



We are Not **ALONE**

Police Racial Profiling in Canada, the
United States and the United Kingdom

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An Executive Summary of "Crisis, Conflict and Accountability", by Charles C. Smith and "In their Own Voices: African Canadians in the Greater Toronto Area Share Experiences of Police Profiling", by Maureen J. Brown

Commissioned by the African Canadian Community Coalition on Racial Profiling

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INTRODUCTION

"In the fall of 2002, the Toronto Star released a series of articles reporting on the results of substantive research indicating that in stops, searches, arrests and detentions from 1996 - 2002 the Toronto Police Services treated peoples of African descent differently than Whites and other racialized groups. In examining Police data from shortly after the release of the report of the Ontario Commission on Systemic Racism into the Criminal Justice System, the authors of the Star series concluded that Toronto police disproportionately single out individuals of African descent and that this may constitute discriminatory treatment.

Like other media reports on racial profiling in North America, the Star series unleashed a highly charged debate. While there were those who retorted that these articles merely confirmed what had been known for years, there were also those who vilified the Star series and denied its veracity. In fact, during an interview with the Star reporters to discuss the articles' findings, the Chief of Police dismissed the results entirely and abruptly cut short the interview.

What followed was a series of activities within government, policing circles (and) the courts... to address this complex and contentious issue."

Crisis, Conflict and Accountability, Charles C. Smith

The heightened public awareness brought on by the Toronto Star articles had two other—perhaps unintended—results. First, a cross-section of African Canadian leaders began to speak out about racial profiling and to demand action. Racial profiling was no longer a matter associated with 'community activists'. The Canadian Race Relations Foundation, for example, hosted a summit under the leadership of the Hon. Lincoln Alexander. Leaders from various levels of government and public office attended, as did representatives from the police. At the summit Toronto's Chief of Police acknowledged that police do occasionally engage in racial profiling and among the resolutions passed at the conference was a commitment by those present to deal with profiling at a systemic level.

If the summit offered an opportunity for 'the system' to wrestle with police racial profiling, the second fallout from the Star controversy-- community discussions, meetings and alliances—provided an opportunity for African Canadians to reflect on their role in addressing the issue. Community meetings gave birth to an ad hoc coalition of organizations and individuals named the African Canadian Community Coalition against Racial Profiling (ACCCRP). The coalition subsequently launched a coordinated, strategic effort to address police racial profiling, commissioning two reports that were funded by the Department of Canadian Heritage and the Canadian Race Relations Foundation, as a first phase.

The Coalition rejected the idea of an Inquiry into racial profiling, arguing that over the past 30 years enough had been written to document the existence of profiling and that recommendations to address the causes and impact had not been adequately implemented. In his report, **Crisis, Conflict and Accountability**, Charles C. Smith recounts these findings and recommendations. He further presents police racial profiling as a phenomenon that goes far beyond the GTA, based on research into initiatives that are underway in the U.K., other parts of Canada and in the United States. Smith's study also highlights best practices that are starting to emerge out of these jurisdictions.

Written by former journalist Maureen Brown, the second report to the Coalition, **In their Own Voices: African Canadians in the Greater Toronto Area Share Experiences of Police Profiling**, presents a 'profile of profiling' through the voices of African Canadians. Interviewees describe what police racial profiling looks like from their experience, as well as when, how and where it takes place. They also offer ideas for strengthening relations between African Canadians and the police. The report complements Smith's report, as well as that of the Ontario Human Rights Commission, **Paying the Price: The Human Cost of Racial Profiling**, which focuses on the impact of racial profiling in different sectors including policing.

We Are Not Alone is an Executive Summary of **Conflict, Crisis and Accountability** and **In Their Own Voices**. Interviewees are quoted throughout the document.

SECTION 1

History and Context of Police Racial Profiling in Canada, the U.K. and the U.S.

DEFINITION OF RACIAL PROFILING

Charles C. Smith cites experts and lawmakers' definitions of racial profiling, perhaps best expressed by Elizabeth Knight and William Kurnik, who describe profiling as "a set of circumstances, events, or behaviour that, when combined with the experience of an officer, may cause heightened suspicion that affects the officer's exercise of discretion in stop and/or arrest decisions." and that "...the term 'racial profiling' appears to broadly connote discriminatory law enforcement practices."

In Their Own Voices also cites other definitions of racial profiling. Among them:

"Any action undertaken for reasons of safety, security or public protection that relies on stereotypes...rather than on reasonable suspicion, to single an individual for greater scrutiny or different treatment."

Paying the Price: The Human Cost of Racial Profiling, Ontario Human Rights Commission

"Investigative or enforcement activity initiated by an individual officer based on his or her stereotypical, prejudicial or racist perceptions of who is likely to be involved in wrong doing or criminal activity. This conduct is unintentionally systematically facilitated when there is ineffective policy, training, monitoring and control mechanisms in a system."

(Canadian) Association of Black Law Enforcers (A.B.L.E.)

"...that phenomenon whereby certain criminal activity is attributed to an identified group in society on the basis of race or colour resulting in the targeting of individual members of that group. In this context, race is illegitimately used as a proxy for the criminality or general criminal propensity of an entire racial group."

R. v. Richards [1999], Ontario Court of Appeal

HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT OF RACIAL PROFILING

In **Crisis, Conflict and Accountability**, Charles C. Smith argues that to properly understand racial profiling, one needs to look at the history of Blacks in western societies and at the role that policing plays in society on a whole. He quotes Erez et al:

"The police in all societies are charged with maintaining public order and protecting public safety, and that generally means conserving the status quo in whatever form it may take. The police are inherently conservative in both their actions and their predispositions. They represent the vested economic and political interests and values of the societies in which they perform their policing duties. Where countries are changing and adding cultural and ethnic multiplicity, the police are most likely to be aligned with the old cultural and ethnic guard, or they may be perceived as such by new, or newly empowered, constituents."

Section 1 of the Smith report examines police racial profiling against the backdrop of Blacks in western society. Smith draws the following conclusions:

- The modern world has been shaped through European breakthroughs in ocean transportation, agriculture, industrialization and concepts of statehood. (Cornell West)

- European-inspired concepts of Blacks--often encoded in legal systems--have evolved from viewing them as civilized peoples; to `racialized others'; to subordinate, savage and inferior. (Audrey Smedley)
- Race is a socially-based concept: "Race comes into existence as an act of definition by whites who assume the power to dominate...(I)t functions as a system of social categorization that the power to dominate then constructs."(Stephen Martinot)
- Racial profiling is part of a continuum of White supremacy, perpetuated through "icons of philosophical thought" by way of the values, beliefs and political/cultural/social structures that influence society's views of Blacks (Prof. Charles Mills)
- Police forces play a role in maintaining society's racial divide by means such as over-surveillance, which leads to higher rates of arrest and incarceration

Smith concludes that one means of preserving the racial status quo is through racial profiling:

"One traditional law enforcement justification for racial disparities in police stops and searches is that it makes sense to stop and search people of colour in greater numbers, because they are more likely to be guilty of drug offenses. The reality is that people of colour are arrested for drug offenses in connection with vehicle stops at a high rate because they are targeted at a high rate, not because they are more likely than whites to have drugs in their cars."
(University of Minnesota Law School)

Role of Media

"African Canadian youth need to realize that the media is a construction. What we are living is our reality, not the media reality. We need to be able to recognize the good in the police as well because I'm sure if anything happens they're the first person they are going to call to come help. African Canadians need to defend themselves but not be ignorant....know their rights."
(Sylvia, 18)

Both the Smith and Brown reports reveal consensus in many Black communities that media present images of Blacks as criminally-prone social threats, without enough positive images to counter-balance negative conclusions on the part of society. In Canada, Smith examined Dr. Akua Benjamin's **The Black/Jamaican Criminal: The Making of Ideology** and Drs. Carol Tator and Frances Henry's **Discourses of Domination: Racial Bias in the Canadian English-Language Press**, in which they exhaustively analyze media clippings that feature Blacks. The academics have found that:

- Media portray African Canadians as `others', rather than as part of the `norm'
- In 90% of cases where African Canadians are portrayed in the media, they are associated with street crime, entertainment and sports
- African Canadians are seen to cause problems that require above-average social and political expenditure
- Crimes involving Blacks are over-reported

The belief is that as with other members of society, negative media images can affect the way police see and interact with Blacks.

