>BLACK</th>
<th>CHINESE</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Score</td>
<td>37.900</td>
<td>24.153</td>
<td>25.121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample Size</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>505</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2 = 71.394; \text{df}=2; p=.000$

An analysis of the Police Bias Index was also performed to examine racial differences within each gender. This analysis, presented in Table 3.8, indicates that Black males perceived more bias than either white or Chinese males. Similarly, Black females perceived more bias than either Chinese or white females. Bonferroni tests indicate that, for both genders, the difference between white and Chinese respondents does not reach statistical significance at the $p > .05$ level.
Table 3.8: Mean Scores on the Police Bias Index, by Gender and Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bias Index</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th></th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th></th>
<th>Race</th>
<th></th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>White</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Score</td>
<td>37.517</td>
<td>22.658</td>
<td>25.051</td>
<td>38.611</td>
<td>25.991</td>
<td>25.222</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample Size</td>
<td>908</td>
<td></td>
<td>614</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X²</td>
<td>F=46.213; df=2; p=.000</td>
<td>F=26.714; df=2; p=.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The final step in examining these measures of police bias involved an analysis of the Police Bias Index to determine whether there were within-race gender differences in the perception of police bias. To do this, I selected out each racial group individually and ran the ANOVA by gender. The scores presented in Table 3.9 are the same as in Table 3.8 (above). However, this analysis shows that only the within-race gender difference for Chinese respondents approached statistical significance. Overall, Chinese males perceived more police bias than Chinese females. None of the other within-group gender differences were significant. In other words, black women perceived just as much police bias as black males, and white females perceived just as much police bias as white males.

Table 3.9: Mean Scores on the Police Bias Index, by Race and Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bias Index</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th></th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Score</td>
<td>37.517</td>
<td>38.611</td>
<td>22.658</td>
<td>25.991</td>
<td>25.051</td>
<td>25.222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample Size</td>
<td>513</td>
<td></td>
<td>504</td>
<td></td>
<td>505</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X²</td>
<td>F=0.278; df=1; p=.598</td>
<td>F=3.793; df=1; p=.052</td>
<td>F=0.009; df=1; p=.924</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In sum, the findings presented in this section indicate that Black respondents perceived more police bias than either white or Chinese respondents. The results presented in Table 3.6 indicate that Black respondents were particularly aware about police bias against Black people.
In order to further test the reliability or stability of these beliefs, in the section below I explore three additional questions that measure perceived police discrimination.

**ADDITIONAL MEASURES OF PERCEIVED POLICE BIAS**

*Racial Profiling*

Given the ongoing concern surrounding the practice of racial profiling in Canada and the United States (Wortley and Tanner, 2005; Weitzer and Tuch 2006), the survey included a series of questions that examined public perceptions of and experiences with racial profiling. To begin, respondents were asked: “In your opinion, is racial profiling a problem in Canada?” The results indicate that Black respondents were much more likely to believe that racial profiling is a problem in Canada than respondents from other racial groups (see Table 3.10). Indeed, eight out of ten black respondents (80%) felt that racial profiling is a problem, compared to only 61% of white and 50% of Chinese respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profiling a Problem</th>
<th>BLACK</th>
<th>CHINESE</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>19.5%</td>
<td>50.2%</td>
<td>39.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>80.5%</td>
<td>49.8%</td>
<td>61.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sample Size</strong></td>
<td><strong>513</strong></td>
<td><strong>504</strong></td>
<td><strong>505</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X^2=106.564; \text{ df}=2; \text{ p}=0.000$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An analysis of gender differences within each racial category shows that women were slightly more likely to report that profiling is a problem than men. However, as indicated in Table 3.11, these gender differences do not reach statistical significance.
Table 3.1: Percent of Respondents who Believe that Racial Profiling is a Problem in Canada, by Race and Gender.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profiling a Problem</th>
<th>BLACK</th>
<th></th>
<th>CHINESE</th>
<th></th>
<th>WHITE</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>17.1%</td>
<td>23.9%</td>
<td>48.6%</td>
<td>52.2%</td>
<td>35.7%</td>
<td>43.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>82.9%</td>
<td>76.1%</td>
<td>51.4%</td>
<td>47.8%</td>
<td>64.3%</td>
<td>56.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample Size</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[X^2 = 3.414; \text{df}=1; p=.065\]  \[X^2 = .665; \text{df}=1; p=.415\]  \[X^2 = 3.340; \text{df}=1; p=.068\]

In addition to perceptions of racial profiling, respondents were also asked about racial differences in police use of force – specifically unjust police shootings, which are a further area of concern for Black citizens (see Fyfe, 1982; Wasun, 2008).

Unjust Police Shootings

Respondents were asked, “In your opinion, are black people more likely to be unfairly or wrongly shot by the police than white people?” As shown in Table 3.12, over three-quarters of Black respondents believed that a Black person is more likely to be unfairly shot by the police than a white person. However, the data also indicate that a substantial proportion of white and Chinese citizens feel the same way. Indeed, just under half of both white (46.7%) and Chinese (44.4%) respondents also believed that a Black person is more likely to be unfairly or wrongly shot by the police than a white person. Clearly, the perception that the police are more likely to unfairly shoot a black person than a white person is not isolated within the Black community.
Table 3.12: Percent of Respondents who Believe a Black Person is More Likely to be Unfairly or Wrongly Shot by the Police than a White Person, by Race.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Black Shot</th>
<th>BLACK</th>
<th>CHINESE</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>22.4%</td>
<td>55.6%</td>
<td>53.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>77.6%</td>
<td>44.4%</td>
<td>46.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample Size</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>$X^2=142.078$; $df=2$; $p=.000$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.13 presents gender differences in perceptions of unjust police shootings involving Black people amongst members of each racial group. As with the question on police racial profiling, there are only slight gender differences within each racial group. Furthermore, none of these gender differences are statistically significant.

Table 3.13: Percent of Respondents who Believe a Black Person is More Likely to be Unfairly or Wrongly Shot by the Police than a White Person, by Gender and Race.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Black Shot</th>
<th>BLACK</th>
<th>CHINESE</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>23.1%</td>
<td>21.1%</td>
<td>55.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>76.9%</td>
<td>78.9%</td>
<td>44.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample Size</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2=.272$; $df=1$; $p=.602$  
$X^2=.006$; $df=1$; $p=.936$  
$X^2=.889$; $df=1$; $p=.346$

Next, respondents were asked about unjust police shootings involving Chinese people. Specifically, respondents were asked “In your opinion, are Chinese people more likely to be unfairly or wrongly shot by the police than white people?” The results of this question are presented in Table 3.14 below. Almost one-third of Blacks (30.6%) believed that the police are more likely to unfairly or wrongly shoot a Chinese person than a white person, compared to 18.7% of Chinese and 13.5% of white respondents. Comparing the results of Tables 3.13 and 3.14 shows that higher proportions of respondents in all racial groups believed Black people are more likely to be unfairly shot than Chinese people.
Furthermore, within-race gender differences emerged with respect to perceptions of unjust police shootings of Chinese citizens. Indeed, as indicated in Table 3.15, white females were more likely than white males to perceive bias against Chinese people in unjust police shootings. Conversely, Black males were more likely than Black females to believe a Chinese person is more likely to be unfairly or wrongly shot by the police than a white person. The within-race gender differences are significant for both white ($X^2=10.116; df=1; p=.001$) and Black ($X^2=4.799; df=1; p=.028$) respondents.

Table 3.15: Percent of Respondents who Believe a Chinese Person is More Likely to be Unfairly or Wrongly Shot by the Police than a White Person, by Gender and Race.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese Shot</th>
<th>BLACK</th>
<th>CHINESE</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>72.7%</td>
<td>63.3%</td>
<td>79.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
<td>36.7%</td>
<td>20.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample Size</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, the findings related to perceptions of racial profiling and unjust police shootings presented in Tables 3.10 thru 3.15 are consistent with the results of the Police Bias Index. These measures confirm that Black respondents were more likely than members of other racial groups to perceive bias in policing practices. Thus far, this chapter has focused specifically on racial differences in attitudes or perceptions towards the police. The findings suggest that Black
respondents had lower evaluations of police performance than white respondents, and higher perceptions of police bias than both white and Chinese respondents. In the following section, I explore whether these racial differences might be explained by racial differences in personal and vicarious contact with the police.

CONTACT WITH THE POLICE

Police Stops

In this section, I first look at racial differences in contact with the police. Respondents were asked about their experiences with both traffic and pedestrian stops. First, all respondents were asked the question: “Not including R.I.D.E programs24 and Christmas spot checks, in the past two years have you been stopped by the police when you were driving in a motor vehicle (as either a passenger or a driver)?” Those respondents who indicated that they had been stopped were asked a follow-up question: “In the past two years, how many times have you been stopped by the police while driving in a motor vehicle like a car, truck or motorcycle?” Respondents were then asked about their experience with pedestrian stops, specifically: “In the last two years, have you ever been stopped by the police when you were walking on the street, in a shopping mall, in a park or in some other public place?” Again, those respondents who indicated that they had experienced a pedestrian stop were asked about the frequency with which they had experienced this type of police contact: “In the past two years, how many times have you been stopped by the police when you were walking in a public place?” Responses to the questions about traffic and pedestrian stops were combined into a single measure capturing the total number of times they were stopped by the police in the past two years.

24 R.I.D.E. stands for Reduce Impaired Driving Everywhere. During RIDE programs and Christmas spot checks, the police setup roadblocks and stop each vehicle passing through the checkpoint. The police do not exercise their discretion in whom to stop in these instances so they were therefore excluded.
As indicated in Table 3.1, Chinese respondents were least likely to report that they were stopped by the police in the past two years. By contrast, Black respondents were most likely to have been stopped by the police while driving in a motor vehicle or walking in a public place. Furthermore, Black respondents were significantly more likely than whites and Chinese to report that they had been stopped by the police on multiple occasions. Indeed, Black respondents were more than two times as likely as white respondents, and over three times as likely as Chinese respondents, to say they had been stopped three or more times by the police in the previous two years. These racial differences are statistically significant ($X^2 = 60.222; df=6; p=.000$).

Table 3.16: Number of Times Stopped by the Police in the Past Two Years, by Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBER OF STOPS</th>
<th>BLACK</th>
<th>CHINESE</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>66.1%</td>
<td>78.8%</td>
<td>71.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three or more</td>
<td>14.2%</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample Size</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>505</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Black men are overrepresented in police stops in various jurisdictions (see White and Rice, 2010; Bowling and Phillips, 2002), I also examined gender differences with respect to police stops in Toronto. The data indicate that within each racial group, males were more likely to be stopped by the police than females (Table 3.17). When we look at the rates of stops for Black respondents, we see that half of the Black males in the sample had been stopped at least once in the past two years compared with one-quarter of Black females. Similarly, one-quarter of Black male respondents reported having been stopped by the police on three or more occasions in the previous two years, compared with 9.3% of Black females. The data thus show that a large
proportion of the Black male sample – and the Black sample overall – had been stopped and questioned by the police in the past two years.  

Table 3.17: Percent of Respondents who Reported Being Stopped by the Police on Multiple Occasions in the Past Two Years, by Race and Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBER OF STOPS</th>
<th>BLACK</th>
<th></th>
<th>CHINESE</th>
<th></th>
<th>WHITE</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>73.3%</td>
<td>52.8%</td>
<td>85.3%</td>
<td>70.8%</td>
<td>76.8%</td>
<td>64.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
<td>14.1%</td>
<td>17.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three or more</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
<td>23.3%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample Size</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>=26.293; df=3; p=.000</td>
<td>X²=22.899; df=3; p=.000</td>
<td>X²=12.073; df=3; p=.007</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on the results of previous research indicating that Black citizens are more likely to repost being searched by the police than others, (e.g. Rosenfeld et al., 2012) I was also interested to see whether there were racial differences in police searches amongst this sample.

_Police Searches_

Those respondents who indicated that they had been stopped by the police in the previous two years were asked whether they were searched during their most recent police stop. As with the police stop data, the results in Table 3.18 show marked racial differences in experiencing police searches. As indicated in Table 3.18, Black respondents were more likely than members of the other two racial groups to report having been searched by the police. An equal percentage of both white and Chinese respondents (1.6%) reported that they were searched by the police when they were last stopped. In comparison, 6.4% of Black respondents reported that they were

---

25 I also examined within gender-racial differences in experiencing multiple police stops. These results are not reported for the sake of brevity. The results indicate, however, that significant racial differences in experiencing multiple police stops existed for both men (X²=35.086; df=6; P=.000) and women (X²=37.900; df=6; P=.000).
searched by the police. Thus, Black respondents were approximately four times more likely to have been searched by the police in the past two years than either white or Chinese respondents.

Table 3.18: Percent of Respondents who Reported Being Searched by the Police, by Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SEARCHED BY POLICE</th>
<th>BLACK</th>
<th>CHINESE</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>93.6%</td>
<td>98.4%</td>
<td>98.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sample Size

|         | 513 | 504 | 505 |

$X^2=25.643; df=2; p=.000$

When gender differences are examined (Table 3.19), we can see statistically significant differences for both Black and white respondents. Indeed, Black males were over three and a half times more likely than Black females to report having been searched by the police. White males were also four times more likely to be searched by the police than white females.26

Table 3.19: Percent of Respondents who Reported Being Searched, by Race, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SEARCHED BY POLICE</th>
<th>BLACK Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>CHINESE Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>WHITE Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>96.7%</td>
<td>87.8%</td>
<td>99.3%</td>
<td>97.3%</td>
<td>99.3%</td>
<td>97.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sample Size

|         | 333 | 180 | 278 | 226 | 297 | 208 |

$X^2=15.442; df=1; p=.000$  
$X^2=2.989; df=1; p=.084$  
$X^2=3.836; df=1; p=.050$

Given that the findings illustrate significant racial differences in experiencing police stops and searches, I next examine whether there are differences in how members of each group perceived their treatment at the hands of the police during these encounters (see also Weitzer and Tuch, 2002; Gabbidon et al., 2011).

26 I also examined within gender-racial differences in police searches. These results are not reported for the sake of brevity. The results indicate, however, that significant racial differences in experiencing police searches exist for both men ($X^2=21.766; df=2; P=.000$) and women ($X^2=8.828; df=2; P=.012$).
Treatment by the Police

All respondents who indicated that they had been stopped by the police in the past two years (N=423) were also asked about their treatment at the hands of the police. Specifically, respondents were asked: 1) whether they were told the reason for the stop; 2) whether they felt the police officer treated them fairly; 3) whether the police officer treated them with respect; 4) and whether they were “upset” by their last police stop. The findings indicate that there are significant racial differences in the respondents’ feelings about their treatment at the hands of the police. Overall, Black respondents felt most negatively about their treatment by the police, while white respondents felt most positively. For example, almost half of Black respondents (46.6%) felt that they were treated “unfairly” by the police during their last encounter, compared to 16.8% of Chinese and only 12% of white respondents (Table 3.20). Similarly, 43.1% of Black respondents reported that they felt “very upset” by the way that they were treated by the police during their last stop, compared to 20.6% of Chinese and 15.5% of white respondents.

Table 3.20 Respondents’ Feelings About Their Last Police Encounter, by Race.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feelings about treatment during last encounter with the police</th>
<th>BLACK</th>
<th>CHINESE</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
<th>Chi-Square Sig. Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Police did not provide a reason for the stop</td>
<td>29.9%</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>X²=35.303; df=2; p=.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondent feels that they were treated unfairly</td>
<td>46.6%</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td>X²=55.064; df=2; p=.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police officer was disrespectful</td>
<td>42.5%</td>
<td>17.8%</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
<td>X²=35.305; df=2; p=.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondent was “very upset” by the stop</td>
<td>43.1%</td>
<td>20.6%</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
<td>X²=33.544; df=2; p=.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sample Size</strong></td>
<td>174</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>142</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
An analysis of within-race gender differences in feelings about treatment by the police did not yield many statistically significant results. However, the results presented in Table 3.21 indicate that white women were less likely to feel that they were treated with disrespect than white men ($X^2=9.637; \text{df}=1; p=.002$).

Table 3.21: Respondents’ Feelings About Their Last Police Encounter, by Race, by Gender.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feelings about treatment</th>
<th>BLACK</th>
<th>CHINESE</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police did not provide a reason for the stop</td>
<td>27.0%</td>
<td>32.9%</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$X^2=.741; \text{df}=1; p=.389$</td>
<td>$X^2=.020; \text{df}=1; p=.888$</td>
<td>$X^2=.066; \text{df}=1; p=.797$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondent feels that they were treated unfairly</td>
<td>46.1%</td>
<td>47.1%</td>
<td>22.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$X^2=.017; \text{df}=1; p=.896$</td>
<td>$X^2=1.250; \text{df}=1; p=.264$</td>
<td>$X^2=1.367; \text{df}=1; p=.242$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police officer was disrespectful</td>
<td>36.0%</td>
<td>49.4%</td>
<td>22.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$X^2=3.221; \text{df}=1; p=.073$</td>
<td>$X^2=.801; \text{df}=1; p=.371$</td>
<td>$X^2=9.637; \text{df}=1; p=.002$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondent was “very upset” by their last police stop</td>
<td>40.4%</td>
<td>45.9%</td>
<td>24.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$X^2=.523; \text{df}=1; p=.469$</td>
<td>$X^2=.597; \text{df}=1; p=.440$</td>
<td>$X^2=2.932; \text{df}=1; p=.087$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The evidence presented above suggests that Black respondents are more likely to be stopped and to be searched by the police and less likely to be happy about the treatment that they received by the police than are either white or Chinese respondents. In order to further explore how respondents felt about their treatment by the police, I examined an additional question to determine whether the respondents believed they have been the victim of police racial profiling.

**Victim of Police Racial Profiling**

In order to test whether respondents believed they had been the victim of police racial profiling, the following question was posed: “In your opinion, have you ever been a victim of racial profiling by the police?” In line with the findings related to perceived treatment at the
hands of the police, the data illustrate significant racial differences in the likelihood of feeling that one has been the victim of racial profiling. Indeed, as Table 3.2 indicates, almost one-quarter of Black respondents (23.0%) believed that they had been racially profiled by the police, compared to 7.1% of Chinese respondents and just 2.4% of white respondents. A second question, examining vicarious experience with racial profiling, was also posed. As such, respondents were asked: “Have any of your close friends or family members been the victim of racial profiling by the police?” As indicated in Table 3.2, significant racial differences with regards to vicarious experience with racial profiling emerged. Indeed, almost half of Black respondents said that they have a close friend or family member who has been the victim of police racial profiling, compared to 10.3% of Chinese and 17.4% of white respondents.

Table 3.2: Percent of Respondents who have Personal or Vicarious Experience with Police Racial Profiling, by Race.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Experience with Police Racial Profiling</th>
<th>BLACK</th>
<th>CHINESE</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
<th>Chi-Square Sig. Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal experience</td>
<td>23.0%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>X²=122.400; df=2; p&lt;=.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicarious experience</td>
<td>46.0%</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
<td>X²=195.581; df=2; p&lt;=.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample Size</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>505</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An examination of gender differences continues to highlight the pattern illuminated above. As indicated in Table 3.23, within the group most likely to report having been the victim of racial profiling (Black respondents), Black males (39.4%) were more likely than Black females (14.1%) to report this type of victimization. According to the data, two out of every five Black male respondents felt that they had been the victim of police racial profiling. Amongst white respondents, men were also more likely to report being the victim of police racial profiling than were women. The gender difference for Chinese respondents did not reach statistical
significance. Likewise, none of the within-race gender differences for vicarious experience with racial profiling were statistically significant.

Table 3.23: Percent of Respondents who have Personal or Vicarious Experience with Police Racial Profiling, by Race and Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Victim Profile</th>
<th>BLACK</th>
<th></th>
<th>CHINESE</th>
<th></th>
<th>WHITE</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal experience</td>
<td>14.1%</td>
<td>39.4%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicarious experience</td>
<td>44.7%</td>
<td>48.3%</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
<td>19.2%</td>
<td>14.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample Size</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data indicate that there were clear racial differences in experiencing police stops and in perceived treatment at the hands of police officers. In the following section, a series of multivariate analyses are performed to determine which theoretically relevant factors influence the likelihood of being stopped and searched by the police. The following section addresses the question of whether race remains a significant predictor of involuntary police contact once other theoretically relevant factors have been taken into account statistically.

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS

The findings presented above suggest that Black respondents are most likely to report being stopped by the police and to be stopped multiple times. Black respondents are also most likely to report being searched by the police during their last police stop, to report they were the victim of racial profiling, and to say that they have a close friend or family member who has been racially profiled by the police. The results suggest that Black racial background is an important factor predicting these types of experiences with the police. In order to determine whether racial differences in police stops and searches are influenced by other theoretically

91
relevant variables, a series of multivariate analyses were performed. The results of these analyses are presented below. The theoretical relevance of the variables included in the logistic regressions is discussed in Chapter Two. A full description of the dependent and independent variables is presented in Appendix B.

**Predicting Police Stops**

In this section I present the results of logistic regressions predicting multiple police stops. Table 3.2 presents the results of the logistic regression on multiple police stops for the entire study population. In Model A (Table 3.2), both Black and Chinese racial background are entered into a logistic regression equation predicting multiple police stops (defined as three or more police stops in the past two years)\(^{27}\). White racial background is the reference category.

\(^{27}\) This analysis was also conducted using one and two stops as the cut-off point. Each analysis produced similar results; however, the odds ratio increased when looking at three or more stops. Therefore, three or more stops is used in the analysis to show the profound racial differences in experiencing multiple police stops.
### Table 3.24: Logistic Regressions Predicting Multiple Police Stops
(1=Stopped Three or More Times; 0=Stopped Less than Three Times)\textsuperscript{28}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PREDICTOR VARIABLES</th>
<th>MODEL A</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>MODEL B</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Sig</td>
<td>Odds</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Sig</td>
<td>Odds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>1.159</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>1.103</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>3.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>-0.463</td>
<td>.156</td>
<td>0.63</td>
<td>0.035</td>
<td>.931</td>
<td>1.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-0.050</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>-0.050</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>0.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (1=Male)</td>
<td>0.860</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>2.36</td>
<td>0.860</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>2.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Born</td>
<td>-0.166</td>
<td>.520</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>-0.166</td>
<td>.520</td>
<td>0.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>0.073</td>
<td>.854</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>0.073</td>
<td>.854</td>
<td>1.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Class</td>
<td>0.047</td>
<td>.828</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>0.047</td>
<td>.828</td>
<td>1.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>-0.076</td>
<td>.314</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>-0.076</td>
<td>.314</td>
<td>0.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Disorder</td>
<td>0.135</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>0.135</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>1.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal Record</td>
<td>1.135</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>3.11</td>
<td>1.135</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>3.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol Use</td>
<td>0.120</td>
<td>.030</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>0.120</td>
<td>.030</td>
<td>1.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marijuana Use</td>
<td>-0.073</td>
<td>.828</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>-0.073</td>
<td>.828</td>
<td>0.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driving Frequency</td>
<td>0.215</td>
<td>.004</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>0.215</td>
<td>.004</td>
<td>1.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Activities</td>
<td>-0.034</td>
<td>.269</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td>-0.034</td>
<td>.269</td>
<td>0.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-2.355</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>-2.787</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nagelkerke R Squared: \textsuperscript{.077} .\textsuperscript{315}

Sample size=1,522

Consistent with the analysis presented above, the data suggest that Black respondents are significantly more likely to report multiple police stops than whites, while Chinese respondents are less likely to report such encounters. In Model B, other demographic and lifestyle variables that might predict police stops are entered into the equation. The results suggest that Black racial background remains a strong predictor of police stops after other theoretically relevant factors have been taken into account. Indeed, the odds ratio suggests that Blacks are three times more likely to experience multiple police stops than their white counterparts. By contrast, after controlling for other relevant factors, Chinese racial background is not found to be a significant predictor.

\textsuperscript{28} Initially this analysis was also performed using a dichotomous variable – stopped/not stopped. However, the racial differences that emerged were not as strong as for the multiple-stop variable. Therefore the multiple-stop variable has been utilized for the analysis.
predictor of police stops. Indeed, the data suggest that Chinese respondents are just as likely to be stopped by the police as whites.

The results further suggest that both age and gender are strongly related to the likelihood of being stopped by the police on multiple occasions. In general, younger adults and males are more likely to be stopped than older adults and females. Social class measures, however, are not related to multiple stops. Furthermore, the results suggest that driving frequency, living in a high-crime neighbourhood, alcohol consumption and a criminal record all increase the likelihood of being stopped by the police. Marijuana use is not related to the probability of being stopped by the police. Those who use marijuana are no more likely to report being stopped by the police on three or more occasions than those who do not use the drug.

Table 3.25 examines factors that predict the likelihood of experiencing multiple police stops amongst the Black males in the sample. This analysis (and the analyses presented in Tables 3.27, 3.29, and 3.31) has been performed on the Black male population because they were shown in the findings presented above to have the highest levels of involuntary police contact, and were more likely than other respondents to view these interactions negatively. Furthermore, the extant literature also identifies Black males as having amongst the most tenuous relationship with the police, being more likely than members of other race/gender groupings to be stopped and searched by the police, and to perceive their treatment at the hands of police negatively (Skolnick, 1966; Neugebauer-Visano, 1996; Russell, 1998; James, 1998; Jones-Brown, 2000; Brunson and Miller, 2006). As such, I wanted to determine whether the combination of status attributes and other personal characteristics that predict multiple police stops for the three groups also predict police stops for Black males.
Table 3.2: Logistic Regressions Predicting Police Stops for Black Males
(1=Stopped Three or More Times; 0=Stopped Less than Three Times)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PREDICTOR VARIABLES</th>
<th>MODEL A</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Sig.</td>
<td>Odds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-0.058</td>
<td>.008</td>
<td>0.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Born</td>
<td>-0.417</td>
<td>.425</td>
<td>0.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>-0.340</td>
<td>.632</td>
<td>0.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Class</td>
<td>0.881</td>
<td>.045</td>
<td>2.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>-0.209</td>
<td>.234</td>
<td>0.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Disorder</td>
<td>0.144</td>
<td>.020</td>
<td>1.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal Record</td>
<td>2.114</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>8.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol Use</td>
<td>0.133</td>
<td>.229</td>
<td>1.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marijuana Use</td>
<td>0.372</td>
<td>.530</td>
<td>1.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driving Frequency</td>
<td>0.065</td>
<td>.668</td>
<td>1.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Activities</td>
<td>-0.047</td>
<td>.469</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-0.293</td>
<td>.857</td>
<td>0.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nagelkerke R Square .508

Sample size=180

As with the logistic regression predicting multiple stops for all respondents, age remained a significant predictor, with younger Black males being more likely to be stopped multiple times than older Black males. The results also suggest that social class is positively related to multiple stops. Indeed, amongst Black males, the higher the self-reported social status, the more likely they are to report being stopped by the police (see also Wortley et al., 1997). Furthermore, having a criminal record and living in a high crime neighbourhood both increased the probability of experiencing multiple police stops for Black males. Unlike the results for the entire study population, driving frequency and self reported alcohol use did not predict multiple police stops amongst the sub-sample of Black males. Therefore, this finding suggests that the police are less attentive to some of the risk factors that affect decisions to stop the general population when deciding to stop Black males. Below, I examine a more intrusive form of police contact – police searches.
**Predicting Police Searches**

I conducted a series of regression analyses to determine which factors influence the likelihood of experiencing police searches. First, I conducted a regression analysis on police searches amongst the entire sample to see if racial differences in experiencing police searches remain after theoretical variables are introduced. In Model A (Table 3.26), both Black and Chinese racial background are entered into a logistic regression equation. White racial background is the reference category.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PREDICTOR VARIABLES</th>
<th>MODEL A B</th>
<th>Sig</th>
<th>Odds</th>
<th>MODEL B B</th>
<th>Sig</th>
<th>Odds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>1.452</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>4.27</td>
<td>0.989</td>
<td>.043</td>
<td>2.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>.997</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.325</td>
<td>.586</td>
<td>1.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.054</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (1=Male)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.021</td>
<td>.005</td>
<td>2.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Born</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.396</td>
<td>.280</td>
<td>0.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.441</td>
<td>.442</td>
<td>0.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.291</td>
<td>.354</td>
<td>0.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>-0.187</td>
<td>.094</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Disorder</td>
<td>0.105</td>
<td>.004</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal Record</td>
<td>1.500</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>4.48</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol Use</td>
<td>0.007</td>
<td>.936</td>
<td>1.01</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marijuana Use</td>
<td>-0.152</td>
<td>.742</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driving Frequency</td>
<td>0.124</td>
<td>.206</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Activities</td>
<td>0.036</td>
<td>.395</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-4.129</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>-2.747</td>
<td>.017</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.26: Logistic Regressions Predicting Police Searches
(1=Search by Police; 0=Not Searched)

Consistent with the bivariate results presented above, the results suggest that Black respondents are significantly more likely than respondents from other racial groups to report being searched.
during their last police stop. Chinese respondents, on the other hand, are no more likely to report being searched than white people. In Model B, additional demographic variables that might predict being searched by the police are entered into the equation. As with the findings for multiple police stops, Black racial background remains a significant predictor of police searches, but the size of the coefficient is smaller. The odds ratio suggests that Black respondents are 2.7 times more likely to be searched by the police than white respondents, after controlling for theoretically relevant variables.

As was the case for police stops, age and gender are also strongly related to the likelihood of being searched by the police. Overall, younger adults and males are more likely to report being searched by the police than older adults and females. Living in a high crime neighbourhood and having a criminal record are once again related to the likelihood of being searched by the police. Unlike the findings for police stops, driving frequency is not related to being searched by the police. The social class measure is also not related to police searches.

Again, given the frequency with which Black males report being searched by the police (Rosenfeld et al., 2012), I wanted to examine which factors might influence the likelihood of being searched by the police amongst the sub-sample of Black males. These findings are presented in Table 3.27.
Table 3.27: Logistic Regressions Predicting Police Searches for Black Males  
(1=Search by Police; 0=Not Searched)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PREDICTOR VARIABLES</th>
<th>MODEL A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-0.138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Born</td>
<td>0.207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>-0.502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Class</td>
<td>-0.419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>-0.584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Disorder</td>
<td>0.109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal Record</td>
<td>2.904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol Use</td>
<td>0.095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marijuana Use</td>
<td>-1.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driving Frequency</td>
<td>0.172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Activities</td>
<td>-0.008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>2.274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagelkerke R Square</td>
<td>.557</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sample size=180

As the analysis shows, having a criminal record was the strongest factor predicting the likelihood of being searched by the police amongst the sample of Black males. Black males with a criminal record were 18 times more likely to have been searched by the police during their last encounter than Black males without a criminal record. It should be stressed that although having a criminal record was the strongest predictor of experiencing police searches for both the entire study population and amongst Black males, Black racial background remained a strong predictor of experiencing a police search as indicated in Table 3.26 above.

As with the results of the logistic regression predicting police searches for all respondents, age remains a significant predictor of police searches; younger Black men are more likely to report being searched by the police than older Black men. The results also suggest that level of education is also a factor influencing the likelihood of being searched by the police; Black males with lower levels of education are more likely to be searched by the police than Black males with higher levels of education. Interestingly, the likelihood of being stopped by the
police increases with social status for Black males, yet this is not the case for police searches. None of the other demographic or lifestyle variables are related to the likelihood of being searched by the police amongst the sample of Black men.

Previous research documenting the impact of police-initiated contact on citizen attitudes toward the police has produced mixed findings (Weitzer and Tuch, 2002). Having determined that racial differences in experiencing police stops and searches remain after controlling for theoretically relevant variables, I wanted to come full circle to see whether racial background and involuntary contact with the police influence evaluations of police performance and perceptions of police bias amongst this sample. These questions are addressed below.

**Predicting Evaluations of Police Performance**

First I wanted to see whether racial background, experiencing police stops and other theoretically relevant variables influence evaluations of police performance. Table 3.28 presents the results of an OLS regression equation that utilizes the Police Evaluation Index, discussed above, to examine which variables influence respondents' evaluations of police performance amongst the entire sample. In Model A (Table 3.28), only Black and Chinese racial backgrounds are entered into the regression equation, with white as the reference category. The results suggest that both Chinese and Black respondents evaluate police performance less favourably than do white respondents.
Table 3.28: OLS Regression on Evaluations of Police Performance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor Variables</th>
<th>MODEL A</th>
<th>MDEL B</th>
<th>MODEL C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Beta</td>
<td>Sig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>-1.576</td>
<td>-2.233</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>-1.863</td>
<td>-2.274</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>.022</td>
<td>.105</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>.288</td>
<td>.044</td>
<td>.070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Born</td>
<td>-.055</td>
<td>-.008</td>
<td>.774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>.140</td>
<td>.011</td>
<td>.661</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Class</td>
<td>.341</td>
<td>.060</td>
<td>.021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>-.003</td>
<td>-.001</td>
<td>.952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Disorder</td>
<td>-.050</td>
<td>-.054</td>
<td>.039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime Victim</td>
<td>-.515</td>
<td>-.053</td>
<td>.033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrested</td>
<td>-1.206</td>
<td>-.096</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Stops</td>
<td>-.430</td>
<td>-.122</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicarious Police Contact</td>
<td>-1.214</td>
<td>-.164</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black times Stops</td>
<td>8.917</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R Square</td>
<td>.065</td>
<td>.173</td>
<td>.070</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Model B, a number of additional independent variables are added to the regression equation. The results suggest that Chinese and Black racial backgrounds remain significant predictors of police evaluations after other factors have been taken into statistical account. In other words, racial differences in police searches cannot be explained by racial differences in other relevant variables. Furthermore, the results suggest that age, social class, being the victim of a crime, having been arrested, having been stopped by the police, and having friends or family members who had been the victim of racial profiling are also statistically significant predictors. Older respondents and those who reported higher social class backgrounds evaluated the police more highly than younger respondents and respondents from lower-class backgrounds. In contrast, respondents who have been the victim of a crime, who have been stopped multiple
times, have been arrested by the police, and who have friends and family members who have been the victim of racial profiling all evaluated police performance more negatively than those who have not had these experiences.

In Model C, an interaction term on police stops is introduced.\textsuperscript{29} After the introduction of this interaction term, the main effect for police stops becomes insignificant. However, the effect of police stops on Blacks’ evaluations of the police remains statistically significant. This finding suggests that frequent police stops have a stronger negative influence on Black respondents’ evaluations of police performance than they do for either white or Chinese respondents (see also Dean, 1980: 458-9).

Since the findings in Table 3.28 indicate that police stops influence perceptions of police performance amongst Black respondents, I also wanted to examine other factors that influence evaluations of police performance amongst Black males in the sample. Table 3.29 presents the results of an OLS regression equation examining variables that influence Black male respondents’ evaluations of police performance.

\textsuperscript{29} Based on previous research, I expected there to be racial differences in the effect of police stops on perceptions of the police (see Hagan et al., 2005). As such, a series of interaction terms were added to the equation. Chinese times Stops is an interaction term created for Chinese respondents who have been stopped by the police. The variable was created by multiplying the total stop variable with the Chinese variable. Chinese Stop is a dummy variable coded 1=Chinese and Stopped; 0=everyone else. Black times Stop is an interaction term created for Black respondents who have been stopped by the police. The variable was created by multiplying the total stop variable with the Black variable. Black Stop is a dummy variable coded 1=Black and stopped; 0=everyone else.
Table 3.29: OLS Regression on Evaluation of Police Performance for Black Males

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor Variables</th>
<th>MODEL A</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>MODEL B</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Beta</td>
<td>Sig.</td>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Beta</td>
<td>Sig.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>.050</td>
<td>.211</td>
<td>.007</td>
<td></td>
<td>.030</td>
<td>.127</td>
<td>.105</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Born</td>
<td>.623</td>
<td>.072</td>
<td>.330</td>
<td></td>
<td>.276</td>
<td>.032</td>
<td>.657</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>.570</td>
<td>.052</td>
<td>.470</td>
<td></td>
<td>.725</td>
<td>.066</td>
<td>.349</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Class</td>
<td>.117</td>
<td>.018</td>
<td>.807</td>
<td></td>
<td>.244</td>
<td>.038</td>
<td>.605</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>-.081</td>
<td>-.035</td>
<td>.635</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.134</td>
<td>-.058</td>
<td>.418</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Disorder</td>
<td>-.213</td>
<td>-.230</td>
<td>.003</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.146</td>
<td>-.157</td>
<td>.040</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime Victim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-1.080</td>
<td>-.109</td>
<td>.135</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrested</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.286</td>
<td>-.033</td>
<td>.675</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Stops</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.409</td>
<td>-.140</td>
<td>.104</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicarious Police Contact</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-1.478</td>
<td>-.203</td>
<td>.007</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>5.667</td>
<td></td>
<td>.000</td>
<td></td>
<td>7.970</td>
<td></td>
<td>-----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R Square</td>
<td></td>
<td>.134</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.223</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R Square</td>
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<td>.104</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.177</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sample size = 180

In Model A (Table 3.29), a number of independent variables measuring respondents’ demographic characteristics are introduced into the regression equation. The results suggest that older Black males evaluate the police more favorably than those who are younger. On the other hand, Black males who live in areas with high levels of community disorder evaluate the police more negatively than those who do not.

In Model B, a number of independent variables related to respondents’ own criminal victimization and experience with the police are introduced into the equation. Interestingly, age was no longer a significant predictor of evaluations of police performance after these other variables had been taken into account, whereas community disorder remained significant.

Furthermore, having vicarious experience with police racial profiling negatively influenced evaluations of police performance; Black males who reported that they have friends or family members who have been racially profiled evaluated the police more negatively than those who did not. Being foreign-born, employment status, having been arrested, or experiencing multiple
police stops were not significant predictors of evaluations of police performance amongst Black males.

*Predicting Perceptions of Police Bias*

Table 3.3 (below) presents the results of an OLS regression equation that utilizes the Police Bias Index, discussed above, to examine which variables influence respondents’ evaluations of police bias.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor Variables</th>
<th>MODEL A</th>
<th>MODEL B</th>
<th>MODEL C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Beta</td>
<td>Sig.</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>12.780</td>
<td>.171</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>-.968</td>
<td>-.014</td>
<td>.629</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-.161</td>
<td>-.114</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>.084</td>
<td>.002</td>
<td>.934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Born</td>
<td>-1.422</td>
<td>-.032</td>
<td>.251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>-3.358</td>
<td>-.038</td>
<td>.103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Class</td>
<td>-.593</td>
<td>-.016</td>
<td>.531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>.819</td>
<td>.067</td>
<td>.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Disorder</td>
<td>.656</td>
<td>.105</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime Victim</td>
<td>1.842</td>
<td>.028</td>
<td>.235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrested</td>
<td>4.394</td>
<td>.052</td>
<td>.033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Stops</td>
<td>1.198</td>
<td>.051</td>
<td>.042</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicarious Police Contact</td>
<td>14.053</td>
<td>.283</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Stop</td>
<td>3.192</td>
<td>.064</td>
<td>.042</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Stop</td>
<td>3.085</td>
<td>.103</td>
<td>.015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>25.121</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R Square</td>
<td>.086</td>
<td>.238</td>
<td>.242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R Square</td>
<td>.085</td>
<td>.232</td>
<td>.234</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sample size=1,522

In Model A (Table 3.30), only Black and Chinese racial backgrounds are entered into the regression equation. White is the reference category. The results suggest that Blacks perceive significantly more police bias than whites. In Model B, a number of additional independent variables are added to the regression equation. The results suggest that Black racial background
remains a significant predictor of perceived police bias after other factors have been taken into account. Other results suggest that: 1) older respondents perceive less police bias than do younger respondents; 2) people with higher levels of educational attainment perceive more bias than less educated respondents; 3) people with higher incomes perceive more bias with people with lower incomes; 4) people residing in high crime neighbourhoods perceive more bias than those who do not; 5) those who have been arrested perceive more bias than those who have not been arrested; 6) those who use marijuana perceive more bias than those who do not use marijuana; 7) those who report friends/family who have been racially profiled are more likely to perceive bias than those who do not; and 8) respondents who have been stopped by the police multiple times perceive more bias than those who have not.

In Model C, an interaction term on police stops is introduced. After the introduction of this interaction term the main effect for police stops becomes insignificant. However, the effect of police stops on Black and Chinese respondents’ perceptions of police bias remains statistically significant. This finding suggests that frequent police stops have a stronger impact on perceptions of police bias amongst Black and Chinese respondents relative to white respondents.

As Black males have amongst the most strained relationship with the police (Brunson, 2007), I also wanted to examine which factors influence Black males’ perceptions of police bias. Table 3.31 (below) presents the results of an OLS regression equation examining variables that influence Black males’ perceptions of police bias. In Model A (Table 3.31), a number of independent variables related to respondents’ demographic characteristics are introduced into the OLS regression equation. The results suggest that older Black males perceive less police bias than do younger Black males. Being foreign-born, employment status, living in social housing

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30 See justification in footnote 29, above.
projects, social class and level of education are variables that were unrelated to perceptions of police bias amongst Black males.

