Race and Criminal Injustice:

An examination of public perceptions of and experiences with the Ontario criminal justice system

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RACE AND CRIMINAL INJUSTICE:
AN EXAMINATION OF PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF, AND EXPERIENCES WITH, THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM AMONG RESIDENTS OF THE GREATER TORONTO AREA

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FOREWORD

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The spring of 2020 witnessed a global outpouring of anger and grief over the police killing of a Black man in the United States. On May 25, 2020, police officers in Minneapolis arrested 46-year-old George Floyd after a convenience store employee reported that he had used a counterfeit twenty-dollar bill to buy cigarettes. His arrest and subsequent killing by the arresting officers were caught on video and widely shared by both news media and social media. Despite the global COVID-19 pandemic and the various stay-at-home orders in countries around the world, millions of people took to the streets to protest this and other brutal killings of Black men and women by police officers in the United States. In Canada, protests took place in cities from coast to coast.

Videos of police killings of Black people in the United States have been depressingly common with the advent of home video recorders, cell phones, and police and security cameras. Protests too have become commonplace. But the killing of George Floyd provoked universal condemnation and a global response. It is not surprising that it did - the video was exceptional in revealing the casual cruelty exhibited by the police officer who kept his knee on Mr. Floyd's neck for almost eight minutes, doing so even after he had lost consciousness. Perhaps the banal brutality of this officer explains why worldwide protest and condemnation followed. And yet it is worth asking why a similar reaction has not followed the dozens of other killings by police officers seemingly motivated by racial animus.

To many Canadians, the spectacle of lethal force by these Minneapolis police officers might seem unique to the United States with its history and legacy of slavery and Jim Crow segregation. But there was clearly something recognizable to Canadians in these police actions. Canada also has a well-documented history of police misconduct and to the extent that members of certain communities are more likely to have been stopped and searched by police - one of the findings of this report - then significant differences in perceptions of the police and courts seem inevitable.

Race and Criminal Injustice is an important examination of perceptions of the criminal justice system in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) and follows earlier research by the same authors that found that perceptions of the police and the courts differed significantly by racial group. Using many of the same survey questions from their 1994 and 2007 studies, the authors found that Black and Asian people are still more likely than Whites to perceive racial bias in law enforcement, and also more likely to have negative perceptions of the police. And yet a majority of all respondents perceive that police treat Black citizens worse than Whites. In addition, public perceptions that the police and courts are racially biased have increased over the past twenty-five years. These findings are especially stark considering the number and scope of anti-racism initiatives and programs that major police services have undertaken to improve community relations during those years.

Race and Criminal Injustice is timely and should be required reading for its contribution to our understanding of the criminal justice system in Ontario. It is an important addition to a broader discussion about what it is about our system of justice that seems to make police misconduct not only unsurprising, but inevitable. I am delighted that Ryerson's Faculty of Law has played a role in making this report available to the public. By illuminating racial disparities in the criminal justice system, this report serves as a compelling reminder that there is still much work to be done to understand and address the obstacles to justice that many Canadians still face. As Professors Wortley, Owusu-Bempah, and Lin conclude, in policing and criminal justice "race still matters."

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Public perceptions of the police and courts are an important social issue. For the past twenty-five years, we have been examining racial differences in perceptions of, and experiences with, the Ontario criminal justice system. In 2019, Environics Research conducted our third related survey. Using an online methodology, this survey generated responses from 1,450 residents of the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) who were eighteen years of age or over.[1] Consistent with our earlier research, the present study revealed significant racial differences with respect to how the public perceives the Ontario criminal justice system. We also found significant racial differences with respect to levels of contact with the police and observed that rates of police contact have not been significantly reduced by the introduction of Ontario's street checks legislation. Further details from our findings are outlined below:

- The survey results suggest that Black and Asian respondents evaluate the police more negatively than White respondents.
- The results suggest that Black and Asian respondents perceive much higher levels of police bias than White respondents.
- The perception of anti-Black racism in policing is particularly widespread. The majority of White, Asian, and Black respondents perceive that the police treat Black citizens worse or much worse than White citizens.
- The perception of police discrimination against Black people has increased over the past twenty-five years, especially among White and Asian respondents.
- Between 1994 and 2019, the perception of anti-Black discrimination within policing has remained constant among Black Toronto residents. Throughout this period, between 75% and 82% of Black respondents have expressed the belief that the police treat Black people worse than White people.
- Respondents perceive that police discrimination against Black people is more prevalent than police discrimination against Asian people.
- In general, respondents view the criminal courts more negatively than the police.

[1] This sample includes 450 Black, 450 Asian, and 550 White adults.

- While Black people tend to evaluate the police more negatively than White people, White people tend to evaluate the courts more negatively than Black people.
- A significant proportion of respondents perceive bias within the criminal court system. The perception of anti-Black bias in sentencing is particularly widespread.
- Black and Asian respondents are more likely to perceive bias in the criminal court system than White respondents.
- Consistent will allegations of racial profiling, Black respondents are much more likely to report being stopped, questioned, and searched by the police than either White or Asian respondents. These racial differences exist for both traffic and pedestrian stops.
- Compared to their White and Asian counterparts, Black people are more likely to report that the police did not properly explain the reason or justification for their last stop.
- Compared to their White and Asian counterparts, Black respondents are more likely to report that they were treated in a disrespectful manner during their last police stop.
- Compared to their White and Asian counterparts, Black respondents are more likely to believe that they were treated unfairly by the police during their last stop incident.
- In addition to direct contact with the police, Black respondents are much more likely to report that family members and friends have been the victim of racial profiling.
- A series of multivariate statistical analyses reveal that racial differences in perceptions of the police and criminal courts cannot be explained by other theoretically relevant factors including age, gender, social class, education, immigration status, residence in a high crime community, victimization, criminal history, illegal drug use, or fear of crime.
- A series of multivariate statistical analyses also reveal that racial differences in police stop, question, and search experiences cannot be explained by other theoretically relevant factors including age, gender, social class, immigration status, residence in a high-crime community, victimization, illegal drug use, criminal history, or routine activities.
- Overall, the results suggest that racial bias in the Ontario criminal justice system is just as important an issue today as it was in the early 1990s. Over the last twenty-five years, it appears that little has been done to reduce racial disparities in police stop, question, and search tactics and to increase trust between the Black community, the police, and the broader criminal justice system. To put it bluntly, race still matters.

INTRODUCTION

Canada is one of the world's most active immigrant-receiving nations and often receives praise for its official policies supporting multiculturalism, inclusion, and human rights. An argument can be made that Canada's reputation is well deserved, especially when race relations and immigration policies are compared with our American neighbours or to the situation in some European countries. Upon closer examination of the historical record, however, a history of racial discrimination and intolerance of the "other" is readily apparent. This history has been documented by numerous scholars (Henry and Tator 2005; Walker 2010; Owusu-Bempah and Wortley 2014), yet it has long been absent from history texts and Canada's dominant narrative. It is only recently that Canadian social institutions have begun to systematically collect the type of data needed to examine the extent to which factors such as race, ethnicity, and immigration status influence positive and negative outcomes within these institutions. A key focus of attention in this respect has been the criminal justice system, where allegations of racial bias and discrimination have long existed (Mosher 1998; Owusu-Bempah and Wortley 2014). Indeed, over the past two decades, public dialogue, political attention, and academic research have increasingly focused on issues of bias and discrimination in Canadian criminal justice institutions.

In addition to examining official sources of information (for example, police, court, and correctional statistics), survey data drawing on the perceptions and experiences of the general public is also a useful way to examine how different groups are treated by the justice system. Over the past twenty-five years, we have been engaged in this line of research, surveying members of the general public about their attitudes towards, and experiences with, the Canadian criminal justice system (see, for example, Wortley 1996; Wortley, Hagan, and Macmillan 1997; Wortley and Owusu-Bempah 2009, 2011b; Owusu-Bempah and Wortley 2014). As such, we have been able to examine trends over time and gauge the extent to which a myriad of diversity, anti-racism, and cultural competency initiatives, implemented by Canadian justice agencies, have impacted upon public views towards, and experiences with, these institutions. In this report, we detail the findings of our most recent study into criminal injustice in the GTA and compare the findings of this study to our earlier research conducted in the early 1990s and mid-2000s. In the first part of this report, we provide an overview of earlier research that has examined public

perceptions of the police and the courts in Canada and document work that has explored racial differences in police stop-and-search practices. The second part of the report provides details of the methods used to gather data from our sample of respondents in the GTA. In the third part, we detail the findings of the present study and compare these findings to the results of our earlier studies. The final part of the report contextualizes our study findings and provides recommendations for moving forward.

BACKGROUND: RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN PERCEPTIONS OF, AND EXPERIENCES WITH, THE ONTARIO CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

Perceptions of the Police

Research conducted over the past two-and-a-half decades has consistently documented racial differences with respect to citizens' perceptions of the police and the courts in Ontario. The first major study into citizens' views of the justice system was carried out as part of the Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System in the early 1990s. As part of its investigation, the Commission's researchers asked judges, defence council, and members of the public about whether or not they believed that there were racial differences in the administration of criminal justice. A significant proportion of both judges (hired after 1989, the year that a reformed judicial appointment system was put in place) and lawyers (whose clientele were 40% or more of a racial minority) felt that racial minorities were treated differently in court than White people (Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System 1995).

The Commission also surveyed members of the general public in the GTA to investigate their perceptions of the system. The survey found that over half of Black, White, and Chinese respondents believed that the police treat Black people differently than White people. Similarly, over half of Black respondents and one-third of both White and Chinese respondents felt that Black people were treated differently by the courts than White people. This study was replicated in 2007, fifteen years later, to examine whether there were changes in citizens' perceptions of the system. What may be of surprise, in light of the myriad race relation initiatives that were implemented in the intervening period, is that the more recent study found that perceptions of bias had actually increased among both Black and White respondents. For example, in 1994, 76% of Black respondents felt that the police treated Black people worse or much worse than they treated White people. By 2007, this figure had risen to 81%. Similarly, in 1994, 48% of Black respondents believed that a Black person would get a longer sentence than a White person charged with the same crime. By 2007, this figure had risen to 58%. The results also demonstrated that White respondents were more likely to perceive bias in both policing and the courts in 2007 than they were in 1994 (Wortley 1996; Wortley and Owusu-Bempah 2009).

Despite the breadth of this early work, more recent research has focused mainly on citizens' perceptions of the police. In 2017, for example, the Toronto Police Service Board (TPSB) commissioned a survey to investigate citizens' perceptions of, and experiences with, the Toronto Police Service (TPS) following the implementation of measures to regulate police "street checks" (Fearon and Farrell 2019). In general, Fearon and Farrell's findings indicate that the majority of respondents to the survey considered the TPS to be honest and fair. For instance, some 68% of respondents felt that TPS officers are honest, and 65% believed that the TPS could be trusted to treat members of their ethnic group fairly. However, as in other work, racial differences emerged. Whereas 78% of East Asians and 76% of White respondents believed that the Toronto police treat members of their ethnic group fairly, only 26% of Black respondents felt this way (24). Black respondents were also the least likely of all groups to believe that Toronto police officers are honest and that they live up to their motto (12–24). Conversely, Black respondents were most likely to believe that the TPS officers with whom they have interacted are biased against members of their own racial group (29).

Outside of the GTA, other Canadian researchers have used data from the General Social Survey (GSS) to examine the perceptions of "visible minorities" as a collective group. Using data from the 1999 and 2004 GSSs respectively, O'Conner (2008) and Cao (2011) examined visible minority attitudes towards the police. O'Conner (2008) and Cao (2011) both found that visible minorities held less positive views of the police than White people. Recognizing that the visible minority category encompasses members of different racial groups, with very different experiences in Canadian society, Sprott and Doob (2014) disaggregated those individuals classified as visible minorities and included Chinese, South Asian, and Black respondents in their analysis of 2009 GSS data and compared them with the views of Aboriginal and White respondents. They also separated what they considered to be the interpersonal-interaction items contained in the GSS (whether the officers were approachable and easy to talk to, whether they treated people fairly) from the technical items (enforcing laws, responding promptly, supplying information to the public, and ensuring safety). Sprott and Doob (2014, 373) found that Black and Chinese people in Ontario rated the police more negatively than White people on the interpersonal questions but not on the technical questions. Aboriginal people held more negative views on both the interpersonal and the technical questions than the White respondents did.

There are a number of factors in addition to race that help explain differences in perceptions of the police. Particularly relevant in a multicultural city such as Toronto is immigration status, country of origin, and length of time in the country. Wortley and Owusu-Bempah (2009) found that perceptions of police bias increased among Black and Chinese immigrants with length of time spent in the country. They also found that perceptions of police bias were most prevalent among Black and Chinese respondents who were born in Canada (Wortley and Owusu-Bempah 2009, 461–62). Another relevant factor is previous contact with the police. Indeed, personal encounters with the police help shape citizens' levels of trust and confidence in the police and their perceptions of police legitimacy (Skogan 2006; Tyler and Fagan 2008; Fearon and Farrell 2019). As noted above, Wortley and Owusu-Bempah (2009) found that Black respondents to their survey held more negative views of the police than White or Chinese respondents. Further analysis revealed that these negative views were related to previous experiences with the police. When asked about their treatment at the hands of the police during their last encounter, Black respondents were the ones who were least likely to feel that they had been treated fairly by the police, least likely to feel the police had treated them with respect, and most likely to report having left their last police encounter feeling upset (Wortley and Owusu-Bempah 2011b, 400). In the next section, we examine previous research on police stop-and-search practices in Toronto.

Race and Police Contact

Some racial minority groups in Toronto and other parts of Ontario have long complained of mistreatment at the hands of the police (Mosher 1998; Maynard 2017; Cole 2020). Empirical research has been examining this phenomenon for several decades, much of it focusing specifically on the experiences of Black Canadians. Early qualitative work confirmed general public sentiments and contrasted the experiences of Black Canadians from White Canadians. James (1998), for example, conducted interviews with over fifty Black youth from six different cities in Ontario. James found that many of these youths reported that being stopped by the police was a common occurrence for them and that there was an almost universal belief that skin colour, not style of dress, was the primary determinant of attracting police attention. As one of the Black male respondents noted, "they drive by. They don't glimpse your clothes, they glimpse

your colour. That's the first thing they look at. If they judge the clothes so much why don't they go and stop those White boys that are wearing the same things like us. I think that if you are Black and wearing a suit, they would think that you did something illegal to get the suit" (166). Similarly, Neugebauer-Visano (1996) conducted interviews with Black and White youth from across Toronto. While her findings demonstrated that teenagers from all racial backgrounds often complained about being hassled by the police, both White and Black youth in her study agreed that Black males were much more likely to be stopped, questioned, and searched by the police than teens from other racial backgrounds.

These earlier studies by academics have been followed up with larger-scale qualitative research sponsored by organizations such as the Ontario Human Rights Commission (OHRC) and the TPSB. In the early 2000s, the OHRC conducted a study to investigate Ontarians' experiences with racial profiling. The research garnered detailed responses from a non-random sample of over eight hundred people in Ontario – most of them Black – who felt that they had been the victims of racial profiling (OHRC 2003). The OHRC project was not only successful in providing vivid descriptions of specific racial-profiling incidents, but it also provided detailed information concerning how these incidents negatively impact both racialized individuals and communities (Williams 2006). During a series of public consultations conducted by the Ontario government's Roots of Youth Violence Inquiry, strikingly similar stories were communicated to lead investigators throughout Southern Ontario. Black and Indigenous youth repeatedly told the Inquiry that they felt targeted by the police – often through aggressive police stop-and-search activities – and that this targeting had eroded their trust in the police and the broader criminal justice system (McMurtry and Curling 2008a, 2008b).

In the first of two recent TPSB funding projects, researchers conducted interviews with 404 residents of the TPS's 31 Division, an area encompassing one of the most racially diverse and socio-economically disadvantaged regions of Toronto. Approximately 50% of the sample self-identified as Black, 12.1% self-identified as White, and 30.4% identified with another racial group. The results of the study indicate that the respondents had little trust or confidence in the police. Furthermore, regardless of their own racial background, the majority of respondents (71%) felt that the Toronto police engaged in racial profiling (Price 2014, 45). Consistent with this belief, Black respondents were also much more likely to report that they had been recently stopped and "carded" by the police and that during these encounters they had been intimidated

and/or treated with disrespect (39–40). Following the implementation of measures to regulate voluntary police-public interactions in Ontario (Ontario Regulation no. 58/16),[2] which came into force in 2017, the TPSB commissioned a broader qualitative study on the impact of the regulation on Torontonians perceptions of, and experiences with, the TPS (Fearon and Farrell 2019). In addition to the findings relating to public perceptions of the police, highlighted in the section above, Fearon and Farrell found that 11.3% of the respondents to their survey (which comprised 1,503 participants) had been carded by the police in Toronto,[3] and, of these respondents, 41.8% were Black, 11.5% were White, 10.9% were Arab, and 10.9% were South Asian (53–55).

Although the above research clearly points to racial disparities in police stops in Toronto, these studies included non-random, non-representative samples, and, thus, their findings cannot be generalized to the broader population. This shortcoming has been addressed in a series of studies by Wortley (1996) and Wortley and Owusu-Bempah (2011b), who have used representative samples to examine police stop-and-search practices in the GTA. The first of these studies, conducted in 1994, included a sample of twelve hundred Black, Chinese, and White Toronto residents (including at least four hundred respondents from each racial group). The study found that Black people, particularly Black males, were much more likely to report involuntary police contact than either White or Asian people. For example, almost half of the Black males in the sample (44%) reported that they had been stopped and questioned by the police at least once in the past two years. In fact, one-third of Black males (30%) reported that they had been stopped on two or more occasions. By contrast, only 12% of White males and 7% of Asian males reported multiple police stops.

Multivariate analyses revealed that these racial differences in police contact could not be explained by racial differences in social class, education, or other demographic variables. In fact, two factors that seem to protect White males from police contact – age and social class – did not protect Black people. White people with high incomes and education, for example, are much less likely to be stopped by the police than Whites who score low on social-class measures. By contrast, Blacks with high incomes and education are actually more likely to be stopped than

[2] Interactions commonly referred to as "street checks" and "carding."
[3] Fearon and Farrell (2019, 55) used the following definition to describe the practice of carding: "Carding or street checks refers to a police officer stopping and asking you a series of questions e.g. your name, age, height, weight, names of your friends etc. and recording this information on a contact card. The information is subsequently entered into a database for possible use in future criminal investigations."

lower-class Blacks. Black professionals, in fact, often attributed the attention they receive from the police to their relative affluence. As one Black respondent stated, "if you are Black and you drive something good, the police will pull you over and ask about drugs" (see Wortley and Tanner 2003, 371).