IMPACT OF PROFILING

In all the jurisdictions studied, Charles C. Smith found that racial profiling has traumatic impact on Black communities' psyche, at both the individual and group levels. Over time this trauma has an impact on Blacks' overall sense of well-being and advancement.

"Because these stops occur frequently, the racial harm inflicted on black men is great. Such random stops have led many black males to believe that just by being a black male they become an automatic target of suspicion for virtually every crime ... This mistrust, anger and fear of police authority by black males cannot be quickly erased regardless of how minimally intrusive an investigatory stop may be."

(Harvard Law Journal)

"You can't really do anything about it [racial profiling] because as hard as it sounds, it's the white man's world. Things may probably change in the future."

(Claude, 16)

"Most times they (my friends) say they don't even want to see (the police). If they see a police officer coming they make a left, or a right, because it's just not worth it to them, you know. They don't have time to be held up by them for no reason." (Herman, Businessman, 27)

"We are not all bad apples. People turn us into bad apples. We don't do nothing. They just label us to do stuff. You go to get a job you can't even get a job because they're going to look at you." (Coby, 18)

In Their Own Voices found a strong sense in some communities that African Canadian youth in particular feel they have been robbed of what the report calls "a place to play or to dream". To some, having no place to play or to dream means not having equal opportunity to make "forgivable mistakes" without being branded or having their future ruined by criminal records. To others it means not having opportunity to gather freely in public places without heavy police scrutiny.

"You see when Caribbana time comes, our culture times, the Friday before we have Yonge Street times when everybody gathers around to have fun. Why is it that every time white people have their cultural [events] no policemen are there. They just let them have a good time and go home. But when we have ours, honestly, that day, there was like 80 policemen pushing everybody off the road. There was no room for some of us to walk, know what I mean?"

"I swear, there were like policemen on bikes, 20 of them in a row. Then they were on motor bikes, on scooters, on horses, in cars and then in the trucks." Were people just hanging around Yonge St.? the interviewer asks. "They know that this is our time. It happens every year." (Sarah, 16)

"[A recent sport scholarship winner would jog] in the night time. Two officers in a car pulled up on (the young man and his running partners), shined the light on them...on a regular basis. They [police] pull into the community asking people for i.d., roughing people up for no apparent reason. These people are in a ...housing complex. There is no community centre...no basketball court, schools won't give them permits anymore to run programs over there. There is nowhere for people to go more than to sit out around in the community."

"Every so often like clockwork they (police) pull in: 'What's your name? What unit do you live in? Why are you out here?' And if I'm a young person and I've not been educated that I should not answer....You're in my community. You have no right if I've not done anything wrong you have no right to come up and be hassling me. It's harassment. There's no nice way to look at it. That is harassment." (Irene, Community Worker)

"

It makes me feel like I can't do nothing (right). I try to put the past behind me and they keep bringing up my past and I keep telling them that's the past. I finished my probation in 1998. I've paid my debts to society. But to them that's not enough. (Winston, 29)

In North American and British jurisdictions allegations of and findings on police racial profiling have fed ongoing tensions and distrust between Blacks and the police. These allegations and findings have also spawned civil protest by Blacks seeking to have their voices heard.

"Of central concern to the Caribbean community is their relationship with the police. Since the police are usually the first point of contact with the justice system, they are most often singled out by Caribbean Black people. Here, as in the U.K. and the U.S., police-Black community relations are at the core of racial tensions in the city."

(Author, Frances Henry)

Although for many the Toronto Star series was their first exposure to police racial profiling, there is a well-documented history involving allegations and findings of profiling by police and law enforcement in Canada the U.S. and the U.K. Over the years various reports have addressed profiling and related issues, such as over-policing, police harassment, police brutality and police surveillance of Black community leaders and advocates. Smith's report draws on media reports, scholarly research, forum reports, surveys, court documents and books.

ROOTED IN HISTORY: RACIAL PROFILING IN THE U.S.

In the U.S. racial profiling is strongly linked to the country's history of slavery and anti-Black racism. Defenders of slavery accused slaves of "horrendous crimes", says Randall Kennedy in his book, *Race, Crime and the Law*. 'Criminal propensity' then justified sub-human treatment and later lynching of Blacks. During slavery, measures such as patrols to nab escaping slaves and empowerment of ordinary White citizens to apprehend and search Blacks cemented the imbalance of power between Blacks and Whites and its perceived virtue. Modern commentators say that the belief that Blacks are more predisposed to crime than others similarly underlies the thinking of some in society who hold them responsible for their troubles with the police.

According to the research Charles C. Smith cites, in recent times, racial profiling in the U.S. has coincided with the country's war on drugs—which climaxed in the 1980s—and, later, the war on terror. Smith's report focuses on the war on drugs. In fulfilling their responsibilities under the war on drugs, studies indicate that police relied on what Smith describes as "their tremendous discretion in decisions on whom to investigate", which in turn led to subjective decisions regarding whom to stop and or search." He further quotes Verniero and Zoubek, former Attorney General and First Assistant Attorney General of the Sate of New Jersey:

"(There are) more common instances of de facto discrimination by officers who may be influenced by stereotypes and may thus tend to treat minority motorists differently during the course of routine traffic stops, subjecting them more routinely to investigative tactics and techniques that are designed to ferret out illicit drugs or weapons."

"Profiling" as part of the war on drugs gradually evolved then into "racial profiling":

Profiling is the tool currently used by law enforcement to perpetuate the long standing tradition of targeting blacks for unreasonable searches and seizures. Profiling was originally introduced to help drug interdiction programs and the "war on drugs"...The first profile was based on behavioral characteristics rather than psychological attributes, and was used by Drug Enforcement Agents to detect drug couriers in airports. The agents would usually observe whether the suspect appeared nervous, how she paid for her ticket, whether her destination was a known drug area, and whether she was traveling under a false name.

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n its most basic form then, a profile is a set of characteristics that police have developed to help them choose potential suspects ... Police departments do not outwardly admit to using race as part of their drug profiles, but race appears to be the motivating factor concerning whom the officers choose to stop.
(Abramovsky and Edelsten)

Smith quotes author Ira Glasser, head of the American Civil Liberties Union who says frequently stopping Blacks is no accident:

"In 1986 the Drug Enforcement Authority (DEA) started something called Operation Pipeline. The purpose of this program was to interdict drugs, and to get drug couriers. And to implement this program, they have brought in 27,000 state troopers from 48 states to teach them how to spot a car that is likely to be carrying drugs on the highways. "They are taught to look for things like: Is there an air freshener hanging from the rearview mirror?...If you have a bumper sticker on your car that indicates you've been to Jamaica (not Queens) that raises the odds that there are drugs inside your car, and, of course, there's skin color, especially if the driver is black and the car expensive."