Table 3.3: OLS Regression on Perceptions of Police Bias for Black Males

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor Variables</th>
<th>MODEL A</th>
<th></th>
<th>MODEL B</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Beta</td>
<td>Sig.</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-.344</td>
<td>-.244</td>
<td>.002</td>
<td>-.133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Born</td>
<td>4.500</td>
<td>.087</td>
<td>.254</td>
<td>5.892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>-3.706</td>
<td>-.057</td>
<td>.445</td>
<td>-4.060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Class</td>
<td>-.585</td>
<td>-.015</td>
<td>.841</td>
<td>-.085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>1.125</td>
<td>.081</td>
<td>.282</td>
<td>1.347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Disorder</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.750</td>
<td>.136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime Victim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.800</td>
<td>.014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrested</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-2.776</td>
<td>-.053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Stops</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.121</td>
<td>.122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicarious Police Contact</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14.223</td>
<td>.328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>45.617</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>23.122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R Square</td>
<td>.063</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R Square</td>
<td>.036</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sample size=180

In Model B, a number of independent variables related to respondents’ own criminal victimization and experience with the police are introduced into the equation. After controlling for other factors, age ceased to be a significant factor influencing Black males’ perceptions of police bias. Vicarious police contact – that is, having friends or family members who have been the victim of racial profiling – was the only variable that stood as a significant predictor of Black males’ perceptions of police bias; Black males who have friends or family members who have been the victim of racial profiling by the police were more likely to perceive the police as biased than those who have not had this vicarious experience.
CONCLUSION

Overall, the findings presented in this chapter are largely consistent with previous Canadian, American and British research on police relations with Black citizens (Wortley et al., 2007; Weitzer and Tuch, 2006; Sharp and Atherton, 2007). Indeed, the findings show that, on the whole, Black Torontonians view the police more negatively and report more frequent and more hostile interactions with the police than do members of other racial groups. The findings also indicate that the frequency and perceived nature of these police interactions has a stronger impact on Blacks’ perceptions of the police that it does for either whites or Chinese. Finally, the findings of this chapter highlight the importance of shared or vicarious experiences with the police – this was an important factor influencing respondents’ perceptions of the police. This finding is particularly salient for police relations with Black communities, as these shared experiences must be fully understood if we are to truly grasp the conflicts between Black communities and the police (Feagin, 1991; Brunson and Miller, 2006).

The chapter has also shed light on some important racial and gender differences in Toronto residents’ perceptions of and experiences with the police. The bivariate analysis of citizen evaluations of the police indicates that overall, white respondents had the most favourable evaluations of police performance, followed by Black and Chinese respondents. This finding differs somewhat from that found in previous studies, as Black respondents held more favourable views of police performance than did Chinese respondents. In other research involving multiple racial/ethnic groups, Black respondents typically hold the most negative views of the police, and whites the most positive, with other groups falling in between (see Weitzer, 2010). It is difficult to determine whether the Chinese respondents were dissatisfied with the police, or whether their responses were a result of their inexperience with the institution. A substantial proportion of the
Chinese respondents reported that they did not know or had no opinion about the performance of the police. This finding could be due to the fact that Chinese residents reported lower rates of vehicle and pedestrian stops than did either Black or white residents and, therefore, had less experience with the police upon which to base an opinion. Furthermore, it may be that Chinese residents are more recent immigrants, and thus have less experience with, or knowledge of, the police in Toronto.

In terms of perceptions of police bias, Black respondents were most likely to perceive the police as biased, followed by white and then Chinese respondents. Again, this finding differs slightly from previous research. While Blacks perceived the most police bias, which is typical, it is another racialized group – Chinese people – who perceived the least bias in policing. This finding is interesting because most research involving multiple racial/ethnic groups finds that Black and white respondents have the most divergent perceptions of police bias, with other groups, such as Hispanics, falling in between (see Skogan et al., 2003; Weitzer, 2010). It should be noted that Chinese respondents did perceive the most bias with regards to language, and also perceived the most police bias against Chinese people. This finding may reflect the concerns of Chinese people with respect to police treatment. Chinese respondents’ lack of perceived police bias in other areas may again be a product of their lack of experience with the police in Toronto.

Interestingly, the analysis of racial and gender differences in perceived police bias indicates that Black women perceived almost as much police bias as Black men. This finding is interesting because, as in previous research (Harris, 1999; Bowling and Phillips, 2002; Wortley and Owusu-Bempah, 2011b; Lamberth, 1998), Black men in this study are the most likely to report being stopped by the police, and to report being stopped multiple times. Black men also reported the highest rates of police searches of all respondents, and were the most likely to report
being the victim of racial profiling. Furthermore, in terms of their perceived treatment at the hands of the police, Black males were least likely to report that the police officer told them the reason for their last police-initiated encounter, least likely to believe they were treated fairly during their last stop, least likely to believe they were treated with respect, and most likely to say that the stop left them feeling upset. So while Black males experienced the most stops and felt most negatively about these stops, Black women’s views of the police were equally negative. This finding no doubt points to the importance of vicarious experiences with the police, as suggested by the multivariate analysis (detailed below). Gabbidon et al. (2011) also found similar perceptions of the police amongst Black men and women, despite differences in frequency and nature of police contact. Gabbidon et al. (2011) attribute the Black women’s views to their association with Black males. They also suggest that Black women’s poor experiences with the police as victims of crime might also contribute to their negative perceptions of the police. Unfortunately, the latter was not tested for in the present study.

The bivariate findings are largely confirmed by the results of the multivariate analysis. First, the logistic regressions indicate that being Black was an important predictor of experiencing multiple police stops and being searched by the police. In addition to Black racial background, being young, male, living in a neighbourhood characterized by disorder, and having a criminal record all increased the chances of experiencing multiple police stops and being searched by the police. Driving frequency and alcohol consumption also contributed to the likelihood of being stopped multiple times. These results are largely consistent with previous research findings produced in the United States, Great Britain and Canada (see Bowling and Phillips 2002; Engel et al. 2004; Alpert et al. 2005; Wortley and Owusu-Bempah, 2011b). Among the sample of Black males, age and social status impacted the likelihood of being stopped by the
police. Consistent with previous findings, young Black men and those reporting higher socio-economic status were more likely to be stopped (see Wortley et al., 1997). Likewise, young Black men, Black men with a criminal record, and those with lower levels of education were more likely to be searched by the police. Interestingly, reporting a higher social status protected Black males from experiencing police searches, but not police stops (see also Rosenfeld et al., 2012). To the contrary, reporting a higher social status was a significant predictor of experiencing multiple police stops for Black males. Why is this so? Perhaps higher status Black males look out of place in affluent neighbourhoods or driving expensive cars, and thus attract the attention of the police – resulting in an increased likelihood of being stopped. Their social status may not be apparent to an officer until after an interaction has been initiated, explaining why they are not subsequently searched.

The multivariate findings also support the bivariate findings related to citizen evaluations of police performance presented above, and perceptions of bias/corruption. Indeed, the OLS regression on perceptions of police performance shows that both Black and Chinese racial background were significant in predicting evaluations of police performance. Likewise, age, social class, living in a disordered community, being the victim of a crime, having been arrested, stopped on multiple occasions, and having vicarious experience with racial profiling all predicted evaluations of police performance amongst the entire study population. These findings are supported by the results of previous research (see Weitzer, 2010). Importantly, this analysis indicates that the frequency of experiencing police stops reduces confidence in the police, and increases perceptions of police bias. However, the results also suggest that the negative impact of stops on attitudes towards the police is much stronger for Black people than for white or Chinese respondents. This finding is highly consistent with the fact that, during their last police stop,
Black people were more likely than white or Chinese people to feel that they had been treated unfairly and with disrespect (see Table 3.20) (see Dean, 1980). After the variable of having been stopped by the police was accounted for, Chinese racial background, age, social status, being the victim of a crime, having been arrested, and vicarious experience with racial profiling all predicted evaluations of police performance. Amongst Black males, being young, living in a disordered community, and having vicarious experience with racial profiling negatively influenced evaluations of police performance. However, when lifestyle variables were added to the equation, age ceased to be a significant predictor of evaluations of the police.

Finally, the bivariate findings relating to citizen perceptions of police bias are also confirmed by the results of the multivariate analysis which show that racial background is a strong predictor of perceptions of police bias. Indeed, the findings indicate that Black racial background, age, living in a social housing project, living in a disordered neighbourhood, having been arrested by the police, experiencing multiple police stops, and having vicarious experience with racial profiling were all significant predictors of police bias. When the interaction term on police stops was introduced, Black racial background this time remained a significant predictor of perceptions of police bias; so too did age, living in a disordered neighbourhood, having been arrested by the police, and having vicarious experience with racial profiling. As was the case for evaluations of police performance, the main effect for police stops became insignificant. However, for perceptions of police bias, the findings suggest that frequent police stops increased perceptions of bias amongst both Black and Chinese respondents. White respondents perceptions of police bias were not significantly influenced by frequent police stops. Amongst the sample of Black males, vicarious experience with racial profiling emerged as the only statistically significant variable predicting perceptions of police bias.
Overall, this chapter has shown that being Black is a strong predictor of experiencing police stops and searches in Toronto. Furthermore, Black racial background is also a strong predictor of evaluations of police performance and perceptions of police bias. Importantly, the analysis shows that being stopped by the police is important in understanding Black citizens’ negative appraisals of police performance, and their perceptions of police Bias. Frequent police stops negatively influence how Black people evaluate police performance, and increase their perceptions of police bias. So too does vicarious experience with racial profiling, something Black people are most likely to report. It is important to consider how negative perceptions of the police developed through extensive personal and vicarious experience might influence how Black people interpret and express themselves during future encounters with the police. Indeed, Black people may be suspicious and distrustful of police-initiated encounters. Such suspicion and distrust may negatively impact their demeanour when dealing with police which, in turn, could result in less respectful treatment at the hands of the police (Wortley and Owusu-Bempah, 2011b). This disrespectful treatment may further confirm the negative perceptions of the police held by many Black people; thus the relationship between police stops, perceptions of the police and the interpretation of police encounters may be reciprocal (see Engel et al., 2010; Wortley and Owusu-Bempah, 2011b). In the next chapter I will turn to examine the perceptions and experiences of a group of young Black men who have extensive experience with the police.
Chapter Three Research Questions Addressed in Brief

1) Do Black males in Toronto hold different perceptions of police performance and police bias than Black females or members of other racial groups?

There were no significant gender differences in Black respondents’ evaluations of police performance or perceptions of police bias. Overall, Black respondents perceived more bias than either Chinese or white respondents. Chinese respondents rated the performance of the police more negatively than Black or white respondents.

2) Do Black males experience higher levels of contact with the police than Black females or members of other racial groups, and do they feel differently about their treatment at the hands of the police?

Black males experienced more frequent police stops and searches than other respondent groups. Black males were also more likely than other respondents to feel negatively about their treatment from the police during these encounters.

3) Do racial differences in the frequency and nature of police contact help explain racial differences in evaluations of police performance and perceptions of police bias?

Being stopped by the police lowered evaluations of police performance amongst Black respondents, and increased their perceptions of police bias. By contrast, being stopped by the police had no effect on Chinese respondents’ evaluations of police performance, but did increase their perceptions of police bias. Police stops had no effect on white respondents’ evaluations of police performance or perceptions of police bias.
CHAPTER 4
Young Black Men and Policing in Toronto

The only way to police the ghetto is to be oppressive. None of the police commissioner’s men, even with the best in the world, have a way of understanding the lives led by the people they swagger about in twos and threes controlling. Their very presence is an insult, and it would be even if they spent their entire day feeding gumdrops to children. They represent the force of the white world, and that world’s criminal profit and ease, to keep the black man corralled up here, in his place. The badge, the gun in the holster, and the swinging club make vivid what will happen should his rebellion become overt… (Baldwin, 1961)

As discussed in Chapter Two, the extant literature identifies youths’ perceptions and experiences with the police as an important topic of investigation. For one, youth are more likely to experience involuntary contact with the police due to their disproportionate involvement in crime and their frequent, often unsupervised and unstructured, use of public space (Hurst et al., 2000; Hinds, 2009). Furthermore, youth are more likely to be subject to police scrutiny and surveillance, and to report being harassed and treated with disrespect by the police (Hurst et al., 2000). This is particularly true for young Black men who are viewed in the eyes of the police as “symbolic assailants” or “born suspects” (Skolnick, 1966; Jones-Brown, 2007; Brunson and Miller, 2006). In addition to the frequency and nature of young people’s contact with the police, Hinds (2008) puts forth several reasons why a focus on youth is important: 1) police have wide discretionary powers when dealing with youth; 2) police contact with youth is largely unsupervised; and 3) it is hypothesised that experiences and opinions formed in youth will have a lasting effect on adult attitudes and behaviours (Hinds, 2009: 10).

31 I would like to thank Alexis Lemajic, Laura Pirotta, Adrian Howard, and Kevin Lunianga for their help with data entry for this project.
The aim of this chapter is to examine the views and experiences of the very group known to have the most adversarial relationship with the police – young, disadvantaged Black males. Utilizing data from a sample of 328 young Black men, this chapter uses a mixed methods approach to investigate young Black males’ perceptions of and experiences with the police in Toronto. Following a discussion of study methodology, the chapter examines the young men’s views of police performance, and levels of trust and confidence in the police. The chapter then examines their perceptions of police bias and corruption. Next, the chapter examines the frequency and nature of police contact amongst this sample of young Black men. The chapter then turns to look at qualitative data capturing the youths’ positive and negative experiences with the police to help contextualize the quantitative findings presented earlier in the chapter. The chapter ends with a final, quantitative analysis that documents the impact of both positive and negative experiences on the youths’ perceptions of the police, followed by a summary of the findings.

**METHODOLOGY**

Data utilized in the following analysis was gathered as part of the evaluation of a gang intervention-prevention project that aimed to reduce the proliferation of gangs in three of Toronto’s priority neighbourhoods (Wortley et al., 2012: 7). The priority neighbourhood designation was given to thirteen of Toronto’s 140 neighbourhoods by the City of Toronto, and emerged largely out of the work of the Strong Neighbourhoods Task Force. Part of the vision of the Task Force was to ensure that all Toronto neighbourhoods contain a mix of services and facilities that correspond to and meet the needs of their residents (United Way and the City of Toronto, 2005: 19). In order to identify areas where community services and facilities were
lacking, the Task Force analyzed whether the neighbourhoods had key services in proximity to the residents who needed them most. Among the services analyzed were those intended for the general population (recreation and community centres, libraries, schools, community health centres and hospitals), and those intended for residents with specific needs (children’s services, youth services, services for new immigrants, employment services, and food banks). Using GIS buffering techniques, the Task Force identified those neighbourhoods with poor coverage (lack of facilities and services) and high need (population groups requiring the services and facilities) (City of Toronto: 2006, 6-9).

The Task Force also relied on a range of socio-economic indicators to identify neighbourhoods that were below the city average. These socio-economic indicators included: median household income; proportion of income spent on shelter costs; percent of population aged 25+ that is unemployed; percent of dwellings requiring major repair; percent of population that are immigrants; and the number of low birth weight babies per 1,000 live births (City of Toronto, 2006: 11). The services and facilities data and the socio-economic data were combined by the Task Force, which resulted in the identification of nine neighbourhoods. Subsequently, the City of Toronto factored in its Community Safety Plan and identified areas experiencing elevated levels of violence (City of Toronto, 2006: 15). The result was the identification of 13 priority neighbourhoods that were deemed in need of investment and intervention based on a lack of services, the presence of high-needs populations, and public safety concerns.

In order to determine which of the thirteen priority neighbourhoods were at the highest risk of youth gang affiliation and activity, the Research Unit of the Social Development, Finance, and Administration Division at the City of Toronto developed the “Toronto Youth Crime Risk Index.” This measurement tool utilized a number of key data sources including: 1) socio-
economic and demographic data; 2) number of youth safety programs in the area; 3) local crime statistics; and (4) data on public perceptions of neighbourhood safety. These data were combined in order to identify which communities were at high risk for youth gang activity. Ultimately, the areas of Jamestown-Rexdale, Jane-Finch, and Weston-Mt. Dennis were identified as the most appropriate priority neighbourhoods for a gang intervention-prevention program. Community stakeholders and members of the Toronto Police Service concurred that these areas were particularly vulnerable to youth gang affiliation and activity (Wortley et al, 2012: 18). A fourth priority neighbourhood, Lawrence Heights, was included as a comparison neighbourhood to test program effects. Lawrence Heights matched the three program neighbourhoods with respect to socio-economic disadvantage and youth criminal activity (Wortley et al, 2012: 24). It should be stressed that by Toronto standards, these four neighbourhoods are notorious for their levels of crime, violence, and gang activity. All are located in the north-western section of the city.

The pilot project, called the Prevention Intervention Toronto (PIT) program, was funded by a grant from the National Crime Prevention Centre, managed by the City of Toronto, and administered by a community agency – Jewish Vocational Services. The evaluation of the project was conducted by a team led by Professor Scot Wortley and Professor Julian Tanner from the University of Toronto. The program was aimed at youth aged 13-24 who were involved with gangs, or who were at risk of gang attachment/affiliation. Prevention Intervention Toronto had three consecutive intake streams that took in a total of 312 youths over the three-year duration of the project (2009-2011). Youth were recruited into the PIT program through social workers, community workers, PIT case managers, probation and parole officers, and through self-referral. Youth for the comparison group were referred to the study by community partners and stakeholders (Wortley et al, 2012: 38).
A screening process was first undertaken to determine eligibility for either the program or the comparison group. The screening instrument included a detailed questionnaire that measured a youth’s eligibility based on three criteria: 1) a moderate or high risk of gang involvement or former or current gang involvement; 2) being aged 13-24; and 3) residence in one of the project neighbourhoods (Wortley et al, 2012: 24). The screening instrument was designed so that youth who had no gang-involved peers could be admitted to the program as long as they scored sufficiently high on the general risk assessment (Wortley et al, 2012: 38).

The screening process for potential PIT clients was administered by PIT case managers. Comparison group screenings were conducted by members of the evaluation team. A total of 641 young people completed the screening process. Overall, 596 of these 641 youth (92.9%) were found eligible for either the PIT program or the comparison group. Of these 596 young people, 328 were young Black males. The present analysis is based on this group of 328 young Black men.

The primary source of data comes from intensive one-on-one interviews conducted with each youth at the beginning of their participation with the PIT study (pre-tests). Youths who granted their permission were interviewed by a member of the evaluation team at one of the project sites (in the case of the PIT youths), or at a local community centre or school (in the case of the control-group youths). The interviews took on average 55 minutes to complete. The interviews included a range of questions about the youth’s personal and family background,

32 Risk of gang involvement was determined according to the following criteria: A) Self-identification as a former or current gang member; B) Case Manager identification as a former or current gang member; C) Met Euro-Gang criteria; D) Moderate to high risk score; E) Qualitative exemption. A moderate to high risk score was based on family, peer, school and personal risk factors. The “qualitative exception” provided the PIT case managers who performed the screening process the ability to accept youth who did not meet the acceptance criteria but who they felt were eligible in some other way (16 youth were accepted through the qualitative exception). For a full description see Wortley et al. (2012: 41-44).

33 The interviews with the PIT youth took slightly longer than the interviews with the youth from the comparison group (63 minutes versus 47 minutes).
educational attitudes and behaviours, attitudes towards employment and employment status, drug and alcohol use, self-control, empathy, and optimism. Importantly, for the present study, the interview also collected information about each respondent’s personal experiences with victimization and criminal offending, their level of gang involvement and attitudes towards gangs, as well as their previous contact with police, courts and correctional agencies. Questions examining each youth’s perceptions of the fairness and legitimacy of the Canadian criminal justice system were also posed (Wortley et al., 2012: 25).

The present analysis focuses on those interview items related to: 1) evaluations of police performance; 2) perceptions of trust and confidence in the police; 3) perceptions of police bias and corruption; 4) frequency of police initiated contact; 5) feelings about police treatment during police encounters; and 6) self-reported positive and negative experiences with the police.

The young Black men in the sample ranged in age from 13-26, with an average age of 18 years. The majority of these young men (78%) were Canadian-born. The average age of immigration for foreign-born respondents was eight years old. Just under two-thirds (61.3%) of the young men were going to school when they began their involvement with the study. Additionally, 22.6% of the young men were employed on either a full or part-time basis. Many of the youth resided in single parent homes. Just over one-quarter (28%) of the youth reported that they were living with both parents at the time of the interview, whereas 50% were living with their mother only, and 4% were residing with their father.

The data also indicate that this sample is characterized by high rates of both criminal activity and criminal victimization. Almost three-quarters of the youth (73.4%) had used marijuana at least once in the six months prior to their pre-test interview, and over half reported using marijuana on a weekly basis. Over half of the youth (54.3%) also self-identified as a
current or former gang member. Furthermore, almost all of the youth (92.7%) reported engaging in some form of violent or property crime in the six months before their interview, and a similar percentage (89.0%) said that they had been victims of a violent or property crime during this time frame. In sum, the data presented in Table 4.1 suggest that the following analysis is based on a sample of highly disadvantaged Black youth who hail from economically and socially vulnerable communities, most of whom have been involved in “criminal” behaviour.

### Table 4.1 Sample Characteristics Measured During Pre-test Interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Range:</th>
<th>Mean:</th>
<th>S.D.:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age (Years)</td>
<td>13-26</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration Status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Born:</td>
<td>22.0%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average age at Immigration:</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attending School (Full or Part-Time)</td>
<td>Yes:</td>
<td>61.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed (Full or Part-Time)</td>
<td>Yes:</td>
<td>22.6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living arrangement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both Parents:</td>
<td>28.1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother Only:</td>
<td>49.8%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father Only:</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other:</td>
<td>17.8%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marijuana Use (Past six months)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never:</td>
<td>26.6%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A few times:</td>
<td>18.3%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At least once a week:</td>
<td>55.1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self Identified as Gang Member (Current or former)</td>
<td>Yes:</td>
<td>54.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal Activity - property or violent (Past six months)</td>
<td>Yes:</td>
<td>92.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victimization - property or violent (Past six months)</td>
<td>Yes:</td>
<td>89.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=328

S.D. = Standard Deviation
PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE PERFORMANCE AND TRUST AND CONFIDENCE IN THE POLICE

Previous research indicates that young people generally hold less favorable views of the police than do older citizens (Cao et al., 1996; Chandek, 1999; Cheurprakobkit, 2000). In this section I examine the youths’ perceptions regarding the performance of the Toronto Police Service, and their level of trust and confidence in this institution. All respondents were first asked to evaluate whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statements: 1) innocent people are almost never arrested; 2) the police almost never help people; 3) life would be more difficult if we did not have the police; 4) the police do a good job of keeping my neighbourhood safe; 5) the police in my neighbourhood are friendly and easy to talk to; 6) the police will protect you from criminals if you report a crime; 7) I trust the police; 8) I have confidence in the police; 9) if I had a problem I would go to the police for help; 10) the police care about the people who live in my community; and 11) I have a lot of respect for the police (see questions I2c – I2i and questions K1a – K1e in Appendix C).

Table 4.2 presents the responses to these eleven items evaluating police performance and confidence in the police. As the results illustrate, this group of young men did not have a very good opinion of the Toronto Police Service. Indeed, only one-quarter of the youth had faith that the police “almost never” arrest innocent people, and nearly half of respondents felt that the police “almost never” help people. Similarly, less than one-third of the youth felt that the police do a “good job” of keeping their neighbourhoods safe and less than 20% felt that the police in their neighbourhoods are “friendly or easy to talk to.” In addition to police performance, I also examined how much trust and confidence the young men had in the police. The youths’ views with regards to trust and confidence appear to be more negative than their views towards police performance. For example, over three-quarters of the youth stated that they do not trust the
police, and just over 70% of the youth indicated that they lack confidence in the police. It is unsurprising then, that with so little trust and confidence in the police, only about half of the young men felt that the police can or will provide them with protection if they report a crime (as indicated in Table 4.2).

**Table 4.2 Youth Perceptions of Performance/Trust and Confidence in the Police**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Innocent people are almost never arrested.</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td>21.6%</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
<td>43.9%</td>
<td>18.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police almost never help people.</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
<td>35.4%</td>
<td>18.9%</td>
<td>30.5%</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life would be more difficult if we did not have the police.</td>
<td>19.2%</td>
<td>41.8%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>19.8%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police do a good job of keeping my neighbourhood safe.</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
<td>23.2%</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
<td>35.7%</td>
<td>20.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police in my neighbourhood are friendly and easy to talk to.</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
<td>38.1%</td>
<td>29.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police will protect you from criminals if you report a crime.</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>24.4%</td>
<td>23.8%</td>
<td>28.7%</td>
<td>20.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I trust the police.</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
<td>45.4%</td>
<td>30.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have confidence in the police.</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
<td>43.3%</td>
<td>28.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If I had a problem I would go to the police for help.</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
<td>43.9%</td>
<td>32.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police care about the people who live in my community.</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>18.0%</td>
<td>18.6%</td>
<td>33.5%</td>
<td>28.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have a lot of respect for the police.</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
<td>41.8%</td>
<td>27.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

_N=328_

Evidently, and in line with previous research findings (Hurst et al., 2000; Brunson and Miller, 2006), the young men in this sample evaluated the performance of the Toronto Police negatively and held very low levels of trust and confidence in the institution. In addition to feelings about police performance and levels of trust and confidence in the police, I also examined the youths’ perceptions of police bias and corruption. These findings are explored in the next section.
PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE BIAS AND CORRUPTION

American research has found Black inner-city youth to perceive the police as biased and corrupt (Brunson and Miller, 2006). In order to tap into youths’ perceptions of police bias and corruption in Toronto, the young men were asked to state their level of agreement (or disagreement) with the following statements: 1) the police treat young people worse than older people; 2) the police treat poor people worse than rich people; 3) the police treat people from my racial group worse than people from other racial groups; 4) police often use violent or unfair methods to get information; 5) if it’s your word against the police, the police will always win; 6) many police officers are engaged in criminal activity; 7) the police never snitch on another cop – even if the cop has broken the law; and 8) the police often abuse their power (see questions K1f to K11 and I2g in Appendix C).

The findings indicate that the majority of the young men in this sample believed that there is police bias and corruption. Indeed, over three-quarters of the young men felt that the police treat young and old people differently, and over 70% believed that there is bias with regards to wealth. In terms of perceptions of racial bias, three-quarters of the young Black men felt that “the police treat people from my racial group worse than people from other racial groups.” Overall, approximately three-quarters of the young men agreed, to some extent, with the bias statements presented. Conversely, only about 10% of the youth in this sample felt that the police treat people equally according to age, wealth or race.
### Table 4.3 Youth Perceptions of Police Bias and Corruption

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The police treat young people worse than older people.</td>
<td>35.7%</td>
<td>42.1%</td>
<td>13.4%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police treat poor people worse than rich people.</td>
<td>35.7%</td>
<td>36.9%</td>
<td>14.9%</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police treat people from my racial group worse than people from other racial groups</td>
<td>36.9%</td>
<td>38.7%</td>
<td>13.4%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police often use violent or unfair methods to get information.</td>
<td>34.5%</td>
<td>48.5%</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police often abuse their power.</td>
<td>44.5%</td>
<td>43.3%</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If it’s your word against the police – the police will always win.</td>
<td>43.6%</td>
<td>44.2%</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Many police officers are engaged in criminal activity.</td>
<td>25.6%</td>
<td>35.7%</td>
<td>32.0%</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police never snitch on another cop – even if the cop has broken the law.</td>
<td>30.5%</td>
<td>30.5%</td>
<td>17.7%</td>
<td>14.9%</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=328

Related to the treatment of different groups is the manner in which police gather information from members of the public. Respondents were asked whether they thought “the police often use violent or unfair methods to get information.” Many of the youth believed this to be the case. Indeed, 83% of the young men felt that the police often use violent or unfair methods to obtain information from citizens. Similarly, many of the youth felt that the police abuse the powers afforded to them. For example, almost nine out of every ten of the young Black men stated that the police often abuse their power. Finally, the findings indicate that a large proportion of the young men also believed that many police officers are engaged in illegal activity, and that officers will not “snitch” on another cop, even if that cop has broken the law. This is an interesting finding given that police often criticize Black communities for failing to
cooperate with police investigations, and for promoting a “stop snitching” culture (Powell, 2008).

In sum, the data presented in Table 4.3 indicate that almost all of the young Black men in this sample believed the police are biased and engage in corrupt behaviour. As was the case with the youths’ views about police performance and trust and confidence in the police, the young men in this sample held overwhelmingly negative views when it came to police bias. In the next section I move from examining the youths’ perceptions of police bias and corruption to examining their personal experiences with the police.

**FREQUENCY AND NATURE OF POLICE CONTACT**

Previous research (Black, 1980; Walker, 1992; Hurst et al., 2000), as well as the results presented in the previous chapter, suggest that young Black men elicit the suspicion of the police and are subject to high levels of police contact, harassment and degradation. The manner in which the police treat Black males in urban areas is well documented (Brunson and Miller, 2006). However, as Brunson and Miller point out, much of the previous research has focused on adult populations (2006). For this reason, I wanted to examine police treatment of young Black men in the Canadian context (see Neugebauer-Visano, 1996; James, 1998; Wortley and Tanner, 2003). It is important to point out that the study population is comprised of a very particular group of young men. The youths in this group reported very high levels of delinquency, criminal behaviour, and victimization, and they reside in high-crime neighbourhoods – all factors likely to increase police contact. Nevertheless, it is also important to examine the experiences of those who have the highest levels of contact, and the lowest opinions of the police (such as this group)
in order to identify the sources of police antipathy and its consequences (Brunson and Miller, 2006). Below I examine the young men’s contacts with the police.

**Stops and Searches**

The first item in this series of questions on police contact simply asked the young men how often they had been stopped in the previous six months. This question addresses police-initiated contacts, not instances where the youth had approached or sought help from an officer. As Table 4.4 indicates, almost all (87.5%) of the young men had experienced at least one police stop in the previous six months. In fact, many of the young men reported frequent police-initiated stops. For example, over one-third of the youth reported that they had been stopped ten or more times by the police in the previous six months. Similarly, 40.0% of the young men reported that they had been stopped by the police between two and nine times over the previous six months.

**Table 4.4 Percent of Respondents Who Have Been Stopped and Searched by the Police in Previous Six Months**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contact with Police</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2-5</th>
<th>6-9</th>
<th>≥ 10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of police stops in past 6 months</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
<td>30.2%</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
<td>38.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of times searched by police in past 6 months</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
<td>30.2%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>25.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N =328

Next, the youth were asked about a more intrusive form of police contact – searches. The results indicate that many of the young men had also been physically searched by the police in the past six months, and that a substantive proportion had been searched on multiple occasions. For example, just over one-quarter of the young Black men said that they had been searched by the police on ten or more occasions in the previous six months. Similarly to the rates for police stops, about 40% of the young men stated that they had been searched by the police between two
and nine times in the previous six months, while only 10.1% reported being searched just once. Clearly, most of these young Black men experienced frequent police-initiated contacts, and many reported being searched. In the following section, I examine how the youth felt they were treated by the police during these encounters.

*Feelings about police treatment*

For those youth who had experienced police-initiated contact in the previous six months (N=290), two further questions were asked about their perceived treatment at the hands of the police. The first question asked about fairness. The young men were first asked to rate how fairly they were treated by the police on a scale from one to ten, where one represents very unfair treatment, and ten represents very fair treatment. These responses were re-coded in the following manner: a response of 1 or 2 was coded “very unfairly;” a response of 3 or 4 was coded “unfairly;” 5 or 6 was coded as “neutral;” 7 or 8 was coded as “fairly;” and 9 or 10 was coded as “very fairly.”

**Table 4.5 Percent of Respondents Who Feel they were Treated Fairly or Unfairly During their Last Police Stop**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fairness</th>
<th>Very Unfairly</th>
<th>Unfairly</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Fairly</th>
<th>Very Fairly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fairness</td>
<td>44.7%</td>
<td>21.6%</td>
<td>19.9%</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=290</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the data in Table 4.5 indicate, very few of the youth felt that they were treated “fairly” (8.9%) or “very fairly” (4.8%) during their most recent police encounter. On the other hand, the majority of the youth (66.3%) believed that they were subjected to some level of unfair treatment. Indeed, 44.7% of the young men felt that they had been treated “very unfairly” during their last police stop.
Youth who had experienced police initiated contact over the previous six months were also asked how respectfully the police had treated them during their last stop. Again, the young men were asked to rate police respectfulness on a scale from one to ten, where one represents “very disrespectfully” and ten represents “very respectfully”. The responses were recoded in the following manner: a response of 1 or 2 was coded as “very disrespectfully;” a response of 3 or 4 was coded as “disrespectfully;” 5 or 6 was coded as “neutral;” 7 or 8 was coded as “respectfully;” and 9 or 10 was coded as “very respectfully.”

Table 4.6 Percent of Respondents Who Feel they were Treated Respectfully or Disrespectfully During their Last Police Stop

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respectfulness</th>
<th>Very Disrespectfully</th>
<th>Disrespectfully</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Respectfully</th>
<th>Very Respectfully</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Respectfulness</td>
<td>46.9%</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=290</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Much like the results for perceived fairness, the majority of the youth felt that they were not treated in a respectful manner during their most recent police encounter. Indeed, 68.6% of the youth felt that they had been treated “disrespectfully” or “very disrespectfully” during their last police stop. As in the case of perceived fairness (see Table 4.5), the most negative response category garnered the highest number of responses. As Table 4.6 shows, almost half (46.9%) of the youth who had been stopped by the police in the past six months felt that the police had treated them “very disrespectfully,” while 21.7% reported that they believed the police had treated them “disrespectfully.” As the data quite clearly indicate, the young Black men in this sample do not believe that they received fair and respectful treatment at the hands of the police. Quite the opposite – like young Black men profiled in other research studies (Jones-Brown, 2000; Brunson and Miller, 2006) and the adult Black males profiled in Chapter Three, these
young men experienced the police as repressive and hostile. This raises an important question. To what extent did the young men elicit unfair and disrespectful treatment from the police by being rude or disrespectful themselves? I will attempt to address this question in the next chapter by examining the views of Black male police officers.

*Arrests and False Arrests*

The findings presented in the previous three tables reveal that the young men in this sample experienced frequent police contacts, and interpreted their treatment during these encounters negatively. The data presented in Table 4.7, below, looks at how many of the youth have been arrested or charged by the police.

**Table 4.7 Percent of Respondents Who Have Been Arrested by the Police in Their Lifetime and the Last Six Months**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3 or more</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of times arrested or charged by police in lifetime</td>
<td>30.2%</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
<td>40.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of times arrested or charged by police in past 6 months</td>
<td>67.1%</td>
<td>19.5%</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

First, the youth were asked to report how many times they had been arrested or charged by the police in their lifetime. As the data indicate, over two-thirds (69.8%) of the young men have been arrested or charged by the police at least once in their lifetime. Indeed, the majority of these youth (53.0%) reported that they have been arrested or charged on two or more occasions in their lifetime, and 40.2% have been arrested three or more times. The youth were also asked how many times they have been arrested or charged by the police in the last six months. One out of every three respondents (32.9%) reported that they had been arrested or charged by the police.
in the six months leading up to the interview. One out of eight (13.4%) had been arrested or charged on multiple occasions over the past six months. Considering their high levels of police contact, relatively few of the youth reported having been either arrested or charged by the police in the six months leading up to their interview. Below, I examine the youths’ experiences with false arrests.

The data presented in Table 4.2 above indicates that two-thirds of the respondents believed that the police sometimes arrest innocent people. Acknowledging, of course, that a person may be arrested mistakenly by the police, the young men who reported that they had been arrested in their lifetime were asked whether they themselves had ever been falsely arrested or charged with a crime that they did not commit. A substantial proportion of the youth who had been arrested or charged by the police believed that they had been falsely arrested or charged with a crime. Indeed, the data presented in Table 4.8 indicates that over half (57.2%) of the youth who had been arrested or charged believed that they had been falsely arrested by the police at least once in their lifetime. Furthermore, 12.2% reported that they had been falsely arrested three or more times.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency of False Arrest</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Once</th>
<th>Twice</th>
<th>Three or More Times</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of false arrests - lifetime</td>
<td>42.8%</td>
<td>25.3%</td>
<td>19.7%</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=229</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These data show that most of the young Black men in this sample held negative appraisals of police performance, and lacked trust and confidence in the police. The vast majority of the young men also perceived the police to be biased and corrupt, and reported that they are
treated unfairly and with disrespect during their police encounters. In the section below I look at the young men’s experiences in greater detail by examining qualitative data related to both positive and negative experiences with the police.

**POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE POLICE EXPERIENCES – QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS**

In order to gain a better understanding of the nature of the young Black men’s experiences and perceptions, I further examine two open-ended questions related to police contact (see Appendix C - questions K2 and K3). The youths were first asked whether they had ever experienced a negative encounter with the police. If their response was yes, they were asked to recount their most negative police experience. As shown in Table 4.9, about three-quarters (74.1%) of the young men said that they had at least one negative experience with the police.

The youth were also asked whether they ever had a positive experience with the police, and if so, to recount their most positive police experience. In this case, just under one-third (31.1%) of the young Black men said that they had had a positive experience with the police (Table 4.10).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negative Experience</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>74.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=328</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive Experience</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>68.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>31.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=328</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To examine these positive and negative experiences in more depth, I performed an automatic recode procedure within SPSS for the questions concerning positive and negative police experiences. This procedure produced a unique identifier for each qualitative response. A data-led approach to the analysis of these qualitative responses was then undertaken (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Howitt, 2010). I reviewed each of the responses for the question on negative experiences and gave them a unique code, or multiple codes, based on the content of the response. Once all of the responses for this question had been coded, I organized and grouped them according to the major themes that emerged. Once the set of original themes had been developed, I re-analyzed each of the responses to ensure that it fit under the theme it was assigned to, and with the other responses within that categorization. The responses that did not fit within their original theme were re-categorized appropriately. It should be noted that some of the responses fit under more than one of the themes, and were dealt with accordingly. The categorizations were not treated as mutually exclusive; i.e. the negative experience of a youth could fit into one or more of the themes. For example, if a respondent said that he was often stopped by the police and had been assaulted by a police officer, the response would be coded as both “stopped” and “assaulted.” The same procedure was undertaken for the responses to the question on positive police experiences.

**Negative Experiences (N=243)**

Four major themes related to negative police experiences emerged from the data. These themes are adapted from Weitzer and Tuch (2004). These themes are not mutually exclusive. A youth’s most negative police experience could fit under more than one of the themes.

Table 4.11 presents four types of negative police experience that the youth reported, along with the percentage of youth from the entire sample (N=328) who said that they had endured this type of experience.
experience. As indicated in the table, a substantial proportion of the youth reported that their most negative police experience involved being victimized by excessive force or police brutality (36.0%) or by being stopped, searched or detained by the police (29.0%). The four types of negative experience are examined in greater detail below.

Table 4.11 Percent of Respondents Who Report Having a Negative Experience with the Police by Type of Experience

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Negative Experience</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brutality - Excessive force</td>
<td>36.0%</td>
<td>64.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stopped/Searched/Detained</td>
<td>29.0%</td>
<td>71.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal abuse/Disrespect/Harassment</td>
<td>18.6%</td>
<td>81.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>False arrest/False evidence^35</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>92.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>N=328</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stopped/Searched/Detained by the Police

The frequency with which the police stop Black males, particularly young Black males, remains a contentious issue in Toronto as it does in many other large urban centres. As the previous chapter showed, Black men in Toronto are more likely than their white and Chinese counterparts to report being stopped by the police, and much more likely to report being stopped on multiple occasions. As Table 4.6 above indicates, the young men in this sample reported very high levels of police-initiated contact; almost nine in ten youths said that they had been stopped by the police in the six months leading up to the interview, and over one-third reported that they had been stopped by the police on ten or more occasions over this time period. Many of the young men in this sample objected to their frequent police-initiated encounters. Almost one-third (29%) of the entire sample of youth said that being stopped, searched or detained by the police...

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^35 While 57.2% of the youth felt that they had been falsely arrested by the police (see Table 4.8), only 7.9% of the youth stated that a false arrest constituted their most negative police experience. It is possible that many of the youth who reported being falsely arrested by the police also had another experience that they felt was more negative.
constituted their most negative police experience. Willie\textsuperscript{36}, for example, discussed being stopped on multiple occasions in the same day. In Willie’s response to the question “what is your most negative police experience?” He replied:

\textit{Had a lot, can't remember a specific incident. I get stopped a lot – one night I was stopped 4 times in one night and questioned. It is annoying because they don't look at anyone else} (Willie, 17).