A replication of this study, conducted in 2007, drew on data from a random sample of fifteen hundred White, Black, and Chinese Torontonians (Wortley and Owusu-Bempah 2011b). Respondents were asked how many times they had been stopped and questioned by the police, while driving in a car or walking or standing in a public space, in the previous two years. The results suggest that one-third of the Black respondents (34%) had been stopped by the police in the past two years, compared to 28% of White respondents and 22% of Chinese respondents. Racial differences existed for both traffic and pedestrian stops, and the findings indicate that Black people were especially likely to experience multiple police stops (Wortley and Owusu-Bempah 2011b, 397). Indeed, 14% of Black respondents reported that they had been stopped by the police on three or more occasions in the past two years, compared to only 5% of White respondents and 3% of Chinese respondents (397). On average, Black people experienced 1.6 stops in the two years prior to the study, compared to 0.5 stops for White respondents and 0.3 stops for Chinese respondents (397).

The final source of data examining racial differences in police stops comes from data collected by the police themselves. A key form of data is drawn from what have come to be known as contact cards, street checks, community engagement incidents, or field information reports. Although the exact terminology used to identify such police-civilian engagements varies among police services, they tend to refer to the same phenomenon. For the purposes of this report, the terms "contact card" and "street checks" are used interchangeably. It should be stressed that these contact cards are not completed after every police stop. They are only filled out when individual police officers want to record the details of an encounter they have had with a particular civilian. It should be noted that, in the vast majority of cases, contact cards are not filled out during police encounters that end in arrest or criminal charges. In such cases, a record of arrest and/or criminal incident report is used to capture relevant information. Street checks or contact cards, on the other hand, are typically filled out in cases where criminal charges are not laid but where the police officer still wants to record – for police intelligence purposes – personal information about the civilian stopped and details about the encounter.

Although contact cards have been collected by the police in Ontario since at least 1970, information about what they contained was never released to the public. However, following a hotly contested freedom-of-information request that ultimately went to the Ontario Court of Appeal, the *Toronto Star* newspaper eventually obtained information on over 1.7 million civilian "contact cards" that had been filled out by the Toronto police between 2003 and 2008. Subsequent data requests from the *Toronto Star* captured information from more than two million additional contact cards (renamed field information reports) completed between 2008 and November 2013. Overall, the data indicate that the TPS completed close to three million street checks over the decade spanning from 2003 to 2013, which amounts to approximately three hundred thousand per year (see Rankin 2010a, 2010b; Rankin and Winsa 2012, 2014).

The following results stem from an original analysis of the TPS carding data compiled between 2008 and 2013. The results are very similar to findings previously published in the *Toronto Star*, with a few refinements. To begin with, only those cases in which the race of the carded civilian was recorded by the officer are included in the current analysis (sample size = 1,846,930).[4] The data indicate that 25% of all street checks completed by the Toronto police between 2008 and November 2013 involved individuals described as "Black." Census projections, however, suggest that only 8.08% of Toronto's population is Black or African Canadian. In other words, Black people are 3.09 times more likely to appear in street check statistics than their representation in the Toronto population would predict (see Table 1).

Further analysis reveals that, during this period, the street check rate for Blacks was 2,123 per 1,000. In other words, the TPS conducted 2,123 street checks for every 1,000 Black people in the Toronto population – or approximately 2.1 stops for every Black person in the city. By contrast, the street check rate for White people was only 653.7 per 1,000 – significantly less than one stop for each White person in the general population. Overall, the Black street check rate is 3.25 times greater than the White street check rate. This indicates that, between 2008 and 2013, Black people in Toronto were 3.25 times more likely to experience a street check than White people (see Table 1).

[4] Between 2008 and November 2013, the Toronto Police Service completed 2,026,258 contact cards or field information reports. However, information of the race of civilian was missing in 179,328 cases (about 9% of the sample). These cases are left out of the current analysis.

Table 1: TPS Carding Data, 2008–13

Racial groups	Population size	Population (%)	Total number of street checks	Street checks (%)	Odds ratio	Street check rate per 1,000
White	1,454,030	54.09	950,457	51.46	0.95	653.70
Black	217,360	8.08	461,468	25.00	3.09	2,123.00
Brown	337,512	12.55	308,809	16.72	1.33	914.90
Other	679,840	25.28	126,196	6.83	0.27	185.60
Total	2,668,742	100.00	1,846,930	100.00	1.00	692.10

Further analysis of the TPS carding data indicate that Black people were issued a disproportionate number of contact cards in all Toronto neighbourhoods, regardless of the local crime rate or the racial composition. Indeed, the findings indicate that, although Blacks were over-represented in contact cards collected in high-crime neighbourhoods, they were even more highly over-represented in contact cards collected in low-crime, predominantly White neighbourhoods (Rankin 2010a, 2010b; Rankin and Winsa 2012). This finding seemingly contradicts the argument that Black people are only stopped more than Whites because they are more likely to live in, or spend time in, high-crime communities. In fact, the data reveal that Black residents of Toronto are more likely than people from other racial groups to be carded both within the patrol zones that they live and when they travel outside of their immediate neighbourhood.

Additional analysis of the TPS's contact card dataset indicates that many police street checks were conducted for reasons of "general investigation." In other words, these contacts were not the result of a specific traffic violation, criminal investigation, or suspect description. For example, in 2008, the Toronto police filled out 289,413 contact cards: 158,685 of these contacts (55%) were conducted for reasons of "general investigation."[5] Consistent with the overall findings, 24% of these "general investigation" stops involved Black people (a rate that is three times higher than the representation of Black people in the general Toronto population). By contrast, less than 1% of all recorded stops were conducted for reasons of suspected bail non-compliance, suspected street gang activity, suspected gun-related activity, a suspected robbery,

[5] In total, 55.5% of all stops were for general investigation, 16.4% were traffic related, 5.3% were vehicle related, and 3.7% were conducted for loitering. In fact, general investigations, traffic-related stops, vehicle-related stops, and loitering stops accounted for 81% of all completed contact cards in the 2008 dataset. All other reasons accounted for only 19% of recorded stops.

or a suspected break-and-enter incident (Rankin 2010a). An argument could be made, therefore, that these findings are quite consistent with racial-profiling allegations – that skin colour makes Black people more vulnerable to general police investigations that do not involve an articulable cause or individualized suspicion. At the very least, they serve to highlight the great need for further research and monitoring.[6]

Surprisingly, given how widespread the practice of carding had become in Toronto, the TPS recorded just one "regulated interaction" or incidence of carding in 2018 (White 2019). We strongly doubt that the almost complete absence of documented police-civilian contacts means that the police have ceased stopping and questioning members of the public in Toronto or in any other Ontario city for that matter. We explore this possibility below. We also consider the extent to which the public's attitudes towards the justice system have changed over time. Again, despite the continued implementation of anti-racism initiatives by police and justice agencies since 1994 and 2007, citizens' perceptions of the police and broader justice system appear to be strained by practices such as "street checks" and instances of excessive use of force. Public demonstrations in Toronto, the occupying of Toronto police headquarters by Black Lives Matter, and the disruptions to Toronto's Gay Pride Parade provide evidence of continued discontent with the police and broader justice system. To examine these phenomena, we replicate our earlier work examining public perceptions of, and experiences with, the police. In the following part, we provide details about the methods used in our most recent study.

[6] As discussed above, Blacks represented 8% of Toronto's population in 2008, but represented 24% of all contact card stops and 24% of all stops conducted for the purposes of general investigation. Blacks were also grossly over-represented in traffic-related stops (27%), loitering stops (30%), drug-related stops (26%), trespassing-related stops (28%), suspicious activity stops (25%), bail compliance stops (45.9%), gun-related stops (48.7%), and stops related to possible street gang activity (62.1%). By contrast, Whites represent over 90% of stops related to biker gangs. However, it should be stressed that only 182 of the 289,413 stops recorded in the 2008 dataset (0.06%) involved suspected biker gang activity.

METHODOLOGY

The survey discussed in this report is a partial replication of a survey that was originally conducted in 1994 on behalf of the Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System. The original survey, conducted by York University's Institute for Social Research, involved a random sample of over twelve hundred Toronto residents who self-identified as either White, Black, or Chinese (with over four hundred respondents from each racial group). This survey, the first of its kind in Canada, asked respondents detailed questions about their experiences with, and perceptions of, the Canadian criminal justice system. Importantly, the 1994 survey was replicated in 2007 by the Hitachi Survey Research Centre at the University of Toronto. Both the 1994 and 2007 surveys have resulted in several reports and publications in academic journals (see Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System 1995; Wortley 1996; Wortley, Hagan, and Macmillan 1997; Wortley and Tanner 2003, 2005; Wortley and Owusu-Bempah 2009, 2011b; Owusu-Bempah and Wortley 2014).

The current survey was conducted by Environics Research using an online methodology. We surveyed 1,450 residents of the GTA who were eighteen years of age or over. Quotas were set to ensure that we interviewed at least 450 respondents from each of three racial groups: 450 of the respondents identified as Black, 450 as Asian (including people of Chinese, Korean, and Japanese backgrounds), and 550 as White/Caucasian. The survey was conducted between May 16 and July 29, 2019. Many of the survey questions asked in 2019 were identical to the questions asked in both 1994 and 2007. This allowed for a trend analysis or a comparison of how Black, White, and Asian people responded to questions about the police and the criminal courts over the past twenty-five years.[7] The survey took respondents an average of eleven minutes to complete. Environics Research set quotas by region within the GTA to ensure that one-half of the respondents (725) lived in the city of Toronto and one-half (725) lived in the suburban "905" belt around Toronto (that is, Peel, York, Durham, and Halton regions).

Two online panel providers were used for this study. Asking Canadians provided twelve hundred of the completed interviews, and Logit Group provided the other 250 interviews. Both panel providers had some information on ethnicity and race among their panellists so that the

[7] While the 1994 and 2007 surveys focused on Toronto residents only, the 2019 survey included residents from the entire Greater Toronto Area (GTA) (City of Toronto, Peel, Durham, Halton, and York regions).

survey invitations could be targeted towards the racial groups that have a lower incidence in the overall population of the GTA. Once the prospective respondent opened the survey, they were asked to respond to some standard demographic questions such as age, gender, and region as well as a question about how they self-identified racially. Once the quota of 550 White and 450 Asian respondents was reached, people who responded that they were White or Asian were screened out of the remaining part of the survey.

Respondents who were neither White, Asian, or Black (for example, South Asian, Indigenous, and so on) were screened out at the start of the interview. The sample was restricted to these three groups for two reasons: (1) the research team was following the methodology previously used in the 1994 and 2007 surveys) and (2) cost (the research budget was not large enough to produce a representative sample of other racial groups). Both the Canadian Association of Black Lawyers and the research team acknowledge that the perceptions and experiences of other ethno-racial groups, including Indigenous peoples, are equally important and should thus be the subject of future research efforts. Unfortunately, there were not enough financial resources to conduct additional sampling at this time.

A total of 4,651 panellists received the survey invitation and were willing to complete the survey. Of those individuals, 2,958 were terminated because they were "over quota" or did not qualify for the survey for other reasons (for example, living outside the GTA, under eighteen years of age, and so on). A total of 1,693 people qualified to complete the survey, and, of those, 1,450 completed the entire survey. Only 243 respondents quit the survey before finishing it for a completion rate of 85.6%. In its efforts to grow the panels and ensure that they maintained a true representation of the Canadian population and a high-quality standard, Environics Research constantly recruited new panellists from their partnerships with some of Canada's biggest and most successful loyalty programs. Recruitment was also done through co-registration on partners' web and social networking sites; targeted emails legitimately sent by online partners to their members or subscribers; and the use of "refer-a-friend" programs.

The sample providers provided incentives for every client. Incentives varied depending on the length and complexity of the survey, the particular group being asked to participate (for example, getting participation from small business owners requires higher incentives than for panellists from the general population), and the needs of each particular study. Incentives provided for participation could be provided as either points or small monetary amounts that

were paid out by cheque or gift card once the panellist had reached a certain monetary or points threshold.

Sample Description

Table 2 provides a basic description of the final sample, broken down by racial group. The results suggest that the White sample is slightly more male than the Black and Asian samples. Nonetheless, both men and women are well represented within each racial group. Consistent with Census projections, Black and Asian respondents are significantly younger than their White counterparts. Regardless of race, approximately half of all respondents reside in the city of Toronto. However, the data also suggest that a relatively high proportion of Black respondents reside in either Peel Region or Durham Region. Few Black respondents reside in York or Halton regions. By contrast, Asian respondents are more likely to reside in York Region than in other areas of the GTA. Asians are less likely to reside in either Durham or Halton regions. White respondents are over-represented among the residents of Halton Region.

Almost all respondents, from each racial group, report Canadian citizenship. However, Black and Asian respondents are more likely to report that they were born outside of Canada than White respondents. Consistent with Census projections, Black respondents are more likely to be unemployed or on social assistance. Black respondents, on average, also report lower levels of educational achievement and lower household incomes than their White and Chinese counterparts. Black respondents, on average, also score higher on a scale of residential community crime and disorder. The fact that these demographic profiles are consistent with the results of the 2016 Canadian Census increases confidence that our survey results can be generalized to the broader GTA population.

Table 2: Sample characteristics, by racial background

Demographic characteristics	Black (%)	White (%)	Asian (%)	Significance of racial group differences
Gender				
Male	42.9	51.8	47.1	**
Female	57.1	48.2	52.9	
Age				
18–24 years	16.0	10.9	10.4	
25–29 years	11.8	14.5	21.1	***
30–34 years	11.8	6.2	23.1	
35–44 years	27.1	8.2	12.7	
45–54 years	14.4	12.0	12.2	
55–64 years	9.6	22.2	11.1	
65 years or older	9.3	26.0	9.3	
Average age	40.6 years	49.6 years	39.4 years	
Region of residence				
City of Toronto	53.6	45.1	51.3	
Durham Region	11.3	10.2	4.2	***
Halton Region	3.3	15.3	4.4	
York Region	5.6	18.4	24.4	
Peel Region	26.2	11.1	15.6	
Marital status				
Married	47.8	58.7	54.0	
Separated/Divorced	9.8	8.7	3.8	***
Widowed	2.7	4.7	1.6	
Single (never married)	39.8	27.8	40.7	
Employment status				
Employed full-time	64.2	44.4	65.6	
Employed part-time	12.0	11.1	6.9	***
Unemployed/Social Assistance	9.6	7.5	5.6	
Retired	8.7	29.1	12.4	
Full-time student	5.6	8.0	9.6	

Place of birth				
Canada	52.2	79.5	41.3	***
Other nation	47.8	20.5	58.7	
Citizenship				
Canadian citizen	85.3	97.1	90.4	***
Permanent resident	14.7	2.9	8.9	
Sample size	450	550	450	—
Annual household income				
Less than $40,000	16.9	9.3	8.2	
$40–69,999	25.8	16.9	16.4	***
$70–99,999	23.6	16.9	18.4	
$100–150,000	16.9	17.6	21.8	
Greater than $150,000	8.2	19.1	16.4	
Refused/No answer	8.7	20.2	18.7	
Education				
High school or Less	6.4	10.0	2.0	***
Some community college	9.3	8.5	2.7	
Community college degree	22.0	16.7	10.0	
Some university completed	14.7	11.5	8.4	
Undergraduate degree	24.0	31.3	52.7	
Graduate/Professional degree	23.6	22.0	24.2	
Community Crime and Disorder Index (mean score)	7.00	5.83	5.56	***
Violent Victimization				
Never a victim	78.9	79.3	85.4	***
Victim during the last 12 months	5.1	1.8	2.4	
Victim more than 12 months ago	16.0	18.9	12.2	
Drug use				
Did not use illegal drugs in past	96.4	94.4	98.0	**

year Used illegal drugs in past year	3.6	5.6	2.0	
Criminal record				
Never arrested	91.6	94.0	98.7	***
Arrested	8.4	6.0	1.3	
Sample size	450	550	450	—

Notes: ** p > 0.05; *** p > 0.001.

FINDINGS

Perceptions of Crime

The interview began by asking all respondents: "*In your opinion, has crime in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) increased, decreased, or stayed about the same over the past ten years?*" The results suggest that the majority of respondents, from each racial group, believe that crime has increased in the GTA over the past decade (see Table 3). For example, 71% of White respondents believe that crime has increased, followed by 69% of Asians and 64% of Black respondents. Interestingly, Black respondents (14%) are slightly more likely than Asians (7.1%) or Whites (3.1%) to believe that crime has actually decreased. Although small, these racial differences are statistically significant.

Respondents were then asked: "*In your opinion, does the neighbourhood that you live in have more crime, less crime, or about the same amount of crime as other areas of the Greater Toronto Area?*" The results suggest that, compared to their White and Asian counterparts, Black people are more likely to believe that their neighbourhood has less crime than other areas of the GTA (see Table 4). Overall, 44.2% of Black respondents feel that their community has less crime, compared to 38.2% of White respondents and only 21.6% of Asian respondents. Compared to Black respondents, both Asian and White respondents are more likely to report that their neighbourhood has either more crime than other areas of the GTA or about the same amount of crime. These racial differences are statistically significant. This finding is curious because, as noted above, Black respondents score significantly higher on the Community Crime and Disorder Index than White and Asian respondents.

Finally, respondents were asked: "*How safe would you feel walking alone in your own community after dark?*" Few racial differences emerge. The majority of respondents, regardless of racial background, feel either safe or very safe walking in their own community after dark (see Table 5). However, Black (23%) and Asian respondents (22.5%) are slightly more likely to feel unsafe than their White counterparts. Once again, although small, these racial differences are statistically significant.

Table 3: Percentage of respondents who feel that crime has increased in the GTA over the past ten years, by respondent's race

Perception of crime over the past 10 years	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
Increased	64.2	70.9	68.7
Stayed about the same	17.1	21.1	19.6
Decreased	14.0	4.9	4.7
Don't Know	4.7	3.1	7.1
Sample size	450	550	450

Notes: $x^2 = 46.338$; df = 6; $p > 0.001$.

Table 4: Percentage of respondents who feel that their neighbourhood has more crime or less crime than other areas of the GTA, by respondent's race

Perception of crime in one's own neighbourhood	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
More crime	15.8	20.0	28.2
Same amount of crime	32.7	36.7	40.7
Less crime	44.2	38.2	21.6
Don't know	7.3	5.1	9.6
Sample size	450	550	450

Notes: $x^2 = 63.741$; df = 6; $p > 0.001$.

Table 5: Percentage of respondents who would feel safe walking alone in their own neighbourhood after dark, by respondent's race

Perceived safety of walking in one's own neighbourhood	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
Very safe	22.7	25.7	17.1
Reasonably safe	54.3	55.4	60.4
Somewhat unsafe	18.5	15.5	18.7
Very unsafe	4.5	3.5	3.8
Sample size	450	550	450

Notes: $x^2 = 12.581$; df = 6; $p > 0.05$.