This race-based criminal profile shows up formally and informally in the literature Smith reviewed. Among the examples he cites:

- Drug Enforcement Authority videos that focus only on Hispanics and Jamaicans as drug dealers
- The State of Florida's 'Common Characteristics of Drug Dealers' which instructed deputies to watch for certain ethnic groups associated with the drug trade
- Evidence during a State of Maryland lawsuit that instructed troopers to watch for drug couriers, "mostly black males and black females".

INSTITUTIONAL RACISM: RACIAL PROFILING IN THE U.K.

Although the historical details differ, the relationship between the Black community, the police and the phenomenon of racial profiling remain consistent in the U.K. and the U.S. According to U.K. author John Solomos:

"The issue of the position of young blacks within British society, and their role in the future of 'race relations', has been a hotly debated question for nearly two decades. Moreover, in the aftermath of the violent protests that have taken place since the 1980s, numerous state agencies, political organizations, voluntary bodies, academic researchers and media commentators have addressed themselves to the 'crisis of black youth'...It (therefore) came as no surprise when Lord Scarman's report on the Brixton riot of 10-12 April 1981 concluded that: 'The riots were essentially an outburst of anger and resentment by young black people against the police'.

As in the U.S., the source of the anger is also historically based. In the U.K., says Chuck Wexler, Executive Director of the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF), "The issues involved in 'racial profiling' are not new – they are the latest manifestation of a long history of sometimes tense, and even volatile, police minority relations." The feeling in some Black communities is that while Blacks find themselves under violent attacks by racists, police not only fail to adequately protect them, they engage in over-policing and targeting of the Black communities.

British author Simon Holdaway continues this theme, pointing out that "the history of police race relations in Britain has a strong strand of conflict" going back to post World War II when Blacks and other visible minorities began to immigrate to Britain in large numbers. Portrayal of immigrants as criminals followed suit. According to one British researcher, the communities in which immigrants lived soon came to be known as "localities with crime-related behaviour and other 'social problems...'" Complaints by Blacks against both the police and Whites for discriminating against them grew, as did the number of advocacy efforts and reports to government on the situation. The 'drugs and mugging crisis' popularized by British media in the 70s further drove increased policing targeting Blacks, U.K. studies point out.

Entering the 1980s, U.K. police approach to serving communities of colour was to try and understand their cultures and help them understand British policing culture. Police placed responsibility for this cross-cultural exchange in the hands of race specialists and away from the rank and file officers. The result, observers note, was failure to address "(n)egative ideas [among the general police population] about black people as criminals and drug users. Stops and searches continued to target Blacks disproportionately at rates that closely matched those in the U.S. Researchers measured stop and search rates quantitatively and found that Blacks on foot were four times more likely to be stopped than other people; while Black youth were stopped 5.06 a year, compared to White youth at 1.94 times. (D.Smith et. Al)

The 1980s in the U.K. were marked by several riots involving Blacks. A new report attributed an above average percentage of street robberies to them and newly created legislation gave police power to stop and search civilians, so long as they had reasonable grounds for suspecting that the search would uncover stolen or prohibited items. Studies subsequently revealed that Blacks were disproportionately stopped without reasonable grounds. In 1993 it became mandatory for police to record the ethnicity and race of everyone stopped.

Against this backdrop the government appointed Sir William MacPherson Cluny to head the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry into allegations that police failed to adequately investigate the killing of a Black man by White racists. Sir William concluded that institutional racism lay at the heart of poor relations between Blacks and the police. He described institutional racism as *"The collective failure of an organization to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people.*

In his submission to the Inquiry John Newing, then head of the Association of Chief Police Officers and Chief Constable of Derbyshire wrote:

"[I]nstitutional racism [is] the racism which is inherent in wider society which shapes our attitudes and behaviour. Those attitudes and behaviour are then reinforced or reshaped by the culture of the organization a person works for. In the police service there is a distinct tendency for officers to stereotype people. That creates problems in a number of areas, but particularly in the way officers deal with black people. I know because as a young police officer I was guilty of such behaviour."

Although the Commissioner of Police rejected views such as those the officer expressed, government adopted Sir William's definition and the recommendations of the Lawrence Inquiry, subsequently amending the U.K.'s Race Relations Act. The amendments required all public authorities, including the police, to develop and implement comprehensive plans to positively support race relations. Further, the police in particular were expected to put into place policies and actions to address the discriminatory impact of stops and searches.

`STUDIED TO DEATH': RACIAL PROFILING IN CANADA

In his 1992 review of Toronto Police race relations practices, then Metropolitan Toronto Auditor, Allan Andrews concluded:

"There was significant evidence that many police officers who are constantly in contact with the public develop strong feelings and beliefs as to attributes of individuals, based on factors such as appearance and racial background. These officers would no doubt be offended if their attitudes were described as potentially racist. Nevertheless, the same attitudes can and do produce a bias in behaviour which results in unequal treatment of individuals of different cultural or racial background."

According to Charles C. Smith, research points to "a debilitating reality for peoples of African descent and strongly suggest(s) that this community lives within a perpetual state of crisis which may not be apparent to everyone but is an everyday reality for the African Canadian community." Smith quotes Valerie Steele, Executive Director of the Jamaican Canadian Association in an article, "I've been in Canada for 30 years and have heard about the problem with racial bias and policing every year for thirty years. This is not new to us." (Toronto Star)

Much documentation of "the state of crisis" between the African Canadian community and the police has followed incidents involving Blacks and the police across Canada over the past 30 years. The shooting deaths of Buddy Evans (1978) and Albert Johnson (1979), as well as 20 subsequent shootings of people of color—15 fatal—typically resulted in reports, studies and recommendations. Black community ire was further raised by allegations that police were keeping prominent community leaders under surveillance. There have been other documented sources of conflict between Blacks and the police over the years:

- In 1989 the Toronto Chief of Police asserted that the police do not collect data linking race and crime: a North York Staff Inspector subsequently released such data to the media;
- In May 1992 the Yonge St. riots by African Canadians followed the Rodney King decision
- Former Ontario Cabinet Minister Zanana Akande resigned after making comments about police and African Canadian youth
- Dudley Laws, Chair of the Black Action Defence Committee was brought to trial on charges of immigration fraud
- Audrey Smith, an African Canadian woman, was subjected to a strip search for allegedly transporting drugs
- Conflict between Blacks and the police escalated after a police officer was stabbed at Caribana
- Arnold Minors, an African Canadian member of the Police Services Board resigned after making comments about African Canadians in some communities viewing police as an 'occupying army'

- Authors Frances Henry and Carol Tator in their report, **Racist Discourse in Canada's English Print Media**, offered a probing analysis of media coverage of crimes allegedly committed by Blacks. The researchers found an "over-reportage" of these crimes and ample evidence of Blacks being portrayed as criminals.

In 1994, Dr. Philip C. Stenning prepared a report, **Police Use of Force and Violence Against Members of Visible Minority Groups in Canada**, for the Canadian Centre for Police Race Relations. The study was conducted with 150 inmates (60 Whites, 51 Blacks and 39 Other non-whites). While Stenning stated that the research does not necessarily reflect police-citizen contacts generally, Smith places its findings within the context of "both the historical treatment of African Canadians and (of) other studies contemporary to and following after" his work. The results, Smith says, "indicate of a pattern of treatment that is pervasive within the criminal justice system".