While it is not clear exactly what Willie meant by police not looking “at any one else,” it may well be that he was suggesting the police only stop young Black men – a feeling shared by young Black men in other Toronto-based studies (Neugebauer-Visano, 1996; James, 1998). Darryl also said he got stopped by the police on a regular basis and, like Willie, alluded to the racial profiling of Black men, saying that he often fits a description: “\textit{Every time I get stopped it's bad. They always say that I fit a description even if I'm not even in the same area}” (Darryl, 21). “Fitting a description” is a common reason for being stopped, according to these young men – as it is for many Black males (Smith et al., 2007). Darryl was certainly not the only youth in the sample who was told that he was being stopped for that reason:

\textit{I was at my house and the police busted in my back yard and said I matched the description} (Steve, 21).

\textit{They said I looked like I stole something. They said if I matched their description they would have to restrain me} (Curtis, 14).

\textit{They said they were looking for someone. I fit description} (Andrew, 20).

The young men also described where they get stopped by the police. Many of the youth specifically mentioned that they were walking down the street or in another public place when they were stopped by the police. Like many of his peers, Shawn reported being stopped on multiple occasions; however, he was the only young man to make reference to his

\textsuperscript{36} The names of study participants have been changed to protect their identity.
“neighbourhood” and its influence on his frequent police encounters: “If you live in my hood they always stop you, pat you down, ask you to empty your pockets and ask you where you are going. It is disrespectful” (Shawn, 22). In addition to the stigma of their neighbourhoods, their own criminal histories – perhaps unsurprisingly – were believed to influence the frequency with which the young men got stopped by the police: “I was walking down the street and they stop me for no reason, because they know my history. They stop me and ask for guns and drugs and I've got none” (Michael, 20). While some of the young men in the program have been – and continue to be – involved in a criminal lifestyle, the continued police contacts must be particularly frustrating for those who are trying to desist (see also Brunson and Miller, 2006). Willie and Shawn said that they found the stops to be “annoying” and “disrespectful.” This sentiment was held by many of the youths in the study.

Verbal Abuse/Disrespect/Harassment

It is not just the frequency with which the young men got stopped that they found objectionable, but also the way in which the police acted or behaved towards them during their repeated encounters. Many of the young men felt that they were harassed by the police. As John said: “They constantly harass me. Ask me where I'm going and where my papers are” (John, 19). I have remarked before that the treatment of young Black men in some Toronto neighbourhoods is reminiscent of Apartheid South Africa (see Rankin and Winsa, 2012). In making these comments, I was referring to the pass laws under Apartheid that required Black people to carry proper documentation and severely restricted their movement. John seems to be a case in point; he referred to his “papers” in the way Black South Africans talked about their “pass.” Without good reason to believe John had done something wrong, the police had no business asking him
where he was going or to provide his “papers.” Yet this type of police activity appears to be commonplace, and was certainly perceived by the youths as harassment.

For some of the young men, harassment by the police came during the course of what could be described as legitimate police business. The following quotations are illustrative:

[The] cop who arrested me bothers me and tries to search me every time he sees me, even if I'm not doing anything (Tray, 23).

[I was] standing outside the mall and two police came up to me and just started asking me questions and harassing me for no reason. Just embarrassing me in front of everyone (Marc, 20).

Marc said that he was harassed by the police while standing outside of the mall. It is quite possible that the police were conducting a legitimate investigation; however, Marc was still embarrassed because the interaction drew spectators. Being stopped and questioned in front of other members of the public was something many youth felt is unpleasant, particularly when they believed they had done nothing wrong. Such activities on the part of the police also perpetuate stereotypes associating young Black men with crime in the minds of both the police and the general public (Harris, 1999).

Furthermore, although it is to be expected that the police will sometimes stop and question someone who has done nothing wrong, there is little or no excuse for being rude or disrespectful to a member of the public. This type of interaction, however, was common amongst the young men, as Kwesi, a 22 year old explained: They always, like, tease you and insult you like you are stupid.” Kwesi felt that he was belittled by the police. This type of behaviour undoubtedly goes against the professionalism that the police try to portray and, if found valid, may be grounds for a complaint. The use of racist language by the police when dealing with a member of the public is even more objectionable. Dustin, who provided the following statement, claimed that he was called racist names by a police officer while he was skateboarding with his
friends: [I was] skateboarding at Yorkdale Mall parking lot, white cop told us to leave calling us a "bunch of niggers" (Dustin, 14). Henry not only said that he was called racist names, but that he was also assaulted in the course of an interaction with the police: “[A] policeman called me racist words like nigger and punched me in the face and cut my lip” (Henry, 20). The use of racist language by a police officer is not only highly offensive, but also a clear violation of the anti-racism and human rights policies developed by the Toronto Police Service and other services within the GTA. Although commonly dismissed as the actions of a few “bad apples” (Tator and Henry, 2006), the testimony of the young men provides evidence that overt racism is still a problem within policing in Toronto.

**Brutality and Excessive Force**

Physical abuse at the hands of the police was the most common negative experience reported by the young men. Being “beat up” or “stomped out” by the police appeared to be a fairly regular occurrence for these young men. Many who had this type of experience simply stated that they got beaten up by the police without elaborating on the circumstances. From the accounts provided, it seems that an uncooperative or disrespectful demeanour on the part of the youth might have resulted in them being roughed up. Furthermore, being in possession of drugs or a weapon was often reason enough for a beating by police. Yet the young men often felt that they were abused by the police for no reason at all. As Robert said, he was just going about his business when he was “violated” by the police:

*I was going to my aunt’s house and police stopped me asking me where I was going. Then grabbed my arms and one grabbed my crotch to see if I had a gun or something. But I was wearing shorts. I felt really violated* (Robert, 20).

Chris also complained that his genitals were grabbed by the police when they were trying to search him:
All officers are gay. One officer trying to search me and I was refusing because there was no charge. He then started to grab my nuts like a "faggot". So I don't like officers, they abuse their power (Chris, 18).

Chris admitted that he did not want the officers to search him because he was not being charged with anything. When we look at the rates of formal arrests compared to the number of times the young men had been stopped and searched over the past six months (Tables 4.4 and 4.9), we can see that many, if not most, of the interactions did not result in any formal action by the police.

Unsurprisingly then, the young men were ambivalent about the interactions, and did not want to talk to the police. Devon claimed that failure to talk on his part resulted in an assault:

They arrested me for no reason and I wasn't talking. They saw that I had a crack in my head. I had it stitched from basketball. They banged my head against the wall and cracked it open again to make me talk. It started bleeding again, I had to get it re-stitched because one of the stitches came out. I was just turned fourteen (Devon, 16).

Andrew said that he was beaten for failing to talk: “Yes. When I was arrested for my last charge they assaulted me because I didn't want to say anything” (Andrew, 24). Asking the police questions could also be rather dangerous for these young men. Any citizen in Canada has the right to ask a police officer to identify themselves; however, according to the respondents, some police seemed to not like being questioned, nor did they appreciate challenges to their authority. As Leon explained:

[I] tried to defend a friend who was being searched for no reason. I got charged with obstruction of justice. Another instance where I asked a police officer for his badge number and name. Supposedly I threatened him by saying I would shoot him. Got chased and pepper-sprayed and my little sister did too (Leon, 21).

There are a number of organizations in Toronto that provide “know your rights” education seminars for youth to help equip them with the knowledge they need to interact with the police. However, there seems to be quite a difference between the rights as laid out in the Canadian
*Charter of Rights and Freedoms* and the rights that one can expect to be able to exercise when dealing with the police in one of Toronto’s high-crime neighbourhoods. Previous research has illustrated how a lack of cooperation and hostile demeanor can increase the chances that a citizen will receive a formal sanction from the police (Engle et al., 2010). In the case of these young men, such hostility resulted in physical abuse rather than a formal sanction.

In the same way that asking a police officer for their name or challenging their authority should not result in an assault by the police, someone who has broken the law or who is perceived by the police to be lying does not warrant a beating. However, Doug felt that this is exactly what happened to him: “They fucked me up. They thought I was lying about being somewhere. They fucked me up then took me to the police station. They punched me in the face, kicked me, stomped on me, etc. …” (Doug, 18). Doug said the police thought he was being untruthful, and he was therefore beaten up. Damon admits that he had a weapon on him “[The] police stopped me and I disclosed that I had a weapon on me – I laid down, face down in the snow and when I handed them the gun, they stomped the shit out of me; they broke my ribs” (Damon, 22). Damon was the recipient of “street justice.” The police took the opportunity to administer their own justice before Damon had been found guilty in court.

The street justice that the youth are dealt at the hands of the police can also be accompanied by frivolous charges. In order to cover up a beating or to justify an assault, the police may lay charges of assaulting a police officer, resisting arrest, or obstructing justice. Carl recounted the following: “[t]hey beat me up and then charged me with assaulting police” (Carl, 18). Owen and Russell also talked about being charged by the police after they were beaten:

*Police officers beat me up. They said I was resisting arrest. They used excessive force. They handcuffed and beat me two years ago* (Owen, 20).
I was behind the building and the police raided me, looking for drugs—thought I was selling drugs. They didn't find anything on me and they beat me up. Scraped my eye and head and had to go to an eye specialist. They then stood around and talked about what they were going to say I did. Said I was resisting arrest (Russell, 22).

Like the young men discussed above, Russell felt that he was beaten because the police thought he was doing something wrong. When the police failed to find any evidence to support their suspicion, Russell claimed that they assaulted him and then charged him with resisting arrest, a seemingly easy way for the police to justify their actions. Although Russell acknowledged that the police made up the story to cover themselves, he did not mention having done anything about it. As Table 4.4, above illustrates, most of the young men felt that “if it’s your word against the police, the police will always win.” It is therefore quite unlikely that the young men would attempt to seek some kind of remedy for being wronged.

False Arrest and False Evidence

As shown in the first section of this chapter, almost two-thirds of the young men reported that they believed that the police sometimes arrest innocent people, and over one-third said that they themselves had been falsely arrested on at least one occasion in their lives. Furthermore, in recounting stories of police abuse, it was shown that the young men experienced false arrests as a result of being uncooperative, questioning authority, or to justify an assault that was received at the hands of police. It is unsurprising, then, that some youth reported false arrests as their most negative police experience.

Some of the youth reported being falsely arrested for crimes that had taken place in their area. When asked about his most negative police experience, Harry replied “[g]etting arrested for something I didn’t do—falsely accused of robbery” (Harry, 24). Likewise, Maurice had a similar experience: “[I was] falsely arrested for robberies in the area, they arrested me, when I
had nothing to do with it” (Maurice, 18). In other circumstances the police may hand out a ticket for something the youth did not do. In Wade’s case, for example:

I was walking down the street and the police were watching us and followed us on their bikes. They stopped me and said they saw me spit on the ground... I didn’t spit on the ground. They gave me a ticket for spitting and I will never pay it (Wade, 18).

It would be difficult for Wade to prove that he did not spit on the ground. Nevertheless, he said that he will never pay the ticket. Unfortunately, this could have negative consequences for him, and could lead to further charges for failing to pay the ticket when he encounters the police again. In a similar manner, Kofi claimed that having false evidence planted on him resulted in a trip back to prison “[The police] arrested me and planted something on me so they could take me in – messed up parole, went back and did three years” (Kofi, 21). In Wade’s case, a false accusation led to a ticket that could likely be cleared up by paying a fine. In Kofi’s case, the consequences were much more serious. Regardless of the seriousness of the outcome, false accusations and false arrests can have a long term impact on the lives of the young men. Evidently, the proactive policing practices undertaken in Toronto’s priority neighbourhoods increase the chances that these youth will have negative encounters with the police that include false accusations and evidence planting. Furthermore, the seemingly minor infractions that can come as a result of these negative encounters can have serious consequences and lead to the further criminalization of these young men. By targeting these youth, and treating them negatively, the police “create” crime. The stigma of a criminal record, of course, can harm future employment opportunities for the young men. With limited employment opportunities, the chances of future offending are increased (Harris, 1999).

As illustrated by the stories provided above, the young men in this sample had a range of negative experiences with the police. The qualitative analysis provides support for the
quantitative findings. Indeed, many of the young men reported that they were frequently stopped by the police, and that they perceived these stops as unnecessary. The young men also felt that they were treated poorly by the police, and subjected to verbal abuse and harassment. Amongst the most serious form of police abuse is brutality and excessive force, the most commonly reported negative experience amongst these young men. What is troubling is that in addition to physical assaults, the young men claimed that they were sometimes subsequently charged by the police in an effort to cover their own backs. Such allegations suggest that young Black men’s experiences with the police in Canada are similar to those reported in the United States and the United Kingdom. Indeed, research in the latter two countries has also found that young Black men feel that they are unfairly stopped, searched, arrested and verbally/physically abused by the police (Brunson and Miller, 2006; Sharp and Atherton, 2007). However, it must be acknowledged that not all of these young men’s experiences with the police are negative. Below I examine the youths’ positive experiences with the police.

**Positive Experiences (N=102)**

Five major themes related to positive police experiences emerged from the data. Table 4.12 presents the five types of positive police experience, and the percentage of youths from the entire sample who said that they had this type of experience. As indicated in Table 4.12, the youths’ most common, positive experiences with the police occurred at school or during some type of program (13.1%), or involved the officer being nice, friendly or respectful (8.2%). The youths’ positive experiences are explored in more detail below.
Table 4.12 Percent of Respondents Who Report Having a Positive Experience with the Police by Type of Experience

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Positive Experience</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Police officer was involved in sport, school or other program</td>
<td>13.1%</td>
<td>86.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A police officer was nice, friendly or respectful</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
<td>91.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police provided assistance in a crime</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>95.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A police officer made nice gesture such as provided advice, bought the youth food</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>96.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police gave the youth a break</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>97.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=328

Police Officer was Involved in Sport, School or Other Program

A police officer’s involvement in a school, sport, or other form of program was the most common response given by the youth with regard to their most positive experience with the police. As noted above, police services within the Greater Toronto Area have exerted great effort to foster relations with minority communities, and Black communities in particular. Some of these initiatives include basketball and hockey programs that police officers coach or help out with. Other, somewhat more controversial initiatives include having police officers assigned to specific schools as “School Resource Officers,” as is the case with the Toronto Police Service. As the following examples illustrate, police involvement in community programs and sports initiatives can have a positive effect on how some youth view the police.

At a community centre, [the police] played basketball with the young people in the after school program. Made us think, "maybe they aren't that bad after all" – I was running the program and so he came to talk to me after. The police officer had arrested me before, so he knew me (Jamal, 23).

In the example above, Jamal had had contact with the officer before, and even though the officer had previously arrested him, Jamal was still able to see the positive side of the officer’s
activities. Reggie, below, discussed the impact of the police coming to his school to talk to students.

_The police coming to my middle school and talking about how they care about the community and are down to earth and not like what people think they are_ (Reggie, 18).

While most of the community outreach programs and initiatives have not been subject to rigorous evaluation (Stenning, 2003; Owusu-Bempah and Wortley, 2014), the 13.1% of youth that stated that an officer’s involvement in such a program was positive is an encouraging sign.

_Police Provided Assistance in a Crime_

The police simply performing one of their key functions – assisting crime victims – was viewed as the most positive type of experience for 4.3% of the youths. Some people living within impoverished and racialized communities have complained that they feel over-policing while being simultaneously under-protected; that while there may be a heavy police presence in their neighbourhoods, they do not feel that the police do enough to prevent crime or to help the victims of crime in these areas (McGhee, 2005). Nevertheless, Andre felt that the police response to his friends’ victimization, and the way in which the police handled the situation, constituted his most positive police experience.

_My friends got into an argument. They left and one of my friends got stabbed. The cop said they are going to find him. He came back and told us that he found who did it and made sure we knew that. That was good. I appreciated that_ (Andre, 23).

As Andre noted, the fact that the police came back to follow up with him and his friends was viewed positively.
A Police Officer was Nice, Friendly or Respectful:

The positive way in which a police officer treated the young men or the people around them emerged as the second most common type of positive police experience. Fairness and friendliness on the part of an officer was a common theme within this response category. Some of the young men simply stated that an officer was “nice” or “friendly” during the course of an interaction. Others spoke specifically about feeling like they had been treated fairly, as Mark illustrated: “[y]es the police have treated me fairly two different times …” (Mark, 18).

Respectfulness on the part of the officer was also an important theme. Recall, in Tables 5 and 6 above, that very few of the young men reported being treated with fairness or respect when they had dealt with the police over the past six months. The disrespectful treatment that the young men received at the hands of the police often involved the police being rude and having an “attitude” when talking to the youth. When officers did not have an attitude, some youths noticed. When asked about his most positive police experience, Chris, a 19-year-old, recounted: “Yes. [The] police saying "hi" without attitude.” Shawn had a similar experience: “Yes. Late at night, some officers on their bikes came up and made a joke about how I should be sleeping. It was light-hearted, it wasn't rude or anything” (Shawn, 14).

While some of the young men identified the behaviour of the officer as being positive, others went further to talk about the role that they themselves played in shaping the interaction. Sam spoke specifically about fairness: “[I] have had a couple of experiences that the police were cool – where they were acting still human ... I treated them fair and they treated me the same” (Sam, 13). Likewise, Nicholas talked about using his manners to avoid a negative encounter: “There have been many times when I've just used my manners and they've gone about their business – where we've both been respectful” (Nicholas, 18). A key aspect of the positive
treatment is the impact that interaction may have on the youths’ views of the police. As the young man above pointed out, the police were acting “human.” When recounting their most positive interaction, several of the young men commented that they did not feel like they were talking to the police.

The type of treatment that the young men have reported as their most positive police experience may be quite different from that which they usually received. Not only did many of these young men fit the description of the “symbolic assailant” – being young, Black, and some dressed in “street clothes” – but they also lived in high-crime areas of Toronto, and most admitted to being involved in crime and delinquency. These young men were likely the recipients of a hard-enforcement type of policing that is practiced in higher crime neighbourhoods rather than a “softer,” community-style of policing intended to foster community relations. However, these two types of policing need not be mutually exclusive. As the youth in the very first quote in the series mentioned, he saw the positive side of an officer who had previously arrested him. Nice, fair, and respectful treatment can coexist with the police mandate to “serve and protect.”

A Police Officer Made a Nice Gesture

In addition to receiving friendly or respectful treatment from the police, positive experiences also involved an officer going beyond what would usually be expected of them by providing the youths with something – material or otherwise – that they valued. Responses in this category included the youths recounting examples where a police officer provided them with advice or guidance that they thought was helpful. John’s experience provides an example:

“[a]dvice, good conversations, advice for career in policing.” (John, 17) Some of the youth also said that a police officer had bought or given them something of value:
Gave money for lunch – officer in school (Dan, 15).

I was with [Jeff] (a caseworker) and we went over to [the police division] to thank them for the tickets they gave us to go to Wonderland (a local amusement park) (Kevin, 19).

As was the case with friendly or respectful officers, the officer making a nice gesture to the young men provided them with a view of the police that may be very different from that which they have developed seeing the police in action on the streets in their neighbourhoods.

The Police Gave the Youth a Break

The final type of positive experience for the young men was getting a break from a police officer. For some of the young men, getting a break included experiencing lower than normal levels of surveillance from the police, or not being searched during an encounter. For example, Nathaniel commented that “I got pulled over and they didn't search me – that was good for me” (Nathaniel, 21). Presumably, Nathaniel was used to getting searched by the police when he was stopped. For others, getting a break meant being let off by the police when they had done something wrong. For 3% of the young Black men in this sample, their most positive experience with the police involved benefiting from police discretion. In the two examples that follow, the young men talked of having broken the law, but being let off by the police:

Some girl stole my phone, I tracked her down and essentially assaulted her. It was all caught on tape and the police didn't arrest me because there was a warrant out on the girl (Troy, 22).

When I got my hand cut with glass, a cop brought me to the hospital and didn't charge me. I punched through a window out of frustration (Tommy, 21).

Getting a break for these young men also included the police turning a blind eye to an outstanding warrant, or a potential administrative charge for breach of probation or parole. As in
the case of Shane: “[I] had a warrant for my arrest and the cops gave me a chance to deal with it rather than getting arrested at that time” (Shane, 24). Shane, like the others who were spared administrative charges by the police, was fortunate. Violating the terms of one’s probation or parole is an easy way to get caught up in the criminal justice system. As the previous section on negative experiences illustrates, not all of the youths felt that they had been so lucky.

Despite their negative views and frequent negative encounters, about one-third of the youth said they have had a positive experience with the police. Many of these positive experiences took place in the context of school or in some sort of program that a police officer was involved in. Other positive experiences came in the form of assistance provided by the police, either after a youth had been victimized or during some other circumstance. Kind gestures such as being provided with material goods, or being given a break by a police officer, were also viewed positively by the youth. Importantly, some youths acknowledged the role that they themselves played in influencing their encounters with the police. In some cases, being polite and respectful toward the police was thought to lead to a positive police experience. In the section below, I will explore whether positive and negative experiences with the police influenced the youths’ views of police performance, their trust and confidence in the police, and their perceptions of police bias.

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS

Overall, the findings presented above indicate that this group of young Black men held very negative views of the police. The young men evaluated the performance of the police as poor and had little trust and confidence in the police. Furthermore, the young men perceived the police as biased and corrupt. The findings also illustrate the frequency with which the young men
encountered the police. The young men reported high rates of police stops and searches, and perceived the actions of the officers during these encounters as unfair and disrespectful. Frequent stops and searches and disrespectful treatment emerged as two of the four types of most negative police experiences that the youth recounted. In addition to their negative experiences, about one-third of the youth did report positive experiences with the police. The Toronto Police often use community outreach initiatives as a means of repairing the damage done by enforcement-focused policing such as gang sweeps and raids (Rogers and D’Aliesio, 2013; CBC – Metro Morning, 2013). In order to determine whether the youths’ views were influenced by their positive and negative experiences with the police, or by other theoretically relevant variables, I conducted a series of multivariate analysis. The results of these analyses are presented below. The theoretical relevance of the variables included in the logistic regressions is discussed in Chapter Two. A full description of the dependent and independent variables is presented in Appendix D.

Police Performance, and Trust and Confidence in the Police

In the OLS regression equation presented in Table 4.13, a scale of police performance, trust, and confidence was regressed on a series of predictor variables. To create the Police Performance, Trust, and Confidence Index, ten\textsuperscript{37} items on police performance, trust, and confidence were combined into a single measure (alpha=.88) Higher scores on this index indicate more positive evaluations of police performance and greater trust and confidence (for a full description of the dependent variables see Appendix D)\textsuperscript{38}.

\textsuperscript{37} There are eleven items on police performance and trust and confidence in the police presented in Table 4.2. The first item “(1) innocent people are almost never arrested” was not included in the Police Performance, Trust, and Confidence Index because it did not scale well with the other items.

\textsuperscript{38} An independent variable on police stops was originally utilized in this analysis. Because such a high proportion of the youth reported that they had been stopped by the police in the previous six months, the police stops variable was removed. Instead, the four types of negative police experiences (of which being stopped/searched/detained by the police is one) were each entered as independent variables into the equation.
Table 4.13. OLS Regression on Police Performance, Trust and Confidence Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor Variables</th>
<th>MODEL</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Beta</td>
<td>Sig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-.022</td>
<td>-.009</td>
<td>.855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age at Immigration</td>
<td>.148</td>
<td>.077</td>
<td>.083</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency of Marijuana use</td>
<td>-.577</td>
<td>-.226</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-identified former or current gang member</td>
<td>1.221</td>
<td>.080</td>
<td>.106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Crime Score</td>
<td>.022</td>
<td>.008</td>
<td>.869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive Attitudes to school and work</td>
<td>.136</td>
<td>.297</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime Victim</td>
<td>.049</td>
<td>.067</td>
<td>.175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-reported Crime and Delinquency</td>
<td>-.037</td>
<td>-.146</td>
<td>.014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stopped/Searched/Detained</td>
<td>-1.877</td>
<td>-.113</td>
<td>.011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal abuse/Disrespect/Harassment</td>
<td>-3.086</td>
<td>-.196</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brutality - Excessive force</td>
<td>.235</td>
<td>.008</td>
<td>.848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>False arrest/False evidence</td>
<td>-2.000</td>
<td>-.103</td>
<td>.018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive Police Experience</td>
<td>.025</td>
<td>.078</td>
<td>.068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spent time in Custody</td>
<td>-2.471</td>
<td>-.161</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>12.689</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R Square</td>
<td>.443</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R Square</td>
<td>.419</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sample size=328

Several variables were found to have a negative relationship with perceptions of police performance, and trust and confidence in the police. Like Cox and Falkenberg (1987) and Brick et al. (2009), I find that self-reported delinquency is related to negative attitudes towards the police. For example, youths who used marijuana more frequently had lower levels of trust and confidence in the police, and evaluated police performance more negatively than those who did not use marijuana. Self-reported involvement in crime and delinquency and having spent time in custody both negatively influenced perceptions of police performance, and trust and confidence in the police. Furthermore, previous contact with the police appears to influence perceptions of police performance (Weitzer and Tuch, 2002). Several of the police experience variables were negatively related to evaluations of police performance and trust and confidence in the police. Indeed, experiencing verbal abuse, disrespect or harassment from the police is the strongest predictor of negative appraisals of police performance, and trust and confidence in the police.
Youths who reported that their most negative police experience involved being stopped, searched or detained by the police, and those who said their most negative experience involved being falsely arrested or having false evidence planted on them, evaluated police performance and trust and confidence in the police more negatively than those who did not report such experiences. Conversely, positive experiences with the police were only marginally related to positive attitudes towards the police, providing support for previous research indicating that negative police experiences have more of an impact on citizen attitudes towards the police than positive encounters (Weitzer and Tuch, 2006). Interestingly, the results also suggest a positive relationship between attitudes towards education and employment and perceptions of police performance, trust, and confidence in the police. Young men who had positive attitudes towards education and employment had more trust and confidence in the police, and evaluated the performance of the police more highly than those with negative attitudes towards education and employment. Below, I turn to the multivariate analysis of perceptions of police bias and corruption.

**Police Bias and Corruption**

As with the questions on police performance and trust and confidence in the police, I also wanted to examine whether there were any theoretically relevant variables that influenced the young men’s perceptions of police bias and corruption; this analysis is presented below. The results of an OLS regression equation predicting perceptions of police bias and corruption are presented in Table 4.14. To create the Police Bias and Corruption Index, the eight items on police bias and corruption were added together (alpha=.79). Higher scores on this index indicate that respondents saw police as more biased and corrupt. This index was then regressed on a set of
predictor variables to determine whether they were related to the youths’ perceptions of police bias and corruption.

Table 4.14 OLS Regression on Police Bias and Corruption Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor Variables</th>
<th>MODEL</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Beta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>.209</td>
<td>.128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age at Immigration</td>
<td>-.084</td>
<td>-.067</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency of Marijuana use</td>
<td>.171</td>
<td>.103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-identified former or current gang member</td>
<td>-.146</td>
<td>-.015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Crime Score</td>
<td>.075</td>
<td>.039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive Attitudes to school and work</td>
<td>-.061</td>
<td>-.205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime Victim</td>
<td>.060</td>
<td>.127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-reported Crime and Delinquency</td>
<td>.004</td>
<td>.025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stopped/Searched/Detained</td>
<td>.807</td>
<td>.075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal abuse/Disrespect/Harassment</td>
<td>2.549</td>
<td>.250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brutality - Excessive force</td>
<td>1.410</td>
<td>.078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>False arrest/False evidence</td>
<td>1.519</td>
<td>.120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive Police Experience</td>
<td>-.004</td>
<td>-.020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spent time in Custody</td>
<td>.678</td>
<td>.068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>32.251</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the results indicate, age was positively related to perceptions of police bias and corruption; older youths were more likely to perceive bias and corruption than were younger youths. Being the victim of a crime also influenced perceptions of police bias and corruption – youth who had been victimized were more likely to perceive bias and corruption than those who had not. This is an interesting finding given that victimization was not related to the youths’ perceptions of police performance and trust and confidence in the police. One possible explanation is that the youth felt they received inferior treatment as the victims of crime because of their race, age, social status, or area of residence, for example. Thus their views of police bias were shaped by their experiences as the victims of crime (see also Gabbidon et al, 2011). This
Two forms of negative police experience emerged as significant predictors of perceptions of police bias and corruption. Similar to the results for police performance and trust and confidence, the experiencing of verbal abuse, disrespect and harassment emerged as the strongest predictor of perceptions of bias and corruption. Indeed, youth who reported that their most negative police experience involved being verbally abused, disrespected or harassed by the police perceived more bias than youth who did not. Youth who reported that their most negative experience was being falsely arrested or having evidence planted on them also perceived more bias and corruption than those who did not. Clearly, the negative police encounters – a typical occurrence for these young men – negatively influenced how they viewed the police. In contrast, those youth who had positive attitudes towards education and employment were less likely to perceive bias and corruption in policing. Unlike the findings presented in the previous chapter, being stopped, searched or detained by the police did not influence perceptions of bias amongst the sample of youth. Because this negative police experience did influence the youths’ perceptions of police performance, this finding is unexpected. It is possible that because rates of stops and perceptions of bias were so uniform across the sample (see Tables 4.3 and 4.4), there is too little variation to distinguish the effects of this variable. This might also explain why self-reported delinquency did not influence perceptions of police bias, as almost all of the youths reported engaging in some form of delinquency in the six months leading up to their pre-test interview (see Table 4.1).
CONCLUSION

It should be clear from the data presented above that the young men in this study held rather unfavourable views of the police. Overall, the young men rated the performance of the police poorly, and held little trust and confidence in the institution. Furthermore, they viewed the police as both biased and corrupt. The findings with regard to police performance, trust and confidence, and bias/corruption align with previous research showing that Black youths’ appraisals of the police are consistently less positive than those of Black adults (Hurst et al., 2000; Brunson and Miller, 2006; Sharp and Atherton, 2007). Indeed, the youths in this study held more negative views of the police than the Black adults profiled in Chapter Three. It is quite possible that the perceptions that the young men held are the result of extensive negative experiences with the police – including the multiple stops and searches that many of the young men felt constituted harassment. These repeated stops and searches were often characterized – at least from the youths’ perspectives – by rude and disrespectful treatment that, at its worst, took the form of physical abuse. Again, these findings are consistent with previous Canadian, American and British research (James, 1998; Brunson and Miller, 2006; Sharp and Atherton, 2007). The feelings of harassment were drawn out in the qualitative findings in which the youth recounted their negative experiences. Approximately three-quarters of the young men provided an example of their most negative police experience. These negative experiences included police brutality, being stopped and searched, being verbally and physically abused, and being falsely arrested. Importantly, some of the young men acknowledged that their own hostile or negative demeanour can provoke the police. These young men recognized that the abuse they receive from the police can sometimes be avoided by being polite, which highlights the importance of citizen demeanour in shaping the outcome of police interactions (Engel et al., 2010). Being polite
likely becomes more difficult, however, when encounters are so frequent and when the police are actively trying to get a rise out of the young men.

It should be noted that while negative encounters comprised the majority of police experiences that the young men provided, some of the youth did report positive experiences with the police. Many of these positive experiences occurred in the context of educational or sports programs in which police officers participated. The young men looked fondly upon police officers who were helpful in providing them with assistance after a crime had occurred, officers who they felt were friendly and respectful, and officers who made a nice gesture to them (see also Brunson and Miller, 2006).

Available evidence suggests that positive interactions with the police tend to improve perceptions, while negative encounters have the opposite effect (Smith et al., 1991; Worral, 1999). Although findings are mixed (see Jacob 1971; Dean, 1980; Huang and Vaughn, 1996; Cheurprakobkit, 2000), Weitzer and Tuch (2006) suggest that negative or unpleasant experiences with the police tend to have a stronger effect on shaping perceptions than do positive ones (19). The results of the multivariate analysis support the latter point, indicating that the positive experiences of the young men had only a marginal influence on their evaluations of police performance and levels of trust and confidence in the police, and had no impact on their perceptions of police bias and corruption. Youth who reported that they have had a positive experience with the police were no more likely to hold favourable attitudes towards the police than youth who did not report positive experiences. Conversely, the multivariate findings indicate that negative police experiences did influence the youths’ views of the police. Indeed, youths who reported that their most negative police experience involved being stopped, searched or detained, being verbally abused, disrespected or harassed, or being falsely arrested held less
favourable views of police performance and levels of trust and confidence in the police than youths who did not report these experiences. Likewise, youths who reported that their most negative police experience involved being verbally abused or being falsely arrested were more likely to perceive the police as biased and corrupt than youths without these experiences. These findings are important given the high number of youths in the sample that reported having these negative experiences. Available evidence also suggests that such treatment at the hands of the police in Toronto is not limited to the youths in this sample (Neugebauer-Visano, 1996; James, 1998; Rankin and Winsa, 2012).

Surprisingly, experiencing police brutality did not influence perceptions of police performance or perceptions of bias amongst youths in this sample. This finding is surprising because previous research suggests that knowledge of police brutality can influence perceptions of the police amongst racialized citizens (Weitzer, 2002). However, although police brutality/excessive force was the most commonly cited negative experience, it may actually not have been the youths’ most frequent experience. Remember, the youths were asked for their most negative police experience, not their most frequent. Therefore, police stops and verbal abuse, for example, may have been more commonly experienced by the youths (see Tables 4.4, 4.5 and 4.6), and thus have had more influence on perceptions of the police than the more egregious yet less frequent experiences of police brutality or excessive force.

Finally, although the findings indicate that positive police experiences did not improve the youths’ views of the police, positive views of other social institutions did. The multivariate analysis shows that youths that had positive views towards education and employment also held positive views of the police. This is an important finding given that we know young Black men face challenges both in the education sector and in the workforce (Henry and Tator, 2005). This
finding could be reflective of their position within our society, and their outlook on life more generally. Indeed, previous Canadian research indicates that young Black men experience discrimination in both the education and employment sectors, and that they are aware that such discrimination exists (Cladas et al, 2009; Codjoe, 2001; Swidinsky and Swidinsky 2002; Ruck and Wortley, 2002). Previous research has also shown that Black youth are more likely to grow up in conditions of poverty and to reside in social housing than are youth from other racial
groups (Torczyner, 2003). Therefore, the young men’s views towards the police may form just one part of a worldview influenced by the perception of living “socially unjust lives” (Khenti, 2013). The influence of the young men’s outlook on life could have been more closely examined had other unmeasured variables, such as socialization and vicarious experience with the police, been included in the analysis.

The perceptions and experiences of this group of young Black men may have been expected given that they were recruited from a gang intervention and prevention program, and had relatively high levels of self-reported delinquency. Nevertheless, their views and experiences are important because they form part of a shared understanding of policing within Black communities that is transmitted through the vicarious experiences highlighted in Chapter Three (see also Brunson and Miller, 2006). In order to provide a countervailing perspective, we will now turn to a sample of Black male police officers to examine their views of the police and the policing of Toronto’s Black communities.
Chapter Four Research Questions Addressed in Brief

1) How did young Black men in Toronto’s “priority neighbourhoods” view the Toronto police?

The young Black men held very unfavourable views of the police. In particular, the young men had very low levels of trust and confidence in the police and perceived high levels of police bias.

2) How frequently did the young Black men encounter the police and what was the nature of their interactions?

Overall the young men had very high levels of contact with the police (both stops and searches). The majority of the young men did not feel that they were treated well during these frequent interactions. The young men described their experiences with the police as being overwhelmingly negative. As noted above, two-thirds of the youth felt that they were treated unfairly and with disrespect when they had dealt with the police in the previous six months. Substantially more youth reported having had a negative experience with the police (74.1% or n=243 youth) than a positive experience (31.1% or n=102 youth).

3) Did the young Black men’s experiences with the police influence their views of the institution?

Negative police experiences resulted in less favourable views of the police. Positive experiences with the police did not influence the youths’ perceptions of the institution.
CHAPTER 5
Insider Perspectives on the Policing of Black Communities

At the time of this writing, a Black policeman in the Greater Toronto Area was brought before an internal disciplinary hearing after being charged with misconduct for failing to investigate racist threats directed at him by a member of the public (Edwards, 2013). The officer has subsequently sued his police department alleging racial discrimination, arguing that a white officer would not have been treated in such a manner by their own police service (Edwards, 2014). This story depicts quite clearly the troubles facing many Black police officers. Not only do they experience racism from members of the public and hostility from Black citizens, they are also confronted with particular challenges within the institutions they work for (Bolton and Feagin, 2004).

Although research is limited, available evidence suggests that the experiences of Black and other racial minority police officers in Canada have been unpleasant. In addition to the scholarly work reviewed in Chapter Two, there are several sources of information upon which to base this claim. For example, a Black Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) veteran chronicled the everyday racism that Black officers face in Canada’s national police force in his book, entitled You Had Better Be White by 6 A.M (Smith, 2006). The title of Smith’s book is taken from a directive given to a rookie RCMP officer by one of his superiors. Similarly, in 2002, following intense media coverage of police racial profiling in Toronto, four senior Black officers with the Toronto Police Service held focus group meetings with 38 racialized officers (34 Black and 4 South Asian). Their report highlighted the racism and racial profiling experienced by racialized officers at the hands of their peers and superiors. The report also highlighted the racism directed by Toronto police officers at members of Toronto’s racialized
communities, and a perceived lack of leadership in tackling this controversial issue (see Tanovich, 2006). While a small body of Canadian research has examined the experiences of Black police officers, few Canadian studies have examined Black police officers’ perspectives on the policing of Black communities (see Chapman-Nyaho, 2004; Satzewich and Shaffer, 2009; Ezeonu, 2010)

The aim of this chapter is to document and present “insider perspectives” on the policing of Black males in Toronto. This chapter will provide a third perspective on the policing of Black males, and serve as a point of comparison to the views of the adult civilian and youth populations presented earlier. While I recognize that the views of Black female officers may provide valuable insight into Black males’ experiences with the police, I am focusing here only on Black male police officers. I have done so for three reasons: first, it has been established that Black males are the focus of much police attention, thus I want to examine their perspectives; second, from a practical standpoint, it would have been difficult to include Black female officers because they are so relatively few in number; third, doing so would have introduced an additional layer of complexity to the thesis and the need to examine the different experiences of men and women in policing to fully understand the views of Black female officers.

The chapter begins with a discussion of study methodology. Details about the subject recruitment process, sample characteristics, data collection and data analysis are provided. Next, quantitative and qualitative findings documenting the officers’ perceptions of police bias and relations with Black communities are presented. The chapter then moves on to present qualitative findings exploring the officers’ perspectives on the treatment of Black people. In this section, the officers provide their own accounts of their experiences as law enforcers. The officers also
discuss the reporting of police misconduct. In the final section, the officers provide suggestions for improving the relationship between the police and Black communities.

**METHODOLOGY**

As noted above, Black police officers occupy unique positions as members of both the Black community from which they are drawn, and the police service that employs them. They can therefore provide a perspective on the policing of Black males that differs from that of the general public. Black officers are able to speak to what they see in their official capacities as law enforcers, and have the institutional knowledge and experience from which to judge the motives and actions of other officers who deal with members of the Black community on the street (Barlow and Hickman-Barlow, 2002; Bolton and Feagin, 2004). However, attempting to conduct research with Black policemen (or with any police officer, for that matter) without institutional approval is not an easy task. Aspects of the police culture, including a cynical worldview that fosters distrust of outsiders and a “code of silence,” make it difficult to gain access to police officers as research subjects. Furthermore, there is said to be an affinity amongst police officers that creates a sense of loyalty and trust. Speaking to an outsider, particularly about sensitive issues, could therefore be viewed as a violation of the police subculture, and lead to questions about an individual officer’s loyalty to the profession. This, in turn, could damage an officer’s reputation and result in reprisals that could damage one’s career (Librett, 2008). Most police services are also structured according to a paramilitary style chain of command, where

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39 One respondent, Ricky, sums this up quite well: “As a Black person out of uniform; you’re out in the community. It may be not a community that I police, but another community policed by other officers. You know, you’re out there. You interact with these guys (Black people), whether playing basketball or not, so you see it from their point of view, and then you’re back in a uniform; you’re at your station and you sort of get those guys’ point of view [police officer’s], so you get a different perspective on things, and you sort of understand a lot better as to how both sides relate to each other.”
directions come from the top down (Librett, 2008). The command structure makes it particularly difficult to talk to officers about their work without the approval of their superiors.

A failed attempt to survey racialized officers by the Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System in the early 1990s provides evidence of the challenges associated with conducting research of this nature. After the Toronto Police Association learned that researchers from the Commission had sent questionnaires to racialized officers asking for their views on racial discrimination in policing, it demanded that any officer who had received a copy of the survey to report to Association headquarters. These officers were then asked to participate in a communal burning of the survey to demonstrate police solidarity. A headline subsequently ran in the Toronto Sun exclaiming, “Commission attempts to divide officers.” Although some of the officers who received the survey made photocopies before joining in the communal burning, the Commission was unable to complete the research and ultimately no findings were published. As a result of such obstacles, some innovative approaches to recruitment were necessary to carry out the research presented in this chapter.