Perceptions of Police Performance

All respondents were asked a series of questions about their local police service (see Table 6). This line of inquiry began by asking respondents: "*In your opinion, do you believe that the police in your area are doing a good job, an average job, or a poor job enforcing the law?*" The results suggest that White respondents are most likely to feel that the police are doing a good job enforcing the law (40.9%), followed by Black respondents (35.8%). By contrast, only 23.3% of Asian respondents believe the police are doing a good job in this capacity. Similarly, Asian respondents are most likely to believe that the police are doing a poor job enforcing the law (15.3%), followed by Black (9.8%) and White respondents (7.8%). These racial differences are statistically significant. Importantly, regardless of race, approximately half of all respondents believe that the police are only doing "an average" job enforcing the law.

Respondents were next asked: "*In your opinion, do you believe that the police in your area are doing a good job, an average job, or a poor job being approachable and easy to talk to?*" The results suggest that White respondents are most likely to believe that the police are doing a good job in this capacity (see Table 7). For example, 44.4% of White respondents indicate that they think the police are doing a good job at being approachable and easy to talk to, compared to only 28.7% of Black and 18% of Asian respondents. By contrast, Black and Asian

respondents are more likely to think the police are doing a poor job. These racial differences are statistically significant.

Finally, all respondents were asked: "*In your opinion, are the police in your area doing a good job, an average job, or a poor job making your neighbourhood safe?*" The results suggest that White respondents are most likely to feel that the police are doing a good job keeping their neighbourhood safe (43.6%), followed by Black respondents (37.6%). By contrast, only 24.7% of Asian respondents believe the police are doing a good job in this capacity. Similarly, Asian respondents are most likely to believe that the police are doing a poor job keeping communities safe (12.2%), followed by Black (10.2%) and White respondents (5.3%). These racial differences are statistically significant. Importantly, regardless of race, approximately half of all respondents believe that the police are only doing "an average" job of keeping their communities safe (see Table 8).

In order to summarize the results of the police performance items, responses to the three questions described above were combined into a single Police Evaluation Scale. This scale ranges from zero to nine.[8] The higher the score on this scale the higher the respondent's opinion of the police in their community. A reliability analysis reveals that these three items constitute a reliable scale (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.785). The results reveal that White people score higher on the Police Evaluation Scale (mean = 6.57) than either Black (mean = 5.99) or Asian respondents (mean = 5.31). Black respondents, on average, score higher on the Police Evaluation Scale than Asian respondents (see Figure 1). These racial differences are statistically significant (F = 36.220; df = 2; p > 0.001).[9]

[8] For each question, the following coding was used: 0 = poor; 1 = don't know; 2 = average; 3 = good.
[9] Additional findings, not presented in this report, reveal that perceptions of the police and criminal courts do not vary significantly by place of residence. In other words, respondents who reside in the city of Toronto have similar opinions about the police and criminal courts as respondents who reside elsewhere in the GTA (that is, York, Peel, Durham, and Halton regions).

Table 6: Percentage of respondents who believe their local police service is doing a good job, an average job, or a poor job enforcing the law, by respondent's race

Do the police do a good job, average job, or poor job enforcing the law?	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
A good job	35.8	40.9	23.3
An average job	44.7	45.5	49.1
A poor job	9.8	7.8	15.3
Don't know	9.8	5.8	12.2
Sample size	450	550	450

Notes: $x^2 = 49.606$; df = 6; $p > 0.001$.

Table 7: Percentage of respondents who believe their local police service is doing a good job, an average job, or a poor job being approachable and easy to talk to, by respondent's race

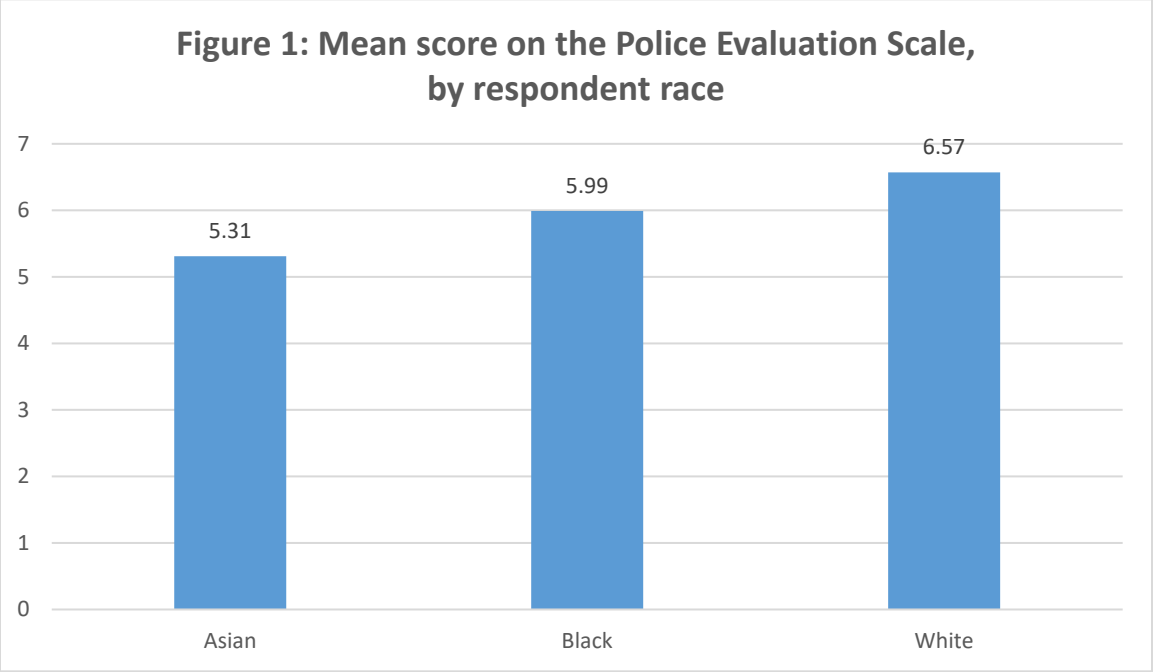
Do the police do a good job, average job, or poor job being approachable and easy to talk to?	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
A good job	28.7	44.4	18.0
An average job	42.2	31.8	43.1
A poor job	16.9	10.9	18.4
Don't know	12.2	12.9	20.4
Sample size	450	550	450

Notes: $x^2 = 90.327$; df = 6; $p > 0.001$.

Table 8: Percentage of respondents who believe their local police service is doing a good job, an average job, or a poor job making their neighbourhood a safe place, by respondent's race

Do the police do a good job, average job, or poor job making your neighbourhood a safe place?	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
A good job	37.6	43.6	24.7
An average job	45.6	45.6	53.1
A poor job	10.2	5.3	12.2
Don't Know	6.7	5.5	10.0
Sample size	450	550	450

Notes: $x^2 = 50.851$; df = 6; $p > 0.001$.



Perceptions of Ontario's Criminal Courts

Respondents were also asked a series of questions about their opinion of Ontario's criminal courts. To begin, respondents were asked: "*In your opinion, are the Ontario Criminal Courts*

doing a good job, an average job, or a poor job providing justice quickly." The results suggest that White respondents have a lower opinion of Ontario's criminal courts than either Black or Asian respondents (see Table 9). For example, 48.5% of White respondents believe that the courts are doing a poor job providing justice quickly, compared to 35.6% of Black and 34.4% of Asian respondents. By contrast, Black respondents are more likely to feel that the courts are doing a good job in this capacity. These racial differences are statistically significant. About a third of respondents, across all racial groups, feel that the courts are only doing an average job providing justice quickly.

Respondents were next asked: "*In your opinion, are the Ontario Criminal Courts doing a good job, an average job, or a poor job helping the victims of crime?*" Once again, White respondents seem to have a lower opinion of the criminal courts than either Black or Asian respondents (Table 10). For example, 37.1% of White respondents believe that the courts are doing a poor job helping crime victims, compared to 24.2% of Black and 26.4% of Asian respondents. By contrast, Black respondents are more likely to think the courts are doing a good job helping victims. These racial differences are statistically significant.

Finally, all respondents were asked: "*In your opinion, are the Ontario Criminal Courts doing a good job, an average job, or a poor job determining the guilt or innocence of people charged with a crime?*" About half of respondents, across all racial groups, believe the courts are only doing an average job determining guilt or innocence (see Table 11). However, compared to Asian respondents (10.7%), a higher proportion of Black (18.9%) and White respondents (18.2%) feel that the courts are doing a good job in this capacity. By contrast, Asian respondents are more likely to report that they "don't know" how well the courts are doing with respect to determining the guilt or innocence of accused persons.

In order to summarize the results of the court performance items, responses to the three questions described above were combined into a single Court Evaluation Scale (see Figure 2). This scale ranges from zero to nine.[10] The higher the score on this scale the higher the respondent's opinion of the Ontario criminal courts. An analysis reveals that these three items constitute a reliable scale (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.728). The results reveal that Black people score higher on the Police Evaluation Scale (mean = 4.35) than either Asian (mean = 3.87) or White respondents (mean = 3.77). These racial differences are statistically significant ($F = 7.899$; df =

[10] For each question, the following coding was used: 0 = poor; 1 = don't know; 2 = average; 3 = good.

2; p > 0.001). Overall, the results suggest that respondents tend to evaluate the police more highly than the criminal courts. Furthermore, while White respondents tend to evaluate the police more positively than either Black or Asian respondents, Black and Asians respondents tend to evaluate the courts more positively than Whites.

Table 9: Percentage of respondents who believe the Ontario criminal courts are doing a good job, an average job, or a poor job providing justice quickly, by respondent's race

Do the courts do a good job, average job, or poor job providing justice quickly?	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
A good job	15.6	6.4	5.3
An average job	32.2	30.5	37.3
A poor job	35.6	48.5	34.4
Don't know	16.7	14.5	22.9
Sample size	450	550	450

Notes: $x^2 = 62.255$; df = 6; p > 0.001.

Table 10: Percentage of respondents who believe the Ontario criminal courts are doing a good job, an average job, or a poor job helping the victims of crime, by respondent's race

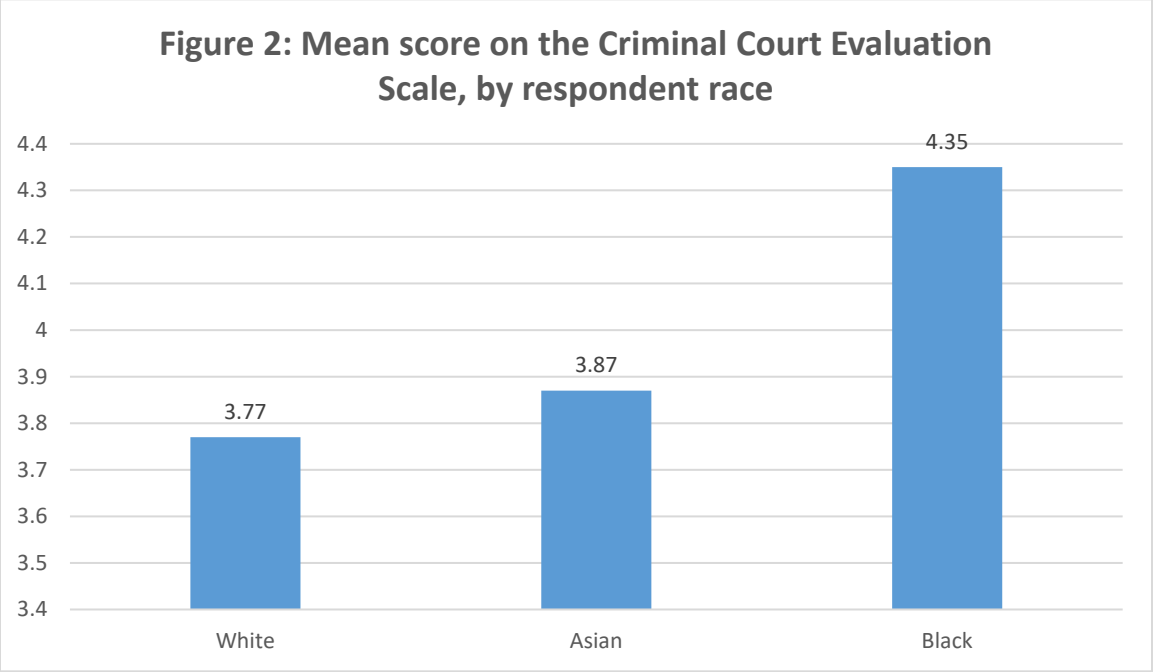
Do the courts do a good job, average job, or poor job helping the victims of crime?	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
A good job	16.9	8.2	5.3
An average job	36.4	34.0	38.7
A poor job	24.2	37.1	26.4
Don't know	22.4	20.7	29.6
Sample size	450	550	450

Notes: $x^2 = 59.381$; df = 6; p > 0.001.

Table 11: Percentage of respondents who believe the Ontario criminal courts are doing a good job, an average job, or a poor job determining the guilt or innocence of people charged with a crime, by respondent's race

Do the courts do a good job, average job, or poor job determining the guilt or innocence of people charged with a crime?	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
A good job	18.9	18.2	10.7
An average job	41.8	49.1	44.7
A poor job	18.4	16.0	15.6
Don't know	20.9	16.7	29.1
Sample size	450	550	450

Notes: $x^2 = 33.908$; df = 6; $p > 0.001$.



Perceptions of Police Bias

Respondents were next asked a series of questions about perceived police bias. Respondents were asked about the relative police treatment of six different groups: (1) poor people versus

wealthy people; (2) young people versus older people; (3) men versus women; (4) people who speak English versus people who do not speak English; (5) Black people versus White people; and (6) Chinese people versus White people.

Respondents were first asked: "*In your opinion, how do the police treat poor people compared to wealthy people?*" Response options included: (1) much worse; (2) worse; (3) the same; (4) better; and (5) much better. The results suggest that, regardless of race, over 60% of respondents believe that the police treat poor people worse or much worse than wealthy people (see Table 12). The data further suggest that, compared to their White and Asian counterparts, Black respondents are more likely to believe that the police treat poor people much worse than wealthy people. By contrast, White (32.8%) and Asian respondents (32.4%) are more likely than Black respondents (17.4%) to believe that the police treat poor people "the same" as wealthy people. These racial differences are statistically significant. Few respondents believe that the police treat poor people better than wealthy people.

Respondents were then asked: "*In your opinion, how do the police treat young people compared to older people?*" Response options included: (1) much worse; (2) worse; (3) the same; (4) better; and (5) much better. The results reveal that, regardless of race, the majority of respondents believe that the police treat young people worse or much worse than older people (see Table 13). The data further suggest that, compared to their White and Asian counterparts, Black respondents are more likely to believe that the police treat young people much worse than older people. By contrast, White (34.7%) and Asian respondents (41.4%) are more likely than Black respondents (21.7%) to believe that the police treat young people "the same" as older people. These racial differences are statistically significant. Few respondents believe that the police treat young people better than older people.

Respondents were then asked: "*In your opinion, how do the police treat women compared to men?*" Response options included: (1) much worse; (2) worse; (3) the same; (4) better; and (5) much better. The results reveal that public perceptions of police gender bias are rather divided. While the majority of White (52.9%) and Asian respondents (51.1%) believe that the police treat women the same as men, this view is held by only 28.7% of Black respondents. By contrast, half of the Black respondents (49.4%) feel that the police treat women better than men, compared to only 37.8% of White and 31.3% of Asian respondents. These racial

differences are statistically significant (see Table 14). Importantly, about a fifth of respondents from each racial group feel that the police treat women worse than men.

All respondents were asked: "*In your opinion, how do the police treat people who do not speak English compared to people who do speak English?*" Response options included: (1) much worse; (2) worse; (3) the same; (4) better; and (5) much better. The majority of respondents from each racial group feel that the police treat non-English-speaking people worse than English speakers. However, Chinese (69%) and Black respondents (61.3%) are more likely to express this view than White respondents (51.3%). By contrast, compared to their Asian (27.2%) and Black counterparts (29.8%), White respondents (43.7%) are more likely to feel that people who speak English are treated the same as people who speak English (see Table 15). Regardless of race, few people believe that non-English-speaking people are treated better by the police.

All respondents were next asked: "*In your opinion, how do the police treat Black people compared to White people?*" Response options included: (1) much worse; (2) worse; (3) the same; (4) better; and (5) much better. The results suggest that, regardless of racial background, the majority of respondents believe that the police treat Black people worse than White people (see Table 16). This opinion is held by a higher proportion of Black (81.9%) than Asian (70.5%) or White respondents (61.7%). It is important to note that Black respondents are much more likely to believe that the police treat Black people much worse than White people. Over half of the Black respondents (53.3%) expressed this view, compared to only 23.7% of Asian and 20.7% of White respondents. White respondents (35%) are more likely to believe that the police treat Black people the same as White people. By contrast, only 13.6% of Black respondents held this perception of equal police treatment. Across racial groups, very few respondents (less than 5%) feel that the police treat Black people better than White people.

Finally, all respondents were asked: "*In your opinion, how do the police treat Chinese people compared to White people?*" Response options included: (1) much worse; (2) worse; (3) the same; (4) better; and (5) much better. The results suggest that respondents are more likely to perceive police discrimination against Black people than Chinese people (see Table 17). For example, while 61.7% of White respondents perceive that the police treat Black people worse than White people, only 26% perceive that the police treat Chinese people worse than Black people. Similarly, while 81.9% of Black respondents believe that the police treat Black people worse than Chinese people, only 41.1% believe that the police treat Chinese people worse than

White people. Although Asian respondents are more likely to perceive police discrimination against Chinese people than respondents from other racial groups, even they are more likely to perceive police discrimination against Black people (70.5%) than Chinese people (57.5%). These findings provide a strong endorsement of efforts to combat anti-Black discrimination within law enforcement.

In order to summarize the results of the police bias items, responses to the six questions described above were combined into a single Perceived Police Bias Scale (see Figure 3). This scale ranges from zero to eighteen.[11] The higher the score on this scale the greater the respondent's perception of police discrimination. An analysis reveals that responses to these six items constitute a reliable scale (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.777). The results reveal that Black people score much higher on the Perceived Police Bias Scale (mean = 10.402) than either Asian (mean = 8.424) or White respondents (mean = 7.291). Chinese respondents also score higher on this measure than their White counterparts. These racial differences are statistically significant (F = 59.265; df = 2; p > 0.001).

Table 12: Percentage of respondents who believe that the police treat poor people differently than wealthy people, by respondent's race

How do the police treat poor people compared to wealthy people?	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
Much better	2.5	0.4	1.1
Better	4.0	2.0	2.0
The same	17.4	32.8	32.4
Worse	40.0	49.1	48.7
Much worse	36.1	15.8	15.8
Sample size	450	550	450

Notes: x^2 = 101.671; df = 8; p > 0.001.

[11] For each question, the following coding was used: 0 = treated the same; 1 = don't know; 2 = treated worse/better; 3 = treated much worse/much better.