Stenning found that:

- Police behaviour toward African Canadians was less friendly and less polite. African Canadians are: sworn at more often by police (58.8% v. 38.3% for Whites and 43.6% for Others) and subject to racial epithets more often as well (31.4% v. 5% for Others);
- In responding to 'minor offences', police drew their weapons against African Canadians more frequently than with other groups (25% v. 6.7% for Whites and 6.7% for Others);

As Kofi was walking to a suburban mall with friends a police car drove by. He says the officer called out to him: "Get out of the road, nigger"... (On another occasion at a Court House with his cousin)... "They tried to beat him up for no reason. The officer went to his car, got his 45 and cocked it for no reason. They grabbed him, pulled him up [off the floor], put him in the elevator. My cousin said the police cocked guns on him and all that."

Charles C. Smith concludes:

"Whether these allegations are verifiable is a matter of research and debate; however, what is clear is that the challenges these individuals and the African Canadian community faced have served to reinforce the attention focused on the unique relationship between the Toronto police and the African Canadian community."

Studied to Death

The multitude of reports that have followed incidents such as those listed above have led many African Canadians to point out that they have been 'studied to death' and to demand that instead of new studies, recommendations made over the years be implemented fully. Shortly before the Toronto Star articles on police racial profiling, the African Canadian Legal Clinic (ACLC) had submitted a report, **Anti-Black Racism in Canada: A Report on the Canadian Government's Compliance with the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination**, to the United Nations International Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. The report, cited as significant evidence in *Borde v. Her Majesty the Queen*, states:

"Since the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, there has been ample evidence identifying the disproportionate impact of the criminal justice system on peoples of African descent...Despite the expression of concern by the African Canadian community regarding these facts, there has been little leadership from either government or the public to address the issues. The only time attention has been paid to these serious concerns is after a significant event, usually one in which police use of violence and/or force has resulted in serious injury or death."

The ACLC document lists 14 reports written over the 15 years following the 1970s, including reports by Justice Donald Moran, Arthur Maloney, Walter Pittman and Cardinal Archbishop Carter. Metropolitan Toronto Police Services also commissioned two reports: **A Strategy to Enhance the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force's Profile with**

Racial Minorities and As We Were Told. Other reports over the years have warned that the dramatic shift in Toronto's population would impact the way the community is policed and would require adjustments to policing strategy. In 1990 Metro Toronto reviewed all its policies, services and programs to ensure that they were accessible to the changing community.

The number of Canadian reports on policing communities of color has led Professor Philip C. Stenning to write:

"In Canada, as in many other countries, the challenges of policing an increasingly culturally, racially, linguistically and religiously diverse society have preoccupied policymakers and academics during the last four decades. A combination of dramatically increased immigration and police services that have often slowly or reluctantly recognized the need for and embraced changes within their organizations and practices, had led to still-unresolved tensions and conflict between police and many members of the communities they serve."

METHODS OF RACIAL PROFILING

Over the years African Canadians have alleged repeatedly that police target them for stops, searches and unfair treatment, based on profiles of who is likely to commit or to have committed certain crimes. **In Their Own Voices** documents these methods, as they were told to the author.

Use of Force

"...At least four police officers came to the guard's rescue, one of whom jumped the youth [Grant] from behind and pinned him face down, in an arresting gesture. Grant did not appear to be resisting arrest or even had the chance of fighting back. He did, however, say to the officer "What are you trying to do, aren't you going to read me my rights". By then, he was handcuffed, still facing downward.

All of a sudden the officer drew his baton and started to severely beat Grant with it. In the midst of all this, the security guard did try telling them, that "he (Grant) was not the one causing the fight..." (Merlene, 30s)

"...They were really rough with me. The only name (they didn't call me) was 'Gal'. They were shouting and getting really upset. They hold my head down and push my head into the corner. I said 'I'm a lady you know' and they said 'So?' They deal with me like a nobody...(And) they write on the report that I am mentally ill. So if anybody wants a report on me that's what is stuck in the report..." (Patsy, 29)

'Tagging' and 'Clocking'

"[The police] will look at you, clocking you. Like they expect you to do something." (Banks, 15)

"It's a daring look", Anthony continues. "A dirty look that that expects you to react negatively. Because obviously, if I smile at you you're going to smile back at me. If I give you a grudge look you're going to give me one back. Obviously if you do that (to the police), they (the police) are going to come and do something to you. These days The look is the most effective weapon of all. It makes me feel bad...because I know I am not [a bad] person..."

"You go by certain parking lots and you'll see 10 squad cars. And if you pass they will question you, they want to tag you, they'll frame you, put stuff on you, try to set you up." (Anthony, 18)

Routine Checks

How do African Canadians know when a stop is “for no reason?”

“When [the police] say it’s a routine check. Like let me see your drivers licence. ...Or that you fit the description of somebody. If you are speeding those are legit arguments.” (Lawrence, mid-50s)

“Sometimes I’ll be walking by myself...or with a group of people... near my house or in my neighborhood when out of the blue, for no reason they’ll be driving their cars and stop us and they’ll be asking us for I.D [or if you’re packing a weapon]. I don’t know for what reason”. Is takes place in broad daylight or any time else...They just want to harass you ‘cause they’re bored probably.” (Nick, 17)

‘Fitting The Description’

“ I was walking in a plaza and they (police) pulled up on me and said I fit the description of somebody and asked me for i.d. . So I said no. I know my rights. They can’t tell me nothing. I took classes about that at school. They ask me for my name and I tell them, no. Am I under arrest? And he doesn’t say nothing...When you know your rights you actually know what you can do and what you can’t do. You also know what they can do and what they can’t.”. Claude,16.

“I was chilling (on the street) and there was a drug raid. Ten minutes after the raid since there was me and two friends the cops came. (Shabbah and his friends were crossing a school parking lot at night). They did a 360 in front of us and pulled their guns and said ‘Do you know what happened with the drug raid...Start feeling up our pockets... (Shabbah, 14)

When police stopped Nick’s cousin. “They gave him some BS excuse about him stealing shoes...said he fit the description of somebody they thought stole shoes from the mall...”

“One time I was stopped because I fit the description of a Black man with his hair in a braid, six feet tall. I had nothing on me but they put the handcuffs on me after they ran my name through the computer. They said it was for their own safety. They went through my pockets to see if I had...any drugs, any contraband or any sharp objects. The only thing I had on me that was sharp was a pen in my pocket and my house keys.” (Winston, 29)

Power Play

“Police told my friend that they (the police) are the biggest gang in the city...’ Cause, just like a gang, they could stop you. Nothing you can do about it ‘cause if you take one down, there’s always going to be someone else to replace them.” (Justin, 18)

During the discussion Joseph stares off in the distance, seemingly unconcerned with his friend’s spirited wish that the police would just “go away” and leave them alone. “I hate them”, Joseph finally says out of nowhere. “I wish I could snuff one of them”.(Joseph is 14 years old)

“He said to me that because I’m on the balcony that’s my side. But if I jump over my balcony I’m on his side, I’m in his world. So I said, it’s your world? He’s like, ‘Yes’. I’m like, who’s ruler? He goes ‘Us’. So I’m like, so what if there’s nobody to rule? Who you gonna rule? So he didn’t have nothing to say. He just kept quiet. So I said , just shut up and get out of my face.” Shielded by his balcony rails, Sam feels the balance of power shift. For now. (Sam)

Breaking the Spirit

From the perspective of African Canadians interviewed, the ultimate show of power is to break the Black person's spirit. Fourteen-year-old Joyce says her 20-year-old brother has never been the same since the day police blocked him off with their cars as he walked with his friends, asking if he knew a 15-19 year-old wearing African Canadian pants and a red top similar to his. They told him he looked familiar. Her brother, she says, decided to give the police "attitude" for asking him these questions. He and his friends swore at the police, telling them they are racist, that they didn't like African Canadians and that they should get out of their neighborhood. The resulting showdown landed the young men in jail for a week.