Recruitment

Institutional approval to conduct interviews from the police agencies where my respondents worked was not obtained prior to or during the course of this research project. There are several reasons for this. First of all, obtaining approval from police agencies to conduct research with their officers is often a lengthy and time-consuming process. This is exacerbated by the fact that there are five police agencies involved in this study, and each has its own approval process. Thus, the time it would have taken to receive official study approval would

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40 The Toronto Police Association is an organization that promotes and protects the interests of the uniformed and civilian members of the Toronto Police Service. See: http://www.tpa.ca/tpa/History.aspx.
have posed a significant challenge for a doctoral research project. Secondly, if permission was sought it could have been much more difficult to protect the identity of the research participants, thus jeopardizing their anonymity and possibly influencing what they would be willing to disclose. Third, the police services may have also wanted to nominate officers who would provide “approved” or institutionally sympathetic responses to the questions posed. In other words, the official approval process could have led to a sample of officers who felt pressured to portray the police in a positive light. Finally, there is the possibility that the police services in question would not have approved of the research project because of the controversial subject matter. Had this been the case, it would have been very difficult to conduct the study.

Because approval from the police agencies was not sought, the Black police officers included in this study were recruited through a mix of snowball and opportunity sampling (Bolton, 2003; Biernacki and Waldorf, 1981; Faugier and Sargeant, 1997).41 I first approached Black male police officers I personally knew who worked within the GTA to request their participation in the research project. I also asked these officers to pass on details about myself and about the study to other Black officers within the GTA in the hopes of securing more participants. Once I had exhausted this approach, I utilized my personal network of contacts, asking friends and colleagues to recommend suitable research subjects. In this case my contacts either provided me with the names and coordinates of police officers who had agreed to participate in the research, or provided the officers with my contact details so that they could get in touch with me.

41 Bolton (2003) also used snowball sampling to recruit Black police officers in his study of “continuing barriers in policing.” His initial sample was also drawn from “known members” of Black police fraternal organizations.
My next approach was to request the help of the Association of Black Law Enforcers\textsuperscript{42} in securing participants. I spoke with a number of long-standing members of the Association who, again, either provided me with contact details of people who had agreed to participate or provided my contact details to those they thought might be interested. I next turned to the internet as a means of identifying potential participants. I searched police websites and media outlets for stories about Black officers who had been involved in various initiatives, who had been promoted, or who had received awards for their service to the community or to their police agency. These officers were tracked down via email or telephone to request their participation. I also attended special functions such as awards ceremonies and retirement dinners that I knew would attract Black officers. At these functions I would approach officers (often identifiable by their ceremonial dress), tell them about the research I was doing, and ask them if they were willing to participate. These officers, some of whom did participate, also introduced me to other officers at the functions to whom I then relayed the same information. Finally, I also approached Black police officers I saw in uniform on the street working “paid-duty\textsuperscript{43}” at construction sites, concerts, and professional sporting events. Again, I would approach the officers and give them my script and request their participation; this method proved to be quite useful. However, there was a fair amount of skepticism around the research. Some officers would not participate because their services explicitly forbade them from doing so. Others were skeptical about speaking to someone they did not know, especially because I am not an officer myself. Other

\textsuperscript{42}“The Association of Black Law Enforcers (ABLE) is a non-profit organization formed in 1992 to “address the needs and concerns of Black and other racial minorities in law enforcement and the community” (ABLE, 2013).

\textsuperscript{43}The following description of paid duty is provided by the York Regional Police: “A Paid Duty is a work assignment arranged through the York Regional Police, where an off-duty officer performs policing duties for an individual or organization other than the York Regional Police.” https://paidduty.yrp.ca/Module/PaidDuty/en/Step/1
officers disagreed with the nature of the research, believing it to be unnecessary or controversial, and thus declined to participate.\textsuperscript{44}

\textit{The Sample}

The sample consists of 51 Black male police officers, active and retired, from five services that operate within the GTA: the Toronto Police Service; Peel Regional Police; York Regional Police; Durham Regional Police; and the Ontario Provincial Police (the OPP is responsible for policing the major highways within the GTA). Most of the respondents were active police officers at the time of the interview (88\%), and over half were above the age of 45 (53\%). The officers in the sample had a significant amount of policing experience, with over two-thirds (69\%) having 15 or more years on the job. At the time of the interviews, just over half (53\%) of the officers held the rank of police constable, about one-third (35\%) were either sergeants or staff sergeants, and the remainder (12\%) held the rank of inspector or higher. The officers also had a wide range of experience in terms of task and area assignments. Some of the officers held positions in elite squads (for example, the drug squad and the homicide squad), were assigned to posts in schools, or held important supervisory and management roles within their organizations. Other officers had spent the majority of their careers as beat officers and maintained a high level of contact with the general public. 42 (82\%) of the officers were immigrants, mostly from the Caribbean and England. All but two of the officers indicated that they maintained strong ties to Black communities and Black organizations within the GTA. Because I was using a snowball/opportunity sampling technique, I do not know how many officers declined to

\textsuperscript{44} I estimate that 12 of the officers were known to me, 22 were referred by my contacts, 4 were found on the internet and 11 were recruited on the street.
participate in the research.\footnote{I estimate that one-third of the officers I approached to participate in the research (either through email or on the street) agreed to participate in the research.} I also do not know whether there were major differences between officers who would participate and those who would not. Therefore, I do not claim this to be a representative sample.\footnote{Although a general description of the sample has been provided above, no further information about the officers is presented with the quotations throughout the chapter in order to protect their identity.}

The Interview

The interview protocol utilized in this research draws upon questions posed in several previous studies as well as new material designed specifically for this project. The interview is comprised of six sections, four of which are used in the present analysis. The first section (background information) expands upon the protocol utilized by Barlow and Hickman-Barlow (2002) in their study on Black officers’ experiences with racial profiling. This section includes questions on demographic characteristics, country of origin, current rank and years of police service. The second section (perceptions of police bias) draws from and expands upon questions posed in the 2007 Perceptions and Experiences with the Justice System Survey (PEJSS) utilized in Chapter Three. Questions in this section tap into the officer’s perceptions of police bias and their views on research findings related to citizen perceptions of police bias (such as those presented in Chapter Three). The third section of the interview (police treatment of the Black community) was developed specifically for the purposes of this research project. In this section, respondents were asked a series of questions about the types of activities and behaviours they have witnessed officers engage in when dealing with Black people and Black communities. This section also includes questions about the reporting of police misconduct. In the fourth and final section (policy solutions), respondents were asked for their suggestions to improve Black males’
perceptions of and experiences with the police. The final section was also designed specifically for the present study (see Appendix E).

Data Collection

Data collection took place between September 2011 and August 2012. All of the interviews were conducted in person with me. As noted, the Toronto Police Service has an official policy prohibiting its members from being involved in research without approval of the chief. In order to avoid detection and any potential problems that might arise if the study were to be uncovered, I first interviewed officers from the other four services before turning my attention to officers working for the Toronto Police Service.

The interviews were conducted in a variety of locations including my office and other buildings on the University of Toronto campus, coffee shops and restaurants across the GTA, police stations and the homes of respondents. Some interviews were conducted in the officers’ private vehicles. Most of the officers were comfortable and receptive to the research and reported that they were happy to be involved. A small number of officers, however, seemed more reluctant to participate in the study. Reasons for their reluctance included their own time constraints and apprehension about the possible internal repercussions for their involvement. As such, communication was kept to a minimum before and after the interviews, and interview locations were sometimes changed at the last minute. One officer in particular commented that he was hesitant to participate, but felt that he had an obligation to report his own negative experiences and those of other Black officers within his service. Needless to say, participation was voluntary and all respondents provided verbal consent before the start of the interview. The officers were also provided with an information sheet detailing the nature of study and the
possible consequences of their participation. Only one officer decided not to participate in the interview once we sat down to talk. While I was reading the purpose of the study to this officer, he became very emotional and stated that he had, in fact, faced numerous problems within his own service. Given the difficulty this officer appeared to have with the subject matter, I decided not to proceed with the interview.

Data Analysis

Once data collection was complete, the voice-recorded interviews were sent to out to a professional for transcription\textsuperscript{47}. Upon receipt of the transcribed interviews, the author subsequently verified their accuracy by listening to the original voice-recordings and comparing them to the written transcripts. Any changes that needed to be made to the transcripts were done at this point. This process also served as data familiarization, and an initial list of keywords and themes was developed. Next, the interview transcripts were imported into NVIVO 8 qualitative research software for coding. First, the answers to each question were given a label reflective of that question. For example, the responses to question “A1” from each of the 51 interviews were coded “A1” so that they could be retrieved simultaneously using the software.\textsuperscript{48}

Next, the data was coded based on the content of the response to each of the questions. If the question was closed-ended, yes/no/sometimes for instance, the responses were coded according to one of the three possible answers. If the question was open-ended, the responses were coded according to the content of the answer. During this phase of the coding, additional labels were given to chunks of text that were reflective of ideas, themes or keywords that stood

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\textsuperscript{47} 32 of the 51 officers (63\%) agreed to be voice recorded. These interviews were sent to the transcriber. The remaining 19 interviews were completed on a laptop computer and did not need to be transcribed.

\textsuperscript{48} This process, known as “topic coding,” could have been performed using the auto-code function in NVIVO had all the documents been in the same format. The documents were in different formats because some were voice recorded and then transcribed, while others were completed on a laptop.
out to me (some of which had already been developed during the data familiarization stage). As a result, the data was organized in a series of “tree nodes” (in a hierarchical structure) that reflected the responses to the interview questions. This stage of coding also produced a series of “free nodes” that reflected the additional ideas, themes and keywords that had been developed. Once the first round of coding was complete, the initial codes were compared for internal and external consistency.

A second round of coding was subsequently performed on the data. This stage focused on populating the “free nodes” with data that had been missed in the first round of coding. For example, a code may have been developed toward the end of the initial stage of coding. The second round was performed to ensure material that was coded prior to the identification of this code would not be overlooked. Once the second round of coding was complete, the codes were again checked for consistency, and brought together under general themes and categories that had been identified throughout the process. For example, an over-arching theme that emerged from the data was “Young Black Men.” All of the different codes that related to Young Black Men (i.e. “clothing,” “demeanor,” “stereotypes”) were brought together under this more general heading. Once the data had been organized and categorized into broader themes, they were read against one another to begin to understand how the themes and concepts related to each another. The responses given to the open and closed-ended questions, along with the main themes that emerged from the data analysis, are presented in the findings section below.
FINDINGS

Perceptions of Police Bias

In line with extant literature (e.g. Brunson, 2007; Weitzer and Tuch, 2006), the data presented in chapters three and four illustrate that Black men in Toronto hold negative views of the police, developed largely through personal and vicarious police contacts. Likewise, previous American research has shown that Black police officers also believe the police to be biased against Black citizens and communities. As such, I wanted to examine how Black police officers view police treatment of Black people in the Greater Toronto area. The following tables present the findings related to the officer’s perceptions of police bias against Black people within the GTA. First, respondents were asked, “In general, do you think the police treat Black people the same as white people?” As Table 5.1 indicates, 61% of the officers felt that the police treat Black people differently from white people.

Table 5.1: Percent of Respondents who Feel the Police Treat Black People the Same as White People

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Do the Police Treat Black People the Same as White People?</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[N=51\]

Those officers who indicated that they felt the police treat Black people differently (n=42) were asked a follow up question about the nature of this differential treatment. Specifically, officers were asked: “Do you think they treat Black people MUCH better, BETTER, WORSE, or MUCH

\[49\] Totals may not add up to 100% due to rounding.
worse, than they treat white people?” As indicated in Table 5.2, none of the officers who believe that Black people are treated differently by the police stated that the police treat Black people better than white people. To the contrary, almost eight out of every ten officers (80%) felt that the police treat Black people “worse” or “much worse” than they treat white people.

Table 5.2: Percent of Respondents who Believe the Police Treat Black People Worse Than White People

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How are Blacks treated differently?</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Depends</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worse</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Much Worse</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=42

Next, the officers who stated that the police treat Black people differently from white people were asked: “How often do you think they treat Black people differently than White people?” As indicated in Table 5.3, just over half of the officers felt that Black people are treated differently either “half the time” or “often.”

Table 5.3: Percent of Respondents who Feel the Police Treat Black People Differently, by Frequency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How often do the police treat Black people differently?</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Often</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half the Time</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depends</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once in a While</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almost Never</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=42

The next question, posed to all participants, asked about racial differences in police use of force. Specifically, the officers were asked “In general, do you think the police are more likely to use
physical force on Black people, on white people, or do you think there is no difference?”

Responses to this question (Table 5.4) were split almost in half; 47% of the officers felt there is no difference, while 51% felt that the police are more likely to use force on a Black person than a white person.

Table 5.4: Percent of Respondents who Believe the Police are More Likely to Use Physical Force on Black People than White People

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Police Use of Force</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Difference</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On Black People</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On White People</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=51

Although this was intended to be a closed-ended question, several officers felt the need to qualify their answers and were given the opportunity to do so. Of those officers who said there is no difference in police use of force, some believed that the use of force is situational. As Allen stated: “I’d probably say there’s no difference because you’re dealing with a situation and the reaction to that.” Another officer commented that it is fear that drives the use of force, rather than skin colour:

_I don’t think so because when the stress factors kick in you don’t really see ... the race, the colour all that, the gender, goes away. It’s neutral. All that your brain reads is the danger that you confront and, you know, it might be different in some other areas; but in [geographical location removed], from what I’ve been exposed to, no, I don’t ... there’s no difference..._ (Stanley).

While Stanley felt that an officer’s level of fear is not influenced by a citizen’s race, others disagreed. Of those respondents who believed that the police are more likely to use force on a Black person, fear of the Black male and the perception that he is a threat was identified as an

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50 The names of study participants have been changed to protect their privacy. Details about officer characteristics, such as age and years of service, have also been withheld to protect officer identity.
important factor influencing police use of force. As Craig responded: “Absolutely on Black people, and especially Black males … Police are afraid of a Black male, absolutely.”

Some officers felt that the police are not only more likely to use force on a Black person than a white person, they also believed that fear caused force to be used more quickly against Blacks. As Martin noted:

*I would say there might be a tendency to use it on Black people or you’d see the levels of force escalate quicker because I believe there’s almost like a threat factor ... A person of colour is more aggressive or he’s more strong, so I think it’s a situation where some of the officers are fearing people of colour and are almost forced to escalate their use of force options at a quicker rate (Martin).*

In addition to strength and aggressive behaviour, other stereotypes about Black males were also said to influence the use of force. Tony commented on the idea that Black people are thought to be carrying guns: “They are more likely to use force on Blacks because of the gun situation. They [the police] are always assuming that Blacks carry guns, and sometimes they’re right.” As Tony noted, this stereotype has some basis in reality. For example, Black men are over-represented as victims and offenders in gun homicides in Toronto (Khenti, 2013). Whether or not Black men are actually more likely than members of other racial groups to carry guns remains unknown.

Next, respondents were asked about the most serious form of police use of force – police shootings. Specifically, respondents were asked: “In your opinion, are Black people more likely to be unfairly or wrongly shot by the police than white people?” The responses to this question are presented in Table 4.5. A number of officers were unsure about whether there are racial differences in the likelihood of a citizen being shot by the police. Indeed, one-fifth of the officers (20%) stated that they “don’t know” in response to the question. Again, the officers’ perceptions about whether a Black person was more likely to be unfairly shot by the police than a white
person were almost evenly split between those who did feel a Black person is more likely to be unfairly shot (41%), and those who stated there is no difference (39%).

Table 5.5: Percent of Respondents who Feel that Black People are More Likely to be Unfairly Shot by the Police than White People

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Police Shoot</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black Person</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Difference</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Person</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=51

Once again, respondents who wanted the opportunity to explain their answers were given the opportunity to do so. Some of the officers who believed there are no racial differences in the likelihood of being shot by the police stated that perceptions to the contrary are based on a historical perspective, reflective of a time when Blacks were more likely to be shot by the police than white people, as Barry states:

*No, not today. There was a time when I, myself, as a police officer was concerned with some of the stuff I’d see going on in metro. You know, I was concerned about that even as a lawman.*

Presumably, this officer is referring to the series of police shootings involving Black men that occurred during the 1970s and 1980s, sparking community mobilization and the establishment of organizations such as the Black Action Defence Committee in the GTA (Campbell, 1992). Other officers were of the opinion that the police do not want to shoot anyone, and that the police service weapon is used as a means of last resort. Officers with this view also stated that being shot by the police is driven by circumstances other than the race of a suspect, much like the general use of force question presented above.
Some of the officers who believed a Black person is more likely to be shot than a white person mentioned that their views on the situation are influenced by what they see in the media rather than anything they have experienced or personally witnessed themselves. As was the case with police use of force question above, respondents who believed that a Black person is more likely to be shot by the police attributed this to a fear of the Black male, and the perception of him as threatening. Similarly, officers mentioned the types of crimes that Black people engage in (relating to drugs, for example), and their involvement in gun violence as contributing to their increased likelihood of being shot by the police.

**Perceptions and Experiences of Black Citizens**

Next, the respondents were asked the first in a series of open-ended questions about Black people’s views of and experiences with the police. First, respondents we asked to comment on research findings indicating that Black people are more likely than members of other racial groups to believe the police are racially biased. Specifically, respondents were asked: “Research from Canada and other Western nations has consistently shown that black people, and black males in particular, are more likely to believe the police are racially biased or discriminatory than the members of other racial groups. In your professional opinion, are these views at all justified?” Only 10% of the respondents disagreed with the view that the police are biased against Black people. However, these few officers argued that crime, disorder, and the actions of Black people are to blame for any unequal treatment that does exist. In other words, members of the Black community (or at least certain segments of the Black community) are disproportionately involved in crime, and it is this increased involvement in crime – not racial bias – that results in higher levels of police contact, for them and for law abiding Black citizens.
Table 5.6: Percent of Respondents Who Feel that Perceptions of Police Bias Held by Black People are Justified

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C6 Black Perceptions of Bias</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Justified No</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justified Yes</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Few respondents stated that the perception of police bias is inaccurate or misinformed. These officers believed that perceptions of bias within the Black community have arisen because Black people are hostile with the police, and are quick to become defensive during police encounters. Blacks’ hostility towards the police emerged as an important theme in explaining the respondents’ experiences with law enforcement, as will be discussed at length below.

While some officers did not feel that Black people’s negative perceptions of the police are valid, the majority of the officers (90%) believed that Black people are justified in holding the view that the police are racially biased. Many respondents based this opinion on things that they had seen and heard in their capacity as police officers. As Stanley explains:

Because I would say that I know that I’ve seen traffic stops that were simply based because the driver is Black. You need to have reason for stopping people ... I would say if there were two groups of people walking – one was a group of white, and one was Black – the white will not be treated the same as the Black ...

(Stanley).

Stanley’s perceptions of police bias appear to have been informed by his experiences as a law enforcer. In addition to things that they had seen on the job, the officers also recounted their own personal experiences with the police when they were out of uniform as confirmation of the view that the police are racially biased. Russell stated:
They are to an extent because even now I’m still getting pulled over at times, right, and as soon as I show my badge the whole attitude just changes, right. So, yeah, I can definitely see that, yeah (Russell).

Like Russell, several of the officers stated that they themselves have been treated poorly by the police during interactions when they were out of uniform or working in plain clothes, including having guns drawn on them in situations where they felt such actions were unwarranted. Based on what they had seen, heard, and experienced, almost all of these officers believed the views of Black civilians are valid, and many used their own experiences to support their assertions.

In explaining the perceptions of the Black community and the way in which Blacks are treated by the police, the officers again made reference to negative stereotypes that the police hold about Black males. In providing his response to this question, Victor remarked:

They’re justified because I know that a lot of officers, regardless of where they work in the GTA, have a perception that young Black males just by virtue of being young ... more likely to participate in criminal behaviour, and I know that they get that from social media (Victor).

Even though the majority of officers felt that the Black community is justified in believing that the police are racially biased, many who held this view were quick to caution that not all of the blame can be placed on the police. Many of those who stated that the police are racially biased also made reference to crime in Black communities, and the hostility that Black people direct towards the police. The respondents argued that elevated levels of crime involving certain segments of the Black population result in Black people having more contact with the police, thus increasing the perception that the police are targeting Black people. Furthermore, some officers stated that the negative demeanor that some Black people display when dealing with the police elicits negative responses from the police, and results in a poor encounter that Black people attribute to being Black.
In a related question, the officers were asked to comment on research findings indicating that Black people are more likely than members of other racial groups to say that they have had a negative experience with the police. Specifically, respondents were asked: “Research from Canada and other Western nations has consistently shown that Black people, and Black males in particular, are more likely to report having negative experiences with the police than are members of other racial groups. In your professional opinion, are these views true?” Again, very few officers disagreed with these research findings. Few believed that a Black person is no more likely than a white person to have a negative police encounter. Two of the officers, for example, felt that things have changed; that Black people at one time were more likely to have negative experiences with the police, but that this is no longer the case. For example, Randall states: “[A]gain, you know, years and years ago I would say absolutely, but now I have some ... I actually have some questions about that ...” (Randall).

Table 5.7: Percent of Respondents who Feel that Black People’s Claims About Negative Police Treatment are Justified.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C7 Blacks Negative Experiences</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Justified No</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justified Yes</td>
<td>94%</td>
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N=51

Another officer disagreed with these findings because he believed that Black people have negative experiences with the police as a result of their involvement in criminal activity.

The vast majority of respondents (94%), however, did feel that Black people are more likely to have negative experiences with the police. Again, some of these officers’ views are based on things that they have seen and heard in their capacity as police officers and as private citizens. Some of the officers felt that Black people have more contact with the police, and thus
there are more opportunities for negative encounters to take place. There were two reasons given to explain why Black people have more contact with the police: racial bias on the part of the police, and the over-involvement of Black people in criminal activity. In line with the racial profiling literature (Harris, 1999), some of the officers who pointed to discrimination on the part of the police argued that Black people are subject to greater levels of police surveillance than are their white counterparts, as Jeremy explains:

Yes, I think their feelings – the Black male community – are somewhat justified in feeling like they may be held to a different level of accountability for where they are, their location; and quite often, you know, that random police stop ... I think they may be subjected to a greater level of scrutiny during those random stops than perhaps maybe a white counterpart of the same age, same demographic, socioeconomic background, etc. (Jeremy).

This sentiment was echoed by several officers who felt the same way, and who argued that a Black youth is much more likely to draw the attention of the police than a white youth. The respondents again argued that the stereotypical beliefs about Black men held by police officers contribute to the greater scrutiny that Black people receive from the police, which in turn increases police contact and the opportunity for negative encounters.

Police demeanor was also raised as a factor contributing to Blacks’ negative experiences with the police. Manuel provides an example:

... There are police officers that are confrontational types of individuals. It goes back to what I was saying – personality. It’s nothing to do whether they’re a police or not. That’s who they are. They’re confrontational type of people ... and they’re probably the ones that have the most complaints against them, right, and that goes back to the fact that we interact more with Blacks. They’re going to get a lot of complaints (Manuel).

Manuel did not argue that all officers treat Black people in a disparaging manner, but rather that there are some officers who interact with all members of the public this way. Because Black people have proportionally more interactions with the police, Manuel and other officers argued
that there are more opportunities for Blacks to encounter these officers, and thus there is a greater chance that a negative encounter will occur. These responses provide an interesting take on the “bad apples” theory – that it is not all officers who are rude or discriminatory, but rather a few bad apples (Tator and Henry, 2006). Police executives will often counter allegations of systemic discrimination by pointing to the behaviour of just a few officers (bad apples) (Tator and Henry, 2006). In this case, the presence of bad apples on the police force combined with increased police interactions for Black people result in more negative police interactions for Black people.

The officers noted, however, that it is not just the police who can be hostile, but that some members of the Black community display attitude when dealing with the police, which elicits a negative response from officers. The hostility that Black people may display when dealing with the police was attributed by the officers to those individuals’ previous personal and vicarious experiences with the police. Other officers were clear to point out that some Black people are rude or disrespectful when dealing with the police. For instance, one officer provided an example from the day of his interview. Earlier in the day he had a door slammed in his face by the mother of a young Black man on whom he was conducting a bail compliance check. The officer felt that there was no good reason for the mother’s conduct, other than that she was simply being rude.

In addition to being rude, respondents believed that Black people were quick to claim that they were only being stopped because of the colour of their skin, and that Black people will interpret disrespectful treatment as racial discrimination which in turn angers police officers. Finally, respondents pointed to cultural differences between some Black people and the officers they encountered as fuel for negative interactions. Included in this line of explanation was the belief that Black people, particularly those from the Caribbean, are generally louder and more
boisterous, and that this is interpreted as anger by some officers who then feel they have to assert their authority to take control of the situation. One officer pointed to different cultural norms and the different ways in which respect and disrespect are understood as producing conflict between Black people and the police. As Troy explained:

> When you got some guys who basically never grew up around certain cultures – let’s just call it what it is – and your culture allows you to do certain things or say certain things, and the Black culture doesn’t call for those things. They’re already at a disadvantage. For example, I can tell you right now, you walk into a Black man’s house and tell him what to do in front of his family, you might as well just, you know, get ETF there. You know, get your Emergency Task ... whatever, because you’re in for a fight. You know ... from my experience ... again, working with different guys who have never really been around, as you say, the Black culture ... you know, give them a little crash course on ... “Don’t be doing that because, you know, like you’re going to put us in a situation” (Troy).

Troy made reference to the fact that some officers who are tasked with policing Black communities have had little personal contact with or exposure to Black people outside of their professional capacities, and thus do not understand certain cultural nuances. The social and physical distance between Black people and the police has been identified in American research as a factor contributing to police mistreatment of Black citizens/communities (Bolton and Feagin, 2004). A lack of understanding can, of course, go both ways.

Respondents were clear to explain that the negative encounters that Black people have with the police are the product of forces on both sides:

> It is true that it is more likely that Black males would have the negative encounters. A good portion would be fuelled by the youth ... In the same breath, the police push these kids, they feel that they have a one-dimensional way to deal with these kids. Based on past experiences (Travis).

As Travis explained, some Black people are initially hostile when approached by a police officer who may be expecting to be disrespected themselves. When the officers’ beliefs are confirmed, and a negative demeanor is displayed by a Black person, the officer responds with his own
hostility, resulting in a negative interaction. The cumulative experiences of both the citizen and the officer (combined, no doubt, with the officers prerogative to maintain authority) result in negative encounters. While this certainly does not happen in every instance, this line of reasoning does help explain how many negative encounters transpire – the negative encounters are a product of mutual disdain.51

Do Black Citizens Play the “Race Card”? 

I next asked respondents whether they believed Black people play the “race card” in order to get out of trouble. Specifically, I said: “Some people, the police in particular, argue that some Black people will sometimes complain about racism or being treated unfairly by the police even when they have been treated in a fair and just manner. Do you think there is any truth to this argument?” Very few (8%) of the officers disagreed with this statement. Of those officers who either do not think that Black people would play the “race card” or believe that it is a rare occurrence, a lack of respect from both parties was mentioned as influencing their perspective. That is, the officers believed that if a Black person encountered a rude police officer, then they may believe the officers’ decision to stop them was motivated by race. Conversely, if the officer is polite, the individual is less likely to attribute their treatment to their racial background.

Two-thirds of the officers, however, felt that Black people often blame their encounters with the police on racism rather than on their own behaviours. Furthermore, vicarious experience with the police was also raised as a factor contributing to Blacks’ belief that the police stop them just because of their race. Some officers felt that Black people are quick to play the race card because they have heard stories about police bias from family members or friends, or have seen

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51 I use the term mutual disdain to describe the preconceived notions that both the police and Black people have about each other that influence the nature and outcome of their interactions.
stories about police discrimination in the media. Other officers believed that Black people would use their race as an excuse in an attempt to get themselves out of trouble. As Leonard explained: “[O]h yeah, it’s played all the time ... A lot of times people use it just to get out of situations.” Some of the officers who have personally experienced this said they would question Black people who made an appeal to race, particularly when the individual expected the officer to give them a break based solely on their mutual Blackness. Suspiciousness of the police was also viewed as a reason why Black people attribute their encounters with the police to race. As noted above, many of the respondents believed that Black people are suspicious of the police, and assume that their encounters with the police are motivated by the colour of their skin. Thus, the lived experience of race/racism influences how Black people perceive the actions of the police.

Experiences with racism in other sectors of society and awareness about the existence of widespread racial discrimination also prompt Black people to attribute police actions to racism:

Yeah, there is merit in saying that, but I’d like to add a little “but” in there. There’s merit in saying that and it’s 100 percent true, but I think that it’s true because we spend ... “we” as those who are racialized spend more time living with that racial component than white people, right? You know, we don’t have the same autonomy, and I think that because I live as a Black man – I don’t just live as a man – that it’s on the forefront of my mind and maybe those who see me. So, yes, it’s true we do play the race card but, you know what, we live with racism. They don’t live with racism so I guess that’s why they don’t play the race card (Victor).

The insight of this officer provides an important point for consideration, as he argued that Black people respond to the police knowing that their race may have influenced the officer’s decision to initiate an encounter. If a Black citizen believes that a police officer is racist they may articulate this to the officer or question their authority. Subsequently, the officer may respond negatively to the accusation of racism or the challenge to their authority. Any harsh or rude
treatment, in turn, could reinforce the individual’s original belief that the police are racist. It becomes a vicious circle.

Black People’s Treatment of the Police

In the next question, I asked the officers “In general, do you think Black people treat the police differently than white people? For example, in your opinion, do Black people respect police authority to the same extent as white people?” Responses to this question were varied. However, two-thirds of the respondents did not feel that Black and white people treat the police in the same way. A few officers stated that the way in which members of the public treat the police is a product of individual experiences rather than race. Whether Black or white, if a person has had previous negative contact with the police they will engage the police differently than someone with past experiences that have been positive. Importantly, one respondent pointed out that a single police officer can change a citizen’s views of all police, as Jeff explained:

Also, once again, if there is a difference in treatment it’s probably based on previous encounters, right. So having said that, they may have had a negative experience, and then going forward they paint all officers with the same brush, right?

Of those officers who believed there is no difference in how Black and white people treat the police, a reference to history was again made. One officer stated that at one point in time, Black people might have treated the police differently than whites, but that this is no longer the case. Another officer commented that Black people may be more hesitant when initially approached by the police, but once they receive fair and respectful treatment from an officer, they give it back in return. An exception to this may be young Black men, as the following quote exemplifies: “The big difference, I believe, is that when ... say, a young Black man will not back down. I guess ... I don’t know what it is or not, but we don’t back down easy” (Nathan). The
impact of age in influencing how Black people treat the police was also mentioned by a number of the officers who felt that Black people treat the police differently than white people. The general opinion of officers who perceive differential treatment is that Black people are more reserved, more suspicious and less trusting of the police than white people. Again, these feelings were attributed to the history of negative relations between the police and Black communities. Officers noted that these sentiments do not necessarily translate into Black people being hostile with the police, but rather that they may be less willing to engage with the police, or appear to be less responsive during interactions. Nevertheless, a lack of willingness to engage on the part of a Black citizen may also be read negatively by a police officer whose judgment of the citizen’s demeanour may also be influenced by racial bias (Engel, 2003; Engel, Klahm and Tillyer, 2010).

However, a large number of officers did state that Black people are more hostile and abrasive when dealing with the police. One officer put it quite succinctly: “Yes, Blacks don’t trust us. They are hostile in the initial interaction. There is justification for that. Because of past experience, because they believe you will not be fair with them” (Randy). As Randy noted, and as has been mentioned above, the way in which Black people interact with police is based on their previous experiences and the treatment they expect to receive from the police.

Previous experience with the police in other countries, and cultural differences between some members of Toronto’s Black communities and the police, was also raised as a factor influencing how the police are treated. For example, Ricky described how immigrants might import their views of the police from their country of origin:

Yeah, I think that’s a cultural thing again too. You find that people coming from ... I’m going to relate to Jamaica. Police in the community are not so friendly there. So coming from that environment to this, you’re still going to have your guard up towards police because it’s just a cultural thing, and it’s the same with ... you take probably Chinese; their views of the police in China – they bring those views here. It’s not a, you know, good relationship.
While this officer put forth an interesting and valid point, his argument runs counter to recent research showing that new immigrants have amongst the most positive views of the police in Toronto, and that their views deteriorate with more time spent in the country (Wortley and Owusu-Bempah, 2009). Finally, some officers credited a lack of understanding of the role of the police with influencing the way Black people treat the police. These officers argued that white people generally understand the function of the police and utilize them for appropriate purposes, whereas some Black people do not understand the role that the police play in our society. Black people may question things the police do during an encounter, or might not understand when it is appropriate to request the service of the police.

**Officers’ Feelings About Blacks’ Perceptions of the Police**

Next, I asked the officers to comment on how they felt about the negative perceptions of the police that are held amongst a large proportion of Black Torontonians. Specifically, officers were asked: “How do you personally feel about Blacks’ perceptions of the police?” All of the officers who were interviewed stated that they were aware of the negative perceptions of the police and, as discussed above, most thought that these negative perceptions were justified. A number of the officers said that they are troubled by the negative perceptions either because they reflect reality and are a product of Black people’s negative personal and vicarious experiences with the police, or conversely because they are blown out of proportion and are inaccurate. The officers expressed a desire for the public – particularly Black people – to see things from their perspective, to understand the realities of policing some of the GTA’s most dangerous neighbourhoods, and to understand the split-second decision making that officers often have to
exercise. Particularly interesting is the sentiment that Black officers are fighting two battles, as Philip explained:

Well, you know what, it’s unfortunate because, you know, it’s one of those things... I don’t think Black folks really understand what Black police officers have to deal with. You know, we have to deal with them on their issues, right, on their level... So you have to deal with those kind of issues, and you have to deal with them like politically. You have to deal with them in a diplomatic way, right; and then on the other hand you’re getting squeezed from inside, right, so you have to deal with the internal part of stuff with those kind of equity issues internally, right, so you’re caught between a rock and a hard place all the time... You know, like I’ve had people say to me, “You know, you think you’re better than me because you’re a cop,” and, you know, I’m like, “what are you talking about, buddy? Do you have any idea what my life is like?”

This quote gets to what Alex (1969) described as “double marginality.” Not only do Black officers have to deal with the myriad issues facing Black communities, and the hostility they receive from the Black people they police, but they also have to confront racism, discrimination and inequality within their own police services. For the officers, the negative perceptions of the police held by Black citizens add additional challenges to an already challenging work environment. Nevertheless, the police remain sympathetic to the views and experiences of Black citizens.

*Changes in Officers’ Perceptions of the Police*

In the final question in this series, I asked the respondents: “Do you think your own perceptions of the police and of police bias changed after you became a police officer?” There were only two officers who said that their views remained unchanged, noting that they were aware of the nature of policing and of the strained relationship between the Black community and the police before joining the force. One of these officers stated that this troubled relationship was actually the reason he decided to become a police officer himself. Other respondents (18%) stated that their
perceptions of the police changed for the better after they became a police officer, and that they now believe there is less discrimination within policing than they did prior to getting on the job. These officers said that seeing things from the inside helped to change their perspective, and they believe that they now have a better understanding of the nature of policing. For example, Leroy stated:

Yeah it did. Before becoming a police officer, I never knew why they [the police] did certain things. So my perception was always, because it’s me. After becoming a police officer and seeing that it’s not me, it’s the situation and in similar situations, they act similarly, regardless of who that person is. With officers, it is always about officer safety. It is always about going home at the end of the day. So if they perceive a situation to be threatening to their personal safety, then they would react to that, regardless of who the person is.

Leroy argued that police action is driven by officer safety and perceived threat level, rather than who the individual is. While this may be true, the implicit bias literature has shown that police officers (and citizens alike) associate Blackness with crime (Eberhardt et al., 2004). Furthermore, as violent crime is concentrated in areas with larger Black populations, officers may be more likely to perceive interactions with Black citizens in Black neighbourhoods as threatening and dangerous, and thus behave accordingly. Indeed, several of the respondents stated that they now perceive less bias because they are more aware of the level of crime within the Black communities, as Manuel explained:

You know, I see the other side now. I have a better understanding of, you know, how things work because, like I said before, I probably had the same mindset. Despite my personal experience I still thought, you know, they probably do stop Black guys just for no reason more often than not; but being on the other side now seeing it, realizing the frequency that our people are committing crimes, you know, it’s kind of hard to cry wolf when we’re the one doing the crime in most cases in my personal experience.

Some respondents also said that their perceptions of the police and police bias have changed along with changes in society as a whole. These officers believed that there is now less racism in
our society than there was in the past, and that racial discrimination by the police has decreased along with this overall change.

On the other hand, over one-third of respondents (35%) reported that they now believe there is more bias within policing than they did before they joined the police force. As Jeffrey explained, his experiences as an officer have led him to lose respect for his profession:

> You know what; I think my perception before I became a police officer was actually better than it is now. I actually had a lot of respect for the police. I had a lot of respect for the profession, but as for being on the inside and seeing how it operates ... I’m just talking of one police service because I haven’t worked for any other police service than the one I work for. It is bad ...

A lack of understanding of different people and different cultures was credited by another officer with changing his views for the worse. He argued that there are officers who do not have diverse groups of friends or relations, and so they have little personal contact with and understanding of different races and cultures, which influences the way they police. Whether or not there is less racism in Canadian society raises an interesting question. Many scholars agree that the nature of racism has changed from overt to more covert in nature (Walker, 2001). How this has impacted policing is also important to consider. While Toronto’s Black communities appear less concerned about police shootings involving unarmed citizens, concerns still center around many of the same issues as they did forty years ago – frequent, unwarranted stops and rude, disrespectful treatment (Lewis, 1989; Winsa, 2013).

In addition to genuine ignorance on the part of some officers, there were other respondents who said their views of police bias were changed by their exposure to officers who were outright racists or bigots, as Shawn succinctly remarked: “Absolutely. Tons of red necks.” While the term “red neck” may be seen as derogatory, Shawn’s assertions challenge the notion that racial discrimination in policing is the result of a few bad apples. Likewise, officers stated
that things they had seen other officers do, and the so-called “questionable policing practices” they had witnessed, changed their perceptions of the police:

Yeah. Well, I was one of those, what I would call “good Blacks,” who respected the police and believed in all that they did and supported a hundred percent. But over the years, I would say certainly within the last five years, that view has changed. I am a lot more questioning of some of the practices that I have seen officers use and the approach that they take. Yeah, the last five years (Curtis).

As might be expected, many (63%) of the officers’ views of the police changed once they were exposed to the profession, the challenges of policing, and the internal workings of their respective police agencies. As the comments above indicate, the perceptions of these officers have been influenced by their experiences on the job. In the next section, the experiences of these officers will be explored in more detail.

**Police Treatment of Black People and Black Communities**

*Witnessed Racial Profiling*

In the next section of the interview, I asked respondents a series of questions about the police treatment of Black people and Black communities. As racial profiling\(^\text{52}\) has emerged as a point of public concern, I first asked the officers: “In your professional opinion, have you ever witnessed racial profiling activities by officers from your police service?” Of those officers who claimed not to have witnessed racial profiling (31%), several stated that other officers have told them about racial profiling occurring within their service. For example, Victor stated:

*That’s a tough one. I don’t think that I’ve actually witnessed it. Have I heard stories? Have I had people confide in that? Absolutely. That’s easy. Yeah, I have*

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\(^{52}\) The following definition of racial profiling is utilized in this research: “racial profiling in policing is defined as any situation in which race rather than criminal behaviour is used by a police officer or a police agency to determine the potential criminality of an individual” (Barlow and Hickman Barlow, 2002).
... Black and white. I’ve had officers of all colours come to me, and probably because I’m probably one of the more trusted people in my organization.

Just like vicarious experiences with racial profiling are shared among Black citizens as evidenced in Chapter Three, so too are these stories shared amongst police officers. Importantly, white officers appear to share these stories with their Black colleagues as well; their motivations for doing so, however, remain unknown.

Two-thirds of the officers reported that they have seen members of their service engage in racial profiling activities, and while some officers simply stated that they had seen racial profiling take place, others provided details and context about the events. The police focusing their surveillance activities on Black men after the report of a crime, for example, emerged as one form of racial profiling. As Bobby explains:

One time [I] came to a scene with my team and they were targeting Black men and treating them poorly, so I pulled my guys out. It’s shocking when you see a kid that looks like he could be your own being jacked up because there has been a robbery and we are stopping all Black kids.