Table 13: Percentage of respondents who believe that the police treat young people (18–25 years) differently than older people (50 plus years), by respondent's race

How do the police treat young people compared to older people?	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
Much better	2.5	0.4	0.7
Better	5.4	2.4	2.7
The same	21.7	34.7	41.4
Worse	48.0	51.5	45.2
Much worse	22.5	11.1	10.0
Sample size	450	550	450

Notes: $x^2 = 78.978$; df = 8; $p > 0.001$.

Table 14: Percentage of respondents who believe that the police treat women differently than men, by respondent's race

How do the police treat women compared to men?	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
Much Better	12.6	3.1	2.7
Better	36.8	24.7	28.6
The same	28.7	52.9	51.1
Worse	17.7	16.8	15.8
Much worse	4.3	2.4	1.8
Sample size	450	550	450

Notes: $x^2 = 104.489$; df = 8; $p > 0.001$.

Table 15: Percentage of respondents who believe that the police treat people who do not speak English differently than people who do speak English, by respondent's race

How do the police treat people who do not speak English compared to people who do speak English?	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
Much better	3.8	1.1	0.4
Better	5.1	4.0	3.3
The same	29.8	43.7	27.2
Worse	45.4	41.8	53.0
Much worse	15.9	9.4	16.0
Sample size	450	550	450

Notes: $x^2 = 59.461$; df = 8; $p > 0.001$.

Table 16: Percentage of respondents who believe that the police treat Black people differently than White people, by respondent's race

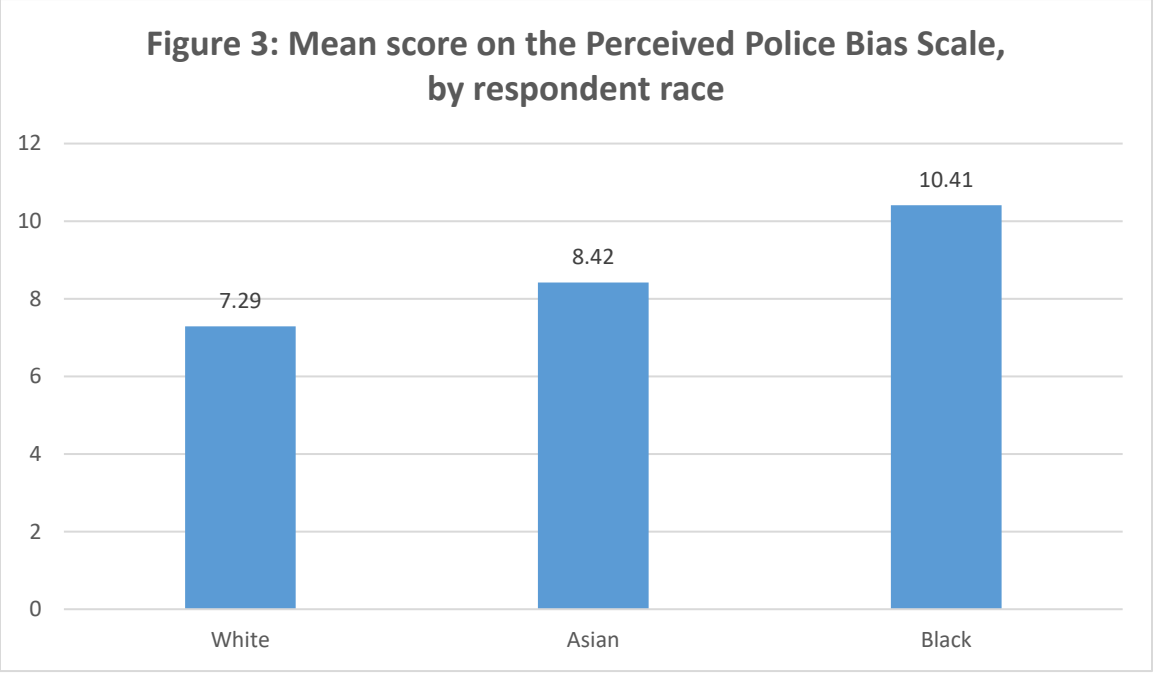
How do the police treat Black people compared to White people?	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
Much better	1.8	1.1	0.7
Better	2.7	2.2	1.3
The same	13.6	35.0	27.5
Worse	28.6	41.0	46.8
Much worse	53.3	20.7	23.7
Sample size	450	550	450

Notes: $x^2 = 163.924$; df = 8; $p > 0.001$.

Table 17: Percentage of respondents who believe that the police treat Chinese people differently than White people, by respondent's race

How do the police treat Chinese people compared to White people?	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
Much better	3.8	0.7	0.4
Better	5.8	2.8	1.8
The same	49.2	70.5	40.3
Worse	36.4	23.4	47.7
Much worse	4.7	2.6	9.8
Sample size	450	550	450

Notes: $x^2 = 141.575$; df = 8; $p > 0.001$.



Perceptions of Bias in the Criminal Courts

Respondents were next asked a series of questions about perceived bias in the Ontario criminal courts. Respondents were first asked: "*If a poor person and a wealthy person – with the same criminal history or record – committed the same crime, who would get the longer sentence in*

court: the poor person, the wealthy person, or do you think they would get the same sentence?" The majority of respondents, regardless of racial background, believe that a poor person would get a longer sentence than a wealthy person. However, the perception of sentencing bias against poor people is greater among Black respondents (76.1%) than White (64.7%) or Asian respondents (63.8%). By contrast, a third of White (33.1%) and Asian respondents (34.4%) perceive that poor and wealthy offenders would receive the same sentence, compared to only a fifth of Black respondents (20.3%). These racial differences are statistically significant (see Table 18). Very few respondents – less than 4% – perceive that a wealthy person would get a longer sentence than a poor person.

Respondents were next asked: "*If a young person and an older person – with the same criminal history or record – committed the same crime, who would get the longer sentence in court: the young person, the older person, or do you think they would get the same sentence?*" A slight majority of White (56.4%) and Asian respondents (57.1%) perceive that age would have no impact on sentencing, compared to only 38.7% of Black respondents. By contrast, half of all Black respondents (49.4%) believe that the young person would get a longer sentence, compared to only 33.2% of White and 32.2% of Asian respondents. These racial differences are statistically significant (see Table 19). Interestingly, across all racial groups, about 10% of respondents believe that an older offender would get a longer sentence than a younger offender.

Respondents were next asked: "*If a man and a woman – with the same criminal history or record – committed the same crime, who would get the longer sentence in court: the man, the woman, or do you think they would get the same sentence?*" A slight majority of White (51.3%) and Asian respondents (50.7%) respondents believe that a man and woman would get the same sentence, compared to only 33.3% of Black respondents. By contrast, almost two-thirds of Black respondents (61.1%) believe that a man would get a longer sentence, compared to only 44.5% of White and 44.7% of Asian respondents. These racial differences are statistically significant (see Table 20). Regardless of race, very few respondents (less than 6%) believe that woman would receive a longer sentence than a man.

Respondents were next asked: "*If a person who does not speak English and a person who speaks English – with the same criminal history or record – committed the same crime, who would get the longer sentence in court: the person who does not speak English, the person who does speak English, or do you think they would get the same sentence.*" Almost two-thirds of

White respondents (64.1%) believe that the language would have no impact on sentencing, compared to only 51.7% of Asian and 45.7% of Black respondents. By contrast, almost half of Black (49.1%) and Asian respondents (45.2%) believe that non-English-speaking offenders would get a longer sentence, compared to only 30.6% of White respondents. These racial differences are statistically significant (see Table 21). Regardless of race, very few respondents (less than 6%) feel that English-speaking offenders would get a longer sentence.

Respondents were next asked: "*If a Black person and a White person – with the same criminal history or record – committed the same crime, who would get the longer sentence in court: the Black person, the White person, or do you think they would get the same sentence?*" Eight out of ten Black respondents (79%) believe that a Black person would get a longer sentence than a White person, compared to 56% of Asian and 48.9% of White respondents. By contrast, almost half of White respondents (47.4%) believe that Black and White offenders would receive the same sentence, compared to only 19.2% of Black respondents. These racial differences are statistically significant (see Table 22). Regardless of race, very few respondents (less than 4%) feel that a White person would get a longer sentence than a Black person.

Finally, all respondents were next asked: "*If a Chinese person and a White person – with the same criminal history or record – committed the same crime, who would get the longer sentence in court: the Chinese person, the White person, or do you think they would get the same sentence?*" The results reveal that, regardless of race, respondents are more likely to perceive sentencing discrimination against Black offenders than Chinese offenders. For example, while 48.9% of White respondents perceive that a Black person would get a longer sentence than a White person, only 15.8% perceive that a Chinese person would get a longer sentence. Similarly, while 79% of Black respondents perceive that a Black person would get a longer sentence than a White person, only 41.8% perceive that a Chinese person would get a longer sentence. Indeed, even Asian respondents are more likely to perceive sentencing discrimination against Black offenders (56%) than sentencing discrimination against Chinese offenders (38.5%). This finding supports the current study's focus on anti-Black racism. Once again, regardless of race, very few respondents (less than 5%) believe that a White offender would get a longer sentence than a Chinese offender (see Table 23).

In order to summarize the results of the court bias items, responses to the six questions described above were combined into a single Perceived Court Bias Scale (see Figure 4). This

scale ranges from zero to twelve.[12] The higher the score on this scale the greater the respondent's perception of court discrimination. An analysis reveals that responses to these six items constitute a reliable scale (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.817). The results reveal that Black people score much higher on the Perceived Court Bias Scale (mean = 7.776) than either Asian (mean = 6.116) or White respondents (mean = 5.36). Chinese respondents also score higher on this measure than their White counterparts. These racial differences are statistically significant ($F = 44.625$; df = 2; $p > 0.001$).

Table 18: Percentage of respondents who believe that a poor person would get a longer sentence in the Canadian criminal courts than a wealthy person, by respondent's race

Who would get a longer sentence?	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
A poor person	76.1	64.7	63.8
A wealthy person	3.6	2.2	1.8
They would get the same sentence	20.3	33.1	34.4
Sample size	450	550	450

Notes: $x^2 = 28.506$; df = 4; $p > 0.001$.

Table 19: Percentage of respondents who believe that a young person (18–25 years) would get a longer sentence than an older person (50 plus years), by respondent's race

Who would get a longer sentence?	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
A young person	49.4	33.2	32.2
An older person	11.9	10.4	10.7
They would get the same sentence	38.7	56.4	57.1
Sample size	450	550	450

Notes: $x^2 = 42.903$; df = 4; $p > 0.001$.

[12] For each question, the following coding was used: 0 = would receive the same sentence; 1 = don't know; 2 = would receive a longer sentence.

Table 20: Percentage of respondents who believe that a man would get a longer sentence than a woman, by respondent's race

Who would get a longer sentence?	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
A man	61.1	44.5	44.7
A women	5.6	4.2	4.7
They would get the same sentence	33.3	51.3	50.7
Sample size	450	550	450

Notes: $x^2 = 39.075$; df = 4; $p > 0.001$.

Table 21: Percentage of respondents who believe that a person who does not speak English would be given a longer sentence than a person who does speak English, by respondent's race

Who would get the longer sentence?	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
The person who does not speak English	49.1	30.6	45.2
The person who does speak English	5.2	5.3	3.1
They would get the same sentence	45.7	64.1	51.7
Sample size	450	550	450

Notes: $x^2 = 42.815$; df = 4; $p > 0.001$.

Table 22: Percentage of respondents who believe that a Black person would receive a longer sentence than a White person, by respondent's race

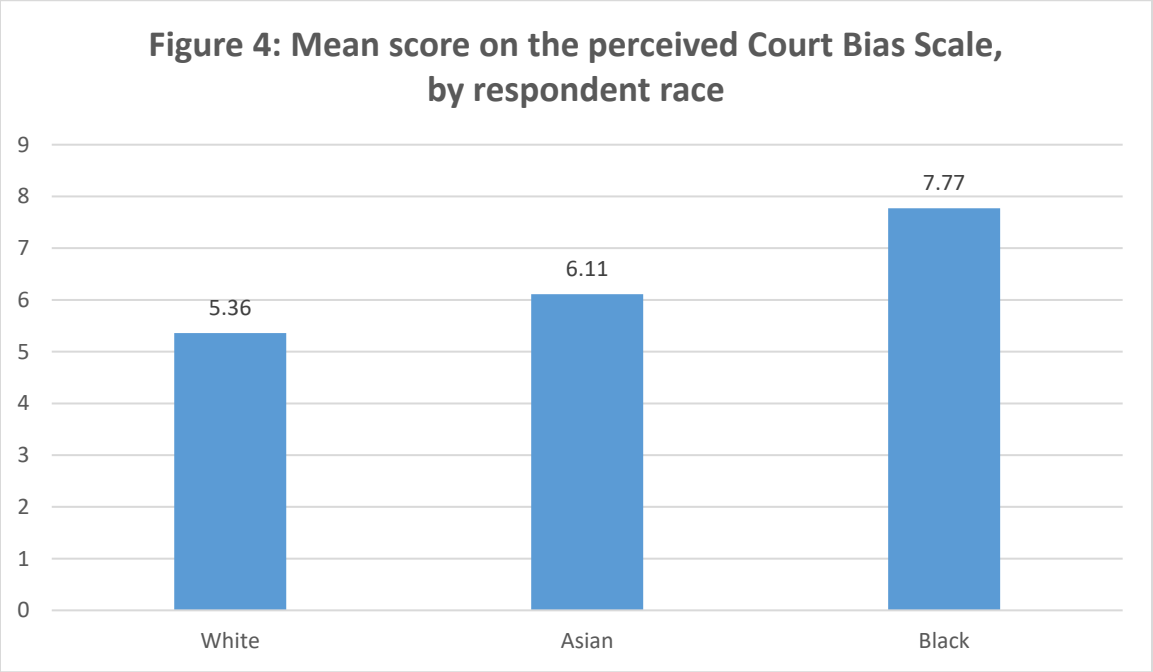
Who would get the longer sentence?	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
The Black person	79.0	48.9	56.0
The White person	1.8	3.7	3.1
They would get the same sentence	19.2	47.4	40.9
Sample size	450	550	450

Notes: $x^2 = 98.859$; df = 4; $p > 0.001$.

Table 23: Percentage of respondents who believe that a Chinese person would receive a longer sentence than a White person, by respondent's race

Who would get the longer sentence?	Black (%)	White (%)	Asian (%)
The Chinese person	41.8	15.8	38.5
The White person	4.7	4.0	2.0
They would get the same sentence	53.5	80.2	59.5
Sample size	450	550	450

Notes: $x^2 = 101.090$; df = 4; $p > 0.001$.



Trends in the Perception of Anti-Black and Anti-Chinese Bias

As discussed above, the current survey is a replication of similar studies conducted in both 1994 and 2007. Figure 5 highlights the percentage of respondents who perceive that the police treat Black people worse or much worse than White people across the three survey periods. The results suggest that perceptions of anti-Black police bias have changed little over the last twenty-five years. In fact, the perception of police bias against the Black community has increased,

especially among Whites and Asians. For example, in 1994, 51% of White respondents believed that the police treated Black people worse than White people. This figure rose to 59% in 2007 and to 62% in 2019. Similarly, in 1994, 56% of Asian people perceived that the police treated Black people worse than White people. This figure rose to 70% in 2019. By contrast, the perception of police bias against Black people has remained relatively stable over the past twenty-five years, rising only slightly from 76% in 1994 to 82% in 2019.

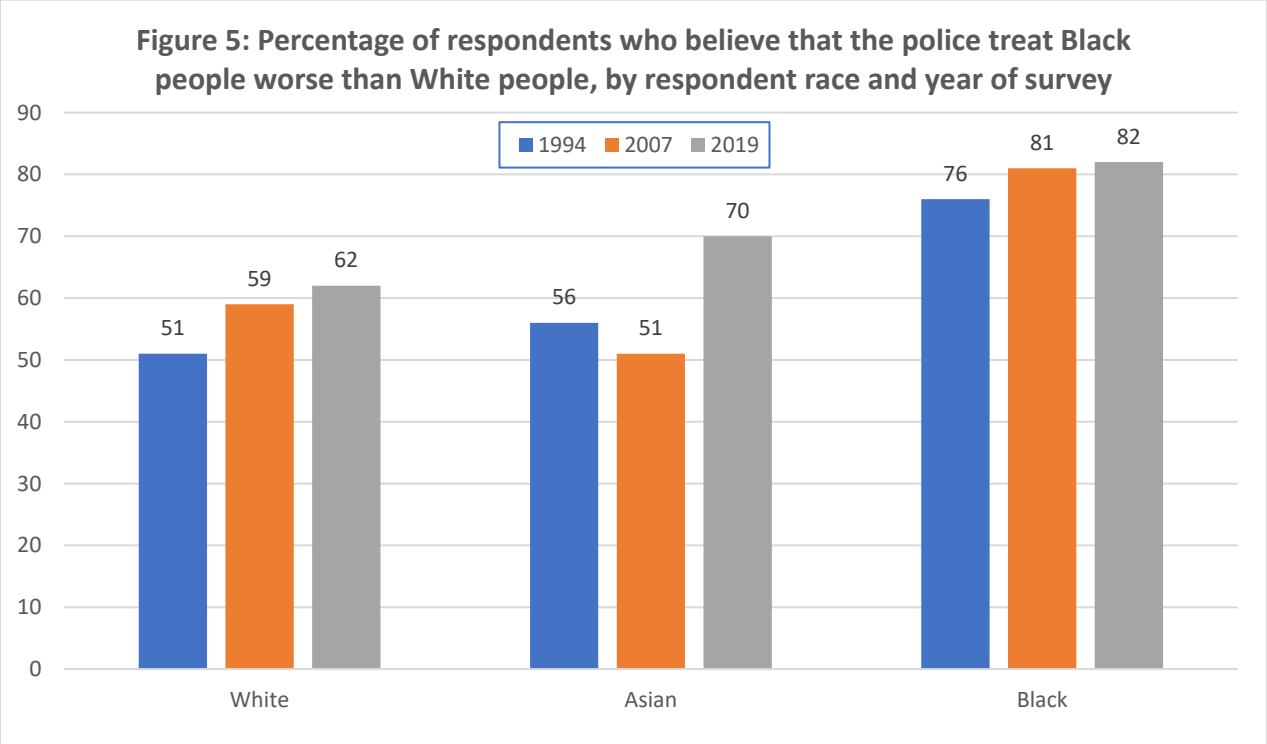
Figure 6 highlights the percentage of respondents who perceive that the police treat Chinese people worse than White people across the three survey periods. Several interesting trends emerge. First of all, the percentage of White respondents who perceive that the police treat Chinese people worse than White people has remained unchanged across this twenty-five-year period. By contrast, Black respondents have come to perceive less police bias against the Chinese community. For example, in 1994, 51% of Black respondents felt that the police treat Chinese people worse than Black people. This figure drops to only 41% in 2019. On the other hand, the perception of anti-Chinese police bias has steadily increased amongst Asian respondents. In 1994, less than half of Asian respondents (46%) believed that the police treat Chinese people worse than White people. This figure rises to 58% in 2019.