Joyce's brother has not been the same since his release. He refuses to leave the house. But staying home is no solution either. "He never used to give so much attitude".

[We use Joyce's story not to condone her brother cursing the police and giving them 'attitude', but to illustrate the rage and sense of invasion some African Canadians feel when police ask what in other situations would probably be seen as a valid question during an investigation. We saw this anger among other interviewees—and not just those from inner cities. Those who experience this rage say they are reacting to what they see as police assumption that 'they all look the same'.]

In Their Own Voices

"When they have African Canadian people in the back [of the cruiser] they wind down the window so everyone can see their face." (Omar, 14)

"Right now African Canadians are trying to take over the world in sports and everything. It's like they (the police) feel threatened." (Gill 14)

Stops and Searches

The most popular methods of profiling are stopping and questioning motorists without reasonable justification. The U.S. research cites many cases of Black and Latino motorists who complain that they are subjected to questioning and often ordered to leave their cars so police can search them. Smith quotes Verniero and Zoubek (U.S.):

"...the legitimate criteria for selecting vehicles in these circumstances have never been clearly spelled out in written standard operating procedures or formal training criteria. Rather, the criteria used by troopers in exercising their discretion have developed in an ad hoc fashion over the years, passed on through informal coaching, tempered by each trooper's own experiences and enforcement priorities, and strongly influenced by an official policy to reward troopers who find major drug shipments. This situation may invite both intentional and unintentional abuse and provides a management environment that allows the use of stereotypes to go ahead undetected."

Again, African Canadians shared many experiences in which they felt police profiled them as they drove.

"I was at [an area in the west end of Toronto]...and I was coming from my friend's apartment [waiting for my friend, who had just gone to the store]. The cops came behind me and turned on their siren and the car wasn't even moving." Coby, 23, was in the drivers seat.

"They were like, step out of the car. I stepped out and gave them my G1". The police informed Coby that he was not supposed to be driving without a licenced driver. Coby acknowledged that he knew. "He goes, go around to the back of the building. We went and then he goes, 'So where's the weed?' Then he goes, "as a matter of fact I don't want the weed just want to know if you have crack on you or if you have a gun' I go What? No!"

"[On another occasion]...the cop came down on me and told me to step out the car..."Then he called his supervisor.

They looked at the car and at our address and then they go, 'You guys shouldn't be dressing like that. Now when I drive I don't even drive with a hat because they always pull us over. They go like, 'Why are you guys wearing hats? Are you in a gang? You guys have any tattoos? I go 'No'. You guys been in trouble with the law?

The police ordered Coby and his friends to step out the car so they can search it. They asked them if they had guns in the car. Again no. The police searched his friend's bag, to find out, they said, if he had guns in it. "After they searched the car they asked, 'so where are you guys going?' **In Their Own Voices**

"I was driving my friend's truck. He's a white guy. So (in seating arrangement) it's African Canadian guy, white guy [and in the back] African Canadian guy white girl. When they pulled us over they asked me for information and the African Canadian guy in the back for information. Nobody else...The white guys had no seatbelt on."

(Herman, Businessman, 27)

... The interviewer later spoke with Herman's brother's(White) girlfriend. She said when the siren went off, she asked her boyfriend what he had done. He said, nothing: he's African Canadian. "I said no, he's gotta have a reason." The officer took both licences but gave the girlfriend hers back, then asked the man whether he's before the courts for anything. ...The man said no, the officer took his licence back to the cruiser to check it. He returned and simply handed the licence back. The woman said she had never seen anything like this before.

"...He said, 'Do you realize how fast you were going?' I said I was driving the speed limit. He said no, I was going 90km. I said to him. 'How could I be going 90? How fast was that car ahead of me going?' "He said, 'I don't care how fast he was going, you were going 90.'...I said, let me see your radar. I went over to the car and he had 30km on the radar. The speed limit was 60. I said, listen, I know how radar works as I have done radar work before, so tell me what you mean by the 30 on the screen there? He asked me where I worked. I told him I was a police officer. He said, 'Let me see your tin (police badge).' I said no...

(Andrew, police officer, 50s)

"When they don't have anything to say (as to why they pulled him over) they just say "Just pulling you over routinely, which they can do. But I need to know why. I do know why. Supposedly I have this look and a lot of urban youth steal vehicles, so they feel the urge to pull over every urban youth who drives a nice car.

(Paul, 23, suburbanite owner of a BMW)

FREQUENCY OF RACIAL PROFILING

U.S. surveys have found that 60% of police Chiefs say that racial profiling (or 'bias-based policing') does not happen in their jurisdiction. At the same time, 72% of Blacks 18-34 feel that they have been stopped because of their race, with 37% saying they have been stopped more than once and 10% saying they have been stopped more than 10 times. In various states surveyed, more than 70% of African Americans say that race was a factor in police decision to pull them over. In Illinois, for example, Latinos comprise 41% of those stopped although they make up only 1% of the population and one in 75 Blacks are stopped, compared to 1 in 163 Whites. In New York City, Blacks were stopped six times more often than Whites, while in New Jersey although Blacks and Whites were equally responsible for traffic violations, 73.2% of those stopped were Black, although they drove or occupied only 13% of cars.

Figures from the U.K. mirror those from the United States. Dr. Benjamin Bowling in his study of West Midland Police Services concluded, for example, that "[e]ven if the majority of the accounts are dismissed as either the products of third party articulation or even exaggeration, a picture still emerges of pockets of wholly unacceptable racist policing." Subsequent media reports based on Dr. Bowling's study concluded that Blacks were 27 times more likely to be stopped by police than others. During the decade of the 1980s, 91 Blacks died in police custody. Numerous other quantitative U.K. documentation of profiling is cited by Charles C. Smith.

In Canada, studies have found that:

- Police stop African Canadians twice as often as Whites, a figure even higher for African Canadian males;
- Older African Canadian women with a university degree have a 16% chance of being stopped, compared to only a 6% probability for older White and Asian males with a university education;
- Whites are less likely (23%) to be detained before trial than African Canadians (30%), particularly for drug charges (10%, against 31% for African Canadians);
- White accused were released more often than African Canadians on drug charges. African Canadians are also denied bail more frequently and the conviction rate of African Canadian men is also higher - 69% as opposed to 57% for White men.
- In the six year period leading up to 1993, the African Canadian prison population in Ontario rose by 36%; and, the number of admitted prisoners rose by 204% compared to White prisoners (23%)

‘BENEFITS’ OF RACIAL PROFILING

Research indicates that despite frequent stopping of Blacks and Hispanics in the U.S., ‘hit rates’ leading to successful prosecution are no higher among Blacks than among Whites, nor are they higher than those resulting from traditional policing practices. The view among some interviewees in **In Their Own Voices** is that racial profiling is an act of harassment, rather than legitimate policing, while policing experts see racial profiling as a squandering of precious police resources. It also means, they say, that while resources are spent closely monitoring some segments of society for drugs and contraband, other groups are less closely watched. Notes Captain Ronald Davis of the Oakland Police Department:

“Most law enforcement officers believe traffic stops are effective in ‘catching bad guys’, thereby reducing and preventing crime ... Recent traffic stop data reveal that only three to ten percent of traffic stops result in arrests; over 65 percent of those arrests are traffic-related violations or warrants, not the crime offenses used to justify making traffic stops based on perpetrator demographics.”