The targeting of Black people, specifically young Black men, was problematic for a number of respondents. As noted throughout this thesis, the police disproportionately target young Black men for investigative purposes. As Bobby noted, no young Black man could escape suspicions as the police were stopping “all Black kids.” In addition to the likely unwelcome stops experienced by those who are innocent, Bobby’s quote is also telling in that he mentioned that the police were treating these kids “poorly.” It is exactly these frequent, unwarranted, and disrespectful encounters that foster negative views of the police among Black people, and result in the criminalization of the entire group.

Rodney also referenced Black youth when recounting an example of racial profiling by a fellow officer:
Yeah, I had an issue once ... So, I was driving with an officer and every Black person he saw – ‘that kid is an asshole’ and ‘that kid is an asshole; that kid is an asshole,’ and I finally said, ‘Well, how do you know they’re not a Staff Sergeant’s son,’ and then I became Black before I was police officer because I had the nerve to say something, right?

In this instance, the officer in question was referring to all Black people as “assholes,” and as will be discussed at length below, the police often refer to criminals as “assholes.” Thus, it could be interpreted that the officer was remarking that all of the Black youths he saw and referred to as “assholes” were criminals in his eyes.

The participants also discussed the manner in which the police respond when they are looking for or have detained a Black suspect. As discussed above, many of the officers in this study felt that the police are often fearful of Black men, and that this fear influences the way the police respond to Black people. One response to this fear is sending large numbers of police officers to deal with an incident involving a Black person, as Jeremy explained:

*I have intervened with patrol officers because there was a car of four Black males, young males, stopped, and there were like 18 cruisers surrounding this vehicle, and they are all going, ‘why,’ and I’m the only Black member of my platoon at the time, and I was supervisor and so I said, ‘Look, the perception’ ... and I told them ... I said, ‘The perception’ ... ‘Oh well ... you know, these guys are known for this,’ and I said, ‘Do your investigation, but you don’t need 18 people ... 18 cruisers here to do it.’ And I sent a bunch away, and then afterwards, you know, for whatever reason, there was a percentage of my platoon that ... felt that I was wrong to make that decision.*

The officer quoted above mentioned several important themes that have arisen in this research. Firstly, the police response to Black people as a product of fear. In this case, the response was to send more police to the scene than the Black supervisor thought was necessary. Secondly, similar to two earlier examples, Jeremy’s account depicted the treatment of young Black men. Jeremy and the other officers felt that the increased police attention that the Black youths received was

53 Another example was provided by Luis: “They would just refer to Blacks as ‘niggers’ when giving descriptions. White guys were called assholes, Black guys were niggers” (Luis). See also Van Maanen (1978), Waldeck (1999).
problematic. Evidently, young Black men elicit fear on the part of police, who respond in great numbers with a tough, enforcement-style of policing. Finally, Jeremy also mentioned his own Blackness in recounting an example of racial profiling, like Rodney – suggesting that his own actions are judged in light of the colour of his skin. Rodney and Jeremy’s experiences again highlight some of the problems facing Black police officers – the fact that they feel that they cannot be judged strictly on their actions, but also based on the colour of their skin. These experiences provide another perspective on how race plays out in the context of policing – not only does race influence how a member of the public is treated by the police, but also how a racialized officer is treated or viewed by his peers in dealing with situations involving Black citizens.

*The Use of Racist Language*

I next asked the respondents whether they had heard racist language being used by police officers when talking to or about Black people. There was an almost unanimous consensus amongst the officers that racist language directed at a member of the public is unacceptable, that it is not tolerated by their police service, and is not something they have witnessed themselves (only one officer reported that he had witnessed a racial slur directed at a member of the public). Of the officers who reported that they have not heard racist language being used amongst groups of officers (directed not at a member of the public, but being used in conversation amongst officers), or at least not recently, several (33%) felt that it was something that still takes place when Black officers are not present. As Marvin notes, “*No, they won’t let me hear that because, again, they’ll be aware of me being Black, right.*” Marvin gives the impression that racist language is still used by police officers, an assertion supported by many other participants (two-
thirds of the officers stated that they have heard racist language being used in conversation amongst officers). Don, for example, argued that officers who use racist language have become careful about whom they say certain things around: “When I first started I had a sergeant call me a nigger. There are codes of conduct and sanctions now. But what it does is drive it underground.” The idea that racist language has been driven underground by new policies was touched upon by a number of officers who stated that racist language is something that they might hear when they stumble upon conversations between white officers. Francis provided an example:

Yeah. In a group. I’ll tell you a funny story. I pull up, you know when we meet, the two other cars, I’m in the third car. I don’t know if the officers even heard or anything. This officer dropped the “n” bomb. He looks up and sees me and you see him going, his whole face going. Now, I didn’t say anything cus I knew he knew I knew and I mean, four years later this guy’s kissing my ass.

The use of racist language by officers was attributed by some of the respondents to the nature of policing, and was referred to by one officer as “locker room talk.” Eugene seemed not to find the use of such language offensive. When asked if he had heard racist language being used he responded: “Yes, all the time. I attribute that to bravado, machismo. Needs to be put in context ... It’s locker room talk” (Eugene). What might seem promising is that the majority of the respondents believed that the use of racist language by police officers has decreased over time, from something that was once commonplace – especially amongst officers at police stations – to a relatively rare phenomenon.

The reduction in the use of racist language by police officers was attributed to both changing social norms around overt racism and to the introduction of anti-racism and human rights policies. It should be noted, however, that many of the respondents have been promoted above the rank of constable, and in their supervisory capacities would have an obligation to
report or sanction police officers that are caught using racist language. It is possible that these officers may not be exposed to racist language to the same extent as Black constables. In fact, a number of the officers stated that they stopped hearing racist language once they got promoted, and attributed this to their new supervisory positions. Perhaps if more police constables were included in the study, the presence of racist language would appear more prevalent. Furthermore, we should keep in mind what Don said above about racism being driven underground, and about the societal shift in racism from overt to covert (Pettigrew, 1979).

*Officers Being Rude or Disrespectful*

Next I asked the respondents about police officers being rude or disrespectful. Specifically, the officers were asked: “Have you witnessed police officers being rude or disrespectful towards black citizens? In your opinion, do you think the police are less respectful with black citizens compared to members of other racial groups?” The responses to this question were varied. Some officers (37%) reported that they had seen police officers being rude towards Black citizens and believed that the police were less respectful to Black citizens than members of other racial groups, while others felt that the police are less respectful with all non-whites and that disrespectful treatment is not reserved solely for Black people. Other officers (45%) felt that there are no racial differences, and that the police treat everybody with the same level of respect unless that individual has done something to deserve otherwise. Furthermore, age and social class, rather than race, were raised as important factors influencing how the police treat a member of the public. It was suggested that young people and those from lower-class backgrounds are more likely to be disrespected by the police because they are perceived to have less power or agency than older and wealthier citizens, and therefore have fewer avenues for
recourse. Young people were also thought to be more hostile towards the police, which, as noted above, may elicit negative responses from police officers.

It was also suggested that rude and disrespectful behaviour might be perpetuated by a small group of individual officers (bad apples), and that the practice of officers being rude to Black people in particular is uncommon. Similarly, some of the respondents felt that there are certain officers who simply have problems interacting with all members of the public, as Jeremy explains:

*I think those officers who have less patience and who have a difficulty interacting with people, they tend to be the ones that lose patience sooner. It would be unfair to suggest that it’s based on race. At this point I just think it’s, you know, their ability to provide good customer service.*

Jeremy is careful to point out that it is not race that influences these officers’ actions, but their poor interpersonal skills. However, as we have seen above, the actions of these officers may be interpreted as racism by Black citizens and undermine police-race relations, underscoring the importance of eliminating such behaviours. A change in the type of person now recruited into policing was also mentioned as a reason some of the officers have not witnessed rude or disrespectful behaviour from their peers. Some officers noted that police recruits today are more diverse, and better trained and educated than they were in the past – given the changing racial, ethnic, and religious make up of Canada, they are more likely to have exposure to people from different racial backgrounds. The officers felt that these factors have improved how more recent recruits interact with members of the public.

Finally, several respondents noted that police officers may overcompensate and be more respectful when interacting with Black people and other racialized citizens for fear of receiving a citizen complaint. As Francis explained:
... Officers now, we have this mentality that the public is right, all the time, we get kinda screwed. Public complain, we have to do more work. So, I believe officers are kind of like cautious. OK, I approach that Chinese guy, I approach the Indian person, I approach the female, I approach the Black person. They’re kind of cautious that this could come right back on them.

Just as the introduction of anti-racism and human-rights policies was credited with helping to reduce the use of racist language, the introduction and strengthening public complaints systems may have also led to positive changes because officers are afraid that they might receive a complaint from a member of the public who has interpreted their actions as racially charged.

The Use of Excessive Force and Police Brutality

In the previous section I asked the respondents if they felt the police are more likely to use force on a Black person than a white person. The majority of officers believed this to be the case; however, many admitted that their views were formed by what they have seen in the media rather than from personal experience. It is unsurprising then that when I asked whether they had seen excessive force or police brutality against a Black citizen, most of the officers said no. Specifically, I asked the respondents: “In your professional opinion, have you witnessed police brutality or excessive force against black citizens by members of your police service?” There was a general feeling amongst the officers that the use of force is context or circumstance-driven, and that cases of police brutality or excessive force are not motivated by race. There also appears to be a disjunction between what these officers viewed as excessive force and brutality, and what members of the public might view as such behaviour. In responding to this question, several officers said that they had not seen excessive force or brutality, but when probed further admitted that they had seen officers use more physical force than was necessary in a given situation (excessive force). Some of the officers who did report having witnessed excessive force also
gave the impression that such force was deserved or justifiable based on the actions of the individual against whom it was used. For example, Francis proffered: “Let me say this, I’ve seen Blacks and whites be physically, you know, held accountable by police.” In saying “being held accountable” Francis could be describing “street justice,” or the police meting out a verbal or physical assault as a form of punishment to a member of the public who is thought to have done something illegal or offensive, and clearly takes place outside of official channels (Skyles, 1986). Craig provided another such example: “So like I’ve seen where if someone is mouthy ... getting assaulted. I’ve seen that shit.” Just like the young men in the previous chapter, Craig said he has seen people getting assaulted by the police for talking back or getting “mouthy,” supporting the assertion that citizen demeanour influences police action (see Engel, 2003).

There were also more egregious examples of police abuse provided by officers that would constitute police brutality, rather than excessive force as in the two examples provided above. Shawn had the following to say:

Funny story – the last time I saw it [police brutality] there was a Black guy in handcuffs, and [a] white guy came up to him and just ploughed him in the face – you know, right across the jaw – and I would’ve said something to that guy except he broke his hand. He got what he deserved.

While Shawn found the fact that the officer in question broke his hand to be funny, a broken hand is a much lighter punishment than this officer would have received if he was held accountable to the full extent of the law. Furthermore, Shawn notes that he did not report the officer in question because he broke his hand, indicating that he might have done so otherwise, in clear violation of the “code of silence” that is important to police culture.

The respondents also noted that there is less “street justice” today than in years gone by, and that the prevalence of excessive force and police brutality, like racist language and disrespectful treatment, has decreased over time. Again, some of this decrease may be attributed
to changes in our society and what the public views as acceptable practice by a government agency (see Librett, 2008). The public monitoring of the police through the use of cell phone cameras and other electronic devices was also highlighted as a reason the police will not engage in brutality or excessive force. As mentioned by some of the officers, the police are now fearful of being caught on video and ending up on the evening news. It is also possible that the establishment of the Special Investigations Unit\(^{54}\) in Ontario in 1990 may have also contributed to this reduction, if it is in fact the case.

On the Level of Service Provided to Black Citizens and Black Communities

Because Black communities have complained about the nature of policing in their neighbourhoods (Henry and Tator, 2005: 165), the next question asked about the level of service provided by the respondents’ police agencies. Specifically, the officers were asked: “In your professional opinion, do Black citizens or predominantly Black neighbourhoods receive the same level of service by your police agency than other citizens/neighborhoods?” One of the first things pointed out by the officers is that we do not have the same kind of racial segregation in Toronto that exists in some American cities, and while there may be certain areas with high concentrations of Black people, these areas are typically more racially diverse and their inhabitants more socially, economically and politically marginalized than in other areas of the city (socially disorganized). With that said, there were again a variety of responses given to this question. Just under half of the officers in the sample believed that Black citizens and neighbourhoods with high concentrations of Black residents receive the same level of service as

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\(^{54}\) The Special Investigations Unit (the “SIU” or the “Unit”) conducts investigations of incidents involving the police that have resulted in death, serious injury, or allegations of sexual assault. The SIU is a civilian law enforcement agency independent of the police. While the Unit is an agency of the Ministry of the Attorney General, it maintains an arm’s length relationship with the Government of Ontario in its operations. The SIU’s investigations and decisions are also independent of the government. (Special Investigations Unit, 2013)
other citizens and neighbourhoods. They argued that the police are largely reactive and go where there are calls for service. Furthermore, some of these officers (14%) felt that socioeconomic status, in addition to race, influence the level of service that an individual or community receives. These officers believed that the police are quicker to respond in more affluent areas, and provide the residents with higher quality service, as Jeffery explained:

I think, generally speaking, Black people are less economically sound than, say, white communities, so I think that it comes down to ... it’s a matter of race also and socioeconomic status. If the police go into a well established neighbourhood and it’s a white [person] complaining, they’ll go above and beyond. If it’s someone in a black community, then they’ll say it’s a bad neighbourhood. They won’t get the same [service].

Likewise, Theodore remarked: “A theft in a nice neighbourhood is tended to quicker than a bad area because of the stake that person has in the police service.”

Other officers (22%) disagreed, arguing that Black people and neighbourhoods with high concentrations of Black residents receive an inferior level of service compared to other citizens and neighbourhoods. This inferior service, though, depends on the type of call. When asked whether Black people and Black neighbourhoods receive the same level of service as other people and neighbourhoods, Craig explained:

It depends on the nature of the call. If it’s a shooting, I would say yes. If it’s a street fight or an assault and there is no allegation of weapons, probably not. If it’s something like domestic, I would say no.

In line with arguments that socially disorganized, minority neighbourhoods experience “de-policing” (see Weitzer, 2010), Craig seemed to believe that unless a call in a Black neighbourhood is serious in nature, the police will not provide the same level of service as they would to other neighbourhoods.
The idea that Black people and Black neighbourhoods are “over-policed and under-protected” was also raised by officers who felt there is a difference in the level of service provided by the police. These officers argued that the police often stop Black people for investigative purposes. They also felt that there is a heavy police presence in areas with high concentrations of Black people, but that the police do not engage Black people and Black neighbourhoods in the same way as other citizens and neighbourhoods. The sentiments of these officers align with previous research which has found that “the police approach to these (socially disorganized) neighbourhoods tends to be marked by unresponsiveness to calls from residents, poor service when they arrive at a call or a general under enforcement of the law” (Klinger, 1997 as cited in Weitzer, 2010). A lack of engagement on the part of Black people was also suggested by officers with this view as contributing to the lower levels of service that Black people and neighbourhoods receive. Several officers remarked that Black people are apprehensive to call the police when there has been a crime and to cooperate as witnesses, which has the effect of lowering the level of service that the police are able to provide to them. Finally, there was a group of officers (24%) who felt that Black citizens and neighbourhoods with high concentrations of Black people receive more service than other citizens and neighbourhoods. These officers argued that there are more calls for service and higher levels of crime in the neighbourhoods where large numbers of Black people reside and as a result there is a higher police presence. Thus, when Black people do call for service the police are often close by and able to respond rapidly, often in larger numbers. This situation does not exist in other – whiter – areas of the city.

This section of the chapter has documented the police treatment of Black citizens based on the experiences of the officers in the sample. Although their perspectives were varied, many
officers have witnessed the police mistreatment of Black people. In the next section, I examine their views on the reporting of police misconduct.

The Reporting of Police Misconduct

Given that a focus of this research has been on police racism and police abuse, the final two questions in this series focused on the reporting of police misconduct. First, I asked the officers: “If you witnessed police mistreatment or violence directed towards Black citizens would you report it to the appropriate person?” Although just under half (49%) of the officers insisted that they would report misconduct or violence directed at any citizen, there was a general uneasiness amongst respondents when it came to making a formal report about the behaviour of one of their colleagues. There were only two officers who said that they would take no action (formal or informal) if they were to witness another officer engage in violence or misconduct. One of these officers stated simply that, “You cannot rat” (Ray). The other officer said that there was no point in reporting misconduct because the police cannot be trusted and would not do what is right. Thus, he felt reporting was a waste of time. Similarly, there was a sentiment amongst a small group of officers that the actions of another officer would have to be egregious in order for them to make a formal complaint rather than dealing with the matter themselves. Slightly more than a quarter of the respondents (29%) indicated that dealing with instances of police violence and misconduct informally is a more acceptable practice amongst police officers. The informal route involves having a conversation with the officer in question about their behaviour, and possibly explaining to that officer why or how they had done something wrong. For example, two respondents said the following:
What I would do is I would first talk to the officer about it; and if that didn’t work, I’ll just go to a Sergeant who ... would probably have to talk to the officer, but I would first go to that individual (Russell).

I prefer to deal with things individually. If I feel that after speaking with somebody a couple of times about something it doesn’t get anywhere, then you have to go ... further (Alan).

The respondents suggested that it is only fair to allow the offending officer to explain their behaviour before running to tell their superiors. Taking the informal route also leaves the door open for a formal complaint if not satisfied with the outcome of the initial conversation. However, it should be acknowledged that dealing with matters informally protects officers from the consequences of their actions, and could erode police legitimacy in the eyes of the public. This method also reinforces aspects of the police culture, such as solidarity amongst officers.

Officers who stated that they would report violence and misconduct to their service rather than dealing with the individual themselves were typically more experienced and more senior officers. These respondents explained that they now feel more secure in themselves and in their positions within their service, and would report behaviour now that they would not have earlier on in their careers. Bobby provided a good example: “Yes. I have the foundation now so I can. I couldn’t do it before. I am comfortable within myself.” Furthermore, many of the officers who had been promoted above the rank of constable explained that their police services have policies mandating that supervisors who witnesses misconduct, or are told about misconduct by another officer, have a duty to deal with the matter formally. However, several of the officers who had been promoted did say that they would deal with the matter themselves before taking the formal route, bringing the effectiveness of such policies into question.

In the next question I asked the respondents about reporting behaviour of their colleagues. Respondents were asked “In your opinion, if one of your fellow officers witnessed
racial profiling or police brutality against a minority citizen, do you think that they would report it to their superior officers or stay quiet about it?” About one-third (29%) of the officers believed that their peers would report such behaviour if they were to witness it. As has been mentioned previously, some of the respondents felt that the culture of policing has changed, particularly in the last five to ten years, and that reporting the misconduct of another officer is not as taboo as it once was. As Stanley noted: “Oh yes, it has been a progressive change since I started. A lot of the things were never talked about.” Reference to a “new breed of officer,” was also once again made, with respondents suggesting that changes in the type of person recruited into policing has increased the likelihood that the reporting of misconduct will take place:

_I do believe that and, like I say, because those that are joining the police service now ... have friends and family and have gone to school with them and are in clubs and are exposed to those type of people [people from diverse backgrounds]. It’s not ... them and us anymore. It’s like, “That was wrong. I don’t care who it was. It was just wrong”_ (Leonard).

The impact of increased training and new accountability measures was also put forth as reasons why these officers felt that their peers would report misconduct. Because of training and accountability measures, officers are more aware of the types of behaviours that constitute misconduct and more empowered to report it when they have witnessed it. Similar to reporting misconduct themselves, there were also a small number of officers who believed that their peers would be confident enough to deal with things informally and to have a conversation with a fellow officer whose behaviour they disagreed with. Whether they believed their peers would make a formal complaint or would go to the officer first, respondents were sure to highlight some of the negative consequences an officer might face for formally reporting misconduct and being deemed a “rat.” These consequences are discussed at length below.
There was a group of respondents (37%) who believe that their peers would not report the misconduct of a fellow officer if they were to witness it. Interestingly, one respondent felt that many officers would not even recognize certain behaviour as misconduct, even if they were to witness it. Other officers believed their peers, especially younger officers, would not be comfortable enough to report the bad behaviour of their fellow officers. Martin explained:

*I doubt it for the fact that in policing there’s always young and inexperienced officers having contact with a community, and I believe it’s a workplace where the less experienced officers are always going to be hesitant on reporting or going against the grain of the majority* (Martin).

Importantly, references to the “blue wall of silence” and the “thin blue line” were put forth as reasons that officers would not report the misconduct of their peers. The blue wall of silence refers to an unwritten rule within policing that officers do not tell on their colleagues, as Tony explained: “*The thin blue line, you know, they don’t like to tell on each other.*” Another officer went on to explain that policing is a club where officers look out for each other:

*I know coppers would say if you ever do that again I’ll fry you. And coppers would say you’re not going to cause me to lose my job, I’ll report you. But I know that there’s a scolding between peers* (Bernard).

Being labeled a “rat” or “snitch” was another reason why some respondents did not think that their peers would report the misconduct of a fellow officer. Unfortunately if an officer witnesses something that they feel the need to report, there is no way that they can do so anonymously and they are therefore likely to experience some kind of repercussion for their actions. The code of silence, therefore, may make it difficult for police agencies to identify and discipline officers who engage in racist and corrupt behaviours.
Repercussions for Reporting Misconduct

In the section above the respondents provided a variety of reasons for why they and their colleagues would or would not report police misconduct. Whether or not the respondents said that they would report misconduct, there is a widespread awareness about the social and professional ramifications associated with reporting the behaviour of a fellow officer. As noted, policing is a cohesive profession in which officers look out for one another’s interests. If an officer reports the misconduct of one of his peers he would disrupt the cohesion among officers and “rock the boat,” so to speak. This is especially true in police departments with mandatory reporting policies for supervisors who are required to formally deal with matters brought to their attention As Manuel explained:

I’ve seen it happen, unfortunately, in my division where someone has gone through something that could’ve been handled. It carried on for two years. The case didn’t go anywhere, and now all the parties that were involved are coming back, and now it’s like this tension of what’s going to happen when this person comes back and people got moved around the division ... if they had a choice of doing it differently, oh my god, they would’ve just talked to the individual and dealt with it ... because everyone knows, once you go to the supervisor their hands are tied. They got to report. That’s what they’re required to do, so deal with it as you may.

Many officers were clear to point out that an officer who reports the misconduct of a colleague and violates the code of silence is likely to be labeled a rat or a snitch, and will face social consequences. Howard explained:

This is the problem and I’ve learned the hard way – the very, hard, hard way. You tell or you report; you will pay the price and you will pay dearly. You will instantly be ostracized – that you’re an officer that cannot be trusted, an officer who is a rat ... and it’s too dangerous to go after somebody head on.

The repercussions of being labeled a rat are more serious than just social ostracization. Policing is a cohesive profession, partly because of the perceived dangerousness of the job, which fosters a mentality amongst police officers that they must protect one another (Kappeler et al., 1998). If
one officer steps out of line, is labeled a rat and becomes ostracized by their peers, his personal safety may be jeopardized as other officers may become reluctant to provide him with backup when needed, as Dale explained: “Yeah, so at the lower levels where, you know, officers worry about whether or not they’re going to get the backup, it’s going to be on time and all that, it’s a little more crucial there.”

In addition to their physical safety being put at risk by reporting misconduct, an officer’s career may also be hindered if they tell on another officer. Because policing is a brotherhood, being a team player and someone other officers know they can count on is an asset and important professionally. If an officer is ostracized and labeled a rat they may be denied promotion or be blocked from access to the coveted elite squads and specialized teams. As Aaron explained: “You’ll pay for it one way or another – if it’s promotion or if it’s getting the shitty jobs ... That’s how they do it, right; and they can’t come out and say but everybody knows.” Similarly, Randy had the following to say when asked whether he felt one of his peers would report the misconduct of a fellow officer: “I don’t think so. I think it’s a combination of the officers not caring and because it might have a serious impact on how you move up in the ranks.” If an officer reports the misconduct of one of their peers, it is still very likely that they will be identified as an individual who cannot be trusted, and will be punished by the collective through the denial of promotion and the assignment of less desirable jobs. Again, this practice protects officers who engage in police misconduct, while at the same time possibly benefiting officers who engage in these activities and those who keep quiet when they hear or see them. Indeed, if officers who “rat” are punished, it may be logical to assume that those who keep quiet will be rewarded through promotion or selection for elite squads, precisely because of the perception that they can be trusted. This may foster a climate of permissiveness, especially amongst these
tight-knit elite squads. Indeed, former members of the Toronto Police Services’ drug squad were recently brought to trial on accusations that they assaulted, robbed and extorted known offenders (Small, 2012).

In this section of the interview, respondents recounted some of their own experiences as Black police officers, and provided details about the kinds of behaviours they have witnessed fellow officers engage in. While the majority of officers stated that they have witnessed a fellow officer engage in racial profiling, fewer respondents report witnessing racist language and fewer still have seen excessive force or police brutality directed at a Black citizen. When asked about the reporting of police misconduct, many of the respondents stated that they would report the misbehaviour of a fellow officer but there exists a high level of hesitation about doing so. The respondents were also skeptical about the likelihood that a fellow officer would report the misconduct of one of their colleagues. The preferred method of dealing with such problems is to have an informal talk with an offending officer rather than to make a formal complaint. The informal means of addressing misconduct stems from a great awareness of the social and professional ramifications associated with making a formal complaint about a fellow police officer. However, the high likelihood that police officers will deal with instances of police abuse and police racism in an informal manner poses a problem for police services trying to address these issues. If officers are not reporting the misconduct of their colleagues, then it becomes difficult for police agencies to identify and deal with problematic officers. As a result, these officers remain free to engage in misconduct and racist behaviour, which likely harms police-community relations and contributes to negative perceptions of the police. These could be reflective of cultural and institutional problems that exist within policing. In the next section, I
examine the respondents’ suggestions for improving the relationship between Black communities and the police.

**Suggested Solutions for Improving Relations**

In the final section of the interview, I asked the respondents to put forth suggestions on how to improve relations between Black males and the police in the GTA. The officers suggested a variety of ways that the strained relationship could be improved, and as might be garnered from the data presented above, there was a strong emphasis put on encouraging and improving interactions between the two groups. Furthermore, while many officers felt the onus is on the police to improve interactions, officers did not negate the responsibility that Black people and Black communities have in improving the relationship.

**Black Communities**

The first suggestion put forth by the officers to Black communities was to be more cooperative and polite when dealing with police officers. As the findings above have highlighted, the respondents believed that Black people can be particularly hostile and confrontational when dealing with police officers, and this approach may lead to a negative response from officers and result in an overall poor interaction. Dale explained:

> I think it’s the approach, and just because you’re pulled over doesn’t mean you’ve done anything wrong, and it’s that initial approach sometimes ... that aggressive initial approach, that causes each side to get their backs up, and then, you know, the interaction goes negative from there as opposed to saying, “Hey, officer, how are you doing today?”

It is probably safe to say that very few people are pleased when they see the flashing lights of a police cruiser approaching them from behind. Nevertheless, as Dale noted, being stopped by the
police does not necessarily mean that the police officer intends to hand out a ticket or some other formal sanction. He felt that showing deference to an officer during an interaction rather than being hostile or rude would likely improve the outcome of that interaction for both parties, particularly the citizen.

Similarly, several respondents cautioned Black people not to immediately assume that their race is the motivating factor influencing an officer to initiate an encounter. A number of respondents believed that Black people play the “race card” in an attempt to get themselves out of trouble, or as an excuse when they have done something wrong. However, the respondents argued that doing so is likely to anger an officer who is initiating a legitimate encounter with a Black citizen.

Yeah, don’t give them a hard time. Don’t say, ’Oh, you’re just stopping me because I’m Black’ or ‘Why are you stopping me’ [Don’t] be on the defensive because that kind of … makes him upset, right, especially if it’s a white officer stopping a Black person and he’s not racist, right; and the guy says, ‘Oh, you’re stopping me because I’m Black,’ right? (Aaron)

In addition to angering the officer, which can have a negative impact on the outcome of the encounter for that citizen, making an immediate appeal to race and racism – especially when that individual knows they have done something wrong – weakens the claims of those people who are the legitimate victims of police racism and discrimination. It is also very unfair to the officer – white, Black or otherwise – whose actions were not motivated by race. Furthermore, one officer explained that it is unlikely that a citizen will win an argument or a fight against a police officer on the street:

Yeah, on the street you won’t win whether it’s physical or whether it’s verbal, confrontation or arguments … Save it for court. That’s where you do the fighting. Save it for court. Make lots of notes. Save it for court, you know, because … police officers are trained to win on the street because … it’s drummed in their head from the time they get hired to the time they go to the police college to the time they come back from police college: ‘If you lose on the
Phillip’s statement gets at two key themes related to the policing of Black people and Black communities. First, is the perception of danger that motivates police action (Skolnick, 1966). As Phillip noted, police officers are trained to sense danger, and react accordingly. By entering into a disagreement, a Black citizen may heighten an officer’s already heightened sense of danger. Second is the related need to control citizen encounters and to maintain authority when dealing with members of the public. By entering into a disagreement with the police, a citizen is challenging the officer’s authority – again, this is likely to result in the escalation of the police officer’s reaction, and perhaps prompt some sort of formal action or use of force.

Some officers suggested that abiding by the law and staying out of trouble is a way for Black people to improve their perceptions of and interactions with the police. As Tony proposed, “I would say just walk the straight and narrow, and don’t get themselves in trouble. Stay positive.” This response aligns with the findings presented earlier, where the officers attributed Blacks’ negative perceptions of the police to their increased levels of offending. However, telling Black people to abide by the law is of course more easily said than done, and the officer presented no concrete suggestions. Such a response also disregards the fact that most Black people are not criminals, and negates the myriad social, political and structural factors that influence Black people’s involvement in crime. In a sense, this response can also be viewed as a form of blaming the victim and a deflection strategy to take attention away from police bias (Henry and Tator, 2005). Nevertheless, a positive change in the mentality of Black people may improve their interactions with the police. Perhaps helping Black youth to question and
deconstruct the negative stereotypes that associate Blackness with crime may reduce offending rates, particularly amongst those who engage in crime as a form of defiance or resistance, thus reducing their chances of conflict with the law and their likelihood of encountering the police (see Alexander, 2012).

Finally, the respondents suggested that Black communities would benefit from becoming more aware of the role and the function of the police. As noted above, some respondents felt that Black citizens do not understand the role of the police, and are less able than white citizens to utilize them effectively. Officers talked about recent immigrants, and it was suggested that people who have recently arrived in Canada should be provided with information about what the police do and when they should be called for service.55 Other officers suggested that this type of information should be provided to all Canadians and could be included in school curriculum – in a civics class, for example. Again, some people may find these suggestions simplistic, but many officers in the study felt that Black people are more hesitant to engage and cooperate with the police. While some of this hesitance and lack of cooperation may come from antipathy towards the police and a perceived lack of agency in dealing with law enforcement officials, we cannot dismiss the possibility that some members of the Black community do not know how to effectively utilize the services of the police. This may be especially true for citizens who view the police as an occupying army rather than a state entity intended to serve and protect.

Both Sides

Many officers acknowledged that improving relations between Black communities and the police that serve them is going to take effort from both sides. Sean, for instance, commented: “I don’t

55 The Toronto Police Service for example, has attempted to deal with these issues through its newcomer outreach programs and has produced a video intended for recent immigrants that explains both the role and function of the police, and the rights and responsibilities of Canadians. See http://www.torontopolice.on.ca/community/newcomer/.
know if one thing could solve all your problems and stuff like that, right, but you know what, I think it’s the constant effort being put forth by both groups, right?” Sean is cognizant that improving relations will not be an easy task, as years of trying have made clear, but that innovative approaches and hard work may yield results. Part of this hard work would be to encourage more interaction between both parties. There are a number of officers that encouraged more interaction and communication between Black people and the police: “Communication, even when it’s confrontational, is better than no communication at all, so I don’t see how that could hurt” (Luis). Confrontational interactions at community forums to which the police have been invited are of concern to police officials, who do not particularly appreciate these forums being used as venting sessions by angry members of the public. Instilling or developing a sense of mutual respect from both parties was also put forth as a suggestion to help bridge the gap between Black people and the police. As Eugene articulated: “Respect needs to develop from both sides ... One side is obligated to be respectful [the police]. Both sides need to meet in the middle.” Thus, action needs to come from both sides.

The Police

The respondents had more to say about how the police themselves could improve relations with the Black community than they had suggestions for members of the general public. Importantly, many officers felt that the police must recognize that the onus is on them to improve the relationship they have with Black communities. As Craig explained:

I really think that the onus is on the police, and in order to do that I think, first off, the police have to accept that the onus is on them because right now I don’t think they accept that, you know. They think it’s a shared onus, right, and I don’t agree with that. Secondly ... there has to be an attitudinal change in that whenever you’re working with the police – like this community policing and all of that – the police attitude is “we’ll let you be present but you don’t have much of a voice.” You know,
It’s my way or the highway type of thing. They have to change that, so consultations with members of the public have to be meaningful consultations, whereas even if the police disagree sometimes they have to implement the suggestions made to them.

Craig made an interesting point, but it cannot be said that no one within the policing world acknowledges the role that the police must take in fostering relations with the public they serve. An important aspect of the police taking responsibility is the acceptance from officers on the ground. Even if police at the management and supervisory levels do acknowledge that the onus is on them, this message must be relayed to and accepted by front line officers who actually interact with members of the Toronto’s Black communities. Scholars have pointed out that, although police officers do view themselves as public servants, these attitudes tend to be minimized when it comes to the policing of Black communities (White and Saunders, 2012). Craig, it would seem, agrees.

Akin to their advice to Black communities, the respondents urged police officers to provide members of the public with better treatment and more professional service provision. As Jeremy argues:

I think one of the worst things we focus on – and it’s not one of our core values in policing in general, and I can tell you particularly about my own service, is customer service – is that if we focus on providing good customer service and interactions with people on all levels regardless of the circumstances ... “You’re being arrested. You know what, is there somebody that I can call for you” – all of those things that you would offer to anybody. The humanization of what we do – stop being so clinical with people or automatically assuming that because they made a mistake that they’re rotten to the core, or that they’re from a specific community that you have the right to speak to them in a certain way ... If we started to focus on that and that became even a core element in the Police Services Act, then we get back to what we’re supposed to be doing ...

Jeremy called for the humanization of policing, and makes reference to the Police Services Act that not only lays out the code of conduct for police officers in the province of Ontario, but also mandates cooperation between police services and the communities they serve. Jeremy’s quote
also gets to the importance of the social ecology of policing and what has been dubbed “ecological contamination,” whereby “mere residence in a particular community becomes a liability for all residents” (Weitzer, 2010: 121).

Some officers felt that the relationship between Black people and the police could be improved if police officers were better able to see things from the perspective of the person they were interacting with, as Allen explained:

... *It goes back to the people piece, right? You have to deal with the people, so no matter what it is, what the issues are, you have to step out of your perspective and try and get onto the other side, right; and until you do, you’re always coming up with reasons why.*

Perspective or the ability to see things from the position of another individual is not necessarily something that can be taught, and may be most relevant as a suggestion for police recruitment. Nevertheless, if officers are able to keep an open mind in situations and not to make assumptions about an individual’s motives, as they have asked members of the Black community not to do, they will be better able to relate to the public.

Some of the respondents also made recommendations about police training measures that would help the police interact with the Black communities that they serve. Specifically, the need for training in anti-oppression and cross-cultural communication was made clear by several officers who did not feel that current training for officers was adequate in these areas. Anti-oppression training would help police officers become more aware of some of the factors that influence Black people’s involvement in crime, and their contacts with the police. It would also help police officers understand things from the perspectives of the individuals that they encounter, as other officers have suggested a need for. Furthermore, an appreciation and understanding of some of the cultural nuances mentioned above that contribute to negative interactions could also be provided through training. Tony describes a component of training that
he himself was once involved in.

Well, this would have to come from the police department itself ... At one time we used to go to the police college on a regular basis and speak to police officers on cross-cultural communications, and try to sensitize them to the various cultures of Blacks and other groups, and it used to help, you know, because, for instance, people from the Caribbean ... it's different these days because of the different breed of people that we have now; but where I was brought up in Jamaica, it was a sign of disrespect ... if my mom should be talking to me and I'm staring her in the face like this, you know, I would get a backhand across the face; “Ah, boy, what are you trying to do? Are you trying to stare me down or something?” And that is construed as a sign of disrespect. So when Blacks come here from the islands. I think the same goes for the Native Indians too and for South Asians; and, you know, when they’re being investigated by police officers, they tend to look away. They don’t tend to stare them in the face, and sometimes the officers might say to them, you know, ‘Look, you’re so guilty you can’t even look me in the eyes.’ And we always have to tell these officers, “look, it’s not that they’re guilty of anything, but this is the way they were brought up.”

Tony provided specific examples of the types of behaviours that some people from different countries and different cultures exhibit, which police officers might interpret incorrectly. Making officers aware of these differences would help them to police in a more culturally sensitive and appropriate manner.

Helping police officers to become more aware of the immense power they hold over members of the public could also help reduce negative interactions. Alan provided an example of a role-playing exercise that could be conducted with officers at police training colleges:

*One thing I think would really be good is an exercise in the balance of power, the shifting of power, so I proposed once before and it would never get past any police association. You bring in a couple of young Black youth to a police college, and you give a scenario so the Black youth are the police officers, and you got police officers that are in the crowd. Any one of them could be the potential suspect of whatever these two Black youth are investigating, so the youth then get to investigate the officers and search them if they see fit ...*

Alan went on to explain that police officers conduct so many stops and searches that they become desensitized to the intrusive nature of such encounters:
By the time you’ve been on [the force] for any length of time you’ve probably searched thousands of people. You forget how intrusive that is. Now if you’re a young Black person … if you’re anybody – it doesn’t matter what age or race – if you end up getting stopped twice a week and searched every time, that is very undignified, and you’re doing it in public. You know, people are walking by that you know think you’re a great kid or a great person and they see the cops … like what does that do to the psyche of the person? Right, so something like that just to remind officers of what that would feel like I think would be powerful. I don’t think you’d ever be able to get it passed through any service, but I think it would help. (Alan)

Being aware of how a member of the public feels when he or she is being patted down and having their pockets emptied might influence officers to be more respectful as they investigate potential suspects. The proposed exercise could be useful, but as Alan notes, it could be difficult to get the approval of police services to run such a scenario.

Respondents made numerous references about the benefits of community policing for improving the relationship between the police and Black communities. Certain aspects of community policing, such as having more officers walk the beat in the neighbourhoods that they serve, were highlighted and viewed positively by respondents. Officers also proposed that police services and police officers become more involved in community events and participate in youth activities, such as coaching sports teams. A key aspect of developing good relations, respondents believed, is getting to kids while they are still young, before they have formed negative perceptions of the police. Therefore, school liaison officers were also viewed positively by many of the respondents. In addition to helping young people develop positive views of the police, school liaison officers and officers who coach youth sports were also seen as role models for young people who might otherwise not have access to such figures. Respondents also suggested that police services be involved in community symposiums and seminars to facilitate the type of open discussion that was previously highlighted as beneficial. The main message coming out of the proposal for more community policing and community engagement is the promotion of
communication and interaction between the police and the Black people that they serve.

Police recruitment and hiring was also put forth as a means of improving relations. First, officers believe that police services could do a better job of screening applicants to ensure they are allowing the right type of people to become police officers, as Jeremy explained:

_I think it sometimes goes back to, “are we selecting the right type of people into the organization,” and I’m talking personality-wise. We tend to attract people who are take-charge, very one-dimensional in terms of their problem solving ability. “Okay, this is what we’re going to do; you’re going to follow me,” and quite often those people who lead cannot be led, and that’s one of our problems._

As mentioned before, policing has traditionally attracted individuals with authoritarian personalities, who were thought to be better able to command respect from the public and enforce the law. With the emergence of police professionalism, this line of thinking has changed and police services have for some time been recruiting individuals with a range of personality types (Forcense, 1992). Respondents also recommended that police services recruit more Black officers to help improve Black people’s views of the police. Bernard explained:

_Well I think that’s a perception that will improve when those people that view the police as an occupying army and view the police as a suppressive group and a brutal group then they see their own going inside that group, they will follow, you see. I think a lot of that onus is on the police themselves._

Bernard argues for the recruitment of more Black officers, and while some services within the GTA have taken it upon themselves to draw more Black officers into their ranks and to provide them with opportunities for advancement, others have not done such a good job.56 However, it

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56 For example, Black officers are over-represented as sworn members in the York Regional Police Service. While only 2.2% of York residents self-identified as Black in the 2006 census, almost 4.5% of York Regional Police officers are Black (as of August 31, 2012) (York Regional Police Service, 2012; The Regional Municipality of York Community and Health Services Department, ND). On the other hand, Black officers are under-represented in both Durham and Toronto. The 2006 census reports that 6% of Durham residents are Black, while a 2010 survey of Durham Regional Police officers indicates that 2% of the service is Black (based on 63% response rate) (Durham Regional Police Service, 2011). Likewise, Black residents made up 8.4% of Toronto’s population in 2006, but only 5.7% of sworn officers in the Toronto Police Service (as of 2012) (Toronto Police Service, 2012; Toronto Police
should be acknowledged that simply hiring more Black officers is unlikely to solve all of the problems facing Black communities and their relationship with the police (Skolnick, 2008). As Edward Conlon, (Former NYPD Detective and author) notes, “over time and in the main, cops tend to think like other cops, regardless of ethnicity” (quoted in Skolnick, 2008). Therefore, there is a need to change the way that police officers think and act, not just the colour of their skin.