Figure 7 highlights the percentage of respondents who perceive anti-Black bias in court sentencing practices across the three survey periods. The results suggest that public perceptions of anti-Black bias in the courts have increased steadily between 1994 and 2019. For example, in 1994, only 28% of White respondents perceived that a Black offender, charged with the same crime and with the same criminal record, would receive a longer sentence than a White offender. This figure rises to 49% in 2019. Similarly, in 1994, 29% of Asian respondents felt that a Black offender would get a longer sentence. This figure rises to 56% by 2019. Finally, in 1994, 48% of Black respondents felt that a black offender would receive a longer sentence. This figure rises to 79% in 2019.

Finally, Figure 8 highlights the percentage of respondents who perceive anti-Chinese bias in court-sentencing practices across the three survey periods. As with the perceived treatment of Black offenders, the results suggest that public perceptions of anti-Chinese bias in the courts increased between 1994 and 2019, especially among Asian and Black respondents. For example, in 1994, only 12% of White respondents perceived that a Chinese offender, charged with the same crime and with the same criminal record, would receive a longer sentence than a White

offender. This figure rises only slightly to 16% by 2019. Similarly, in 1994, only 18% of Asian respondents felt that a Chinese offender would get a longer sentence. This figure rises dramatically to 39% by 2019. Finally, in 1994, 30% of Black respondents felt that a Chinese offender would receive a longer sentence. This figure rises to 42% in 2019.

In sum, the results of the above trends analysis suggest that public perceptions of racial bias, in both policing and the courts, have actually increased over the past twenty-five years. Furthermore, perceptions of racial bias with the criminal justice system have increased for all three racial groups under study. It is important to note that this increase in perceptions of racial bias has occurred during a period when the police and courts have implemented a number of anti-racism initiatives and programs, including anti-racism training and diversity hiring. These results suggest that these initiatives and programs have been largely unsuccessful with respect to reducing public perceptions of racial discrimination and increasing confidence and trust in the criminal justice system.



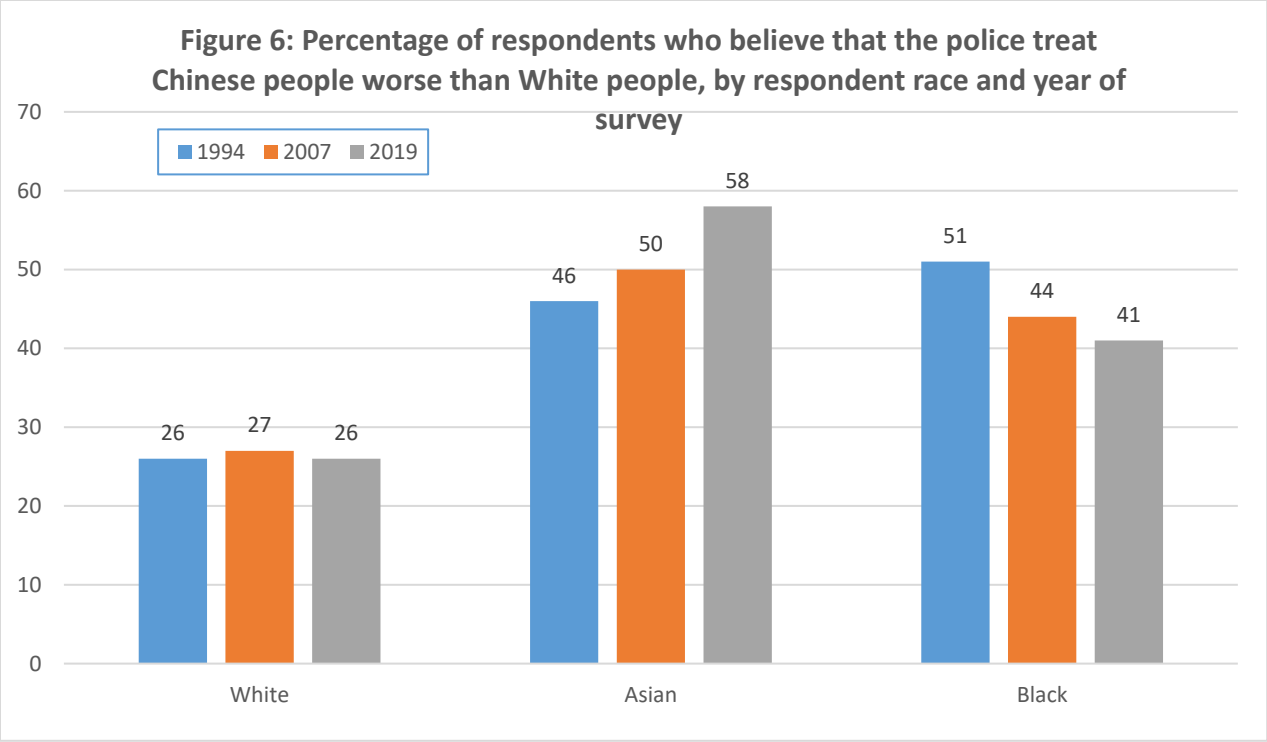


Figure 6: Percentage of respondents who believe that the police treat Chinese people worse than White people, by respondent race and year of survey
1994
2007
2019
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
26
27
26
46
50
58
51
44
41
White
Asian
Black

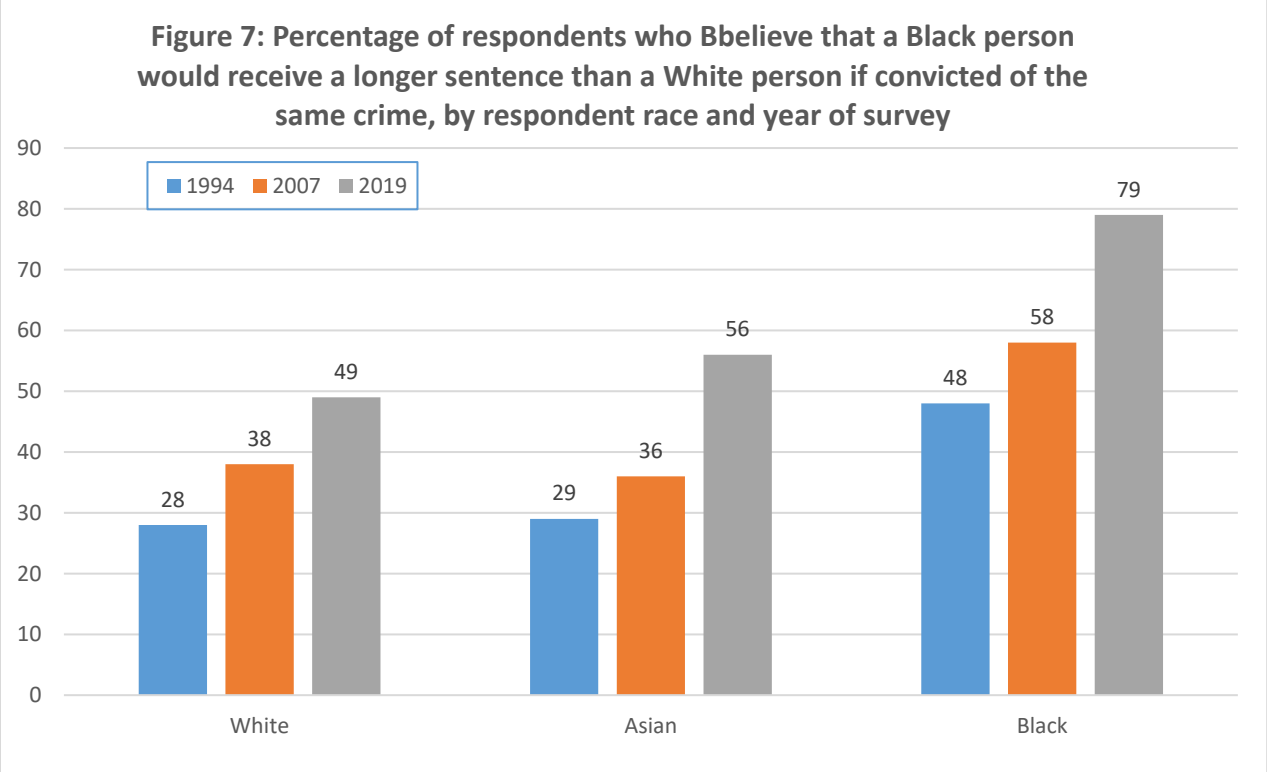
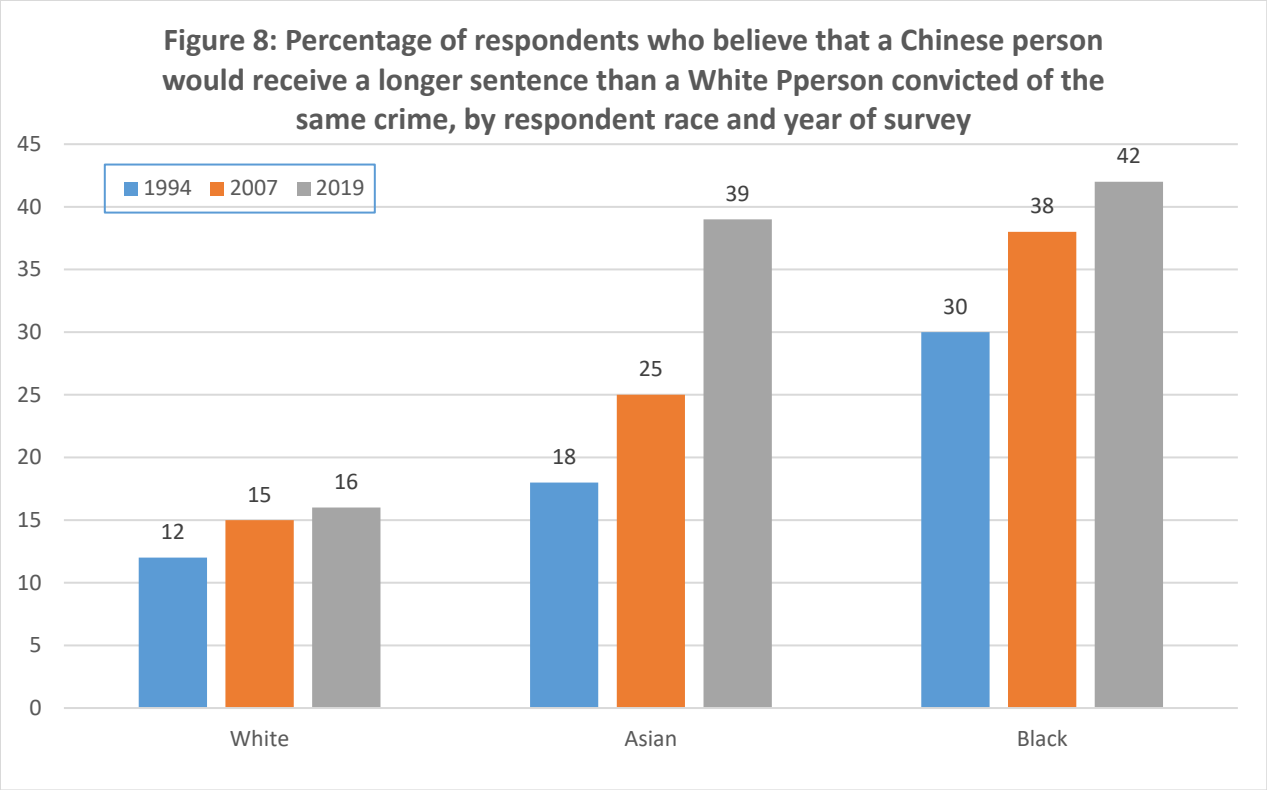


Figure 7: Percentage of respondents who Bbelieve that a Black person would receive a longer sentence than a White person if convicted of the same crime, by respondent race and year of survey
1994
2007
2019
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
28
38
49
29
36
56
48
58
79
White
Asian
Black



Traffic Stops

All of the respondents were asked: "*How many times, during the past two years, have you been stopped and questioned by the police while driving in a car, truck or van?*" The results reveal racial differences in self-reported traffic stops that are highly consistent with allegations of racial profiling. Overall, 35.7% of Black respondents report being stopped at least once in the past two years, compared to only 22.7% of White and 23.8% of Asian respondents. However, the results further reveal that Black respondents are particularly vulnerable to multiple traffic stops. Almost a quarter of Black respondents (22.4%) report that they have been stopped two or more times in the past two years, compared to only 9.8% of Asian and 8.5% of White respondents. These racial differences are highly statistically significant (see Table 24).

Additional analysis reveals that Black males are particularly vulnerable to police traffic stops. Overall, 43.5% of Black males report experiencing at least one traffic stop in the past two years, compared to only 22.8% of White males and 27.8% of Asian males. Black males are also much more likely to report multiple traffic stops. Almost a third of Black male respondents

(29%) report two or more traffic stops in the past two years, compared to only 11.8% of Asian and 7.7% of White males. These racial differences are highly statistically significant (see Table 25).

Racial differences in exposure to police traffic stops also exist among women (see Table 26). In general, Black women experience more traffic stops than White or Asian women. For example, 17.5% of Black female respondents report two or more traffic stops in the past two years, compared to only 9.4% of White and 8% of Asian females. These racial differences are statistically significant. It is also important to note that Black females (17.5%) are more likely to report multiple traffic stops than both White (7.7%) and Asian males (11.8%).

Table 24: Percentage of respondents who report being stopped and questioned by the police while driving in a car during the past two years, by respondent's race

Number of stops	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
Not stopped	64.2	77.3	76.2
Stopped once	13.3	14.2	14.0
Stopped two or more times	22.4	8.5	9.8
Sample size	450	550	450

Notes: $x^2 = 48.930$; df = 4; $p > 0.001$.

Table 25: Percentage of male respondents who report being stopped and questioned by the police while driving in a car during the past two years, by respondent's race

Number of stops	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
Not stopped	56.5	77.2	72.2
Stopped once	14.5	15.1	16.0
Stopped two or more times	29.0	7.7	11.8
Sample size	193	285	212

Notes: $x^2 = 44.442$; df = 4; $p > 0.001$.

Table 26: Percentage of female respondents who report being stopped and questioned by the police while driving in a car during the past two years, by respondent's race

Number of stops	Black (%)	White (%)	Asian (%)
Not stopped	70.0	77.4	79.8
Stopped once	12.5	13.2	12.2
Stopped two or more times	17.5	9.4	8.0
Sample size	257	265	238

Notes: $x^2 = 13.213$; df = 4; $p > 0.01$.

Pedestrian Stops

All respondents were asked: "*How many times, during the past two years, have you been stopped and questioned by the police while you were walking on the street or in some other public place?*" As with traffic stops, the results reveal racial differences in self-reported pedestrian stops that are highly consistent with allegations of racial profiling. Overall, 17.8% of Black respondents report at least one pedestrian stop in the past two years, compared to only 4.4% of White and 5.3% of Asian respondents. However, the results further reveal that Black respondents are particularly vulnerable to multiple pedestrian stops. One in ten Black respondents (12.2%) report two or more pedestrian stops in the past two years, compared to only 3.8% of Asian and 1.5% of White respondents. These racial differences are highly statistically significant (see Table 27).

Additional analysis reveals that Black males are particularly vulnerable to police pedestrian stops. Overall, one out of every four Black males (24.9%) report experiencing at least one pedestrian stop in the past two years, compared to only 5.3% of White males and 6.1% of Asian males. Black males are also much more likely to report multiple pedestrian stops. Almost a fifth of Black male respondents (17.1%) report two or more pedestrian stops in the past two years, compared to only 4.2% of Asian and 1.1% of White males (see Table 28).

Racial differences in exposure to police pedestrian stops also exist among women (see Table 29). In general, Black women experience more pedestrian stops than either White or Asian

women. For example, 12.5% of Black female respondents report at least one pedestrian stop in the past two years, compared to only 3.4% of White and 4.7% of Asian females. These racial differences are statistically significant. It is also important to note that Black females (8.6%) are more likely to report multiple pedestrian stops than both White (1.1%) and Asian males (4.2%).

Table 27: Percentage of respondents who report being stopped and questioned by the police while walking in a public place during the past two years, by respondent's race

Number of stops	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
Not stopped	82.2	95.6	94.7
Stopped once	5.6	2.9	1.6
Stopped two or more times	12.2	1.5	3.8
Sample size	450	550	450

Notes: $x^2 = 72.654$; df = 4; $p > 0.001$.

Table 28: Percentage of male respondents who report being stopped and questioned by the police while walking in a public place during the past two years, by respondent's race.

Number of stops	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
Not stopped	75.1	94.7	93.9
Stopped once	7.8	4.2	1.9
Stopped two or more times	17.1	1.1	4.2
Sample size	193	285	212

Notes: $x^2 = 61.527$; df = 4; $p > 0.001$.

Table 29: Percentage of female respondents who report being stopped and questioned by the police while driving in a car during the past two years, by respondent's race

Number of stops	Black (%)	White (%)	Asian (%)
Not stopped	87.5	96.6	95.4
Stopped once	3.9	1.5	1.3
Stopped two or more times	8.6	1.9	3.4
Sample size	257	265	238

Notes: $x^2 = 19.898$; df = 4; $p > 0.001$.

Total Police Stops

Responses to the questions about police traffic stops and police pedestrian stops were combined into a single measure of police contact. The results reinforce that Black people are much more vulnerable to police surveillance than people from other racial groups. Once again, these findings are highly consistent with allegations of racial profiling. Overall, 40.4% of Black respondents report being stopped by the police at least once in the past two years, compared to only 24.7% of White and 24.9% of Asian respondents. However, the results further reveal that Black respondents are particularly vulnerable to multiple police stops. A quarter of Black respondents (26.2%) report that they have been stopped two or more times in the past two years, compared to only 11.8% of Asian and 9.8% of White respondents. These racial differences are highly statistically significant (see Table 30).

Additional analysis reveals that Black males are particularly vulnerable to police stops. Overall, half of all Black males (49.2%) report being stopped by the police at least once in the past two years, compared to only 25.9% of White males and 29.8% of Asian males. Black males are also much more likely to report multiple police stops. A third of Black male respondents (34.2%) report two or more police stops in the past two years, compared to only 15.6% of Asian and 9.1% of White males. As a further illustration, there were twenty-one respondents in the sample who indicated that they had experienced ten or more police stops in the past two years. Fifteen of these twenty-one respondents (71.4%) were Black males, even though Black males

represent only 13.3% of the total sample. These racial differences are highly statistically significant (see Table 31).