Ira Glasser, Executive Director of the American Civil Liberties Union continues:

“Now, there’s another thing about that three out of ten claim (ratio of stops v. finding contraband). I will hazard a guess that if you went into any random apartment building on the West Side of Manhattan, and searched every apartment, you would find three out of ten where there was a little marijuana. I don’t know anybody who doesn’t giggle knowingly when I say that, including when I say it on the West Side of Manhattan.” Now, really, the cops even smile. So the really interesting question is, why don’t they do that? Why don’t they just decide to go in and search all the apartments in some random apartment building the way they decide to stop cars? They don’t do it because most of the folks who live in those apartment buildings are white. They don’t do it because if they tried to do it, the outrage would become so big, so fast that it would become politically impossible to sustain.”

In their report on alleged racial profiling by New Jersey State police Verniero and Zoubek write:

More fundamentally, arrest and conviction rates do not address the critical issue at hand, that is, whether State Police members targeted minorities, using more aggressive investigative tactics that could be expected to a higher percentage of hits. The fact that arrests for whites was comparatively low does not mean that white motorists are less likely to be transporting drugs, but rather that they were less likely to be suspected of being drug traffickers in the first place and, thus, less likely to be subjected to probing investigative tactics designed to confirm suspicions of criminal activity such as, notably, being asked to consent to a search.

The benefits of targeted policing continue to diminish as, based on interviews, community members who feel harassed are less likely to cooperate with police:

“I’m not going to cooperate with them. When I see them and they ask me for help I say no and go about my business.”

Or I just ignore them. Some of my friends know them because they (the police in their area) beat them up before. A group of them come around here...drive around and try to pick on the kids. We know all their names, so when we see them we have to run from them like we are criminals. Even when we are playing ball and we see them, we just drop the ball and run. What kind of life is that? That's not the life I want to live. I have no charge or anything like that. But I have to run because they are going to beat me too. I don't want to get beaten by any police."

(Micah, recently accepted to university)

"You treat me like shit, I'll treat you like shit. What goes around comes around. It all boils down to respect. If you talk to someone in a pleasant tone or manner you will get a response in a pleasant tone or manner nine times out of 10...But if they come with a tone of voice like I have to answer them then I won't answer them...I'll just keep walking."

(Winston, 29, recreational worker)

"If (cops) want our cooperation they should talk to us in a proper manner, not like we are criminals. That's not right".

(Micah)

SECTION 2

Change

ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

Widespread sense of wariness by officers in terms of their encounters with persons of African descent, (has) become closely related to their mixed fear and resentment at accusations of racism. There is also palpable frustration at what officers perceive as obstacles to work and constraints on their discretion and judgment. This is often accompanied by a loss of morale over the sense of injustice and perceived attacks on the professional integrity of police officers, including claims of "institutional racism". In this context, Fitzgerald notes that "It will be difficult for officers to acknowledge and respond positively to such fears since they are based on perceptions which many officers deeply feel to be unjust. But perceptions for these young people - and for much of the public at large - are reality and ways have to be found 'to move on from there'.

Crisis, Conflict and Accountability

Over the past 30 years, researchers, social activists, policing experts and academics have identified key areas in which initiatives to move police services and their communities forward should be focussed. African Canadians interviewed in **In Their Own Voices** echo many of these ideas, as does research coming out of other jurisdictions.

POLICIES

Most reports on policing in Canada over the past 30 years have recommended some form of policy change to address policing approaches that facilitate racial profiling or that lead to perceptions of racial profiling. Policies are important components of systemic change. Systemic change, in the words of Oakland Police Department's Captain Davis, "create systems that 'blindfold' people from bias' ..., analyze(s) formal and informal operating systems and identif(ies) more efficient and equitable practices in each of the following domains: mission statement, recruiting and hiring, training, assignment rotation, promotion, discipline/accountability, community relations and leadership."

The message is uncompromising. A new atmosphere of mutual confidence and trust must be created. The onus to begin the process which will create that new atmosphere lies firmly and clearly with the police. The Police Services must examine every aspect of their policies and practices to assess whether the outcome of their actions creates or sustains patterns of discrimination. The provision of policing services to a diverse public must be appropriate and professional in every case. Every individual must be treated with respect. 'Colour-blind' policing must be outlawed The police must deliver a service which recognises the different experiences, perceptions and needs of a diverse society."
(Holdaway, U.K.)

Real change requires policies enshrined in policing organizations. And for policies to be effective, each police officer, acting alone or with colleagues, must take personal responsibility for conducting themselves according to the policy. Without accountability, the best statutes, policies or procedures will fail in creating the organization they are intended to create. According to the research, other elements that undermine the effectiveness of a policy include:

- Denial by police leadership that racial profiling exists
- Ignoring qualitative and quantitative data that points to racial profiling
- Failure to hold individual officers responsible for the stops and searches
- Refusal to identify policing units from which racial profiling data was collected
- Absence of effective mechanisms through which the public can register complaints of police violating policies

Smith quotes Fridell et al, who add that policy helps to ensure a common and consistently applied definition of racial profiling. Their research indicates that many policies do not go far enough to describe and prohibit biased policing activities, nor do they prohibit officers from targeting certain racial groups. Some policies also fail to include clauses providing equal protection for all citizens that would prohibit an officer from “stopping a white traffic violator and releasing that violator because he or she is white, and then stopping a black traffic violator and requesting consent to search because that violator is black.”

Over the past 30 years police departments have responded to calls for policy change in three basic ways (1) reject them (2) implement them in a manner that is interpreted by the individual department or (3) implement them in the spirit and letter in which they were intended. , Alan Andrews, then Metropolitan Toronto Auditor, observes in his 1992 report on Toronto police race relations practices:

“...(M)uch of the Force activity in respect to race relations has been in programs in employment equity, in community involvement, and in other areas in which the Force interacts with racial minorities. But most are framed in a form which views the Force as an institution which does not require change at the core. Consequently, effort has been directed towards changes around the fringes of the operation or accommodation of differences in the community, without recognizing the fact that the institution, its culture and its values need to change.”

In response to the 2002 Toronto Star series on racial profiling, Toronto Police Services compiled a report on initiatives it has taken to address recommendations from various reports on relations with communities of color. Charles C. Smith concludes, however, that:

“in reviewing the overwhelming number of reports and recommendations on policing and race relations as well as the Toronto Police Services reponse, it has been difficult to ascertain the degree to which the Toronto Police have implemented changes required to improve relations between police and peoples of African descent. Whatever plans have been implemented to address the many issues raised in this context appear to either have been done once or have had an insignificant impact.”