Finally, the officers felt that there are changes that need to be made at a societal level if relations between Black people and the police are to be made better. Part of this change includes improving the life chances and future prospects of Black youth, as Troy explained:

*Because you fail to provide the kids with adequate support and knowledge and information and outlets, resources, community groups, community outlets, programming and stuff, the police get the end result because these kids have no direction, you know; and what are we taught to do – we’re taught to make sure people don’t break the rules.*

In line with a critical race perspective, Troy, like many of his peers included in the study, was well aware of the social and structural problems facing Black youth that result in their coming into conflict with the law and with the police. It is these structural failures – in education and other social institutions – that put Black youth at increased risk of being involved in crime. If the myriad social and structural issues are dealt with, Black youth will be more successful in life and less likely to have negative encounters with the police; as Troy mentions, “the police get the end result.” Troy seems to acknowledge that the police are a means of last resort in addressing behaviour caused by society’s failures. While this argument holds some validity, it is important to consider the findings from Chapter Three, showing that even successful Black men receive more police attention than their white and Chinese counterparts. Therefore, addressing structural problems is just one goal; we must also change the way in which society views Black men.

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Service; 2011; City of Toronto, ND). Neither the Ontario Provincial Police nor the Peel Regional Police were able to provide data on the representation of Black officers within their respective services.
CONCLUSION

The views and opinions of the officers in this study were informed by their unique positions as both Black men and as law enforcers. The officers were well aware of this duality as it not only informs their opinions, but also influences their experiences with both the police and the public they serve (see also Bolton and Feagin, 2004). These officers are forced to recognize and often deal first hand with the crime, violence and disorder that affect certain segments of Toronto’s Black communities, while also facing hostility from Black citizens. At the same time, Black officers experience police racism themselves, in the discrimination they see being perpetrated against the public whilst on the job, and in their interactions with other police officers. Thus, Black policemen are in a unique and privileged position to comment on the policing of Black males in Toronto. Because the officers included in this study were recruited through a snowball sampling technique, I do not claim their views to be representative of all Black male police officers working within the GTA. However, given the variety of responses provided, I do believe the data presented above is representative of a range of opinion and illustrative of the problems that at least some Black officers in the GTA believe to exist.

The participants in this study supported the assertion that Black people in Toronto have more negative perceptions of and experiences with the police than do members of other racial groups. Similar to members of Toronto’s Black communities (and to a large proportion of white and Chinese Torontonians, according to the survey results in Chapter Three), the vast majority of officers included in this study felt that biased policing exists. In line with the findings of previous American and British research on Black police (see Alex, 1969; Leinen, 1984; Holdaway and Baron, 1997; Bolton and Feagin, 2004), the officers felt that Black people’s negative perceptions of the police are justified. Indeed, the officers in this study believed that Black people are treated
worse by the police, and that this differential treatment occurs relatively frequently. In fact, the
officers were more likely to perceive police bias against Black people than were the Black adults
profiled in Chapter Three, and the Black youths profiled in Chapter Four. Why the police
officers perceived the most bias is an interesting question. It could be related to sampling, and
reflective of the type of officers who agreed to participate in the study. The officers I interviewed
may have been motivated to participate in the research precisely because they perceive high
levels of police bias. Alternatively, the officers’ perceptions of police bias could have been
exaggerated by the nature of their work, and the likelihood that they see the police arresting and
dealing with Black people more often than regular citizens do. Finally, their views could be an
accurate depiction of reality, and provide confirmation that the police in Toronto are biased
against Black people.

Like some of the young men profiled in Chapter Four, many officers in this study were
quick to point out that Black people play a role in producing their own negative experiences with
the police. The officers argued that Blacks’ increased involvement in crime leads to more contact
with the police and more opportunity for negative interactions to take place (see also Ezeonu,
2010; Satzewich and Shaffir, 2009). The officers also argued that Black people’s negative
perceptions of the police develop through personal and vicarious experiences and cloud future
interactions with the police, as suggested in the conclusion to Chapter Three (see also Engel et
al., 2010; Wortley and Owusu-Bempah, 2011b). As a result, Black civilians often demonstrate a
poor attitude or demeanour when dealing with the police. This poor demeanour is not
appreciated by officers and often leads to harsher – or less respectful – treatment. In many cases,
a mutual disdain for one another and a preconceived notion about how an encounter will unfold
leads to a negative encounter for both the citizen and the police officer. Negative perceptions
about the other group are subsequently reinforced, and the cycle of distrust becomes further entrenched.

The different treatment that Black people experience often takes the form of over-policing, particularly where Black males are concerned. According to the officers, Black males are a frequent target of police stop-and-search practices. As in Bolton and Feagin’s (2004) study of Black officers in the United States, the officers in this study reported that they have often witnessed such racial profiling in their official capacities as law enforcers. Furthermore, many reported that they themselves have experienced biased policing when working undercover or while off duty (see also Barlow and Hickman-Barlow, 2002). Differential treatment also takes the form of hostility and disrespect directed at Black citizens by police officers during these frequent encounters. Contrary to the testimonials of the youth documented in Chapter Four, the Black officers in this study did not feel that such disrespect would include the use of racist language. While the youth reported being on the receiving end of racist comments directed at them by police officers, the Black police respondents felt that such behaviour was unacceptable and that the use of racist language, although present within policing, was expressed only amongst colleagues. These conflicting opinions may result from the different positions that each group occupy. Indeed, some of the officers felt that they were shielded from the racist behaviour of fellow officers by the simple fact that they were Black. Others felt that their rank (being a supervisor or manager), and the requirement that they report the misconduct of their subordinates, meant that such activity would not take place in their presence. On the other hand, the Black youth would not benefit from the protection provided by internal police policies or the status privileges afforded to ranking officers.
The officers’ views did align more closely with the testimonials of the young Black men with regard to physical abuse. Recall that over one-third of the young Black men profiled in Chapter Four reported that their most negative police experience involved Brutality or the excessive use of force. Many of the police respondents believed that a Black person is more likely to be the target of police use of force, and more likely to be unfairly or wrongly shot by the police than a white person. The officers’ views with respect to police use of force involving Black people were almost identical to the Black men profiled in Chapter Three. However, the officers did note that their views were largely informed by media depictions rather than their own personal experiences. Nevertheless, these findings highlight the salience of violence and physical abuse in Black males’ perceptions of the police (see also, Bolton and Feagin, 2004; Brunson and Miller, 2006; Weitzer, 2010).

Overall, the officers believed that Black people and Black neighbourhoods receive a different level of service than other races and neighbourhoods. This different treatment is tied to the type of neighbourhoods in which large proportions of Black people reside. These neighbourhoods are typically more racially diverse and of lower socioeconomic status. In line with social disorganization theories, the officers suggested that the more economically depressed neighbourhoods in which some Black people reside have higher levels of crime, violence and disorder and therefore have a higher police presence and a tougher style of enforcement. The officers suggested that Black people and Black neighbourhoods are often over-policed while being under protected (see Weitzer, 2010). As a result of the over-policing and the hard line that officers take with the residents of disadvantaged neighbourhoods, abuse and misconduct is more commonplace (Weitzer, 2010). Unfortunately, given the close-knit nature of the policing

57 55.0% of Black men from the general population and 51.0% of the Black police officers believed the police are more likely to use physical force on a Black person than a white person.
profession, the reporting of misconduct by a colleague is not an easy task for police officers (Bolton and Feagin, 2004). In line with the views of the young men in the previous chapter, most respondents indicated that they would rather have an informal talk with an officer who had engaged in misconduct, rather than report their racist or corrupt behaviour to superiors. For the most part, officially reporting the behaviour of a colleague only happens when that behaviour is particularly egregious. Reasons for non-reporting include social ostracization and alienation, fear for personal safety, and concerns about the impact upon one’s career.

Finally, the participating officers put forth a number of solutions to improve the relationship between Black people and the police. The officers suggested that Black citizens should be more cooperative and less suspicious of the police. Importantly, the officers advised Black citizens not to automatically assume that their race is the primary factor motivating an officer to initiate contact, and not to play the “race card” frivolously. The officers’ acknowledgement that Black citizens play the race card is an interesting finding. While this acknowledgement could signal affinity to their police services and the police culture, given the officers’ critical stance on policing elsewhere, it is likely an affirmation that some Black citizens use their racial background to get themselves out of trouble; something the respondents feel is detrimental to police relations with Black citizens (see Ford, 2009).

The officers also suggested that Black people develop a better understanding of the roles and responsibilities of the police and of their rights and responsibilities as citizens. Furthermore, the officers also suggested that both the police and Black communities must maintain open lines of communication and promote cooperation. Indeed, many of the principles of community policing were highlighted as a means of improving relations by these Black officers, as they have been by Black officers in other studies (see Leinen, 1984; Bolton and Feagin, 2004). Finally, the
officers suggested that the police must treat Black citizens and Black communities in a more humane manner. Better treatment, it is argued, can be fostered through better recruitment and training, and through the implementation of community policing principles. With that said, many officers acknowledged that the key to improving the relationship between the police and Black citizens is to improve the plight of Black people within our society (see also Ezeonu, 2010), a sentiment that fits well with the principles of critical race theory.

While many of the suggestions that the officers put forth are interesting, most are rather vague and take responsibility away from police agencies. The respondents largely neglected to put forth concrete solutions that could make an immediate impact and change the way police officers go about their day-to-day business. These solutions include the collection of race-based data that would identify areas of racial disparity that may exist due to police bias (see Wortley, 1999; Miller and Owusu-Bempah, 2011). The officers did not recommend tougher rules against racial profiling or other biased police decision-making. They did not call for tougher discipline for officers found guilty of racism and misconduct. Nor did they call for greater civilian oversight of the police. Arguably, the officers’ views on police reform are influenced by the police culture in which they are immersed, and sympathetic to the institutions they work for. In the next chapter, I compare the views of these officers to that of the adult and youth populations presented in chapters three and four. The subsequent chapter also situates the results of this study within the extant literature and theoretical orientation presented in Chapter Two.
Chapter Five Research Questions Addressed in Brief

1) Did the Black male police officers perceive racial bias in policing within the Greater Toronto Area?

Yes, in fact, the Black officers perceived more police bias against Black people than did either of the other samples of Black males.

2) Based on their own experiences as law enforcers, how did the Black male police officers explain Black citizen’s perceptions of and experiences with the police?

The officers believed that both the police and Black citizens contribute to negative police-citizen interactions. The officers also felt that these negative experiences contribute to the negative perceptions of the police that Blacks hold. The officers suggested the criminal behaviour on the part of Black people contributes to the frequency with which they encounter police, while the hostile demeanour that many Blacks display negatively influences their experience during these encounters. Likewise, the officers argued that bias on the part of police officers leads to increased police contacts for Blacks, and contributes to negative treatment on the part of the police.

3) What suggestions did the Black male police officers put forth to improve relations between Black communities and the police?

Overall, the respondents recognized that improving relations between Black people and the police that serve them is going to take a concerted effort from both sides. The officers suggested that community policing strategies that promote dialogue between the two parties is crucial to improving police relations with Black communities.
CHAPTER 6
Discussion

If ever I’ve felt two solitudes in life, it’s the apparent chasm between the Metropolitan Toronto Police and many representatives of the Black community (Lewis, 1992).

Over twenty years has passed since Stephen Lewis made those ominous comments, and in spite of subsequent studies, reports, commissions and lawsuits, Mr. Lewis’ observations seem as appropriate today as they did two decades ago. The police relationship with the Black community remains a highly contentious social issue in Toronto (Rankin and Winsa, 2013b). By examining the perceptions and experiences of three diverse groups of Black males, this study has yielded findings that are important with respect to furthering our understanding of the strained relationship between the police and racial minorities. As is well documented in the American literature (see Hagan and Albonetti, 1982; Weitzer and Tuch, 2006), I find perceptions of police bias to be particularly pronounced amongst Toronto’s Black population. The findings herein also highlight the importance of both direct and vicarious police contact in the formation of these negative views. Like the young Black men documented in much of the American literature (see Brunson and Miller, 2006; Jones-Brown, 2007), I also find that marginalized Black youth in Toronto are treated as “symbolic assailants” and thus subject to high levels of police surveillance, interrogation, harassment, and abuse. This is a sentiment shared not only amongst young Black men, but also amongst many of the Black police officers whose accounts are documented in this thesis. With this in mind, the aim of this chapter is to integrate the quantitative and qualitative findings from the above three data chapters with the theoretical and empirical literature discussed at the beginning of the thesis. This concluding chapter thus begins
with a brief summary of the main findings from each of the three studies included in the thesis. An attempt is made to situate these findings within extant literature. Next, the chapter examines the common themes and contrasting perspectives exposed through the above exploration of Black male experiences and perceptions. The third section of this chapter highlights the strengths and weaknesses of the current research. Finally, the fourth and fifth sections of the chapter discuss the contemporary relevance of the findings, situating these findings within an international and historical context. Finally, the chapter concludes with a discussion of future research needs.

**Summary of main findings**

Chapter Three of this thesis examined differences in perceptions of and experiences with the police amongst a random sample of Black, white and Chinese adults from the Greater Toronto Area. In line with previous research (see Wortley et al., 1997; Weitzer and Tuch, 2006; Bowling and Phillips, 2002), the findings from this chapter show that on the whole, Black Torontonians perceive more police bias and report more frequent and more hostile interactions with the police than do members of other racial groups. The findings also indicate that the frequency and perceived nature of these police interactions have a stronger negative impact on Blacks’ perceptions of the police than it does for either white or Chinese respondents (see also Hagan et al., 2005). Indeed, repeated police contacts contribute to negative evaluations of police performance amongst Black respondents, while the same is not true for white or Chinese respondents. Finally, the findings of this chapter highlight the importance of shared or vicarious experiences with the police. Consistent with previous American research, the current study found that the negative police-related experiences of friends and family members negatively impacted
the respondents’ own perceptions of the police (see also Rosenbaum et al., 2005; Gabbidon et al., 2011). Indeed, vicarious experiences with the police – not personal experiences – largely explain why Black females are just as negative about the police as Black males.

A number of explanations may account for why Black people in Toronto have more direct and vicarious negative experiences with the police and – as a result – perceive higher levels of injustice than the members of other racial groups. Firstly, the Black respondents tended to be younger, came from lower socio-economic backgrounds, and reported higher levels of criminal involvement than did either white or Chinese respondents. In line with social disorganization theory, Black respondents were also more likely to report living in neighbourhoods characterized by crime and disorder; areas in which levels of police surveillance – and perhaps abuse – are high (see Weitzer, 2010). If Blacks are more likely to be the recipients of both unwanted police attention and abuse – as the current findings suggest – it stands to reason that they will also evaluate police performance more negatively and perceive much higher levels of criminal injustice. Nonetheless, it is also important to note that Black people’s negative perceptions of the police may also stem from the racism that they experience in other areas of their daily lives. As noted by Henry and Tator (2005), racism experienced within one social institution may be generalized to all social institutions – including the police. An equally plausible explanation stems from the conflict perspective (Blumer, 1958). Canada has a long history of institutionalized racism (Henry and Tator, 2005). Many Blacks may still be wary of powerful white establishments such as the police and, so, may believe that this institution exists to perpetuate their oppression, domination and subjugation (Henry, 1994). As Bayley and Mendelshon (1969: 195) note, Blacks view the police as a “visible sign of majority domination.”
How do we account for the large attitudinal differences found in the present study between Black and Chinese respondents, given that both are racial minorities in Canada? One explanation may be found in Wortley’s (1996) observation that Black and Chinese Canadians have experienced very different immigration patterns, and have arrived in Canada for different reasons (see also Weitzer, 2010 in the American context). Thus, different historical experiences in Canada may account for some of the attitudinal differences between the two groups. From a critical race perspective, we can also consider the process of differential racialization (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Black and Chinese Canadians suffer from very different racial stereotypes (Wortley, 1996). While Chinese people are often thought of as smart and hard working – a “model minority” – Black people, especially young Black males, are viewed as the “dangerous other,” animalistic and violent (Taylor and Stern, 1997; Jiwani, 2002). These different stereotypes may influence the frequency and nature of police contacts for Black and Chinese respondents which – as a result – differently affect their perceptions of the institution.

How do we account for the lack of gender difference in perceptions of police bias held by Black men and women? As Chapter Three illustrated, Black women perceive slightly more bias in policing than do Black men. This finding is worth noting because, as in previous research (Lambeth, 1998; Harris, 1999; Bowling and Phillips, 2002; Wortley and Owusu-Bempah, 2011), the Black men in this study were much more likely to report being stopped by the police, and to report being stopped on multiple occasions. Black men were also more likely than other respondents to feel negatively about their treatment at the hands of the police. Indeed, Black men were most likely to feel that they were treated unfairly and with disrespect by the police. They were also more likely to report that they were “very upset” by their last police encounter. The fact that Black women perceived more police bias, despite experiencing fewer stops, may be
attributed to the nature of their own experiences with the police, as the victims of crime for example (see Gabbidon et al., 2011). However, the findings of this chapter also highlight the importance of vicarious experiences in shaping attitudes towards the police. Those respondents who had a negative vicarious experience with the police perceived more bias than those who did not. Therefore, as Black respondents (both men and women) were more likely than other respondent groups to report having vicarious experiences with the police, Black women’s views of the police may be understood, at least in part, by their knowledge of the experiences of Black men (Gabbidon et al., 2011). As highlighted in previous research, the frequent and disrespectful treatment of Black men by the police may have a collective impact on Black people and contribute to a shared understanding of law enforcement agencies within Black communities (James, 1998; Weitzer, 2002; Brunson, 2007). These shared experiences must be fully understood in order to gain a better understanding of the conflicts between Black communities and the police (Feagin, 1991; Brunson and Miller, 2006).

As such, Chapter Four of the thesis focused on the perceptions and experiences of a group of young Black men from four of Toronto’s most marginalized communities, the “symbolic assailants” who are disproportionately targeted by the police. The findings presented in this chapter showed that these young Black men rate the performance of the police very poorly, that they hold little trust and confidence in the police, and that they view the police as both biased and corrupt. As noted above, these findings are largely consistent with previous research, showing that Black youths’ appraisals of the police are usually less positive than those of Black adults (Hurst et al., 2000; Brunson and Miller, 2006; Sharp and Atherton, 2007).58

58 It should be acknowledged that the youth respondents are not a random sample of all Black youth in Toronto. Indeed, these are “high risk” Black youth who reside in some of Toronto’s most socially disadvantaged, high crime neighbourhoods. Many of the young men also have extensive criminal histories. Their views, therefore, may not be reflective of other groups of Black youth, such as those from the middle and upper classes.
Indeed, the youth in this study held more negative views of the police than the Black adults profiled in Chapter Three (who are in turn less positive than members of other racial groups). The data suggest that the negative perceptions of the police that these young men held has developed as a result of numerous negative experiences with the police. The young men reported being subject to very high levels of police stop and searches. Many viewed such street encounters with the police as a blatant form of racism and harassment. They also reported that—at best—many of their encounters with the police involved rude and disrespectful treatment. At worst, these police encounters descended into physical and psychological abuse.

The majority of the young men involved in this research provided an example of their most negative police experiences. These negative experiences included police brutality and excessive force, being repeatedly stopped and searched, verbal and physical abuse, and being falsely arrested. Again, the testimonials of these Toronto residents are strikingly similar to those found amongst inner-city Black youths in the United States (see for example Brunson and Miller, 2006). However, although the young men reported high levels of police abuse, some did recognize that they themselves play a role in the outcome of a police encounters. These youths acknowledged that negative treatment could sometimes be avoided by being polite and cooperative, highlighting the importance of citizen demeanour in influencing police discretion and behaviour (see Engel et al., 2010). Two other findings from this chapter are worth highlighting. First, in line with previous research (Smith et al., 1991; Worrall, 1999), the current study found that the youths’ positive experiences with the police had little impact on their overall attitudes toward the institution. On the other hand, their negative experiences had a strong negative impact on their views of the police. This finding underscores, in my opinion, the importance of procedural justice (Tyler and Fagan, 2008). Furthermore, the findings indicate that
the youths’ views toward other social institutions in Canada were strongly related to their views about the police. Indeed, young men who had negative attitudes towards education and employment also held negative views of the police. I believe this finding is indicative of the young men’s experiences with a variety of social institutions, and a belief that they live “socially unjust lives” (Khenti, 2013).

How do we account for the views and experiences of these young men? First, we must acknowledge that the young men reported relatively high levels of criminal offending and victimization. As suggested by the *differential involvement hypothesis*, the young men’s high levels of police contact can at least be partially explained by their own involvement in crime. Therefore, their negative views may result from negative experiences with the police in which the young men were apprehended for criminal behaviour. Social disorganization theory is also insightful in this respect. Recall, these young men were recruited from Toronto’s “priority neighbourhoods,” areas given such distinction in part because of high levels of youth crime, but also because they house more high “needs populations” (e.g. the unemployed, recent immigrants, single parent families) and lack access to “essential services” (e.g. recreation and community centres, libraries, schools). As such, many of the community characteristics conducive to crime are present in these neighbourhoods. Furthermore, given their high levels of crime, these neighbourhoods have a high police presence and experience a hard, “enforcement style” of policing. As suggested in Chapter Two, opportunities for police discrimination and abuse may be higher in these neighbourhoods because of the high rates of crime, frequent police-citizen encounters, and relative powerlessness of community residents (Weitzer and Tuch, 2006).

Therefore, in line with the *mixed model hypothesis*, the results suggest the young men’s negative

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59 However, the discrepancy between the frequency with which the young men are stopped and the rate at which they have been arrested indicates that many of the encounters do not result in the young men being formally processed by the police. See Chapter Four for more details.
appraisals of the police, developed through extensive negative experiences, are a product of a combination of their own offending, the types of neighbourhoods they live in, and the manner of policing that is practiced in these neighbourhoods.

Social conflict and racial threat theories can also help us understand the young men’s attitudes towards and experiences with the police. Indeed, these young men are poor, Black and marginalized. In other words, they represent the antithesis of the white middle-class norm and thus may frequently be perceived as a threat to the dominant social order. As James (1998: 170), notes “historically, young Black men have been represented in Canadian society as potential criminals that should be feared.” As such, the police may seek to control the movement and behaviour of these young men through constant surveillance and harassment, as evidenced in the findings presented above (see also Neugebauer-Visano, 1996). The repeated stops, searches, and verbal/physical abuse experienced by these young men may also contribute to an oppositional Black youth culture. As a result of this culture, Black youths may eventually become openly hostile towards the police, and challenge their authority when detained during street interrogations (a phenomenon that was frequently referenced by Black police officers in Chapter Five). Importantly, this oppositional culture may clash with certain aspects of the traditional police culture, including officers’ desire to receive deference from members of the public and maintain authority during police-citizen interactions (Loftus, 2008). Indeed, both young Black men and police officers put a primacy on respect (Anderson, 1999; Loftus, 2008). However, the unequal power dynamics that characterize police interactions with young Black men leave only one group with the ability to command this respect – the police. As a result, the young men leave their encounters with the police feeling angry and frustrated, which negatively impacts their
views of the police (Neugebauer-Visano, 1996). Likewise, these experiences may reinforce negative police stereotypes about Black people and Black youth.

In order to provide a different perspective on the policing of Black males and to help understand the perceptions and experiences of Black people more generally, I next examined the content of interviews with a sample of Black male police officers from the Greater Toronto Area. These Black officers’ perspectives are unique in that they are informed by both the experience of being a Black male, and the experience of being a law enforcer (see also Bolton and Feagin, 2004). Overall, the Black police officers involved in this study supported the assertion that Black people in Toronto have more negative perceptions of and experiences with the police than do other citizens. Indeed, the vast majority of the officers believed that racial bias in policing exists and that the negative attitudes of Black citizens are both accurate and justified (see also Alex, 1969; Leinen, 1984; Holdaway and Baron, 1997; Bolton and Feagin, 2004). The officers also agreed that Black citizens, particularly Black males, are disproportionately targeted by police surveillance and enforcement activities. The officers also argued that Black citizens are treated with hostility and disrespect by many police officers during public encounters. The officers suggested that a number of factors contribute to the police treatment of Black citizens and to the attitudes and perceptions that result from negative encounters.

First, the officers suggested that criminal offending among Black people results in increased police contacts and increased opportunities for negative interactions (see also Ezeonu, 2010; Satzewich and Shaffir, 2009). Many of the officers suggested that the involvement of young Black men in the drug trade and with gun violence is a major cause of the disproportionate stops and searches that Black men experience. This sentiment is supported by available research illustrating that Black males are disproportionately involved as both the
victims and perpetrators of gun violence in the city of Toronto (Khenti, 2013; Thompson, 2014). Secondly, the officers argued that the treatment that Black people receive from the police is associated with the types of neighbourhoods in which large proportions of Black people reside. According to the officers, Black people are more likely to live in economically depressed neighbourhoods, with elevated levels of crime and disorder. The police officers confirmed that young Black men in these socially disorganized neighbourhoods are more involved in crime and subsequently targeted by the police. Again, these are the very neighbourhoods in which police surveillance tactics are deeply entrenched and opportunities for police discrimination and abuse are high (Weitzer, 2010).

Interestingly, in the end, the officers provided a rather nuanced understanding of the traditionally negative relationship between Black citizens and the police. In general, their views seem to align well with the *Mixed Model Hypothesis* discussed in Chapter Two. Not only did the officers credit the criminal involvement of Black men with influencing their treatment by the police, they also acknowledged the existence of discrimination within policing – at both the individual and system level. Many officers made reference to both individual and systemic racism as influencing the treatment that Black people receive from the police. Although prohibited by official policies, some of the officers still felt that racial biases held by their colleagues would result in discriminatory treatment directed towards Blacks. This sentiment was particularly true for officers from “out of town,” those individuals who had been raised outside of the Greater Toronto Area and had come into the city to take up a career in policing (see also Bolton and Feagin, 2004). The officers involved in this research felt that police recruited from areas outside of the city were more likely to exhibit racist behaviours than those who had been raised in a more multicultural setting that enabled interaction across racial lines.
Racial biases, however, were not only thought to affect officers from out of town. Many of the respondents argued that the police are afraid of Black men because of racist stereotypes that associate Blackness with crime and violence. Police stereotypes about Black men were a key theme raised by the police respondents. In line with racial threat and critical race theories, the officers suggested that police officers in Toronto hold exaggerated stereotypes about young Black men that negatively influence how they interact with Black males and police Black communities. The officers suggested that such fear results in the police being more authoritative with Black males in order to maintain control over specific street interactions. Police were also described as being less understanding and more hostile during encounters with Black males than males from other racial/ethnic backgrounds. Importantly, this hostility on the part of officers is met by equal treatment on the part of Black males – who usually resent frequently being stopped and disrespected by the police. I refer to this phenomenon as a process of “mutual disdain:” each party enters into an interaction with a certain amount of hostility and a preconceived idea about how they will be treated by the other party. As suggested by the officers, the phenomenon of mutual disdain may help us understand why Black peoples’ experiences with the police are so frequently negative.

Finally, there was a view held by some officers that Black people’s experiences with the police are reflective of broader social inequalities and cannot be understood simply within the confines of individual encounters. Indeed, in providing suggestions for improving the relationship between Black communities and the police, some officers recognized that the social circumstances of Black people contribute greatly to their experiences with and perceptions of the police (see also Ezeonu, 2010). Thus, they argued that in order to improve this relationship, we need also to improve the plight of Black people; to help reduce poverty levels amongst Blacks
and to better their educational and employment outcomes. In sum, we need to reduce their social, political and economic marginalization.

How do we account for the views of these officers? To reiterate, these officers were chosen specifically because they are Black, because they are male, and because they are police officers. We must understand their views as being influenced by their unique social positions. Indeed, the views of these officers are no doubt influenced by their experiences as Black men. These experiences include the fact that many have themselves faced the racism that is present in contemporary Canadian society. For example, some of the officers spoke about the negative treatment they had received at the hands of the police before becoming officers themselves. These officers felt that entering into policing would provide them with the opportunity to promote positive change. Likewise, the officers were cognizant of the vicarious police experiences of their friends and family members. As such, their views about the police treatment of Black citizens are informed by the experiences of those around them (see also, Alex, 1969; Leinen, 1984; Ezeonu, 2010).

These officers’ views are also informed by their experiences on the job. First, the officers are aware of the racism perpetuated by their colleagues. As illustrated above, the officers have seen firsthand the negative treatment of Black citizens by members of their own police services. Some of the officers have also heard their fellow officers talk about Black people in a disparaging manner, which they believe reflects these officers’ policing practices. Furthermore, the officers’ views appear to have been influenced, at least in part, by their exposure to the police occupational culture. For example, their unwillingness to report the wrongdoing of their colleagues, instead believing that informal means of recourse are preferable, shows adherence to the code of silence and an affinity amongst officers.
Finally, it should be noted that the officers’ views appear to be influenced by the positions that they occupy within their own police services, and the length of time they have spent on the job. As noted above, some of the ranking officers (supervisors and managers) stated that they are shielded from police discrimination and abuse because they no longer on patrol and in the streets. Their rank also shields them from witnessing or hearing about discrimination due to mandatory reporting requirements. Because ranking officers must formally deal with the misconduct of their subordinates, such behaviour is less likely to come to their attention. Length of service also appears to influence these officers’ views about the treatment of Black citizens. First, some of more experienced officers noted that they have witnessed a reduction in the frequency of police discrimination against Blacks over the course of their career. These officers argued that, in line with general changes in society, overt racial discrimination is less prevalent in policing today than it was in the past (Pettigrew, 1979; Henry and Tator, 2005). The officers also suggested that the new recruitment practices that put a premium on education, life experience, and exposure to diverse groups have had a positive influence on the type of people brought into policing (see also Skolnick, 2008). As a result, they believe these new officers are less influenced by racial discrimination than their predecessors.

Overall, in my opinion, the findings provide considerable support for the Mixed Model Hypothesis. The criminal offending of Black males influences the likelihood that they will be stopped by the police. Likewise, police officers argue that the involvement of Black youth in crime and the prevalence of crime and violence in Black communities have a large impact on how Black men are policed. On the other hand, the multivariate analysis presented in Chapter Three shows that Black racial background remains a significant factor in predicting police stops, even after controlling for other theoretically relevant variables. This suggests that race influences
police decision-making, an assertion further supported by the testimonials of the Black police officers themselves. Indeed, the Black officers argued that the police discriminate against Black men on the basis of racist stereotypes and personal racist beliefs.

**Similarities and differences amongst three groups of Black men**

There are a number of common themes that run through the findings from the three groups of Black men with regard to their general perceptions of and experiences with the police. Most notably, there is a shared view amongst the three groups about how the police treat different people. For example, the Black males involved in this study held remarkably similar perceptions of police bias involving Black people. Indeed, 70 percent of the adult Black males believed the police treat Black people worse than white people. Similarly, 76% of the young Black men examined in Chapter Four also felt that the police treat Black people worse than members of other racial groups. Finally, the Black police officers involved in this study were actually the most likely to perceive police bias against Black people. Indeed, 80 percent of these officers believed that Black people are treated worse by the police, at least sometimes.

The findings presented in Chapter Three illustrated the negative impact that police stops have on Black respondents’ views of the police. While police stops contribute to perceptions of police bias for Black respondents, the same is not true for members of other racial backgrounds. This is important because of the disproportionately high levels of police contact that Blacks experience. The sample of adult Black men drawn from the general population experienced much higher rates of police stops and searches than did members of other racial groups. The young Black men in the second sample also had very high levels of contact with the police. Finally, the police officers in the third sample tended to agree that the police specifically target
young Black males. The negative impact of police stops on Blacks’ perceptions of the police appears to be influenced by both the frequency with which Blacks are stopped by the police, and by their perceived treatment during these encounters. The adult Black males in the first study were the most likely of all respondent groups to believe that the police had treated them poorly during their last encounter. Likewise, two-thirds of the young Black men in the second study felt that the police treated them unfairly and with disrespect (69%) during their last police encounter.

Finally there is a fair degree of congruence in the views of the adult Black males and those of Black police officers with regards to racial differences in police use of force. Indeed, 55% of Black men from the general population and 51% of the Black police officers believed the police are more likely to use physical force on a Black person than a white person. We also see high rates of police use of force in the young Black male sample, where 37% reported that their most negative experience with the police involved a physical assault or police brutality. Interestingly, the views of the Black men and the police officers were not so similar when it came to police shootings. While 79% of the Black men felt that a Black person is more likely to be unfairly or wrongly shot by the police than a white person, substantially fewer (41%) police officers felt this way. Nonetheless, although much lower than the general population of Black males, a substantial proportion of the Black male police officers still believed that a Black person was more likely to be unfairly or wrongly shot by the police than a white person.

Another difference in views appears with regards to the use of racist language. While a number of the youth reported racist language being directed at them by police officers, very few of the police respondents reported witnessing such behaviour. As noted above, this difference could be reflective of the different position that each group occupies. The young men may experience such behaviour because they are relatively powerless in comparison to the police,
who feel that they can get away with such behaviour in certain neighbourhoods. The Black police officers, on the other hand, may be shielded from the racist behaviours of their colleagues because they are Black, and other officers may not want to offend them. Alternatively, officers using such language may do so only in the presence of “safe” company, amongst colleagues they know will not report such behaviour. Another explanation for the discrepant findings could be due to reporting behaviour. The young men may have embellished their negative experiences in order to provide what they view as socially desirable responses (Warren et al., 2011). Likewise, the police officers may have neglected to admit that they have witnessed racist language being used because they felt it would reflect negatively on their colleagues and on their police services. However, given the similarity of the testimonials of the young men with other sources (see Neugebauer-Visano, 1996; James, 1998; Brunson and Miller, 2006; Rankin and Winsa, 2012), and the fact that the police respondents spoke at length about other forms of discrimination, I believe these views accurately depict the experiences of each group.

Overall, the views and experiences of the Black men profiled in this thesis appear to be more similar than different. Clearly, a large proportion of the Black men included in this study have had firsthand experience with the police in one form or another. These experiences range from polic-initiated stops to racist language to police brutality and false arrests. It is quite likely that these Black men also experience policing vicariously through their friends, family members and social networks. Their views, therefore, are the product of shared experiences with policing, and indicative of the great presence that the police have in the lives of Black men in Toronto.
Study Strengths and Weaknesses

This study has produced a range of findings that further our understanding of the policing of Black males in the Greater Toronto Area. Nevertheless, the study has a number of weaknesses. First, Chapter Three examined racial differences in perceptions of the police amongst Black, white and Chinese adults in the Greater Toronto Area. As noted above, this survey was a replication of an earlier study in which Chinese respondents were considered a racial group. However, under the definition of race provided in Chapter Two, and in light of current racial categorizations, Chinese people do not constitute a racial group in their own right. Instead, they are considered “Asian” in the Canadian context (Chui, Tran, and Maheux, 2008). Therefore, caution should be made in extending the observed racial differences in perceptions of and experiences with the police to other Asian groups (i.e., Japanese or Koreans).

A further weakness of this study is that random sampling techniques were not used in the recruitment of participants in Study Two (youths) or Study Three (police). Therefore, it is difficult to determine the extent to which the results of these two studies can be generalized to all Black youths (including Black female youths) and all Black officers. For example, the Black officers who agreed to participate in this research may have held different views from those officers who refused to participate. It may be that the officers who refused to participate held more conservative views or had fewer complaints about the policing of Black men in Toronto. Conversely, the officers who refused to participate may have been those who were most victimized by police racism, and were thus uncomfortable discussing these issues. Another potential weakness of the present study is the exclusion of comparison racial groups from the youth and police samples. I chose to focus specifically on Black males because previous research illustrates that they have the highest levels of unwanted police contact, and have arguably the
worst relationship with the police of all racial-ethnic groups in Canada. It could be argued that different findings would have been produced had other racial groups been included in the analysis. Nevertheless, given the abundance of research on inter-racial differences in perceptions of and experiences with the police, it has been acknowledged that we need to better understand the experiences of those groups most targeted by the police activities (Stewart et al., 2009; Brunson, 2010). As such, Black males remained the primary focus of the research. Finally, in order to protect the privacy of the police officers involved in this study, I did not record identifying information such as the name of the police service for which they work. Therefore, I cannot distinguish between officers from different services to determine whether they hold different views about the policing of Black males in Toronto.

In addition to its weaknesses, the present study also has a number of strengths. One of the strongest elements of this research is the use of three data sources. In addition to the random, representative sample of Black males, the research includes two distinct groups of Black men that provide insight on the policing of Black males from two very different perspectives. To date, no Canadian research has included such a large sample of young Black men to examine their views of and experiences with the police in such detail. Likewise, no Canadian research has drawn on the perspectives and experiences of such a large group of Black police officers. Ultimately, the strength here lies not in these three groups in isolation, but rather in the triangulation of their perceptions and experiences. In addition to the use of multiple data sources, the mixed methods approach further strengthens the quality of this research. Rather than relying exclusively on either qualitative or quantitative methods, both of which have their respective strengths and weaknesses (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004), this project utilizes a combination of both. This is not to say that the methodology used is perfect, however; the quantitative data
allows for generalizations to be drawn about the policing of Black males in Toronto, while the qualitative data allows for a more nuanced understanding of Black male experiences and perceptions. Overall, the findings of this research are consistent with previous studies from Toronto and other jurisdictions, further strengthening the validity of the conclusions.

Contemporary Relevance

The findings of this research are important because they highlight the prevalence of negative attitudes towards the police within Toronto’s Black communities. As noted in Chapter Two, the police and the public have an interdependent relationship. Positive views towards the police are necessary in order to ensure that citizens will cooperate with the police as victims, witnesses, complainants, and the accused. On the other hand, citizen perceptions of illegitimacy can contribute to alienation amongst the affected citizens and withdrawal from mainstream society. Such a situation may contribute to criminal offending amongst those who question the legitimacy of the law and how it is enforced (Decker & Smith, 1980; Tyler, 1990; Lafree, 1998). Thus, police treatment of Black citizens in Toronto may hamper the crime fighting efforts of the police, undermining community policing initiatives while simultaneously contributing to criminal offending amongst Black citizens.

The over-policing of Black men in Toronto also has unfortunate consequences for both innocent and guilty Black people. While innocent whites have little reason to believe they will have their vehicle, person, or property searched by the police, the same cannot be said for innocent Blacks (Harris, 1999). Because Black people garner undue attention from the police, many innocent Black citizens are subject to unwarranted police stop and search practices that in at least some cases constitute violations under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.
(Tanovich, 2006). Furthermore, because the police disproportionately target Blacks for investigative purposes, Black law violators are more likely to be caught than white law violators. Such a situation results in the rationalization of police discrimination while simultaneously strengthening public perceptions of Black criminality (Harris, 1999; Khenti, 2014).

Irrespective of actual rates of offending, Black law violators are more likely to be caught, which means they are disproportionately burdened by criminal records that limit their future employment opportunities and restrict their ability to contribute meaningfully to their families and communities (Alexander, 2012). As a result, Black communities are further disadvantaged by the removal of wage earners, mentors and social contacts. A growing body of research has also begun to examine how the experience of police discrimination impacts mental health and well-being. For example, the Ontario Human Rights Commission has identified a number of harms associated with the experience of racial profiling, including increased fear, a sense of intimidation, reinforced anxieties, and enhanced feelings of helplessness and hopelessness that contribute to suicidal thoughts, depression, and drug use (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2003). American research has also identified the humiliation associated with the experience of racial profiling as a cause of chronic psychological stress amongst Black citizens (Harris, 2003). These mental health effects and associated coping strategies, such as drug dependency, may further contribute to offending amongst afflicted Blacks (Khenti, 2014).