Racial differences in exposure to police stops also exist among women (see Table 32). In general, Black women experience more police stops than either White or Asian women. For example, 33.8% of Black female respondents report at least one police stop in the past two years, compared to only 23.4% of White and 20.6% of Asian females. These racial differences are statistically significant. It is also important to note that Black females (20.2%) are more likely to report multiple police stops than either White (9.1%%) or Asian males (15.6%).

Table 30: Percentage of respondents who report being stopped and questioned by the police during the past two years (combined traffic and pedestrian stops), by respondent's race

Number of stops	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
Not stopped	59.6	75.3	75.1
Stopped once	14.2	14.9	13.1
Stopped two or more times	26.2	9.8	11.8
Sample size	450	550	450

Notes: $x^2 = 60.168$; df = 4; $p > 0.001$.

Table 31: Percentage of male respondents who report being stopped and questioned by the police in the past two years (combined traffic and pedestrian stops), by respondent's race

Number of stops	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
Not stopped	50.8	74.0	70.3
Stopped once	15.0	16.8	14.2
Stopped two or more times	34.2	9.1	15.6
Sample size	193	285	212

Notes: $x^2 = 51.723$; df = 4; $p > 0.001$.

Table 32: Percentage of female respondents who report being stopped and questioned by the police during the past two years (combined traffic and pedestrian stops), by respondent's race

Number of stops	Black (%)	White (%)	Asian (%)
Not stopped	66.1	76.6	79.4
Stopped once	13.6	12.8	12.2
Stopped two or more times	20.2	10.6	8.4
Sample size	257	265	238

Notes: $x^2 = 18.747$; df = 4; $p > 0.001$.

Stops by Police Jurisdiction

Tables 33a and 33b compare police stops across jurisdictions. The results suggest that racial differences in reported police stops are statistically significant across the GTA. However, racial differences are much more pronounced among city of Toronto respondents than respondents who live elsewhere in the GTA (that is, Peel, Durham, York, and Halton regions). Black Toronto residents appear to be particularly vulnerable to police multiple stops. For example, 32.8% of Black Toronto residents report that they have been stopped by the police on multiple occasions in the past two years, compared to only 18.7% of Black respondents who reside in other areas of the GTA.

Table 33a: Percentage of respondents who report being stopped and questioned by the police during the past two years, by respondent's race (Peel, Durham, York, and Halton region residents)

Number of stops	Black (%)	White (%)	Asian (%)
Not stopped	64.6	72.8	69.9
Stopped once	16.7	17.9	16.9
Stopped two or more times	18.7	9.3	13.2
Sample size	209	302	219

Notes: $x^2 = 9.610$; df = 4; $p > 0.048$.

Table 33b: Percentage of respondents who report being stopped and questioned by the police during the past two years, by respondent's race (City of Toronto residents only)

Number of stops	Black (%)	White (%)	Asian (%)
Not stopped	55.2	78.2	80.1
Stopped once	12.0	11.3	9.5
Stopped two or more times	32.8	10.5	10.4
Sample size	241	248	231

Notes: $x^2 = 58.357$; $df = 4$; $p > 0.001$.

Trends in Police Stops

As discussed above, the current survey is a replication of similar studies conducted in both 1994 and 2007. Table 34 and Figure 9 highlight the percentage of respondents who report being stopped by the police, during the past two years, for each year the survey was conducted. Two important findings emerge. First of all, across all of the surveys, Black respondents report a higher frequency of involuntary police contact than respondents from other racial groups. Second, the frequency of police stop activity increased significantly between 1994 and 2019. For example, in 1994, only 16.8% of Black respondents indicated that they had been stopped by the police on two or more occasions in the past two years. This figure rises to 21% in 2007 and to 26.2% in 2019. Similarly, in 1994, only 4.7% of Asian respondents indicated that they had been stopped by the police on two or more occasions, compared to 12.5% in 2007 and 11.8% in 2020. By contrast, the stop rate for Whites has remained relatively constant. In other words, according to these survey results, racial disparities in police stop activities have become even more pronounced over this twenty-five-year period.

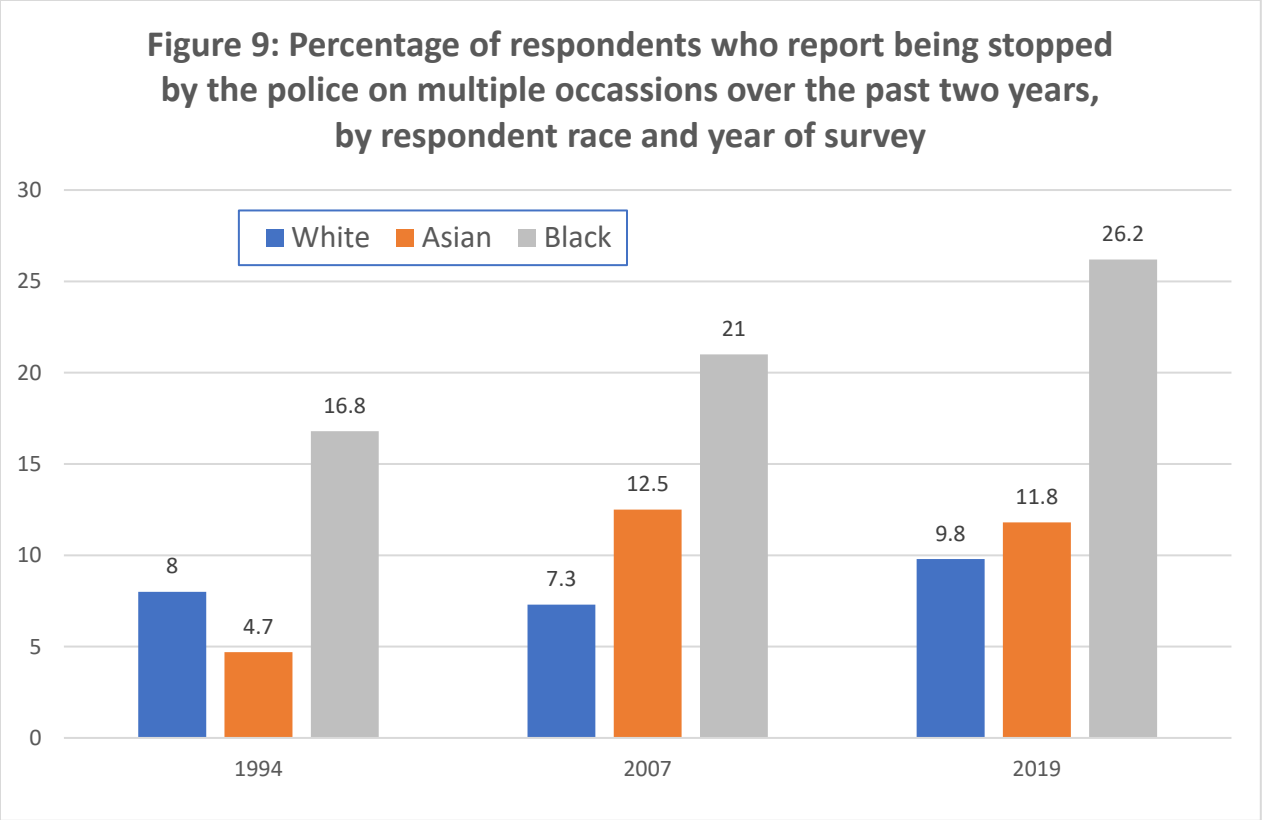
These findings are particularly important in light of Ontario's new Street Check Regulation.[13] This regulation, implemented on January 1, 2017, has all but eliminated the formal collection of street check data in Ontario. For example, from 2008 to 2013, the TPS documented between two hundred thousand and three hundred thousand street checks each year. By 2019,

[13] Ontario Regulation 58/16, *Collection of Identifying Information in Certain Circumstances: Prohibition and Duties*, 1 January 2017, https://www.ontario.ca/laws/regulation/160058.

however, the TPS's annual street check count had dropped to less than ten. Nonetheless, the results of this 2019 survey, conducted more than two years after the street check regulation had been imposed, suggests that Toronto area police continue to stop and question civilians at a high rate. Furthermore, Black people continue to be stopped and questioned by the police at a rate far higher than people from other racial groups. Thus, although the Ontario Street Check Regulation may have eliminated the formal documentation of street checks, it has not decreased racial disparities in police stop-and-question activities. Eliminating the street check paper trail has not eliminated all evidence of racial profiling.

Table 34: Percentage of respondents who report being stopped by the police in the past two years, by respondent's race and year of survey

Number of stops	**Black (%)**			**White (%)**			**Asian (%)**		
	1994	**2007**	**2019**	**1994**	**2007**	**2019**	**1994**	**2007**	**2019**
None	71.9	66.1	59.6	81.8	78.8	75.3	85.4	71.9	75.1
One	11.3	12.9	14.2	10.2	13.9	14.9	9.9	15.6	13.1
Two or more	16.8	21.0	26.2	8.0	7.3	9.8	4.7	12.5	11.8



Post-Stop Searches

Previous research suggests that, after a police stop has been initiated, Black people are more likely to be searched by the police than people from other racial groups. The results of the current study are no different. All respondents who indicated that they had experienced a traffic stop in the past two years were asked: "*The last time you were involved in a traffic stop, did the police search you or the vehicle?*" One out of every five Black respondents (19.9%) who experienced a traffic stop reports that they were searched, compared to 14% of Asian respondents and only 5.6% of White respondents. This racial difference is statistically significant (see Table 35).

All respondents who had been stopped by the police while walking in the past two years were asked: "*The last time the police stopped you while walking, did they search you? For example, did they pat you down or frisk you? Did they ask you to empty your pockets or look at what's in your bag?*" Once again, significant racial disparities emerge. Over a third of Black

respondents (37.5%) indicated that they had been searched by the police during their last pedestrian stop, compared to 33.3% of Asian respondents and only 16.7% of White respondents (see Table 36).

Information on traffic and pedestrian searches was combined to determine the proportion of all respondents who had been searched by the police in the past two years (see Table 37). The results suggest that one out of every ten Black respondents (10%) has been physically searched by the police in the past two years, compared to one out of every twenty-five Asian respondents (4%) and one out of every sixty-seven White respondents (1.5%). These racial differences are highly statistically significant. The results further suggest that Black males are most vulnerable to police searches (12.4%), followed by Black females (8.2%), Asian males (5.7%), and Asian females (2.5%). Very few White males (1.5%) or White females (1.4%) report that they have been searched by the police in the past two years (see Figure 10).

Table 35: Percentage of respondents who report being searched by the police during their last traffic stop, by respondent's race

Searched by police	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
Not searched	80.1	94.4	86.0
Searched	19.9	5.6	14.0
Sample size	161	125	107

Notes: $x^2 = 12.109$; df = 2; $p > 0.002$.

Table 36: Percentage of respondents who report being searched by the police during their last pedestrian stop, by respondent's race

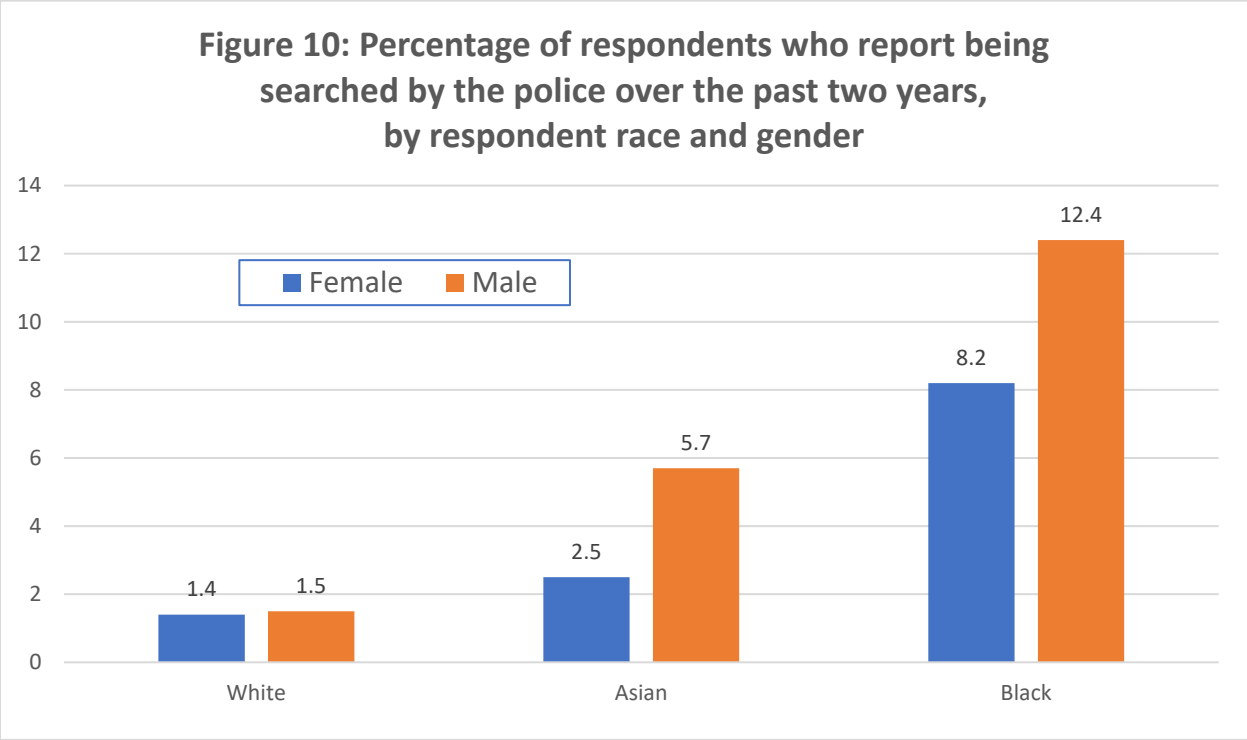
Searched by police	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
Not searched	62.5	83.3	66.7
Searched	37.5	16.7	33.3
Sample size	80	24	23

Notes: $x^2 = 3.638$; df = 2; $p > 0.162$.

Table 37: Percentage of respondents who report being searched by the police during the past two years, by respondent's race

Searched by police	Black (%)	White (%)	Asian (%)
Not searched	90.0	98.5	96.0
Searched	10.0	1.5	4.0
Sample size	450	550	450

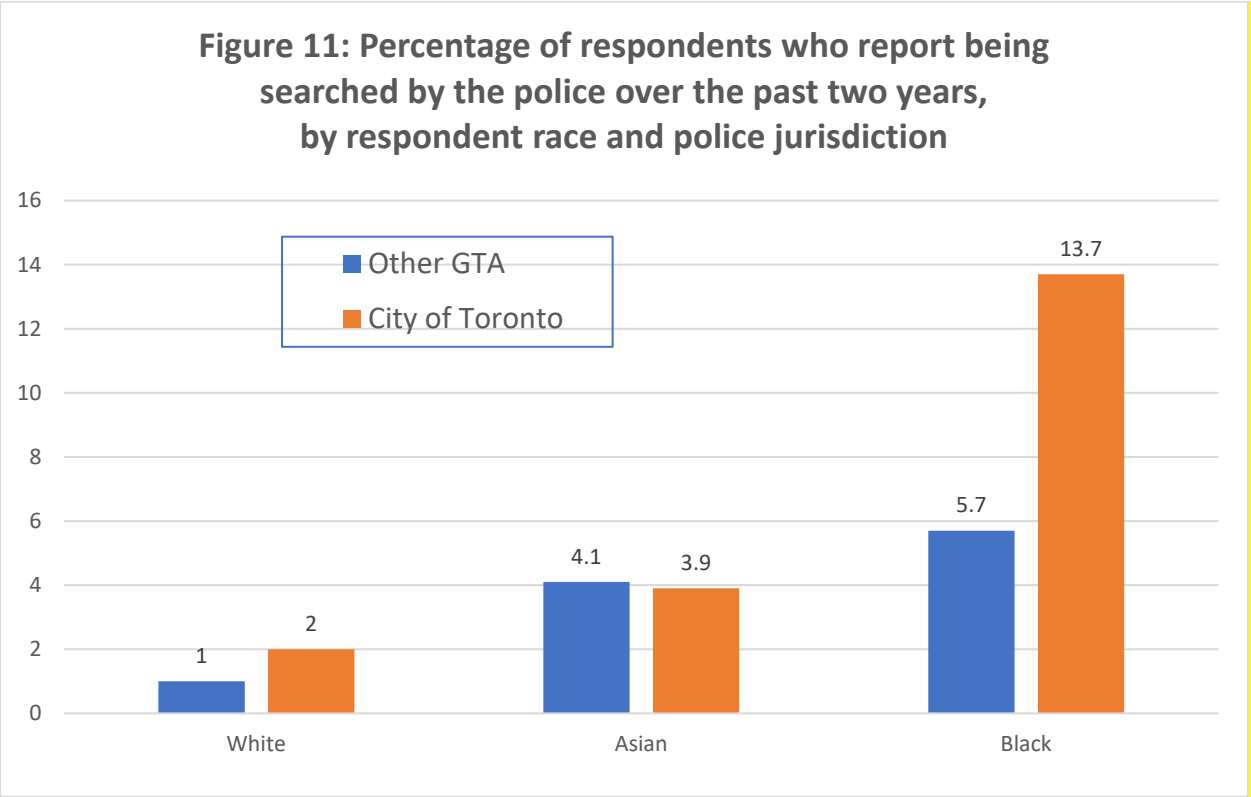
Notes: $x^2 = 39.938$; df = 2; $p > 0.001$.



Police Searches by Jurisdiction

Additional analysis reveals that racial differences in police searches are statistically significant across police jurisdictions. However, the data also reveal that respondents who reside in the city of Toronto are more likely to report being searched by the police in the past two years than respondents who live elsewhere in the GTA (that is, Peel, Durham, York, or Halton regions). Black residents of Toronto are particularly vulnerable to police searches. For example, 13.7% of

Black Toronto residents report that they have been searched by the police in the past two years, compared to 5.7% of Black respondents who reside in other areas of the GTA (see Figure 11).



Reason for Stop

All respondents who had experienced a traffic stop in the past two years were asked: "*The last time you were stopped while driving in a motor vehicle, did the police provide you with a reason for the stop? Did they provide an explanation?*" Black respondents (23%) and Asian respondents (20.5%) are twice as likely as White respondents (10.4%) to claim that the police did not provide them with a reason for their last traffic stop. This difference is statistically significant (see Table 38).

The data further indicate that the police are less likely to provide a reason for a pedestrian stop than a traffic stop (see Table 39). All respondents who had experienced a pedestrian stop in the past two years were asked: "*The last time you were stopped while walking, did the police provide you with a reason for the stop? Did they provide an explanation?*" Black respondents

(47.5%) and Asian respondents (41.7%) are more likely than White respondents (29.2%) to claim that the police did not provide them with a reason for their last pedestrian stop. Importantly, critics have argued that police stops, without an articulated reason, might be reflective of race-based fishing expeditions or racial profiling. Furthermore, stops without an articulated reason are more likely to be interpreted by civilians as arbitrary, disrespectful, and unfair.