Smith points further that (a) some recommendations have still not been implemented (b) “many recommendations appear to have not been implemented at all” and (c) Toronto police have rejected or denied evidence—*anecdotal and quantitative*—that show “vast disparities in the interactions between police and peoples of African descent.” Smith cites examples of poor implementation, such as:

- Deficiencies in recruiting
- Poor evaluation of intercultural courses; and,
- Failure to implement recommendations from the Task Force on Race Relations and Policing

SYSTEMS

Good policy lays the groundwork for systemic change. One Canadian commentator notes that systemic change moves police organizations from a “paramilitary model where loyalty is to the hierarchy, to a community model where loyalty is to the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, the *Criminal Code*,... common law and the community.” In the U.K. government took seriously the recommendations that came out of the Lawrence Inquiry, which was launched after police failed to adequately investigate the murder of a Black man. Government committed itself to systemic change.

“After the Lawrence Inquiry report was published, the Home Secretary, Jack Straw MP, drew up a national action plan for police race relations. This was a novel approach for a U.K. government and marked an important moment for police race relations and race relations generally. The statement was one of intent. It included a commitment by the government to build an antiracist society, with a priority for all government ministries to eliminate prejudice and discrimi-

nation from its policies, taking into account the need for interministerial cooperation when formulating policy. All public sector organizations, including the police, now have to demonstrate how they have taken steps to eliminate discrimination from the delivery of their services, personnel policies, and so on.

Constabularies are required to place race relations at the center of their work and integrate policy and practice into routine policing, taking into account the culture of policing.” (Holdaway)

Before undertaking systemic change, however, a police organization must take into account professional requirements that may be unwittingly setting the stage for racial profiling. In New Jersey, for example, state police were being trained and rewarded based on the quantity as opposed to the quality of arrests. This kind of award system—formal or informal—puts pressure on police officers to engage civilians in ways that may be inappropriate.

CULTURE

“A number of police officers have told me that they believe reporting the inappropriate behaviour of a peer or superior is the kiss of death for their careers. Whether this perception reflects reality, creating a safe environment where these issues can be raised may be the biggest challenge facing police services in Canada.” Valerie Preugger

“We should not underestimate the occupational culture within the police service as being a primary source of institutional racism in the way that we differently treat black people. Interestingly, I say we because there is no marked difference between black and white in the force essentially. We are all consumed by this occupational culture.”

(Simon Holdaway, U.K.)

“It is imperative that colleagues, even those who are known to hold racist views, need to be trusted. You’re going to need back up at some time and a delay of thirty seconds can mean the difference between life and death ... Tolerating or even countenancing racism may be an expedient decision on behalf of ethnic minority officers who may feel their safety is compromised if they report a racist colleague.” (Cashmore)

“The atmosphere has to be right when you go to work, these are the people that you’re working with, if your [police] colleagues don’t like it then what about the next time you’re on the street and you’re getting your head shoved in? Well they’ll just turn a blind eye, you know. It’s not like any other office job, if you don’t like someone you can say ‘oh bollocks, I won’t talk with him for a week’...This chap that you don’t like, you could be on the front line with him, you could be relying on him to save your life.” (Focus group member, Stone and Tuffin)

As with any other institution, police organizations have their own value systems, which has an impact on their capacity to make real change in the way things are done. Studies across Canada, the U.S. and the U.K reveal that policing culture is often marked by:

- Differences in value systems according to levels in the organization
- A ‘commonsense’ culture among frontline officers, which often translates into “rigid” and “inflexible” value systems and day to day commonsense expression of racist prejudice and bias
- Resistance to acquiring the knowledge and skills required to police a diverse society
- Negative and biased attitudes towards people of colour
- Requirement that officers of colour ‘prove’ their allegiance to the force ahead of their race
- Fierce loyalty, secrecy and solidarity that can, in the words of researcher Judith Chan (Australia) allow “deviant practices” to be covered up and “rationalized”
- Higher value for ‘real police work’, e.g. arresting and apprehending criminals, that encourages a service delivery approach that relies on stereotypes, practical consciousness and commonsense assumptions. (Chan). These values often clash with the social context in which officers work, context often defined by historically poor relations with certain racial/ethnic groups, police legal powers and discretion, and communities’ social positioning.

Experts stress that it is important to take the reality of these internal values and their relationship to the external environment into account in any attempt to change the way police systems operate. An understanding of value systems is also important in order to support frontline officers and to equip them in understanding the impact of personal and organizational values on their work.

"We should not underestimate the occupational culture within the police service as being a primary source of institutional racism in the way that we differently treat black people. Interestingly, I say we because there is no marked difference between black and white in the force essentially. We are all consumed by this occupational culture."
(Metropolitan Police Service Black Police Association's comments to the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry U.K.)

ACCOUNTABILITY

In Canada, much documentation of differential policing comes out of community advocacy, predominantly by African Canadians calling for higher levels of police accountability. Since the shooting of Buddy Evans in 1978 African Canadians have staged several protests by individuals, community-based organizations and ad hoc coalitions. Community-based organizations have included: the Black Resource and Information Centre, the Black Secretariat, Jane Finch Concerned Citizens Organization, the Jamaican Canadian Association, Regent Park Committee Against Police Harassment, the Black Action Defence Committee, the African Canadian Legal Clinic and the African Canadian Coalition on Racial Profiling.

Charles C. Smith believes that large-scale success of community advocacy in "detering continued policing impacts" on the Black community, has been impeded, however, partly because some advocates have been deemed too 'confrontational'; and partly because lobbying efforts are often localized, in areas such as Jane-Finch, Regent Park, Lawrence Heights, Alexandra Park and St. Jamestown. Advocates' persistence, however, has succeeded in putting pressure on human rights commissions and government institutions to adopt formal anti-racism, race relations and equality policies, particularly during the 1970s.

Police services, on the other hand, have been slower to yield to community pressure and Smith records a "qualitative difference" in the policing reports written during the 1970s and 80s and the 1994 final report of the Ontario Commission on Systemic Racism in the Criminal Justice System. During the 70s, he says, reports tended to be largely "discourse(s)" on police-community relations. By the 1990s, however, reports were analyzing the systemic nature of racism in law enforcement and, on the administration of justice, reflecting a "clear growth in the understanding of the discourse engaging police and subordinate racialized groups, particularly African Canadians."

During the 1990s policing reports also produced sharper distinctions in race-based treatment of visible minorities, linking arrests, detentions and convictions, particularly in drug-related activity. Reports also grew from presenting the police as solely an arm of the state, to examining policing within the context of the law enforcement system that includes crown attorneys, judges and legislation. These examinations often featured the role of the media in perpetuating negative racial stereotypes.

In 1995 Ontario's newly elected Tory government, set about to dismantle, in Charles C. Smith's words, "much of the efforts to address equality rights", including the Public Complaints Commission. In 1997 after the government released its review of the partnership between the province and police in enhancing community safety (Bill 105), community advocacy groups formed a coalition to respond to the report. They stated that: government legislative amendments did not go far enough, the government had failed to consult with the community, and nothing was done to halt police abuse and misuse of power. They also made several recommendations regarding how to deal with police misconduct; on educating the community; and, on making the complaints system more accessible, independent and transparent.

COMMUNITY-BASED POLICING

Much community advocacy over the last 30 years has been directed at encouraging more effective community-based policing strategies. The research points clearly to improved relations between communities and the police when communities feel that they are true partners with the police. Perceptions and attitudes on both sides of the partnership can, however, undermine the best efforts, as In **Their Own Voices** highlights. Interviews with some community members, workers and faith leaders reveal the following attitudes as potential challenges to effective community-based policing.

‘We’re are not all the Same’

The proponents of this approach to solution argue that the way to stop racial profiling is to show to police that not all African Canadian youth are thugs and ne’er do wells worthy of being stopped and searched...