The disproportionate targeting of Black males by the police also has devastating impacts on Black families and Black communities by contributing to concentrated incarceration. This point is particularly salient in light of the continuing war on drugs, the recent passage of tough on crime measures, and the ongoing prison expansion in Canada. As Khenti (2014) points out, the Canadian war on drugs has contributed to the disproportionate incarceration of Black Canadians
at a time when prison populations have remained stable and crime rates have fallen. Similarly, in writing on the consequences of the over-policing of Black people in Ontario, the Commission on Systemic Racism argued: “one effect of the war on drugs, intended or not, has been the increase in imprisonment of black people … [because] of the intensive policing of low income areas in which black people live” (p. 82–83 as cited in Khenti, 2014). Indeed, Ontario saw a 1,164% increase in the number of Black people admitted to prison for drug trafficking offences between 1986 and 1993, while the increase for white offenders was a modest 151% (Commission, 1995; Khenti, 2014). Likewise, prison admissions for young Black men in Ontario have increased in the last ten years, while admissions for young white men have declined, suggesting that the burden of incarceration is becoming increasingly concentrated amongst Black and other racialized groups (Rankin and Winsa, 2013). Concentrated incarceration has a damaging effect on individuals, families and communities (Browning et al., 2001; Clear, 2002; Fazel and Baillargeon, 2011; Wildeman et al., 2012).

In sum, the impact of police discrimination can have consequences that extend well beyond individual police encounters. The evidence presented above challenges the notion that Canada is a tolerant nation, free of the racial strife and history of discrimination that characterize the American experience. Indeed, the findings presented herein indicate that Black males’ experiences with the police are remarkably similar to those in New York and London, two large metropolitan cities currently contending with issues of police discrimination (Singer, 2013; Harris, 2014). Indeed, recent data shows that Black people are stopped and documented (carded) by the police in Toronto at a rate three times their representation in the general population (Rankin and Winsa, 2012a). By comparison, in New York Blacks are stopped at a rate twice their representation in the general population, and in London three times their representation in
the general population (African Canadian Legal Clinic, 2013; Hurrell, 2013). The similarities cannot only be found in the statistics, but also in Black males’ feelings about their treatment at the hands of the police. Writing on impact of stop-and-search on young people in London, Jackson and Smith (2012) write:

Young people felt victimised by repeated stop and searches, embarrassed to be seen involved in a stop and search, and annoyed to have their time, and police time, wasted. The impact of this on their attitudes to and relationships with the police was to create a strong sense of injustice and resentment. Stop and search makes a big impact on how young people feel towards the police (1).

Likewise, commenting on the situation in New York, Shedd (2012) notes the following: “the consequence [of over-policing] is greater numbers of young people who, shaped by their low expectations that police will fulfill their duties fairly, view society as fundamentally unjust” (2012: 27). These comments could have easily been lifted from the pages of this thesis, and support my assertion that Black males are treated similarly by the police in these three different jurisdictions.

*The Importance of International Comparisons and Historical Contextualization*

I believe that the similarities in the way Black men experience and perceive policing in Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom is important to furthering our understanding of the nature of Black males’ relationship with the police. Indeed, it is my contention that most current theoretical orientations employed to explain this relationship are limited in their explanatory power due to a narrow geographical and temporal focus. Take the following quote on the American situation as an example: “Is it possible that police officers across the country, with different training, different policies, different supervisors, all have the same bias? Possibly, but

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60 Previous research has shown that even after controlling for participation in crime and precinct variability, Black people remain over-represented in police stops and searches in New York (Gelman et al. 2007).
there are other explanations that must be explored” (Engel et al., 2010). While it is true that we should consider other explanations, it is also important to consider the possibility that police officers across the country (and across other Western nations) all hold similar biases towards Black men. Drawing on Critical Race Theory, I suggest that they do, and that these similar biases are rooted in the historical and contemporary racialization of Black people. This process of racialization has also contributed to the social inequalities Black people experience in all other areas of social life (as detailed in Chapter Two).

Although race and racialization are geographically and temporally specific (Miles, 1989; Desmond and Emirbayer, 2009), the racialization of Black people has a common history in the period of European colonialism (Montagu, 1963). As I argued above, this history of racialization and colonialism has resulted in the social, political and economic marginalization of Black people in Canada (Henry and Tator, 2005), as it has Blacks in both the United States (Tonry, 2011) and United Kingdom (Fryer, 1984; Small, 1994).61 Black people in Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom have also come to be associated with crime and violence in much the same manner (Jiwani, 2002; Phillips and Bowling, 2003; Welch, 2007). A key component of the racialization of Black people and Black men is the phenomenon of dehumanization.

Dehumanization describes the process through which “humanness” is denied to individuals and collective groups (Haslam, 2006). Once an individual or group has been defined as the “other,” they can then be dehumanized (Haslam, 2006). The concept is commonly employed in the context of genocide and ethnic conflict. Staub (1989) and Waller (2002), for example, have remarked on the importance of dehumanizing the enemy or the “other” in the context of genocide, given that most human beings do not have the psychological capacity to

61 Albeit to varying degrees.
carry out the mass slaughter of other people in a systematic and routinized fashion. Through the process of dehumanization, human qualities, such as higher order cognition, civility and morality are withheld from the target group (Haslam, 2006). Dehumanization often involves the association of the subject group with animals or animalistic tendencies (Haslam, 2006). Once a group has been dehumanized, it falls outside of what Fein (1979) describes as a “Universe of Obligation.” Fein argues that people who fall within one’s universe of obligation are those who must be taken into account, to whom obligations are due, and to whom we can be held responsible (1979: 7). When people fall outside of this universe, offences against them are no longer violations of the normative order. Likewise, Kelman (1976) suggests that the dehumanized no longer elicit compassion or other moral responses, and as a result, may be the targets of violence.

Dehumanization is important in the current context because of the crucial role it has played in the racialization of Black people. As detailed in Chapter Two, European rulers and their spokesmen found it useful to regard and portray Africans as sub-human in order to justify the conquest and enslavement of African people (Clarke 1970: 1). Indeed, slavery rested on the very idea that Black Africans were not human beings, but rather less evolved creatures that could be exploited for their labour – while at the same time being “civilized” through the teachings of Christianity (Clarke 1970). As Africans were not deemed human, they could be enslaved, kept as chattel, and subject to horrific violence. It is my contention that Black people of African descent have not escaped the dehumanized status bestowed upon them during the period of colonialism and slavery. Indeed, contemporary evidence suggests that Blacks are still viewed in dehumanized terms. For example, Goff et al. (2008) conducted a series of studies to test the implicit association between Black people and apes, and examined the implications of this association in
criminal justice terms. Goff and colleagues find that a mental association between Blacks and apes remains among American citizens and find that this association influences cognitive processes and judgement assessments. Specifically, Goff et al. show that the implicit Black-ape association leads to greater endorsement of violence against Black people, and influences jury decisions to execute Black suspects (Goff et al., 2008).

Although not directly tested in this thesis, I suggest that the similarities in the treatment of Black men by the police in Toronto, New York and London are influenced by the dehumanization of Black people. For example, I suggest that the continued marginalization of Black people, which we know contributes to their criminal offending, is allowed to persist because they fall outside of whites’ “universe of obligation.” As such, white people, who maintain power and dominance, feel little empathy for the circumstances of disadvantaged Blacks, and lack the moral imperative to improve their situation (Tonry, 2011). This may be especially true if it comes at a cost to white privilege. On the other hand, criminal offending on the part of Black people is viewed as characteristic of the race rather than a product of their social circumstances (Tonry, 2011). Therefore, the increased police surveillance of Black people and Black communities is justified in the eyes of whites because it can be attributed to individual behaviour rather than societal failings (Khenti, 2014). This is especially true in the context of the ongoing war on drugs, where Black people have been identified as the primary “enemy” (Tonry, 2011; Khenti, 2014). Furthermore, the treatment that Black people receive at the hands of the police is acceptable, given their criminal proclivities and the fact that whites view them as violent and dangerous. The evidence of Black over-representation in police shootings and state executions provides further evidence of the devaluation of Black life (Hawkins, 1983; 2002; Hampton, 1987; Mills, 1997; Tonry, 2011).
I believe that the current explanations put forth to account for Blacks’ perceptions of and experiences with the police could be further strengthened by accounting for the historical processes that have led to the marginalization and criminalization of Black people. Indeed, some urban sociologists have utilized a similar history to describe the emergence of the Black underclass and the mass incarceration of African Americans (see Massey and Denton, 1993; Wacquant, 2002). However, such explanations remain largely absent from the mainstream policing literature. As Goff et al. suggest: “examining the subtle persistence of specific historical representations such as [the Black-ape association] may not only enhance contemporary research on dehumanization, stereotyping, and implicit processes but also highlight common forms of discrimination that previously have gone unrecognized” (2008: 292). The recent depiction of President Obama as an ape on the front of a Belgian newspaper shows that even the most successful and powerful Black men can still be viewed in animalistic terms (Carvajal, 2014). What then can be said about the young Black men that occupy inner-city ghettos?

**Conclusion**

The results of the three studies included in this thesis underscore that perceptions of injustice and the experience of racism are real issues in Canadian society that deserve further research attention. Unfortunately, a lack of access to criminal justice data in general – and especially that which is disaggregated by race – makes it difficult for researchers to investigate these issues in the Canadian context (Wortley, 1999; Miller and Owusu-Bempah, 2011). In order to facilitate the development of a body of scholarship on race, crime and criminal justice in Canada, our government and criminal justice agencies should look towards the British and American models that allow public access to a range of race-based data from the criminal justice system. Although
the availability of such data has not eliminated racial disparities in policing and other justice outcomes in the United States or United Kingdom, it has helped researchers and policy makers to identify areas of concern and work towards ameliorating these disparities. Based on the findings of this thesis there are several areas of future research that could advance our knowledge of the relationship between race, crime, and criminal justice. First, as Aboriginal Canadians also share the burden of Canada’s colonial history with Canada’s Black population, comparative research examining the similarities and differences in each groups’ experiences in Canadian society may help further our understanding of the processes that contribute to their great overrepresentation in crime and criminal justice statistics. Likewise, given the apparent similarities in Black males’ experiences with the police in Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States, international comparative research in this area may help us to further understand both the causes and consequences of this enduring, troubled relationship. Finally, further examination of the pervasiveness of the dehumanization of Black people in different jurisdictions and contexts would enhance research on racism and discrimination in general, and with regard to policing in particular.


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APPENDIX A: PERCEPTIONS OF CRIME AND CRIMINAL INJUSTICE
2006 SURVEY

SECTION B: EVALUATIONS OF THE POLICE AND CRIMINAL COURTS

B1. In general, do you think the Metro Toronto POLICE are doing a good, average, or a poor job enforcing the laws, or are you not sure?

<1> good  
<3> average  
<5> poor  
<8> not sure/don't know  
<9> refused

B2. Do you think the Metro Toronto Police are doing a good, average, or poor job, being approachable and easy to talk to?

<1> good  
<3> average  
<5> poor  
<8> not sure/don't know  
<9> refused

B3. Do you think the Metropolitan Toronto Police are doing a good, average, or poor job, supplying information to the public on ways to reduce crime?

<1> good  
<3> average  
<5> poor  
<8> not sure/don't know  
<9> refused

B4. Do you think the Metropolitan Toronto Police are doing a good, average, or poor job of making your neighbourhood a safe place?

<1> good  
<3> average  
<5> poor  
<8> not sure/don't know  
<9> refused
SECTION C: POLICE TREATMENT OF DIFFERENT GROUPS

C1. We are interested in how you think the POLICE treat different people.

In general, do you think the police treat poor people the same as wealthy people?

INTERVIEWER: if asked, poor means less than $15,000 per family and wealthy means more than $100,000 per family.

<1> yes (treat the same) [go to C4]
<5> no (treat differently) [go to C2]
<7> sometimes treated same/sometimes treated differently [go to C2]
<8> don't know [go to C4]
<9> refused [go to C4]

C2. Do you think they treat poor people MUCH better, BETTER, WORSE, or MUCH worse, than they treat wealthy people or are you not sure?

<1> much better
<3> better
<5> worse
<7> much worse
<0> the same [go to C4]
<8> don't know/depends [go to C4]
<9> refused [go to C4]

C3. In general, how often do you think they treat poor people [fill rC1b] than wealthy people? Would you say often, about half the time, once in a while, or almost never or are you not sure?

<1> often
<3> about half the time
<5> once in a while
<7> almost never
<8> don't know/depends
<9> refused

C4. Do you think the police treat younger people, in the 18 to 25 age range, the same as people who are 50 years of age or older?

<1> yes (treat the same) [go to C7]
<5> no (treat differently) [go to C5]
<7> sometimes treated same/sometimes treated differently [go to C5]
<8> don't know [go to C7]
<9> refused [go to C7]
C5. Do you think they treat younger people MUCH better, BETTER, WORSE, or MUCH worse, than they treat older people?

<1> much better  
<3> better  
<5> worse  
<7> much worse  
<0> the same [go to C7]  
<8> don't know/depends [go to C7]  
<9> refused [go to C7]

C6. How often do you think they treat younger people [fill rc2] than older people? Would you say often, about half the time, once in a while, or almost never?

<1> often  
<3> about half the time  
<5> once in a while  
<7> almost never  
<8> don't know/depends  
<9> refused

C7. Do you think the police treat women the same as men?

<1> yes (treat the same) [go to C10]  
<5> no (treat differently) [go to C8]  
<7> sometimes treated same/sometimes treated differently [go to C8]  
<8> don't know [go to C10]  
<9> refused [go to C10]

C8. Do you think they treat women MUCH better, BETTER, WORSE, or MUCH worse, than they treat men?

<1> much better  
<3> better  
<5> worse  
<7> much worse  
<0> the same [go to C10]  
<8> don't know/depends [go to C10]  
<9> refused [go to C10]
C9. How often do you think they treat women [fill rc2] than men? Would you say often, about half the time, once in a while, or almost never?

<1> often
<3> about half the time
<5> once in a while
<7> almost never
<8> don't know/depends
<9> refused

C10. In general, do you think the police treat people who do not speak English the same as people who do speak English?

<1> yes (treat the same) [go to C13]
<5> no (treat differently) [go to C11]
<7> sometimes treated same/sometimes treated differently [go to C11]
<8> don't know [go to C13]
<9> refused [go to C13]

C11. Do you think they treat people who do not speak English MUCH better, BETTER, WORSE, or MUCH worse, than they treat people who do speak English?

<1> much better
<3> better
<5> worse
<7> much worse
<0> the same [go to C13]
<8> don't know/depends [go to C13]
<9> refused [go to C13]

C12. How often do you think they treat people who do not speak English [fill rc2] than people who do speak English? Would you say often, about half the time, once in a while, or almost never?

<1> often
<3> about half the time
<5> once in a while
<7> almost never
<8> don't know/depends
<9> refused
C13. In general, do you think the police treat Black people the same as White people?

<1> yes (treat the same) [go to C16]
<5> no (treat differently) [go to C14]
<7> sometimes treated same/sometimes treated differently [go to C14]
<8> don't know [go to C16]
<9> refused [go to C16]

C14. Do you think they treat Black people MUCH better, BETTER, WORSE, or MUCH worse, than they treat White people?

<1> much better
<3> better
<5> worse
<7> much worse
<0> the same [go to C16]
<8> don't know/depends [go to C16]
<9> refused [go to C16]

C15. How often do you think they treat Black people [fill rc2] than White people? Would you say often, about half the time, once in a while, or almost never?)

<1> often
<3> about half the time
<5> once in a while
<7> almost never
<8> don't know/depends
<9> refused

C16. In general, do you think the police treat Chinese people the same as White people?

<1> yes (treat the same) [go to next section]
<5> no (treat differently) [go to C17]
<7> sometimes treated same/sometimes treated differently [goto C17]
<8> don't know [go to next section]
<9> refused [go to next section]
C17. Do you think they treat Chinese people MUCH better, BETTER, WORSE, or MUCH worse, than they treat White people?

<1> much better
<3> better
<5> worse
<7> much worse
<0> the same [go to next section]
<8> don't know/depends [go to next section]
<9> refused [go to next section]

C18. How often do you think they treat Chinese people [fill rc2] than White people? Would you say often, about half the time, once in a while, or almost never?

<1> often
<3> about half the time
<5> once in a while
<7> almost never
<8> don't know/depends
<9> refused

SECTION D: TRAFFIC STOPS

D1. NOT INCLUDING R.I.D.E programs and Christmas spot checks, in the past two years have you been stopped by the police when you were driving in a motor vehicle (as either a passenger or a driver)?

<1> yes [go to D2]
<5> no [go to D24]
<8> don't know [go to D24]
<9> refused [go to D24]

D2. In the past two years, how many times have you been stopped by the police while driving in a motor vehicle like a car, truck or motorcycle?

<0> Never [goto D24]
Enter number of times____________________________________________________
<98> don't know
<99> refused
D11. The last time you were stopped by the police while driving in a motor vehicle, did the police search you or anybody else that was in the vehicle?

<1> yes  
<5> no  
<8> don't know  
<9> refused

D12. The last time you were stopped by the police while driving in a motor vehicle, did the police search the vehicle?

<1> yes  
<5> no  
<8> don't know  
<9> refused

D16. The last time you were stopped while driving in a motor vehicle, do you think the police treated you politely and with respect?

<1> yes  
<5> no  
<8> don't know  
<9> refused

D17. The last time you were stopped while driving in a motor vehicle, did you and the people you were with treat the police politely and with respect?

<1> yes  
<5> no  
<8> don't know  
<9> refused

D18. Overall, the last time you were stopped while driving in a motor vehicle, do you think the police treated you fairly?

<1> yes  
<5> no  
<8> don't know  
<9> refused

D20. Were you upset the last time you were stopped by the police while driving in a car? Would you say that you were:

<1> Not upset at all  
<2> Somewhat upset  
<3> Quite upset  
<4> Very upset  
<98> Don't know  
<99> Refused
PEDESTRIAN STOPS

D24. Now I would like to ask you a few questions about other types of contact with the police. In the last two years, have you ever been stopped by the police when you were walking on the street, in a shopping mall, in a park or in some other public place?

<1> yes [goto D25]
<5> no [go to next section]
<8> don't know [go to next section]
<9> refused [go to next section]

D25. In the past two years, how many times have you been stopped by the police when you were walking in a public place?

<0> Never [go to next section]
Enter number of times____________________________________________________
<98> don't know
<99> refused

D34. The last time you were stopped by the police while you were walking, did the police search you?

<1> yes
<5> no
<8> don't know
<9> refused

D38. The last time you were stopped while walking, do you think the police treated you politely and with respect?

<1> yes
<5> no
<8> don't know
<9> refused

D39. The last time you were stopped while walking, did you treat the police politely and with respect?

<1> yes
<5> no
<8> don't know
<9> refused
D40. Overall, the last time you were stopped while walking, do you think the police treated you fairly?

<1> yes
<5> no
<8> don't know
<9> refused

D41. How did you feel the last time you were stopped by the police while walking? How did being stopped by the police make you feel? PROBE: Did you feel anything else?

RECORD ALL FEELINGS:____________________________________________________

D42. Were you upset the last time you were stopped by the police while walking? Would you say that you were:

<1> Not upset at all  <2> Somewhat upset
<3> Quite upset      <4> Very upset
<98> Don’t know      <99> Refused

D43. Were you frightened the last time you were stopped by the police while walking? Would you say that you were:

<1> Not afraid at all  <2> Somewhat afraid
<3> Afraid            <4> Very afraid
<98> Don’t know       <99> Refused

D44. The last time you were stopped while walking, was the police officer who stopped you Black, Chinese, White or a member of another ethnic group?

<1> Black
<3> Chinese
<5> White
<7> Other (specify) ____________________________________________________________
<8> don't know
<9> refused

D45. Was the police officer who stopped you a male or a female?

<1> Male
<3> Female
<5> Both male and female
<7> Other (specify) ____________________________________________________________
<8> don't know
<9> refused
SECTION M: RACIAL PROFILING

Over the past few years, racial profiling has become a major issue in Canadian society. Racial profiling is said to exist when people are stopped, questioned and searched by the police or Customs agents because of their racial characteristics – not because of their individual behaviour or their actions.

M1. In your opinion, is racial profiling a problem in Canada? Would you say it is a big problem, a medium sized problem, a small problem or is it not a problem at all?

<1> A big problem  
<2> A medium sized problem  
<3> A small problem  
<4> Not a problem at all.  
<8> Don’t know  
<9> Refused

M2. In your opinion, have you ever been a victim of racial profiling by the police?

<1> Yes [go to M3]  
<2> No [go to M4]  
<8> Don’t know [go to M4]  
<9> Refused [go to M4]

M3. In your life, how many times have you been the victim of racial profiling by the police? Would you say once, twice, three to five times, six to ten times, ten to twenty times or more than twenty times?

<1> Once  
<2> Twice  
<3> Three to five times  
<4> Six to ten times  
<5> Ten to twenty times  
<8> More than twenty times  
<9> Don’t know

M4. Have any of your close friends or family members been the victim of racial profiling by the police? Would you say none of them, a few of them, several of them, most of them or all of them?

<1> No – None of them  
<2> A few of them  
<3> Several of them  
<4> Most of them  
<5> All of them  
<8> Don’t know  
<9> Refused
APPENDIX B – CHAPTER THREE VARIABLE CODING

DEPENDENT VARIABLES

The Police Evaluation Index: Respondents were asked whether they felt that the police were doing a good, average, or poor job of 1) enforcing the laws; 2) being approachable; 3) supplying information to the public; and 4) keeping their neighbourhood safe. If respondents gave the police a rating of “poor” they were given a score of 0; if they indicated that they “don’t know” how they police were doing they were given a score of 1; if they felt the police were doing an “average” job they were given a score of 2; and if they rated police performance as “good” were given a score of 3. Responses to these four measures were then combined in order to create a single index (alpha=.75) of police performance ranging from 0 to 12 (mean=7.78).

The Police Bias Index: Respondents were asked how the police treated: 1) poor people vs. wealthy people; 2) young people vs. older people; 3) women vs. men; 4) people who speak English vs. people who do not speak English; 5) black people vs. white people; and 6) Chinese people vs. white people. If respondents reported that they felt a particular group was treated the same they were given a score of 0; if they reported that they “don’t know” they were given a score of 1; if they felt that they were treated “better” or “worse”, they were given a score of 2; and if they felt they were treated “much better” or “much worse”, they were given a score of 3. Finally, a third set of questions tapped the perceived frequency with which such bias occurs. Responses to this item were coded from ‘1’ if they “did not know” to ‘4’, if they felt that discrimination occurs often. The variables measuring degree and frequency of differential treatment were then multiplied and combined in order to create a single index (alpha=0.80) of police bias ranging from 0 to 87 (mean score=29.11). The higher the score on the Police Bias Index, the greater the level of perceived police bias.

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Race: Respondents were asked to self-identify their racial background. Two dummy variables were created to denote race. Black (1=Black; 0=other) and Chinese (1=Chinese; 0= other). White is the default category left out of the analysis: 33% of the final sample self-identifies as black; 33% self-identifies as Chinese and 33% self-identifies as white.

Age: Age is an interval variable. Age is measured in years ranging from 18 to 89 years. Mean age=45.1 yrs; Median age=45 yrs; Standard Deviation=15 yrs.

Gender: Gender is dummy coded (1=male; 0=female). Less than half of the sample (40%) is male.

Foreign Born: Respondents were asked to report their place of birth. Foreign Born was dummy coded 1=Other; 0=Canada. Approximately 63% of the sample is foreign born.
**Unemployment:** Respondents were asked about their employment status. Unemployment was dummy coded 1=unemployed; 0= employed. Approximately 6% of the sample is unemployed.

**Live in Projects:** Respondents were asked whether they live in a social housing project. Live in Projects was dummy coded 1=lives in social housing; 0=does not live in social housing. Approximately 12% of the sample lives in a social housing project.

**Social Class:** Respondents were asked to identify the social class they felt they belong to. Subjective social class was coded: 0=lower or working class; 1=middle-class; 2=upper-middle class; and 3= wealthy. Just under one-quarter of the sample (22.3%) of the sample stated they are lower or working class, while almost two-thirds (63.3%) stated that they are middle class. Less than one percent of the sample stated that they are wealthy.

**Education:** Respondents were asked to state their highest level of educational attainment. Education is coded: 1 = elementary or less; 2 = some high school; 3=completed high school; 4= some post-secondary; 5=completed college; 6= bachelor’s degree; 7= professional or graduate degree. Few of the respondents had not completed high school (15.2%). One-fourth of the sample (27%) has a university degree.

**Public Activities:** Respondents were asked how often they engaged in four different types of public activity: a) used public transit; b) visited shopping malls or theatres; c) hung out on the street or in parks; and d) went to bars or nightclubs. Response options ranged from 0 (never) to 6 (every day). Answers to these four questions were combined into a single variable measuring frequency of engaging in public activities (alpha=0.66). This variable ranges from 0 to 24 (mean=8.55).

**Community Disorder:** Respondents were asked about the frequency with which the following things happen in their neighbourhood: a) homeless people on the street begging for money; b) prostitution; c) drug trafficking; d) gun violence; and e) violence between rival gangs. Responses to these questions ranged from 0 (never) to 4 (very often). Responses to these five questions were combined into a Community Disorder Index (alpha=0.70). Scores on this index range from 0 to 20 (mean=2.54).

**Crime Victim:** Respondents were asked whether they have been the victim of a violent crime like an assault, robbery or a sexual assault. Crime victim was dummy coded 1=crime victim; 0=not crime victim. Slightly over one in ten respondents (12.1%) has been the victim of a violent crime.

**Arrested:** Respondents were asked if they had been arrested in their lifetime. Arrested was dummy coded 1=arrested; 0=not arrested. 7% of the sample has been arrested.

**Police Stops:** Respondents were asked how many times in the past two years they had been subjected to a police stop. Police initiated contact (past two years) was coded: 0=less than two stops; 2=three or more stops. Approximately one-third of the sample (27.8%) had been stopped by the police at least once in the past two years.
**Vicarious Police Contact:** Respondents were asked any family members had been the victim of racial profiling by the police in the past two years. This variable was dummy coded: 1=family/friends have been profiled in the past 2 years; 0=family and friends have not been profiled. 42% of the respondents reported that they had a family member or friend who had been profiled by the police in the past two years.

**Criminal record:** Respondents were asked if they have a criminal record. Criminal record was dummy coded: 1=has a criminal record; 0=no criminal record. Approximately 3% of the sample has a criminal record.

**Alcohol Use:** All respondents were asked how often they had consumed alcohol in the past twelve months. Response options were: 1=Once or twice; 2=Less than once per month; 3=About once per month; 4=A few times per month; 5=About once per week; 6=More than once a week; 7=Every day or almost every day. Slightly over 40% of the sample reported that they had consumed no alcohol in the past twelve months, while 5% reported that they consume alcohol every day or almost every day.

**Marijuana Use:** Respondents were asked whether they had consumed marijuana in the past two years. Marijuana use is dummy coded: 0=has not used marijuana in past two years; 1=has used marijuana in past two years. 18% of the sample has used marijuana in the past two years.

**Chinese Stop:** Chinese Stop is an interaction term created for Chinese respondents who have been stopped by the police. The variable was created by multiplying the total stop variable with the Chinese variable. Chinese Stop is a dummy variable coded 1=Chinese and Stopped; 0=everyone else.

**Black Stop:** Black Stop is an interaction term created for Black respondents who have been stopped by the police. The variable was created by multiplying the total stop variable with the Black variable. Black Stop is a dummy variable coded 1=Black and stopped; 0=everyone else.
APPENDIX C: PREVENTION INTERVENTION TORONTO CLIENT INTERVIEW

EVALUATION INTAKE INTERVIEW # ONE:
PERSONAL AND FAMILY BACKGROUND

(Includes family background, educational and employment history and aspirations, drug and alcohol use, mental health/values)

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview. Remember this is not a test. There are no right or wrong answers. We just want to hear about your life. We want you to just tell us about your experiences and about how you feel about things lately. You do not have to answer any questions that you do not want to answer. The interview is also completely private and confidential.

Please answer all the questions as honestly as possible. If you are not honest we will not know how you are really feeling and the program we develop will not reflect your opinions and concerns.

If you have any questions during the interview please just stop me and ask me. Do you have any questions before we get started? Let’s get started – OKAY?

Interviewer name: ____________________________________

RESPONDENT NUMBER: __________________________________________

Respondent age: _____

Respondent gender: _____

Youth’s home location (select one):
   a. Jane and Finch
   b. Jamestown/Rexdale
   c. Weston/Mt. Dennis
   d. Lawrence Heights

Location of interview (select one and specify where, i.e., coffee shop, JVS office, etc.):
   a. Jane and Finch (specify: _________________________)
   b. Jamestown/Rexdale (specify: _________________________)
   c. Weston/Mt. Dennis (specify: _________________________)
   d. Lawrence Heights (specify: _________________________)

Interview date: ______________________

Interview start time: ______________________
PART A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

To begin with, we are going to ask you a few questions about your personal background.

When we say parent(s), mother, or father, answer for the parent, guardian, or stepparent with whom you live most of the time or who you consider to be your mother/mother-figure or father/father-figure.

A1. Who do you currently live with? For example, do you live with your mother and father, or do you live with other relatives, or do you live somewhere else?

1) I live with both my mom and my dad
2) I live with my mom only
3) I live with my dad only
4) I live with other relatives (specify) __________________________________________
5) I live with a foster family
6) I live with my spouse/partner/girlfriend/boyfriend
7) I am living with friends
8) I live by myself
9) Other (specify) __________________________________________________________
10) Refused

A2. To the best of your knowledge, what is your mother doing now? For example, does she have a full-time job, a part-time job, is she unemployed, does she go to school or does she stay at home? Please let us know all the things she is doing.

INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY:

1) Full-time job
2) Part-time job
3) Full-time student
4) Part-time student
5) Unemployed (looking for work)
6) Laid off
7) On social assistance/welfare
8) Retired
9) Homemaker (stays at home)
98) Don’t know
99) Refused

10) Other (specify): _________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________
A3. To the best of your knowledge, what is your father doing now? For example, does he have a full-time job, a part-time job, is he unemployed, does he go to school or does he stay at home? Please let us know all the things he is doing. **INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY:**

1) Full-time job  
2) Part-time job  
3) Full-time student  
4) Part-time student  
5) Unemployed (looking for work)  
6) Laid off  
7) On social assistance/welfare  
8) Retired  
9) Homemaker (stays at home)  
98) Don’t know  
99) Refused

A4. What is the highest level of education that you have completed?

0) No formal schooling  
1) Some primary school  
2) Completed primary school  
3) Some secondary school  
4) Completed secondary school  
5) Some college  
6) College diploma/certificate  
7) Some university  
8) University degree (bachelor’s)  
9) Graduate or professional Degree  
99) Refused  
10) Other (specify) ______________

A5. What were you doing for most of the past year? **INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY:**

1) Working full-time  
2) Working part-time  
3) Unemployed – looking for work  
4) Not working – not looking for work  
5) Student (full-time)  
6) Student (part-time)  
7) Homemaker (housewife/husband)  
8) Disabled – unable to work  
9) Hustling  
10) Other (specify) ______________  
99) Refused to answer

A6. What are you doing currently? **INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY:**

1) Working full-time  
2) Working part-time  
3) Unemployed – looking for work  
4) Not working – not looking for work  
5) Student (full-time)  
6) Student (part-time)  
7) Homemaker (housewife/husband)  
8) Disabled – unable to work  
9) Hustling  
10) Other (specify) ______________  
99) Refused to answer
A7. The following statements are about relationships in your family. For each of the following, please tell me whether you think the statement is very true, true, not true, or not true at all.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Very True</th>
<th>True</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Not True</th>
<th>Not True at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Planning activities for my family is difficult.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B In times of crisis we can turn to each other for help or support.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C We cannot talk to each other about the sadness we feel.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D We avoid discussing our fears or concerns.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E We express our feelings to each other.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F We are able to make decisions about how to solve problems.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G We don’t get along well with each other.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H There is a lot of love in my family.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I I like being with the people in my family.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J Other families often seem much happier than we are.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A8. The following statements are about relationships and the support that you get from others including family, friends, social workers, teachers, religious leaders, and others. For each of the following, please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A If something went wrong no one would help me.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B I have family and friends who make me feel safe, secure and happy.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C There is someone I trust who I would turn to for advice if I were having problems.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D There is no one I feel comfortable talking about my problems with.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E There are people I can count on in an emergency.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F There is no one who shares my interests and concerns.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G Sometimes I need a favour but nobody will help me.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H I would never ask someone for help.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I I am lucky because I have good friends.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J I have someone that I can go to for help with school or work.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A9. If you had a major problem – who would you go to for help or advice? Is there anyone else? (Interviewer: We are looking for relationship, not names.)

A10. How close are you to your mother? Would you say:

1) Very close  
2) Close  
3) Not very close  
4) Not close at all  
5) Don’t know/Refused

A11. How close are you to your father? Would you say:

1) Very close  
2) Close  
3) Not very close  
4) Not close at all  
5) Don’t know/Refused

A12. In general, would you say that your parent(s) or guardian(s) know where you are when you are not at home? Would you say:

1) They never know where I am  
2) They rarely know where I am  
3) They sometimes know where I am  
4) They often know where I am  
5) They always know where I am  
6) Don’t know/Refused

A13. In general, would you say that your parent(s) or guardian(s) know who you are with when you are not at home? Would you say:

1) They never know who I’m with  
2) They rarely know who I’m with  
3) They sometimes know who I’m with  
4) They often know who I’m with  
5) They always know who I’m with  
6) Don’t know/Refused
A14. **FOR PIT PARTICIPANTS ONLY:** How helpful do you think the PIT program will be in improving your relationship with your mother? Use a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is “not helpful at all” and 10 is “extremely helpful”.

ENTER NUMBER: ______________

A15. **FOR PIT PARTICIPANTS ONLY:** How helpful do you think the PIT program will be in improving your relationship with your father? Use a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is “not helpful at all” and 10 is “extremely helpful”.

ENTER NUMBER: ______________
PART B: EDUCATION

B1. Are you currently going to school?

1) Yes – go to B5
2) No – go to B2
99) Refused – go to B8

B2. Why are you not going to school at this time?

1) Graduated
2) Dropped out of school or not interested in school
3) Working – got a job
4) Expelled
5) Suspended
6) Arrested
7) Involved in the justice system (was incarcerated, on parole, etc.)
8) Sick or injured
9) Other (specify): _______________________________
99) Refused

B3. When did you last attend school?
ENTER MONTH _______________________
ENTER YEAR _______________________

B4. Do you want to go back to school at some time in the future?

1) Yes – go to B7
2) No – go to B7
98) Don’t know – go to B7
99) Refused – go to B7

B5. What type of school are you in right now? Is it a:

1) Primary school (Grades 1 to 6)
2) Junior high school (Grades 7 and 8)
3) High school
4) College
5) University
6) Technical school (specify): _______________________________
7) Other (specify): _______________________________

B6. How many credits do you have now?
ENTER NUMBER: _______________________________ (go to B8)
B7. When do you plan to go back to school? Would you say:

1) Within the next six months
2) Within the next six to twelve months
3) Within the one to two years
4) More than two years from now
5) Don’t know
6) Refused

B8. I’m now going to ask you a few more questions about school. If you are not in school right now, I want you to think about when you were in school. In general, how much do you like school? Would you say:

1) I love school
2) I like school
3) I don’t like or dislike school
4) I dislike school
5) I hate school
99) Don’t know/refused

B9. In general, what have your grades been like in school? Would you say:

1) Mainly As (80% or above)
2) Mainly Bs (70% to 79%)
3) Mainly Cs (60% to 69%)
4) Mainly Ds (50% to 59%)
5) Mainly Fs (mainly failing grades below 50%)
98) Don’t know/Don’t remember
99) Refused

B10. In your opinion, are you a very good student, a good student, an average student or a poor student?

1) A very good student
2) A good student
3) An average student
4) A poor student
99) Don’t know/Refused
B11. How many times did the following things happen to you during the last six months (that you were in school)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>1-2 times</th>
<th>3-5 times</th>
<th>6-9 times</th>
<th>10+ times</th>
<th>Refused/DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>I was late for school</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>I cut or skipped class</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>I was absent from school</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>I got in trouble for not following school rules</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>I was given a detention</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B12. Have you ever been suspended from school? If yes, how many times in your life have you been suspended? Would you say:

1) No – has never been suspended – go to B16
2) Once or twice
3) Three to five times
4) Six to nine times
5) Ten times or more
99) Don’t know/Refused

B13. When was the last time that you were suspended? Was it:

1) Within the past month
2) 1-3 months ago
3) 4-6 months ago
4) 7-12 months ago
5) More than a year ago – skip to B15
6) More than two years ago – skip to B15
99) Don’t know/Can’t remember – skip to B15

B14. How many times in the past year have you been suspended?

ENTER NUMBER: ________________________

B15. Think about the last time you were suspended. What were you suspended for? What happened?
B16. The last time you were suspended, how fairly were you treated? Use a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is “not at all fair” and 10 is “extremely fair”.

ENTER NUMBER: __________________________

B17. Have you ever been expelled from school? If yes, how many times in your life have you been expelled? Would you say:

1) No – has never been expelled – go to B22
2) Once or twice
3) Three to five times
4) Six to nine times
5) Ten times or more
99) Don’t know/Refused

B18. When was the last time that you were expelled? Was it:

1) Within the past month
2) 1-3 months ago
3) 4-6 months ago
4) 7-12 months ago
5) More than a year ago – skip to B20
6) More than two years ago – skip to B20
99) Don’t know/Can’t remember – skip to B20

B19. How many times in the past year have you been expelled?

ENTER NUMBER: __________________________

B20. Think about the last time you were expelled. What were you expelled for? What happened?

B21. The last time you were expelled, how fairly were you treated? Use a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is “not at all fair” and 10 is “extremely fair”.

ENTER NUMBER: __________________________
B22. **How much education or training would you LIKE to get?**
1) Less than high school graduation
2) High school graduation or GED
3) Attend a program in a community college or vocational school
4) Complete a program in a community college or vocational school
5) Attend university, but not complete a bachelor’s degree
6) Graduate from university with a bachelor’s degree
7) Obtain a Master's degree or equivalent
8) Obtain a Ph.D., M.D., or other advanced degree
9) Don't know
10) OTHER ____________________________________________________

B23. **As things now stand, how much training or education do you think you will ACTUALLY get?**
1) Less than high school graduation
2) High school graduation or GED
3) Attend a program in a community college or vocational school
4) Complete a program in a community college or vocational school
5) Attend university, but not complete a bachelor’s degree
6) Graduate from university with a bachelor’s degree
7) Obtain a Master's degree or equivalent
8) Obtain a Ph.D., M.D., or other advanced degree
9) Don't know
10) OTHER ____________________________________________________

B24. **Have you participated in any extracurricular school activities in the last six months (that you were in school)? This includes things like school sports, student government, school choir, school service clubs, and so on.**
1) Yes
2) No
3) Refused

B25. **Have you won any awards or were you recognized at school for doing well or participating in certain activities in the last six months (that you were in school)? This would include things like participating in a science fair, receiving recognition for good grades or attendance, receiving a community service award, and so on.**
1) Yes
2) No
3) Refused
B26. I’m now going to read you a few statements about school and education. For each of the following, please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Continuing with my education will help me get a good job.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B I almost always finish my homework.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C I don’t need a good education for the type of job that I want.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D You don’t need a good education to make a lot of money.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E The people who work hard at school usually finish on top.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F People who do good at school are usually nerds.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G People who get high marks at school are usually sell-outs.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H I can get whatever job I want as long as I work hard at school.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I I don’t need to stay in school to have a good life.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J I admire people who get good marks at school.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K School is boring.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L I try hard at school.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M Homework is a waste of time.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N Getting good grades is important to me.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Discrimination makes it difficult for people from my racial group get a good education</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B27. **FOR PIT PARTICIPANTS ONLY: (FOR CURRENT STUDENTS ONLY):** How helpful do you think the PIT program will be in improving your grades at school? Use a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is “not helpful at all” and 10 is “extremely helpful”.

ENTER NUMBER: ______________

B28. **FOR PIT PARTICIPANTS ONLY: (FOR CURRENT STUDENTS ONLY):** How helpful do you think the PIT program will be in helping you stay out of trouble at school? Use a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is “not helpful at all” and 10 is “extremely helpful”.

ENTER NUMBER: ______________
PART C: EMPLOYMENT

C1. Do you currently have a job?
   1) Yes – go to C4
   2) No
   3) Refused

C2. Are you currently looking for work? Are you looking for a job?
   1) Yes – go to C10
   2) No
   3) Refused – go to C10

C3. Why aren’t you looking for a job at this time?

INTERVIEWER: AFTER THE RESPONDENT ANSWERS THIS QUESTION GO TO C10

C4. What kind of job do you have? Can you describe this job? (Interviewer – get information on occupation type/job duties.)