Table 38: Percentage of respondents who report that the police provided a reason for their last traffic stop, by respondent's race

Reason for stop	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
Police did not give a reason	23.0	10.4	20.6
Police gave a reason	77.0	89.6	79.4
Sample size	161	125	107

Notes: $x^2 = 7.936$; df = 2; $p > 0.019$.

Table 39: Percentage of respondents who report that the police provided a reason for their last pedestrian stop, by respondent's race

Reason for stop	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
Police did not give a reason	47.5	29.2	41.7
Police gave a reason	52.5	70.8	58.3
Sample size	80	24	24

Notes: $x^2 = 2.553$; df = 2; $p > 0.279$.

Police Treatment during Stops

All respondents who had experienced a traffic stop over the past two years were asked: "*During your last traffic stop, do you think the police treated you respectfully or disrespectfully?*" Overall, 44.7% of Black respondents believe that the police treated then disrespectfully during their last traffic stop, compared to 40.2% of Asians and only 29.2% of White respondents. This racial difference is statistically significant (see Table 40).

All respondents who had experienced a pedestrian stop over the past two years were asked: "*The last time you were stopped by the police while walking, do you think the police treated you respectfully or disrespectfully?*" Black and Chinese respondents are more likely to perceive disrespectful police conduct than White respondents. For example, during their last pedestrian stop, 66.7% of Asian respondents believe that they were treated with disrespect, followed by 60% of Black respondents. By contrast, only 37.5% of White respondents feel that they were treated in a disrespectful manner (see Table 41).

Table 40: Percentage of respondents who report that the police treated them respectfully or very respectfully during their last traffic stop, by respondent's race

Police treatment	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
Not treated respectfully	44.7	25.0	40.2
Treated respectfully	55.3	75.0	59.8
Sample size	161	124	107

Notes: $x^2 = 12.200$; df = 2; $p > 0.002$.

Table 41: Percentage of respondents who report that the police treated them respectfully or very respectfully during their last pedestrian stop, by respondent's race

Police treatment	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
Not treated respectfully	60.0	37.5	66.7
Treated respectfully	40.0	62.5	33.3
Sample size	80	24	24

Notes: $x^2 = 4.933$; df = 2; $p > 0.085$.

The Perceived Fairness of Stops

The survey results further suggest that Black and Asian respondents are more likely to believe that they were treated unfairly during their last police stop. For example, during their last traffic

stop, 41% of Black respondents felt that they had been treated unfairly by the police, compared to 43% of Asian respondents and only 28% of White respondents. This racial difference is statistically significant (see Table 42). Similarly, 56.3% of Black respondents and 54.2% of Asian respondents feel that they were treated unfairly by the police during their last pedestrian stop. By contrast, only 29.2% of White respondents believe that they were treated unfairly (see Table 43).

Table 42: Percentage of respondents who feel that the police treated them fairly or very fairly during their last traffic stop, by respondent's race

Police treatment	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
Not treated fairly	41.0	28.0	43.0
Treated fairly	59.0	72.0	57.0
Sample size	161	124	107

Notes: $x^2 = 7.034$; df = 2; $p > 0.030$.

Table 43: Percentage of respondents who feel that the police treated them fairly or very fairly during their last pedestrian stop, by respondent's race

Police treatment	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
Not treated fairly	56.3	29.2	54.2
Treated fairly	43.8	70.8	45.8
Sample size	80	24	24

Notes: $x^2 = 5.553$; df = 2; $p > 0.062$.

Vicarious Exposure to Racial Profiling

Previous research suggests that direct experiences with the police are often shared among family and friends within social networks. These shared, vicarious experiences can ultimately impact how individuals view the police, the courts, and other social institutions. All of the respondents to this survey were asked: "*How many of your close friends and family members have been the victim of racial profiling by the police.*" The results suggest that vicarious exposure to racial

profiling is much higher among Black respondents than respondents from other racial groups (see Table 44). Overall, 51.1% of Black respondents state that at least a few of their friends and family members have been the victim of police racial profiling, compared to only 15.8% of Asian and 12.4% of White respondents. Furthermore, 24% of Black respondents state that more than a few of their friends and family members have been the victims of racial profiling, compared to only 3.3% of Asian and 2.7% of White respondents. These racial differences are statistically significant. In the next part of this report, we explore how vicarious exposure to racial profiling impacts attitudes towards the police and criminal courts.

Table 44: Percentage of respondents who report that close friends or family members have been the victim of police racial profiling, by respondent's race

Number of friends/family who have been a victim of police racial profiling	**Black (%)**	**White (%)**	**Asian (%)**
None	48.9	87.6	84.2
A few	27.1	9.6	12.4
More than a few but less than half	12.0	2.2	2.0
Half or more	12.0	0.5	1.3
Sample size	450	550	450

Notes: $x^2 = 257.630$; df = 6; $p > 0.001$.

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSES

The results above reveal a very strong, bivariate relationship between racial background and both perceptions of, and experiences with, the police and criminal courts. Compared to their White counterparts, Black respondents from the Toronto region have less trust in the local police and are more likely to perceive that both the police and criminal courts are racially biased. Consistent with theses perceptions of racial bias, Black respondents also report much higher levels of police contact (stops and searches) and are much more likely to report friends and family members who have been victims of racial profiling. In the final sections of this report, we present a series of multivariate analyses that examine whether race remains a significant predictor of both experiences and perceptions after other theoretically relevant factors have been taken into statistical account. We begin with an analysis of police stop-and-search activities before concluding with an analysis of the factors that predict attitudes towards the police and criminal courts.

Predicting Police Stops

Table 45 presents a series of logistic regression models predicting the likelihood of experiencing police stops. These models statistically control for a number of variables, including race, that the research literature suggest could be related to the probability of police contact. The coding of these variables is described in Appendix 1. To begin with, we control for both Black and Asian racial background. White respondents are the default comparison group left out of the regression models. The regressions also control for the respondent's sex and age. The literature suggests that males and younger people attract more police attention than females and older people. The models also control for three social class measures: educational achievement, household income and community crime, and disorder. The literature suggests that those individuals with low levels of education and low incomes are more likely to reside in disadvantaged, high-crime communities with a high police presence. Police surveillance practices in high-crime communities should increase the chances of being stopped and questioned by the police. The previous research literature tells us little about the relationship between immigration status and police contact. However, since a high proportion of individuals in our sample are immigrants

(see Table 2), we included a variable capturing whether a respondent was foreign born or born in Canada.

We have also included variables measuring whether a person has been a victim of a violent crime or whether their friends or family members have been crime victims. Research suggests that there is a strong relationship between criminal victimization and criminal offending. Thus, victimization measures may provide a proxy measure of involvement in a deviant lifestyle, which could, in turn, predict the likelihood of police contact. To further capture respondent illegal activity, we also include variables that measure both illegal drug use and criminal record. We hypothesize that those who use illegal drugs and those that have previously been arrested for criminal activity will attract more police attention. Finally, we include four variables that measure the respondents' frequency of involvement in four different types of public activity: time spent driving in a motor vehicle, time spent walking or hanging out in public spaces, time spent shopping or hanging out in malls, and time spent engaging in late night party activities (that is, the frequency of going out at night to attend bars, nightclubs, private parties, and so on). From the perspective of routine activities theory, the greater a respondent's involvement in public versus private activities, the greater their chances of being stopped, questioned, and searched by the police.

The results of the logistic regression analyses reveal that Black racial background remains a strong predictor of police stops, even after other theoretically relevant variables have been taken into statistical account (see Table 45).[14] In other words, racial differences in age, social class, residence in high-crime communities, illegal drug use, criminal record, and routine activities cannot explain why Black people are more likely to be stopped by the police than people from other racial backgrounds. When it comes to involuntary police contact, Black racial identity still matters. By contrast, the data suggest that Asian respondents are no more likely to be stopped by the police than their White counterparts. The data also reveal that Black people are particularly vulnerable to multiple police stops. After controlling for other variables, the logistic regression results suggest that Black respondents are twice as likely to experience one or more

[14] In all multivariate tables, the figure "B" refers to the logistic regression coefficient. The tables are designed to identify the direction of the coefficient (that is, whether there is a positive or negative relationship) and whether the independent variable is a statistically significant predictor of the dependent variable. The "Odds Ratio" indicates whether, after controlling for other factors, a specific variable increases or decreases, the odds of experiencing a specific outcome. An odds ratio greater than one indicates that the variable increases the odds of experiencing an outcome; an odds ratio of less than one indicates that a variable reduces the odds.

police stops, three times more likely to experience two or more police stops, seven times more likely to experience three or more police stops, and nine times more likely to experience four or more police stops.

In addition to Black racial identity, the results suggest that, in general, men are more likely to be stopped by the police than women. There is also a negative relationship between age and police contact. In other words, younger people are more likely to be stopped and questioned by the police, in the past two years, than older people. This is consistent with initial expectations. The results also reveal a strong relationship between community crime and disorder and the likelihood of experiencing police stops. In other words, consistent with our original hypotheses, people who reside in high-crime communities are more likely to be stopped and questioned by the police than people who reside in low-crime communities. However, it is important to stress that residence in high-crime communities does not explain why Black people experience higher rates of police contact than White people. Interestingly, crime victims report more police contact than non-victims, as do people who use illegal drugs and those with a criminal record. In terms of routine activities, respondents who drive frequently and those who often engage in late night party activities are more likely to report that they have been stopped and questioned by the police in the past two years. By contrast, time spent shopping or in other public venues does not predict police contact. These findings suggest that the more time spent in a motor vehicle the more likely you are to experience at least one traffic stop. The results also suggest that those who are frequently out in public, late at night, are especially vulnerable to police attention.

Predicting Police Searches

Table 46 presents the results of a logistic regression analysis predicting the likelihood of being searched by the police in the past two years. The results reveal that Black racial background is a strong, statistically significant predictor of police searches, even after controlling for other relevant factors. Indeed, after controlling for other variables, Black people are 6.1 times more likely to experience a police search than their White counterparts. Interestingly, even though Asian respondents are no more likely to report being stopped by the police than White respondents, once stopped they are more likely to report being searched. After controlling for

other variables, Asian respondents are 3.9 times more likely to experience a police search than their White counterparts. This difference is statistically significant.

The findings also reveal that younger people, crime victims, those with a criminal record, and those who engage in late night party activities are more likely to be searched than other respondents. Furthermore, as with police stops, respondents who live in high-crime communities are more likely to report a police search than those who reside in low-crime communities. Once again, it is important to stress that residence in high-crime communities does not explain why Black people are so vulnerable to police searches.

Predicting Vicarious Exposure to Racial Profiling

Table 47 presents the results of a logistic regression analysis predicting the likelihood of having a close friend or family member who has been the victim of police racial profiling. The results suggest that Black racial background is a strong predictor of vicarious exposure to racial profiling. Indeed, after controlling for other relevant activities, Black respondents are 10.8 times more likely to know a victim of police racial profiling than their White counterparts. Asian racial background is also a statistically significant predictor of vicarious racial profiling. After controlling for other variables, Asian respondents are 2.2 times more likely to know a racial profiling victim than White respondents.

Additional results suggest that both driving frequency and friend/family victimization are positively related to our measure of vicarious racial profiling. Similarly, those who reside in high-crime communities are more likely to report a friend or family member who has been racially profiled by the police than people who reside in low-crime communities. Importantly, none of these variables explain why Black and Asian respondents are more likely to know racial profiling victims than White respondents.

Table 45: Logistic regression models predicting the number of police stops experienced by respondents over the previous two years

Independent variables	**One or more police stops**		**Two or more police stops**		**Three or more police stops**		**Four or more police stops**	
	B	**Odds**	**B**	**Odds**	**B**	**Odds**	**B**	**Odds**
Black	0.654[a]	1.923	1.057[a]	2.879	1.983[a]	7.265	2.202[a]	9.039
Asian	0.072	1.074	0.247	1.280	0.690	1.994	0.847	2.332
Age	–0.017[a]	0.983	–0.023[a]	0.977	–0.020[c]	0.981	–0.016	0.984
Sex (1 = male)	0.427[b]	1.533	0.549[b]	1.732	0.662[b]	1.939	0.520	1.682
Education	–0.052	0.950	0.009	1.009	0.052	1.053	0.108	1.114
Income	0.047[c]	1.048	0.001	1.001	–0.004	0.996	–0.006	0.994
Foreign born	–0.098	0.906	-0.201	0.818	–0.281	0.755	–0.223	0.800
Community disorder	0.088[a]	1.091	0.099[a]	1.104	0.119[a]	1.126	0.133[a]	1.142
Victim of violence	0.436[c]	1.547	0.306	1.358	0.615[c]	1.849	0.814[b]	2.256
Friends/Family victims	0.172	1.187	0.302	1.352	0.472	1.603	0.422	1.525
Illegal drug use	0.259	1.296	0.874[b]	2.397	0.350	1.419	0.264	1.302
Criminal record	0.547[c]	1.728	0.170	1.185	–0.255	0.775	–0.127	0.881
Driving frequency	0.109[c]	1.115	0.019	1.019	–0.087	0.917	–0.078	0.925
Time in public spaces	–0.060	0.942	–0.003	0.997	0.033	1.034	0.046	1.047
Time shopping	0.037	1.038	0.055	1.057	0.030	1.031	0.033	1.033
Late night party activities	0.335[a]	1.397	0.302[a]	1.353	0.461[a]	1.586	0.531[a]	1.701
Constant	–2.722[a]	0.066	–3.372	0.034	–5.166	0.006	–6.667[a]	0.001
Nagelkerke R-Square		0.200		0.243		0.341		0.360

Notes: [a] $p > 0.001$; [b] $p > 0.01$; [c] $p > 0.05$.

Table 46: Logistic regression model predicting whether respondents have been searched by the police over the past two years

Independent variables	**Police searches**	
	B	**Odds**
Black	1.813[a]	6.127
Asian	1.356[c]	3.881
Age	–0.025[c]	0.976
Sex (1 = male)	0.576	1.779
Education	0.028	1.028
Income	–0.051	0.950
Foreign born	–0.111	0.895
Community disorder	0.130[a]	1.139
Victim of violence	0.832[c]	2.297
Friends/Family victims	0.345	1.412
Illegal drug use	0.901	2.463
Criminal record	1.087[c]	2.965
Driving frequency	–0.150	0.861
Time in public spaces	0.001	1.001
Time shopping	0.206	1.229
Late night party activities	0.498[a]	1.646
Constant	–6.164[a]	0.002
Nagelkerke R-Square		0.398

Notes: [a] $p > 0.001$; [b] $p > 0.01$; [c] $p > 0.05$.

Table 47: Logistic regression model predicting whether respondents have close friends or relatives who have been racially profiled by the police

Independent variables	**Police searches**	
	B	**Odds**
Black	2.377[a]	10.771
Asian	0.782[a]	2.186
Age	0.001	1.001
Sex (1 = male)	–0.109	0.897
Education	–0.026	0.974
Income	0.042	1.042
Foreign born	–0.245	0.763
Community disorder	0.068[a]	1.070
Victim of violence	0.061	1.063
Friends/Family victims	1.348[a]	3.851
Illegal drug use	0.636	1.889
Criminal record	0.130	1.139
Driving frequency	0.104[c]	1.109
Time in public spaces	–0.091	0.913
Time shopping	–0.056	0.946
Late night party activities	0.125	1.134
Constant	–3.669	0.025
Nagelkerke R-Square		0.353

Notes: [a] $p > 0.001$; [b] $p > 0.01$; [c] $p > 0.05$.

Predicting Perceptions of Racial Bias

Table 48 presents an ordinary least squares (OLS) regression predicting perceptions of police bias. The results suggest that both Black and Asian racial background remain significant predictors of perceived police bias after other theoretically relevant variables have been taken into statistical account. In other words, racial differences in age, gender, education, social class, residence in high-crime communities, victimization, illegal drug use, criminal record, fear of

crime, and police contact cannot explain why Black and Asian respondents perceive a higher rate of police bias than their White counterparts.

The results further suggest that men and younger respondents perceive more police bias than women or older people. People who reside in high-crime communities also perceive more bias than people who reside in low-crime communities, as do respondents who use illegal drugs and those who believe that crime is increasing in the Toronto region. Finally, the data reveal that those individuals who know someone who has been a victim of racial profiling are more likely to perceive police bias than those who do not know a racial profiling victim.

Predicting the Evaluation of Police Performance

Table 49 presents an OLS regression model predicting responses to the Police Evaluation Scale. Model A reveals that, at the bivariate level, Black and Asian respondents evaluate the performance of the police more negatively than their White counterparts. However, after controlling for other theoretically relevant variables, the results reveal that, while Asian respondents continue to evaluate the police more negatively, there is no longer a significant difference between the perceptions of White and Black respondents (see Model B). In other words, the other variables in the regression equation explain why Black respondents evaluate the police more negatively at the bivariate level.

Additional findings reveal that older respondents, and those with higher household incomes, tend to evaluate the police more positively than younger, low-income respondents. By contrast, those who live in high-crime communities, those who have been victims of violence, those who fear crime, and those who believe that crime is increasing tend to have more negative evaluations of police performance. Importantly, respondents who have experienced frequent police stops and those who know a victim of racial profiling also evaluate the police more negatively. In other words, it appears that Black respondents have lower overall evaluations of the police because they are more likely to have low incomes, more likely to reside in high-crime communities, are more likely to have been stopped and questioned by the police, and are more likely to experience vicarious racial profiling incidents.

Table 48: OLS regression models predicting perceptions of police bias

Independent variables	**Model A**		**Model B**	
	B	**Beta**	**B**	**Beta**
Black	3.111[a]	0.307	1.848[a]	0.182
Asian	1.134[a]	0.112	1.112[a]	0.110
Age			–0.014[c]	–0.054
Sex (1 = male)			0.469[c]	0.050
Education			0.085	0.027
Income			0.019	0.012
Foreign born			–0.379	–0.040
Community disorder			0.069[c]	0.065
Victim of violence			0.281	0.023
Friends/Family victims			0.081	0.008
Illegal drug use			1.353[c]	0.056
Criminal record			0.679	0.032
Fear of crime			–0.097	–.015
Believe crime is increasing			0.441[c]	0.059
Friends/family victim of profiling			1.623[a]	0.268
Number of police stops			0.053	0.024
Constant			5.006[a]	—
	7.291[a]	—		
R-Square		0.074		0.179

Notes: [a] p > 0.001; [b] p > 0.01; [c] p > 0.05.