C5. How long have you been working there?
   1) Less than a month
   2) 1 to 6 months
   3) 7 months to 1 year
   4) 1 to 2 years
   5) 2 or more years
C6. Is this job related to the job you want to have in the future?
   1) closely related
   2) somewhat related
   3) not related at all
   4) Don’t know/refused

C7. How many hours per week do you usually work at this job?
   HOURS PER WEEK: _________________________________

C8. How much do you like your current job? Would you say:
   1) I like it very much
   2) I like it
   3) Neutral
   4) I don’t like it
   5) I don’t like it at all
   9) Don’t know/Refused

C9. Why do you like/dislike your job?

C10. Has there ever been a time when you really wanted a job but you could not find one? Would you say:
   1) Never
   2) Once or twice
   3) Several times
   4) Many times
   9) Don’t know/Refused

C11. People get money in many different ways – jobs, allowance, welfare, hustling. Please explain all the sources of income or the ways you get money. (Interviewer probes: social assistance, EI, allowance, anything else?)
C12. I want you to think about the future. What is your dream job? (If you could have any type of job what would it be?)

C13. In case this doesn’t work out, is there something else you would like to do for work? (What is your back-up plan?)

C14. Based on your current situation, what kind of job can you obtain?

C15. If you had a choice, would you rather work for a large company, a government organization, or would you rather run your own business?

1) I would like to work for a large company
2) I would like to work for the government
3) I would like to run my own business
4) Other (specify): ___________________________________________
98) Don’t know/refused

C16. How hopeful are you that you will eventually get a job that you really like? Use a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is “not hopeful at all” and 10 is “extremely hopeful”.

ENTER NUMBER: ____________
C17. I am now going to read you a few statements about yourself. For each of the following, please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A I don’t like it when people tell me what to do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B I want to work hard at my job/career.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C I can do any job as long as you give me a chance.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D I can’t work with other people.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E I admire people who make lots of money without working hard.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F I would find it difficult to work for someone else.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G I admire people who work hard at their jobs.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H Sometimes you have to start at the bottom and work your way to the top.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Discrimination makes it difficult for people from my racial group get a good job</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C18. I am now going to read a few more statements. For each of the following, please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A I don’t like dressing up for interviews.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B People who work hard for low wages are stupid.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C I have the skills I need to get a good job.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D I will be willing to keep a job even if my boss gets to tell me what to do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E I need more education before I can get a good job.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F I know I can succeed at work.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G I would take almost any kind of job to get money.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H The only good job is one that pays a lot of money.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Working hard at a job will pay off in the end.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J Most jobs are dull and boring.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C19. **FOR PIT PARTICIPANTS ONLY:** How helpful do you think the PIT program will be in helping you with your or career or employment goals? Use a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is “not helpful at all” and 10 is “extremely helpful”.

ENTER NUMBER: _______________

C20. **FOR PIT PARTICIPANTS ONLY:** How helpful do you think the PIT program will be in helping you get a job that you really like? Use a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is “not helpful at all” and 10 is “extremely helpful”.

ENTER NUMBER ______________________
PART D: DRUG AND ALCOHOL USE

D1. I’m now going to ask you a few questions about drugs and alcohol. Remember that your answers are completely confidential. To begin with, how often in the past six months have you smoked cigarettes or tobacco? Would you say….INTERVIEWER: REPEAT LINE OF QUESTIONING FOR EACH OF THE SUBSTANCES LISTED BELOW:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBSTANCE</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Once or Twice</th>
<th>Less than Once per Month</th>
<th>About Once per Month</th>
<th>A few times per month</th>
<th>About once per week</th>
<th>More than Once Per week</th>
<th>Every Day or Almost Every Day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Smoked cigarettes or tobacco</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumed beer or wine</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumed hard liquor like rum or vodka</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smoked marijuana, weed or hash</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used powdered cocaine</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used crack cocaine</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used heroin</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used ecstasy</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used LSD or Acid</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used methamphetamine</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used mushrooms</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D2. In the past six months have you used any other type of drug that I have not mentioned?

1) Yes
2) No – go to D4

Interviewer: if respondent has never used any drugs or alcohol, skip to Section E.

304
D3. What other drugs have you used in the past six months? How often did you use (TYPE OF DRUG) in the past six months? (INTERVIEWER: REPEAT THIS QUESTION FOR EACH OF THE DRUGS LISTED BY THE RESPONDENT.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBSTANCE</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Once or Twice</th>
<th>Less than Once per Month</th>
<th>About Once per Month</th>
<th>A few times per month</th>
<th>About once per week</th>
<th>More than Once Per week</th>
<th>Every Day or Almost Every Day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Other_________</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Other_________</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C Other_________</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Other_________</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D4. (Interviewer: If they reported consuming beer, wine, or hard liquor, ask:) In your opinion, how often have you been drunk or intoxicated by alcohol in the past six months?
   0) Never
   1) Once or twice
   2) Less than once a month
   3) About once a month
   4) A few times a month
   5) About once a week
   6) More than once a week
   7) Every day or almost every day
   98) Don’t know
   99) Refused

D5. (Interviewer: If they reported using any drugs, ask:) In your opinion, how often have you been high on drugs in the past six months?

   0) Never
   1) Once or twice
   2) Less than once a month
   3) About once a month
   4) A few times a month
   5) About once a week
   6) More than once a week
   7) Every day or almost every day
   98) Don’t know
   99) Refused

D6. What time of day do you most often use? (Please select all that apply.)
1) At night
2) Afternoons/after school
3) Before or during school or work
4) In the morning or when I first wake up
5) I often get up during my sleep to use alcohol or drugs
6) Other _______________________________________________________

D7. Why do you use, most of the time?
SECTION E: MENTAL HEALTH, SELF-CONTROL, AND OTHER SCALES

E1. Now I am going to read out statements about how you react and do things in everyday life. For each of the following, please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A I often act on the spur of the moment without stopping to think.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B I do not devote much thought and effort to preparing for the future.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C I often do whatever brings me pleasure here and now, even at the cost of some distant goal.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D I am more concerned with what happens to me in the short run than in the long run.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E I frequently try to avoid projects that I know will be difficult.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F When things get complicated, I tend to quit or withdraw.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G The things in life that are easiest to do bring me the most pleasure.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H I dislike really hard tasks that stretch my abilities to the limit.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I I like to test myself every now and then by doing something a little risky.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J Sometimes I will take a risk for the fun of it.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K I sometimes find it exciting to do things for which I might get into trouble.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L Excitement and adventure are more important to me than security.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M If I had a choice, I would almost always rather do something physical than something mental.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N I almost always feel better when I am on the move than when I am sitting and thinking.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O I like to get out and do things more than I like to read or contemplate ideas.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P I seem to have more energy and a greater need for activity than most other people my age.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q I try to look out for myself first, even if it means making things difficult for other people.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R I’m not very sympathetic to other people when they are having problems.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S If things I do upset people, it’s their problem, not mine.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T I will try to get the things I want even when I know it is causing problems for other people.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U I lose my temper pretty easily.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V Oftentimes, when I’m angry at people, I feel more like hurting them than talking to them about why I am angry.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W When I’m really angry, other people better stay away from me.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X When I have a serious disagreement with someone, it’s usually hard for me to talk calmly about it without getting upset.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y I am good at starting things but not very good at finishing them.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
E2. Now I’m going to ask you some questions about how you have been feeling over the last 30 days. For each of the following, please tell me whether you feel this way never, rarely, sometimes, often, or always. In the last 30 days, how often …

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Always</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A  Were you very sad?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B  Were you grouchy or irritable, or in a bad mood?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C  Did you feel hopeless about the future?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D  Did you feel like not eating or eating more than usual?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E  Did you sleep a lot more or a lot less than usual?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F  Did you have difficulty concentrating on your (school) work?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E3. For each of the following, please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A  I have little control over the things that happen to me.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B  There is really no way I can solve some of the problems that I have.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C  There is little I can do to change many of the important things in my life.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D  I often feel helpless in dealing with the problems of life.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E  Sometimes I feel that I’m being “pushed around” in life.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F  What happens to me in the future mostly depends on me.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G  I can do just anything I really set my mind to do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E4. Now I’m going to ask you some questions about how you might act or feel. For each of the following, please tell me whether you act or feel this way never, rarely, sometimes, often, or always. How often do you …

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Always</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A  Feel easily annoyed or irritated?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B  Have temper outbursts you cannot control?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C  Have urges to beat, injure, or harm someone?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D  Have urges to break or smash things?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E  Get into arguments?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F  Shout or throw things?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### E5. Below is a list of statements dealing with your general feelings about yourself. For each of the following, please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A I feel that I’m a person of worth, at least on an equal par with others.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B I feel that I have a number of good qualities.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C All in all, I am inclined to feel that I’m a failure.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D I am able to do things as well as most other people.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E I feel I do not have much to be proud of.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F I take a positive attitude toward myself.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H I wish I could have more respect for myself.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I I certainly feel useless at times.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J At times I think that I am no good at all.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### E6. Now I’m going to ask you some questions about how confident you are that can do certain things. For each of the following, please tell me whether you are very confident, somewhat confident, not very confident, or not at all confident. How confident are you that you can…

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Very confident</th>
<th>Somewhat confident</th>
<th>Not sure</th>
<th>Not very confident</th>
<th>Not at all confident</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Stay out of physical fights?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Stay out of arguments?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C Understand another person’s point of view?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Calm down when you are mad?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E Talk out a disagreement?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
E7. For each of the following, please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Things just won’t work out the way I want them to.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>When things are going badly, I know that they won’t be bad all of the time.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>I don’t have good luck and there’s no reason to think I will when I grow up.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>All I can see ahead of me are bad things, not good things.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>The future appears bright and exciting.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>There’s no use in really trying to get something I want because I probably won’t get it.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>I might as well give up because I can’t make things better for myself.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>I will have more good times than bad times.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E8. *PIT PARTICIPANTS ONLY:* How helpful do you think the PIT program will be in helping you to learn how to control your anger and resolve conflicts without violence? Use a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is “not at all helpful” and 10 is “extremely helpful”.

ENTER NUMBER: ______________

E9. We have now come to the end of this interview. Thank you very much for your participation. Do you have anything else you would like to say or anything else you would like to tell us?
EVALUATION INTAKE INTERVIEW # TWO:
PRE-TEST RISK FACTORS
(Includes measures of criminal victimization, offending, attitudes, friends, contact with justice system, expectations for the PIT program)

Thank you again for agreeing to participate in this second interview. Remember this is not a test. There are no right or wrong answers. We just want to hear about your life. We want you to just tell us about your experiences and about how you feel about things lately. You do not have to answer any questions that you do not want to answer. The interview is also completely private and confidential.

Please answer all the questions as honestly as possible. If you are not honest we will not know how you are really feeling and the program we develop will not reflect your opinions and concerns.

If you have any questions during the interview please just stop me and ask me. Do you have any questions before we get started? Let’s get started – OKAY?

Interviewer name: ______________________________

RESPONDENT NUMBER: ______________________________

Respondent age: _____

Respondent gender: _____

Youth’s home location (select one):
   e. Jane and Finch
   f. Jamestown/Rexdale
   g. Weston/Mt. Dennis
   h. Lawrence Heights

Location of interview (select one and specify where, i.e., coffee shop, JVS office, etc.):
   e. Jane and Finch (specify: ____________________________)
   f. Jamestown/Rexdale (specify: ____________________________)
   g. Weston/Mt. Dennis (specify: ____________________________)
   h. Lawrence Heights (specify: ____________________________)

Today’s date: ______________________

Interview start time: ______________________

311
### PART G: VICTIMIZATION

**G1.** Now I want you to think about things that may have happened to you over the past six months.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF VICTIMIZATION</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Once</th>
<th>Twice</th>
<th>3-5 Times</th>
<th>6-9 Times</th>
<th>10+ Times</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A How many times in the past six months has someone robbed you or taken money or things from you by threatening you or by using physical force?</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B How many times in the past six months has someone robbed you or taken money or other things from you by using a weapon like a bat or a knife?</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C How many times in the past six months has someone stolen money or things from you without you knowing worth less than $50.00?</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D How many times in the past six months has someone stolen money or things from you without you knowing worth over $50.00?</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E How many times in the past six months has someone deliberately damaged your property, clothes or possessions?</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F How many times in the past six months has someone seriously threatened to hurt you or injure you?</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G How many times in the past six months has someone threatened you with a weapon like a knife or a bat?</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H How many times in the past six months has someone assaulted you by punching, kicking, or slapping you?</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I How many times in the past six months has someone attacked you with a weapon like a knife or a bat?</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J How many times in the past six months has someone called you names or teased you in a way that it bothered you or hurt your feelings?</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K How many times in the past six months has someone touched you in a sexual way when you did not want them to?</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L How many times in the past six months has someone forced you to have sex when you did not want to?</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M How many times in the past six months have you been attacked by a group or gang?</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N How many times in the past six months has someone threatened you with a gun or pointed a gun at you?</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O How many times in the past six months have you been shot or been shot at?</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**G2. FOR PIT PARTICIPANTS ONLY:** How helpful do you think the PIT program will be in preventing you from becoming the victim of a violent crime? Use a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is “not at all helpful” and 10 is “extremely helpful”.

ENTER NUMBER: _____________
PART H: OFFENDING

H1. Now I want you to think about things that you may have done in the past six months. How often in the past six months have you:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF OFFENDING</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Once</th>
<th>Twice</th>
<th>3-5 Times</th>
<th>6-9 Times</th>
<th>10+ Times</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Stolen or tried to steal a bicycle</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Stolen or tried to steal a car, motorcycle or other vehicle</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C Broken into a car to steal something</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Broken into a home or business to steal something</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E Damaged or destroyed, on purpose, someone else’s property</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F Stolen food, drinks or candy from a store or cafeteria without paying</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G Stole money or things worth less than $100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H Stole money or things worth more than $100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Used the bus or the subway without paying</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J Made money by using prostitutes (pimping)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K Got paid to have sex with someone</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L Used someone else’s credit card or ATM card without their permission</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M Organized an illegal gambling event</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N Grew/made illegal drugs (ran a grow-op)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Smuggled or sold guns</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P Smuggled or sold drugs</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q Tagged someone else’s property or left graffiti on it</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R Fenced, received, possessed, or sold stolen property</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S Cheated someone by selling them something that was worthless or worth much less than what you said it was</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### H2. How often in the past six months have you:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPES OF OFFENDING</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Once</th>
<th>Twice</th>
<th>3 to 5 Times</th>
<th>6 to 9 Times</th>
<th>10 Times or More</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Verbally threatened to hurt or harm someone</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Been in a physical fight with another individual</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C Been in a physical fight where your group of friends fought another group of people</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Carried a knife in public</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E Threatened someone with a knife or bat</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F Attacked someone using a knife or a bat</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G Carried a gun in public</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H Threatened someone with a gun</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Shot at someone with a gun</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J Took money or things from someone by using verbal threats or physical force (but not a weapon)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K Took money or things from someone by using a weapon like a knife or gun</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L Forced someone to have sex against their will</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### H3. *FOR PIT PARTICIPANTS ONLY:* How helpful do you think the PIT program will be in preventing you from engaging in property crime? By property crime we mean things like stealing or selling drugs. Use a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is “not at all helpful” and 10 is “extremely helpful”.

ENTER NUMBER: _______________

### H4. *FOR PIT PARTICIPANTS ONLY:* How helpful do you think the PIT program will be in preventing you from engaging in violent crime? By violent crime we mean things like threatening people, fighting or using weapons. Use a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is “not at all helpful” and 10 is “extremely helpful”.

ENTER NUMBER: _______________
I. I'm now going to read you a few statements about fighting and other types of violence. For each of the following, please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A It is okay to fight someone if they have insulted or disrespected your family or friends.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B It is okay to fight someone if they have insulted or disrespected you.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C I admire people who don’t back down when someone insults or threatens them.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Sometimes people need to carry a knife or a gun for protection.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E People who snitch to the police deserve to be beaten up or punished.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F It is okay to fight someone who has threatened or attacked your family or friends.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G It is okay to fight someone if they threaten or attack you.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H People who are afraid to fight are cowards or punks.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I It is okay to fight to protect your territory or neighbourhood.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J I admire people who are able to walk away from fights.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. I'm now going to read you a few statements about the law, the courts and the police. For each of the following, please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A All laws deserve our respect.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Laws exist to protect all people.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C Innocent people are almost never arrested.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D The police almost never help people</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E Life would be more difficult if we did not have the police</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F The police do a good job of keeping my neighbourhood safe</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G The police never snitch on another cop – even if the cop has broken the law.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H The police in my neighbourhood are friendly and easy to talk to.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I The police will protect you from criminals if you report a crime.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I3. I’m now going to read you a few statements about crime and obeying the law. For each of the following, please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A  Many successful people break the law to get ahead.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B  Sometimes it is okay for poor people to steal from rich people.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C  Sometimes selling drugs is the only way for a poor person to make good money.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D  I would rather make lots of money hustling on the streets than take a low paying job.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E  Criminals who make lots of money get more respect than people who have low paying jobs.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F  Sometimes people like me need to break the law to get ahead.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G  Engaging in crime is more fun and exciting than taking a regular job.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H  Engaging in crime can ruin your life.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I  There is never an excuse for breaking the law.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J  I don’t care if other people think I’m a criminal.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K  It is okay to engage in crime to get money for your family.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I4. Now I want you to think about your friends or the people you hang out with. How many friends would you say you have? (How many people do you hang out with?)

NUMBER: ________________________________

I5. How many of these people are NOT involved in gangs in any way?

NUMBER: ________________________________

I6. In the past six months, how often have you spent time with these people? Would you say:

1) Never
2) Once or twice
3) Less than once a month
4) About once a month
5) A few times a month
6) About once a week
7) More than once a week
8) Every day or almost every day
9) Don’t know
10) Refused
I7. In the past six months, how often have you spent time or hung out with friends who ARE gang members or involved in a gang in some way? Would you say:

1) Never
2) Once or twice
3) Less than once a month
4) About once a month
5) A few times a month
6) About once a week
7) More than once a week
8) Every day or almost every day
9) Don’t know
10) Refused

I8. Is there anyone in your life who you admire or look up to who is NOT in a gang?

1) Yes
2) No – go to I10
3) Don’t know/Refused

I9. Who is this person or these people? *(Interviewer – we are looking for relationship, not names)*
I10. In the last six months, how often do you spend time on the following activities outside of school?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Once or twice</th>
<th>Less than once a month</th>
<th>About once a month</th>
<th>A few times a month</th>
<th>About once a week</th>
<th>More than once a week</th>
<th>Every day or almost every day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Working on hobbies, arts, or crafts</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volunteering or performing community service</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doing music, art, language, dance, or taking classes on these</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playing sports or taking sports lessons</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participating in workshops (e.g., for careers)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participating in leadership building activities</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participating in religious groups</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other specify: (Specify:______________________________________)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I11. I’m now going to read you a few statements about gangs and what it means to be part of a gang. For each of the following, please tell me whether you think the statement is very true, true, not true, or not true at all.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Very True</th>
<th>True</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Not True</th>
<th>Not True at All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A In my neighbourhood, it is better to be in a gang than not be in a gang.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Gang members always have each other’s back.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C In my neighbourhood, people in gangs get more respect than people who are not in gangs.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D In my neighbourhood, people in gangs make more money than people with regular jobs.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E Gang members only care about themselves; they don’t really care about the other people in the gang.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F When you are in a gang you will always have love and support.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G Being in a gang can ruin your life.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H It is hard to get a good education if you are in a gang.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I It is hard to get a good job if you are in a gang.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J Many people in gangs eventually get hurt or killed by other gangs.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K Most people in gangs will eventually get arrested and go to jail.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L Being in a gang is the only family I got.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M Being in a gang is the only way I can get money and become successful.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I12. FOR PIT PARTICIPANTS ONLY: How helpful do you think the PIT program will be in helping you stay away from gangs and the people in them? Use a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is “not at all helpful” and 10 is “extremely helpful”.

ENTER NUMBER: ________________
SECTION J: CONTACT WITH THE JUSTICE SYSTEM

J1. In the past six months, how often have the police stopped you and asked you questions?

NUMBER OF TIMES: _________________________________

J2. In the past six months, how often have the police searched you, your vehicle, or asked to empty your pockets or look in your bag?

NUMBER OF TIMES: _________________________________

J3. In the past six months, when you have dealt with the police, how fairly were you treated? Use a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is “not at all fair” and 10 is “extremely fair”.

NUMBER: _______________________

J4. In the past six months, when you have dealt with the police, how respectfully were you treated? Use a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is “not at all respectfully” and 10 is “extremely respectfully”.

NUMBER: _______________________

J5. In your life, have you ever been arrested by the police or charged with a crime?

1) Yes
2) No – go to J20
98) Don’t know – go to J20
99) Refused – go to J20

J6. In your life, how many times have you been arrested by the police or charged with a crime?

NUMBER OF TIMES: _________________________________

J7. Have you been arrested or charged with a crime in the past six months?

1) Yes
2) No – go to J9
98) Don’t know – go to J9
99) Refused – go to J9
J8. How many times in the past six months have you been arrested by the police or charged with a crime?

NUMBER OF TIMES: _____________________________________

J9. What types of things have you been arrested for? What types of things have the police charged you with?

J10. Have you ever pled guilty or been convicted of a crime in youth court?

1) Yes
2) No
98) Don’t know
99) Refused

J11. Have you ever pled guilty or been convicted of a crime in adult court?

1) Yes
2) No
98) Don’t know
99) Refused

J12. Have you ever served time in a youth detention facility or a youth correctional facility?

1) Yes
2) No – go to J15
98) Don’t know – go to J15
99) Refused – go to J15
J13. When was the last time you were in a youth detention facility or a youth correctional facility? Would you say:

1) Currently in open custody
2) Within the past six months (0-6 months ago)
3) Within the past year (7-12 months ago)
4) Within the past 2 years (13-24 months ago)
5) Within the past 3 years (25-36 months ago)
6) Within the past 4 years (37-48 months ago)
7) Within the past 5 years (49-60 months ago)
8) More than five years ago (61+ months ago)
98) Don’t know
99) Refused

J14. Overall, in your life, how much time would you say that you have spent in youth detention or correctional facilities? How many days, months or years?

TIME SPENT IN YOUTH FACILITIES: ______________________________________
SPECIFY DAYS, MONTHS, OR YEARS.

J15. (INTERVIEWER: FOR YOUTH AGED 18 AND UP ONLY): Have you ever served time in an adult detention facility or an adult correctional facility?

1) Yes
2) No – go to J18
8) Don’t know – go to J18
9) Refused – go to J18

J16. (INTERVIEWER: FOR YOUTH AGED 18 AND UP ONLY): When was the last time you were in an adult detention facility or adult correctional facility? Would you say:

1) Within the past six months (0-6 months ago)
2) Within the past year (7-12 months ago)
3) Within the past 2 years (13-24 months ago)
4) Within the past 3 years (25-36 months ago)
5) Within the past 4 years (37-48 months ago)
6) Within the past 5 years (49-60 months ago)
7) More than five years ago (61+ months ago)
98) Don’t know
99) Refused
J17. *(INTERVIEWER: FOR YOUTH AGED 18 AND UP ONLY):* Overall, in your life, how much time would you say that you have spent in adult detention or correctional facilities? How many days, months or years?

TIME SPENT IN YOUTH FACILITIES: ______________________________________

*SPECIFY DAYS, MONTHS, OR YEARS.*

J18. In your opinion, have you ever been falsely arrested or charged with a crime that you did not commit? (Have you ever been charged with a crime when you were really innocent?)

1) Yes
2) No – go to J20
8) Don’t know – go to J20
9) Refused – go to J20

J19. How many times in your life have you been falsely arrested or charged with a crime that you did not commit?

NUMBER OF TIMES: _____________________________________________

J20. *FOR PIT PARTICIPANTS ONLY:* How helpful do you think the PIT program will be in helping you avoid trouble with the police and the courts? Use a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is “not at all helpful” and 10 is “extremely helpful”.

ENTER NUMBER: ____________
SECTION K: ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE POLICE AND JUSTICE SYSTEM

K1. Now I’m going to read you a few statements about the police. For each of the following, please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>I trust the police.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>I have confidence in the police.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>If I had a problem I would go to the police for help.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>The police care about the people who live in my community.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>I have a lot of respect for the police.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Police often abuse their power.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>The police treat young people worse than older people.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>The police treat poor people worse than rich people.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>The police treat people from my racial group worse than people from other racial groups</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>Police often use violent or unfair methods to get information.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>If it’s your word against the police – the police will always win.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Many police officers are engaged in criminal activity.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

K2. Have you ever had a bad or negative experience with the police? If yes, in your opinion, what is the worst or most negative experience you have ever had with the police? Please describe this experience.
K3. Have you ever had a good or positive experience with the police? If yes, in your opinion, what is the best or most positive experience you have ever had with the police? Please describe this experience.

K4. Now I’m going to read you a few statements about the Canadian court system. For each of the following, please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>The courts treat everyone equally.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>In general, people who work in the courts are honest.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>The courts treat rich people better than poor people.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>The courts will believe what the police say more than what regular people say.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>The courts treat people from my racial group worse than other people.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>The courts treat everyone fairly.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Overall, the courts make Canada a better place to live.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>The law should be obeyed.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Judges don’t really care about what happens to people charged with a crime.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>Lawyers don’t really care what happens to people charged with a crime.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>It is better to plead guilty – even if you are innocent.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>In court nobody would believe what I have to say.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SECTION L: NATURE OF PROGRAM PARTICIPATION

CONTROL GROUP MEMBERS – SKIP TO QUESTION L17

I am going to conclude this interview by asking you a few questions about the PIT Program.

L1. Do you want to participate in this program or do you feel that you are being forced to participate?

1) I want to participate – go to L2
2) I don’t want to participate/I am being forced to participate – go to L3
98) Don’t know – go to L4
99) Refused – go to L4

L2. Why do you WANT to be part of this program? (Why do you want to be here?)

INTERVIEWER: AFTER RECORDING ANSWER GO TO L4.

L3. Why do you NOT want to be part of this program? (Why do you feel that you are being FORCED to be here?)
L4. What do you expect to get out of this program? What do you think the benefits of participation might be?

L5. What do you think will happen when the program starts? What types of things do you think you will do? What types of activities will be involved?

L6. Do your parents or guardians know that you are taking part in this program?

1) Yes – go to L7
2) No – go to L8
98) Don’t know – go to L10
99) Refused – go to L10

L7. Are your parents or guardians supportive of the fact that you are taking this program? Would you say that they are:

1) Very supportive – go to L10
2) Supportive – go to L10
3) Neutral – go to L10
4) Unsupportive – go to L10
5) Very unsupportive – go to L10
98) Don’t know – go to L10
99) Refused – go to L10
L8. Why don’t your parents know that you are in this program?

L9. If your parents or guardians DID know that you were in this program do you think they would they be:

1) Very supportive
2) Supportive
3) Neutral
4) Unsupportive
5) Very unsupportive
98) Don’t know
99) Refused

L10. Do any of your friends know that you are in this program? Would you say that:

1) All of my friends know that I am in this program – go to L13
2) Some of my friends know I am in this program – go to L13
3) None of my friends know I am in this program – go to L11
98) Don’t know – go to L14
99) Refused – go to L14

L11. Why don’t your friends know that you are in this program?
L12. If your friends knew that you were in this program, do you think they would be supportive or unsupportive? Would they be:

1) Very supportive – go to L14
2) Supportive – go to L14
3) Neutral – go to L14
4) Unsupportive – go to L14
5) Very unsupportive – go to L14
98) Don’t know – go to L14
99) Refused – go to L14

L13. Think about the friends who know that you are in the program. Are they supportive of your participation in the program or are they unsupportive? Would you say that they are:

1) Very supportive
2) Supportive
3) Neutral
4) Unsupportive
5) Very unsupportive
98) Don’t know
99) Refused

L14. Has anybody discouraged you or tried to prevent you from taking part in the program?

1) Yes – go to L16
2) No – go to L16
98) Don’t know – go to L16
99) Refused – go to L16

L15. Who has tried to discourage or prevent you from participating in this program? We don’t want to know their names – just who they are. For example, are they a friend or a family member?
L16. How hopeful are you that the PIT program will help to improve your life or make your life better? Use a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is “not at all hopeful” and 10 is “extremely hopeful”.

ENTER NUMBER: ________________

L17. Are you currently involved in any crime prevention or anti-violence programs or activities (FOR PIT PARTICIPANTS, ADD “besides the PIT program”)? If yes, what are the names of these programs? How would you describe these programs? How long have you been in these programs?

L18. We have now come to the end of this interview. Thank you very much for your participation. Do you have anything else you would like to say or anything else you would like to tell us?

Interview stop time: ______________________
APPENDIX D – CHAPTER FOUR VARIABLE CODING

DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Police Performance, Trust, and Confidence Index (Mean 24.55; Range 10 – 49; alpha=.88)
Respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement with the following statements: (1) the police almost never help people; (2) life would be more difficult if we did not have the police; (3) the police do a good job of keeping my neighbourhood safe; (4) the police in my neighbourhood are friendly and easy to talk to; (5) the police will protect you from criminals if you report a crime; (6) I trust the police; (7) I have confidence in the police; (8) if I had a problem I would go to the police for help; (9) the police care about the people who live in my community; (10) I have a lot of respect for the police. If the respondents indicated that they 'strongly disagree' they were given a score of 1; if they reported that they 'disagree' they were given a score of 2; respondents who indicated that they were 'not sure' were given a score of 3; if they indicated that they 'agree' they were given a score of 4; and respondents who indicated that they 'strongly agree' were given a score of 5. The scores in the ten items were then combined into a single measure to create the Police Performance, Trust, and Confidence Index; the higher respondents scored on the scale the higher their evaluation of police performance and level of trust and confidence in the police (Mean 24.55; Range 10 – 49; alpha=.88).

Police Bias and Corruption Index (Mean 15.98; Range 8 – 33; alpha=.79)
Respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement with the following statements: (1) the police treat young people worse than older people; (2) the police treat poor people worse than rich people; (3) the police treat people from my racial group worse than people from other racial groups; (4) police often use violent or unfair methods to get information; (5) if it’s your word against the police – the police will always win; (6) many police officers are engaged in criminal activity; (7) the police never snitch on another cop – even if the cop has broken the law; and (8) the police often abuse their power. If the respondents indicated that they 'strongly disagree' they were given a score of 1; if they reported that they 'disagree' they were given a score of 2; respondents who indicated that they were 'not sure' were given a score of 3; if they indicated that they 'agree' they were given a score of 4; and respondents who indicated that they ‘strongly agree’ were given a score of 5. The scores in the eight items were then combined into a single measure to create the Police Bias and Corruption Index; the higher respondents scored on the scale the more bias and corruption they perceived (Mean 15.98; Range 8 – 33; alpha=.79).
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES:

Age: Age is an interval variable. Age is measured in years ranging from 12 to 26 years. Mean age=17.98 yrs; Median age=18 yrs; Standard Deviation=3.015 yrs.

Age at Immigration: Age at immigration is an interval variable ranging from 0 to 23 years. 22% of the sample is foreign born.

Frequency of Marijuana use: Respondents were asked how often they had used marijuana in the past year. Frequency of Marijuana use was coded; 0=Never; 1=Once or Twice; 2=Less than once per month; 3=About once per month; 4=A few times per month; 5=About once per week; 6=More than once per week; 7=Every Day or Almost Every Day. One-quarter of the sample (26.6%) reported no marijuana use in the past year. Approximately one-third (35.5%) of the sample had used marijuana every day or almost every day.

Self-identified former or current gang member: Respondents were whether they were a former or current gang member. Self-identified former or current gang member was dummy coded 1= self identified gang member; 0=not a self identified gang member. Slightly more than half of the respondents (54.3%) self identified as a former or current gang member.

Family Crime Score (B2E_FAMILY_CRIME_SCORE): Family crime score is a XXXX variable ranging from 0 to 8 (mean 4.60, std. Dev 2.535. 61% have a family member involved in crime

Positive Attitudes to school and work: The Positive attitudes to school and work Scale (alpha=.90) was created by combining the 34 items on attitudes towards education and employment. For full list B26 on education C17 and C18 on employment in Appendix C.

Crime Victim: Respondents were asked whether they had been the victim of various types of crime in the past six months (see question G1 on victimization in appendix C). The Victimization Index (alpha=.87) was created by adding the fifteen items on victimization. If respondents indicated that they had ‘never’ experienced a certain type of victimization they were given a score of 0; if they reported that they had been the victim of this type of crime ‘once’ they were given a score of 1; if they reported that they had victim of this type of crime ‘twice’ they were given a score of 2; if they reported ‘3-5 times’ they were given a score of 3; if they reported ‘6-9 times’ they were given a score of 4; and if respondents indicated that they had been the victim of this type of crime ‘10 or more times’ they were given a score of five. Scores on the Victimization Index range from 0 to 59 (mean=10.29).
**Self-reported Crime and Delinquency:** Respondents were asked if they had engaged in various types of property and violent crime in the past six months. The Crime Index (alpha=.96) was created by adding the 31 items on self-reported crime and delinquency found in questions H1 on property crime and H2 on violent crime (see appendix C) together. If respondents indicated that they had ‘never’ engaged in a particular type of crime they were given a score of 0; if they reported that they had engaged in the crime ‘once’ they were given a score of 1; if they reported that they had engaged in the crime ‘twice’ they were given a score of 2; if they reported ‘3-5 times’ they were given a score of 3; if they reported ‘6-9 times’ they were given a score of 4; and if respondents indicated that they had engaged in the crime ‘10 or more times’ they were given a score of five. Scores on the Crime Index range from 0 to 149 (mean=28.47).

**Stopped/Searched/Detained:** Respondents were asked whether they had ever had a negative experience with the police in their lifetime. Almost one-third (29.9%) of the sample reported that their most negative experience with the police involved being stopped, searched or detained. Stopped/Searched/Detained is dummy coded 1=yes; 0=no.

**Verbal abuse/Disrespect/Harassment:** Respondents were asked whether they had ever had a negative experience with the police in their lifetime. Approximately one-fifth (18.6%) of the sample reported that their most negative experience with the police involved verbal abuse, disrespect or harassment. Verbal abuse/Disrespect/Harassment is dummy coded 1=yes; 0=no.

**Brutality/Excessive force:** Respondents were asked whether they had ever had a negative experience with the police in their lifetime. Over one-third (36%) of the sample reported that their most negative experience with the police involved police brutality or the excessive use of force. Brutality/Excessive force is dummy coded 1=yes; 0=no.

**False arrest/False evidence**
Respondents were asked whether they had ever had a negative experience with the police in their lifetime. Almost one-third (7.9%) of the sample reported that their most negative experience with the police involved being falsely arrested or having evidence planted on them. False arrest/False evidence is dummy coded 1=yes; 0=no.

**Positive Police Experience:** Respondents were asked whether they had ever had a positive experience with the police in their lifetime. Positive police experience is a dummy variable coded 1=yes; 0=no. Approximately one-third (31.1%) of the study population reported a positive experience with the police.

**Spent Time in Custody:** Respondents were asked whether they two questions related to time spent in custody: (1) Have you ever served time in a youth detention facility or a youth correctional facility? (2) Have you ever served time in an adult detention facility or an adult correctional facility? Responses to this question were added together into a single measure which was dummy coded 1=yes; 0=no. In total 40.9% of the respondents had spent time in either youth or adult custody.
APPENDIX E: The Perceptions and Experiences of Black Police Officers

PART A: Demographic Information

In this first section of this interview I want to ask you a few questions about yourself and your personal background. These questions will help me determine whether different types of people have different types of attitudes or experiences.

A 1) What is your age?
   1. Under 25
   2. 25-35
   3. 36-44
   4. 45 or above

A2) Were you born in Canada?
   1. Yes [Go to A4]
   2. No [Go to A3]

A3) How long have you lived in Canada?
   1. Less than 5 years
   2. 5-10 years
   3. 11-15 years
   4. 16 – 20 years
   5. More than 20 years

A4) Black people often describe themselves in terms of their skin colour. Would you describe yourself as having a:
   1. Dark complexion
   2. Medium complexion
   3. Light complexion

A5) How long have you been a sworn police officer?
   1. Less than 5 years
   2. 5-10 years
   3. 11-15 years
   4. 15 or more

A6) How would you identify your current rank. Would you say you are a:
   1. Constable
   2. Sergeant/Staff Sergeant
   3. Inspector/or above
A7) Did you Grow up in the GTA? Do you currently live in an urban or rural area?

A8) Why do you police where you do?

A8) Can you describe your encounters with the police before you became an officer yourself?

PART C: Perceptions of Racial Bias by the Police

In this section of the interview you will be asked several questions about your views of the police treatment of black males in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). You will also be asked to comment on research findings about black males’ perceptions of the police.

C1) In general, do you think the police treat Black people the same as White people?
   1. Yes (treat the same) [go to C4]
   2. No (treat differently) [go to C2]
   3. Sometimes treated same/sometimes treated differently [go to C2]
   4. Don't know [go to C4]
   5. Refused [go to C4]

C2) Do you think they treat Black people MUCH better, BETTER, WORSE, or MUCH worse, than they treat White people?
   1. Much better
   2. Better
   3. Worse
   4. Much worse
   5. The same [go to C4]
   8. Don't know/depends [go to C4]
   9. Refused [go to C4]

C3) How often do you think they treat Black people __X__ than White people? Would you say often, about half the time, once in a while, or almost never?
   1. Often
   2. About half the time
   3. Once in a while
   4. Almost never
   8. Don't know/depends
   9. Refused
Sometimes the police use PHYSICAL FORCE to protect themselves or others from harm. At other times, the police may use physical force when they are arresting a person or to keep a crime suspect from escaping.

C4) In general, do you think the police are more likely to use physical force on Black people, on White people, or do you think there is no difference?

1. More likely with black people
2. More likely with white people
3. No difference
8. Don’t know
9. Refused

C5) In your opinion, are black people more likely to be unfairly or wrongly shot by the police than white people?

1. Yes
2. No
8. Don’t know
9. Refused

C6) Research from Canada and other Western nations has consistently shown that black people are more likely to believe the police are racially biased or discriminatory than members of other racial groups. In your professional opinion, are these views at all justified? Please explain.

C7) Research from Canada and other Western nations has consistently shown that black people and black males in particular, are also more likely to report having negative experiences with the police than are members of other racial groups. In your professional opinion, are these views true? Please explain.

C8) Some people, the police in particular, complain that some black people will complain about racism or being treated unfairly by the police even when they have been treated in a fair and just manner. Do you think there is any truth to this argument?

C9. In general, do you think black people treat the police differently than white people? For example, in your opinion, do black people respect police authority to the same extent as white people?

C10) How would you describe your relationship with the black community?

C11) How do you personally feel about blacks perceptions of the police?

C12) Do you think your own perceptions of the police and of police bias changed after you became a police officer? If so how did they change?
PART E: Police Treatment of the Black Community

The fourth section of this paper will focus on how the police treat black citizens across the GTA.

E1) In your professional opinion, have you witnessed racial profiling activities by other officers in your police service? Did you ever say anything about it? Why or why not?

E2) Have you witnessed racist language being used by officers from your police service when they are dealing with or talking about black people?

E3) Have you witnessed police officers being rude or disrespectful towards black citizens? In your opinion do you think the police are less respectful with black citizens compared to members of other racial groups?

E4) In your professional opinion, have you witnessed police brutality [excessive force] against black citizens by members of your police service? Did you ever say anything to the officers about it? Why or why not?

E5) In your professional opinion, have you witnessed police corruption (shakedowns/extortion etc.) by members of your police service? Do you think members of your service are more likely to engage in these types of activities against black citizens than they are members of other racial groups?

E6) In your professional opinion, do black citizens or predominantly black neighbourhoods receive the same level of service by your police service than other citizens/neighbourhoods?

E8) If you witnessed police mistreatment or violence directed towards black citizens would you report it to the appropriate person? If not, please explain why.

E9) In your opinion, if one of your fellow officers witnessed racial profiling or police brutality against a minority citizen – do you think that they would report it to their superior officers or stay quiet about it? Why or why not?
PART G: Policy Solutions

Finally, I would like to ask you how we might improve the situation or circumstances of black males in relation to policing and criminal justice within the GTA.

G1) Police services in the GTA and other urban centres are actively recruiting members of racial minority groups into their ranks. In your opinion, why might some black Canadians not want to join the police?

G2) What can we do to increase the numbers of black Canadians entering into a career in policing? What are the potential barriers or obstacles to recruiting black people into policing?

G3) What can we do to improve black male experiences with the police? For example, what can be done to improve their interactions with police officers? What can be done to reduce or eliminate the verbal and physical abuse they receive at the hands of the police?

G4) How can we improve black males’ perceptions of the police?

G5) How can we improve the professional experience of black male police officers?

PART H: Further Questions

H1) We have now come to the end of the interview. I want to thank you again for your participation in this study. Are there any other topics or issues that you would like to discuss at this time?