Table 49: OLS regression models predicting scores on the Police Evaluation Scale

Independent variables	Model A		Model B	
	B	Beta	B	Beta
Black	–0.572[a]	–0.111	0.070	0.014
Asian	–1.254[a]	–0.244	–1.035[a]	–0.202
Age			0.015[a]	0.109
Sex (1 = male)			–0.049	–0.010
Education			0.010	0.006
Income			0.042[c]	0.052
Foreign born			–0.096	–0.020
Community disorder			–0.065[a]	–0.120
Victim of violence			–0.306[c]	–0.051
Friends/Family victims			–0.159	–0.031
Illegal drug use			0.310	0.025
Criminal record			–0.504	–0.048
Fear of crime			–0.703[a]	–0.219
Believe crime is increasing			–0.135	–0.036
Friends/family victim of profiling			–0.308[a]	–0.101
Number of police stops			–0.068[c]	–0.061
Constant	6.567[a]	—	7.842[a]	—
R-Square		0.046		0.207

Notes: [a] $p > 0.001$; [b] $p > 0.01$; [c] $p > 0.05$.

Predicting the Perception of Court Bias

Table 50 presents an OLS regression predicting perceptions of court bias. The results suggest that both Black and Asian racial background remain significant predictors of perceived court bias after other theoretically relevant variables have been taken into statistical account. In other words, racial differences in age, gender, education, social class, residence in high-crime communities, victimization, illegal drug use, criminal record, fear of crime, and police contact cannot explain why Black and Asian respondents perceive a higher rate of court bias than their White counterparts.

The results further suggest that younger respondents perceive more court bias than older people. People who reside in high-crime communities also perceive more court bias than people who reside in low-crime communities, as do respondents who use illegal drugs and those who have friends or relatives who have been the victim of a crime. Finally, the data reveal that those who know someone who has been a victim of racial profiling are much more likely to perceive court bias than those who do not know a racial-profiling victim.

Predicting the Evaluation of Police Performance

Table 51 presents an OLS regression model predicting responses to the Court Evaluation Scale. Model A reveals that, at the bivariate level, Black respondents evaluate the performance of the courts more positively than their White and Asian counterparts. Model B reveals that Black racial background continues to have a positive impact on court evaluations, even after other variables have been taken into statistical account. In other words, the other variables in the regression equation do not explain why Black respondents evaluate the courts more positively than respondents from other racial backgrounds.

Additional findings reveal that there is a negative relationship between age and court evaluations. In general, younger respondents tend to evaluate the courts more positively than older respondents. The findings also reveal that those with higher levels of education tend to evaluate the courts more positively than those with lower levels of educational attainment. By contrast, those who have family members or friends who have been the victim of a violent crime tend to evaluate the courts more negatively, as do those with a high fear of crime and those who feel that crime in the GTA is increasing. Finally, the results also reveal that respondents who have family members or friends who have been the victim of police racial profiling tend to evaluate the courts more negatively. These results suggest that vicarious exposure to the justice system—through the experiences of family and friends—can have a significant impact on public perceptions of both the police and the criminal courts.

Table 50: OLS regression models predicting perceptions of court bias

Independent variables	Model A		Model B	
	B	Beta	B	Beta
Black	2.419[a]	0.267	1.499[a]	0.165
Asian	0.759[b]	0.084	0.789[b]	0.087
Age			–0.026[a]	–0.108
Sex (1 = male)			0.273	0.033
Education			–0.090	–0.032
Income			–0.015	–0.010
Foreign born			–0.183	–0.021
Community disorder			0.066[c]	0.069
Victim of violence			0.470	0.044
Friends/Family victims			0.670[b]	0.073
Illegal drug use			1.261[c]	0.058
Criminal record			0.324	0.017
Fear of crime			–0.179	–0.032
Believe crime is increasing			0.323	0.048
Friends/family victim of profiling			0.931[a]	0.172
Number of police stops			0.013	0.006
Constant	5.356[a]	—	5.323[a]	—
R-Square		0.058		0.155

Notes: [a] $p > 0.001$; [b] $p > 0.01$; [c] $p > 0.05$.

Table 51: OLS regression models predicting scores on the Court Evaluation Scale

Independent variables	**Model A**		**Model B**	
	B	**Beta**	**B**	**Beta**
Black	0.574[a]	0.111	0.771[a]	0.149
Asian	0.094	0.018	–0.079	–0.015
Age			–0.010[b]	–0.075
Sex (1 = male)			0.111	0.023
Education			0.100[c]	0.062
Income			0.007	0.009
Foreign born			–0.022	–0.004
Community disorder			–0.030	–0.055
Victim of violence			0.022	0.004
Friends/Family victims			–0.483[a]	–0.092
Illegal drug use			0.250	0.020
Criminal record			0.212	0.020
Fear of crime			–0.311[a]	–0.096
Believe crime is increasing			–0.499[a]	–0.130
Friends/family victim of profiling			–0.494[a]	–0.160
Number of police stops			0.056	0.050
Constant	3.775[a]	—	7.842[a]	—
R-Square		0.011		0.103

Notes: [a] $p > 0.001$; [b] $p > 0.01$; [c] $p > 0.05$.

DISCUSSION

We set out to replicate our earlier research examining racial differences in perceptions of, and experiences with, the Ontario criminal justice system. As with any research, our study is subject to limitations. First, although we replicated our earlier work and used identical questions across surveys, the most recent study utilized a different method for recruiting participants and administering the survey. Whereas the 1994 and 2007 studies utilized opportunity-sampling techniques and were administered over the phone, the 2019 study used a panel design and was administered over the Internet; this shift mirrors a general trend in survey research (Pasek and Krosnick 2020). Second, as with any survey, we have no way to guarantee the accuracy or reliability of the responses gathered from our participants. Although survey research is susceptible to recall and accuracy errors, it is generally accepted as a reliable means of gathering data about issues related to crime and criminal justice (Kirk 2006).

Limitations aside, our research produced a number of interesting and meaningful findings. We first presented our respondents' evaluations of police and court performance as well as their perceptions of bias in policing and the courts. Our results suggest that Black and Asian respondents evaluate the police more negatively than White respondents. Similarly, Black and Asian respondents perceive much higher levels of police bias than our White respondents. Here, we found the perception of anti-Black racism to be particularly widespread; the majority of White, Asian, and Black respondents perceive that the police treat Black citizens worse or much worse than White citizens. Although our findings indicate that Black and Asian respondents evaluated the performance of the Ontario criminal courts more highly than did White respondents, Black and Asian respondents were significantly more likely than White respondents to perceive bias in the courts. We also found interesting and important trends in citizen perceptions over time; our analysis suggests that public perceptions of racial bias, in both policing and the courts, have actually increased over the past twenty-five years. Furthermore, this increase in perceptions of racial bias in the Ontario criminal justice system was recorded for all three racial groups under study.

It is important to note that this increase in perceptions of racial bias has occurred during a period when the police and courts have implemented a number of anti-racism initiatives and programs aimed at improving community relations. Indeed, every major police service across the

GTA, for example, has created a diversity/equity/inclusion unit, has actively engaged in diversity hiring practices, and has supported community policing initiatives. Unfortunately, our findings do not shed light on exactly why these negative perceptions have increased over the last twenty-five years. It could be that the very existence of these programs has raised public awareness about racial injustice within our justice system; increased perceptions of bias could be a result of the very initiatives aimed at ameliorating related problems. Similarly, increased political action to combat racism could also have raised awareness about racial injustice generally, and anti-Black racism, in particular (there are currently anti-racism initiatives at the municipal level in Toronto, the provincial level in Ontario, and at the federal level in Canada). Undoubtedly, the work of groups and organizations, including Black Lives Matter, the OHRC, the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, and many others have propelled issues of racial injustice into the Canadian public consciousness.

It may also be that increased public attention to criminal injustice has brought public perceptions more in line with reality. Our study also found significant racial differences with respect to experiences with the police. Consistent with allegations of racial profiling, Black respondents in our survey are much more likely to report being stopped, questioned, and searched by the police than either White or Asian respondents. These racial differences exist for both traffic and pedestrian stops. While racial differences in police stop-and-search practices exist across all jurisdictions included in the survey, they are more pronounced within the city of Toronto than in other regions of the GTA. Furthermore, in comparison to their White and Asian counterparts, we found that our Black respondents are more likely to report that the police did not properly explain the reason or justification for their last stop, more likely to report that they were treated in a disrespectful manner during their last police stop, more likely to believe that they were treated unfairly by the police during their last stop, and much more likely to report that family members and friends have been the victim of racial profiling. Our multivariate statistical analyses also reveal that the racial differences in police stop, question, and search experiences cannot be explained by other theoretically relevant factors including age, gender, social class, immigration status, residence in a high-crime community, victimization, illegal drug use, criminal history, or routine activities.

These findings are particularly important in light of the introduction of Ontario's new Street Check Regulation.[15] This regulation, implemented on January 1, 2017, has all but eliminated the formal collection of street check data in Ontario. For example, from 2008 to 2013, the TPS documented between two hundred thousand and three hundred thousand street checks each year. By 2019, however, the TPS's annual street check count had dropped to less than ten. Nonetheless, the results of this 2019 survey, conducted more than two years after the street check regulation had been imposed, suggests that Toronto area police continue to stop and question civilians at a high rate. Furthermore, Black people continue to be stopped and questioned by the police at a rate far higher than people from other racial groups. Thus, although Ontario's Street Check Regulation may have eliminated the formal documentation of street checks, it has not decreased racial disparities in police stop-and-question activities. Eliminating the street check paper trail has not eliminated all evidence of racial profiling.

Overall, the results of our study suggest that racial bias in the Ontario criminal justice system is just as important an issue today as it was in the early 1990s. Over the last twenty-five years, it appears that little has been done to reduce racial disparities in police stop, question, and search tactics and increase trust between the Black community, the police, and the broader criminal justice system. To put it bluntly, race still matters. To conclude, we call for continued surveying of public perceptions of the criminal justice system, continued monitoring of police stop-and-search practices, and the thorough evaluation of anti-racism and diversity initiatives employed within the criminal justice system.

[15] Ontario Regulation 58/16.

APPENDIX 1: DESCRIPTION AND CODING OF VARIABLES USED IN THE MULTIVARIATE STATISTICAL ANALYSES

This appendix provides a brief description of the questions and coding process used to produce the dependent and independent measures included in all multivariate analyses presented in this report.

Dependent Measures

Perceptions of Police Bias

Respondents were asked a series of questions about perceived police bias. Respondents were asked about the relative police treatment of six different groups: (1) poor people versus wealthy people; (2) young people versus older people; (3) men versus women; (4) people who speak English versus people who do not speak English; (5) Black people versus White people; and (6) Chinese people versus White people. Response options included: (1) much worse; (2) worse; (3) the same; (4) better; and (5) much better. In order to summarize the results of the police bias items, responses to the six questions described above were combined into a single Perceived Police Bias Scale. For each question, the following coding was used: 0 = treated the same; 1 = don't know; 2 = treated worse/better; 3 = treated much worse/much better. The final scale ranges from zero to eighteen. The higher the score on this scale the greater the respondent's perception of police discrimination. An analysis reveals that responses to these six items constitute a reliable scale (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.777).

Perceptions of Court Bias

Respondents were asked a series of questions about perceived bias in the Ontario criminal courts. Respondents were asked who would get a longer sentence if charged with the same crime: (1) poor people versus wealthy people; (2) young people versus older people; (3) men versus women; (4) people who speak English versus people who do not speak English; (5) Black people versus White people; and (6) Chinese people versus White people. Response options were coded

in the following manner: 0 = would receive the same sentence; 1 = don't know; 2 = would receive a longer or shorter sentence. In order to summarize the results of the court bias items, responses to the six questions described above were combined into a single Perceived Court Bias Scale. This scale ranges from zero to twelve. The higher the score on this scale the greater the respondent's perception of court discrimination. An analysis reveals that responses to these six items constitute a reliable scale (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.817).

Evaluation of Police Performance

All respondents were asked whether their local police were doing a good job, an average job, or a poor job: (1) enforcing the law; (2) being approachable and easy to talk to; and (3) keeping their neighbourhood safe. Response options were coded: 0 = poor; 1 = don't know; 2 = average; and 3 = good. In order to summarize the results of the police performance items, responses to the three questions described above were combined into a single Police Evaluation Scale. This scale ranges from zero to nine. The higher the score on this scale the higher the respondent's opinion of the police in their community. A reliability analysis reveals that these three items constitute a reliable scale (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.785).

Evaluation of Court Performance

All respondents were asked whether Ontario's criminal courts were doing a good job, an average job, or a poor job: (1) providing justice quickly; (2) helping the victims of crime; and (3) determining the guilt or innocence of people charged with a crime. Response options were coded: 0 = poor; 1 = don't know; 2 = average; and 3 = good. In order to summarize the results of the court performance items, responses to the three questions described above were combined into a single Court Evaluation Scale (see Figure 2). This scale ranges from zero to nine. The higher the score on this scale the higher the respondent's opinion of Ontario's criminal courts. An analysis reveals that these three items constitute a reliable scale (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.728).

Police Stops

All respondents were asked whether, during the past two years, they had been: (1) stopped by the police while driving in a car or other motor vehicle (traffic stop) or (2) stopped by the police while walking on the street or another public space (pedestrian stop). Responses to these two questions were combined into a single police stop variable that ranged from zero (never stopped) to ten (stopped on ten or more occasions). For the purposes of the logistic regression analyses, this interval variable was recoded into four different dichotomous variables: (1) 0 = not stopped; 1 = stopped once or more; (2) 0 = not stopped or stopped only once; 1 = stopped on two or more occasions; (3) 0 = not stopped or stopped one or two times; 1 = stopped on three or more occasions; and (4) 0 = not stopped or stopped three or fewer times; 1 = stopped on four or more occasions.

Police Searches

All respondents who had been stopped by the police in the past two years were asked if the police had searched them during their last incident. Responses were recoded into a single dichotomous variable: 0 = not searched by the police in the past two years; 1 = searched by the police in the past two years.

Vicarious Racial Profiling

All respondents were asked if any of their close friends had ever been the victim of racial profiling by the police. Responses to this question were recoded into a dichotomous variable for the logistic regression analysis: 0 = friends or family had not been victims of racial profiling; 1 = at least one friend or family member had been the victim of racial profiling by the police

Independent Variables

Racial Background

All respondents in the current sample identified as Black, Chinese, or White. Two dummy variables depicting race were included in the regression analyses: (1) Black racial background (1 = Black; 0 = Asian or White) and (2) Asian racial background (1 = Asian; 0 = Black or White). White racial background was the default or comparison group left out of the analysis.

Gender

All respondents were asked to disclose their gender identity. Responses were coded into a dummy variable: 0 = female; 1 = male. Slightly over half of the respondents report that they are female (52.4%).

Age

All respondents were asked to disclose their age at the time of their last birthday. In the current analysis, age is an interval variable ranging from 18 to 88 years (mean = 43.6 years; median = 39 years; standard deviation = 17.5).

Education

All respondents were asked to disclose their highest level of education. In the current analysis, education is an ordinal variable ranging from 1 (less than high school) to 6 (professional or graduate degree) (mean = 4.32; standard deviation = 1.48).

Income

All respondents were asked to disclose their household income, before taxes, over the past twelve-month period. Household income is an ordinal variable ranging from 1 (less than $10,000 per year) to 14 ($200,000 per year or more) (mean = 8.26; standard deviation = 3.03).

Foreign Born

All respondents were asked to disclose their country of birth. Responses were recoded into a dummy variable for analysis: 1 = born outside Canada; 0 = born in Canada. Two-fifths of the sample (40.8%) were born outside Canada.

Community Crime and Disorder

All respondents were asked how often they witnessed or heard about the following activities in their neighbourhood: (1) people on the street begging for money; (2) prostitution; (3) people buying and selling illegal drugs; (4) the sounds of gunshots; and (5) gang activity. Responses to each of these questions were coded in the following manner: 0 = never; 1 = don't know; 2 = not very often; 3 = fairly often; 4 = very often. Responses to these questions were then combined to create a single Community Crime and Disorder Index (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.811). This variable ranges from zero to twenty. The higher the score on this index the higher the level or crime and disorder in the respondent's community (mean = 6.2; standard deviation = 4.39).

Violent Victimization

All respondents were asked if they had ever been the victim of a violent crime like an assault, a robbery, or a sexual assault. In the current analysis, personal victimization is dummy coded (1 = has been the victim of a violent crime; 0 = has not been a victim). One out of every five respondents (19%) indicated that they have been the victim of a violent crime.

Family/Friend Victimization

All respondents were asked if any of their close family members or friends had ever been the victim of a violent crime like an assault, a robbery, or a sexual assault. In the current analysis, family/friend victimization is dummy coded (1 = family/friend has been a victim of crime; 0 = no reported family/friend victimization). Overall, 29.6% of the sample reported that they have a family member or close friend who has been the victim of a violent crime.

Illegal Drug Use

All respondents were asked if they had used any illegal drug over the past twelve months. In the current analysis, illegal drug use is dummy coded: 1 = used illegal drugs; 0 = did not use illegal drugs. Overall, only 3.9% of the sample reported using illegal drugs over the past twelve months.

Criminal Record

All respondents were asked if they had ever been arrested and charged with a criminal offence. In the current analysis, a criminal record is dummy coded: 1 = has been arrested; 0 = never arrested. Overall, only 5.3% of the sample reported that they have been arrested and charged with a crime.

Fear of Crime

All respondents were asked how safe they would feel walking alone in their neighbourhood after dark. Responses were coded in the following manner: 0 = very safe; 1 = reasonably safe; 2 = somewhat unsafe; 3 = very unsafe. Most respondents feel either very safe (22.1%) or reasonably safe (56.6%) in their neighbourhood. Only 21.3% feel unsafe.

Belief That Crime Is Increasing

All respondents were asked if, in their opinion, crime in the GTA had increased, decreased, or remained the same over the past ten years. Responses were coded in the following manner: 1 =

decreased; 2 = stayed the same; 3 = increased. The majority of respondents (68.1%) believe that crime has increased over the past ten years. Only 7.7% think it has decreased.

Driving Frequency

All respondents were asked how often during the past year were they in a car or motor vehicle as either a driver or a passenger. Response options ranged from 1 (never) to 7 (every day) (mean = 5.38; standard deviation = 1.72).

Time in Public Spaces

All respondents were asked how often during the past year did you hang out in the streets, parks, or other public areas in your neighbourhood? Response options ranged from 1 (never) to 7 (every day) (mean = 3.51; standard deviation = 1.75).

Time Shopping

All respondents were asked how often during the past year did you go shopping or hang out in shopping malls? Response options ranged from 1 (never) to 7 (every day) (mean = 3.52; standard deviation = 1.18).

Late Night Party Activities

All respondents were asked how often during the past year did you go out at night to bars, nightclubs, or parties? Response options ranged from 1 (never) to 7 (every day) (mean = 2.01; standard deviation = 1.04).

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