Interviewees are inconclusive on the effectiveness of this approach to community policing. Some youth speak of “nice” police officers with whom they play sports and who treat them well in their communities; while others say that once they go outside of their community they did not feel safe. Some African Canadian police officers believe the answer lies in officers knowing their communities and making themselves available for their communities to know them. In two similar inner city communities where interviews were conducted at the local recreation center, at least some youth from the community with a police-youth recreational program had positive comments regarding the police. In the other community few if any youth had positive comments about the police: they only see the police as they patrol, usually in cars...

‘To Challenge is to Reject’

Members of this camp believe that a call for police accountability is a call to reject the office of policing in society. They cite everything from religious views to legal history to statements by law enforcement leaders. They do not distinguish between policing as an office, a system and an individual activity.... Policing as an office relates to the need to maintain social order. Society needs policing to prevent anarchy. A policing system on the other hand is no different than any other system: education, judiciary or legal. Systems have legislated frameworks, as well as ‘ways of doing things’, some handed down from history...

Individuals within a system or an office vary across a wide spectrum. Some take the oath and other formal requirements of the office seriously, while others put their own slant on what the oath means in reality real time. Some are unable to separate themselves from the system, while others buck the trend and do what they feel to be right even when others around them appear to be doing wrong...

‘Living Through Other People’s Experiences’

At one police-community conference one presenter made the distinction between people having their own lived experience with the police and living vicariously through the negative experiences of others....The implication was that vicarious experience with the police carries less validity than personal experience...[In the interviews]... Vicarious experience seems to carry the same weight as lived experience, since it often forms the basis of what people talk about in their homes, their community centres, their churches and their one on one relationships.

‘Forget the Past and Move On’

Those who express this solution skip or gloss over diagnosis of racial profiling as a problem, preferring instead to move straight into solutions. Reasons range from pacifist philosophy to internalized racism, ego, misinformation, ignorance, yearning for systemic approval and, as mentioned before, fear that demand for change and accountability equals rejection of police authority. One way proponents see ‘moving on’ is for African Canadians to ‘present’ a perfect package.

COMPLAINTS MECHANISMS

Much of the controversy over the past 30 years has surrounded the need for an independent mechanism through which civilians can file complaints against the police. Police oversight is seen to be best conducted at the municipal level, with strong input from neighborhood safety and security committees. Various reports have called for cities to create annual policing plans, based on extensive community consultation. The community would also participate in assessing progress in fulfilling the plan’s objectives. Oversight and complaints mechanisms recommended over the last 30 years have included the following:

Special Investigations Unit (SIU)

The SIU is responsible for investigating any incident involving the police in which a civilian is killed or injured. Over the years the SIU has been criticized for not being independent enough of the policing structure. Among recommendations made over the years to improve the Unit have been the following:

- Officers involved in the incident should submit information/evidence within 24 hours after the SIU requests it
- Officers refusing to submit to SIU questioning should be suspended without pay
- The *Police Services Act* should be modified so the SIU can charge an officer for failure to submit evidence on time; to clarify the chief’s duty to obtain statements from officers and witnesses to the incident; and, to allow local police to aid the SIU in its investigation
- The SIU should be funded so its investigations will be totally independent, ideally through the use of civilian employees with investigative experience.
- A special unit should be created within the Ministry of the Attorney General to prosecute all SIU charges and to consult with defence counsel, the SIU, police services and visible minority communities regarding guidelines for the unit.
- An alternative should be created to coroner’s inquests to determine whether police legitimately used force during the incident in question.

Public Complaints Processes

According to Professor Tammy Landau:

“An analysis of complainants’ views of the Toronto scheme clearly indicated that the arrangement whereby the police investigated themselves had a devastating impact on the legitimacy of the system. Sixty per cent of complainants who had experienced the whole complaints process and whose complaint had been resolved did not think that Toronto had a fair system for handling complaints against the police: over two-thirds stated that they were either unsatisfied or very unsatisfied with their experience making a complaint and over half said that, knowing what they knew at the time of the interview, they would not use the same system again.”

Charles C. Smith also cites a 2002 audit of the Toronto Police public complaints process, which noted that:

“Discipline imposed against police officers is not being monitored. In two out of ten files we reviewed where complaints were substantiated, discipline as adjudicated was not imposed.”

According to Smith, the audit found:

- Communications materials on the complaint process are in English only
- Written guidelines are needed on classifications of complaints
- Final reports lack enough substance on which to base conclusions
- Gaps in investigators’ log notes
- Failure to advise complaints on what, if any, action was taken on substantiated complaints
- Complainants lack adequate legal representation
- Low levels of public confidence in the existing complaints process.

Smith concludes:

“the police have declared that they have implemented all recommendations from all reports and then they move on to other things. What, however, is unclear is the quality of the implementation and the degree to which such is systemic. ...This has prompted community advocates to be critical of the police and to disregard their assertions of commitment to positive race relations. It is in this context into which the Toronto Star series on racial profiling has entered.”

EDUCATION /TRAINING

Police

“Police officers work with people. They provide an essential public service that supports community safety and contribute to the comfort that individuals and communities have within their social and private interactions.”

(Crisis, Conflict and Accountability)

Given their critical role in society, it is important that police have the knowledge and skills they need to serve the public in a fair and democratic manner. To this end, police are being trained in subject areas such as criminology, legal developments, technology and administration. Cross-cultural, anti-racism and race relations training also fall in this category. This kind of training can yield positive benefits. In the mid-1980s for example, a Vancouver conference on policing in a multicultural society was well attended by police organizations from across Canada. Upon their return, the Toronto participants established the now defunct Greater Toronto Working Group on Policing in a Multicultural and Multiracial Community.

For maximum impact, Smith says, “education and training (must be) comprehensive, challenging, mandatory, provided on a continuous basis and refined to support police at all levels in doing their work in an anti-racist framework.”

Community

Proposed training for community members often takes the form of equipping individuals and organizations to understand the office of policing, and to know their rights and responsibilities relative to the police. In some jurisdictions that Charles C. Smith examined, police are required to hand out *Know Your Rights* cards to all persons stopped. In other cases local organizations are provided with resources to educate their constituents and to equip them for engaging in dialogue with police on local concerns. In Their Own Voices interviewees also supported the idea of community education as a means of reducing anti-police sentiment, particularly among youth.

"[Education] change(s) their(youth's) thoughts on cops. Ninety-five percent of the Black kids out there think negative about cops, because of what they see... (or) because of what they have done to them. And not just Black kids, because there's white kids that have these things happen to them. When I got arrested I got kicked out of school. I was in a support program. There were cops that constantly came and tried to change our thoughts on how we saw them...make us realize that what we think they are about they are not about."

(Anthony, 18),

SECTION 3

BEST PRACTICES

Best practices among police departments and jurisdictions to address racial profiling are found throughout the sources Charles C. Smith cites in **Crisis, Conflict and Accountability**. Canadian reports have made many recommendations; the U.K. government has begun implementing the recommendations of the Stephen Lawrence Report and more than 400 U.S. police departments are currently engaged in some aspect of addressing racial profiling in concrete ways. Best practice recommendations and initiatives address different areas of policing.

ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

U.K. Model

Some features of this model are being implemented, while others are still in the recommendation stage.

- Accountability measures directed at police management and inspection, with clear priorities and indicators for increasing public trust in the police
- Qualitative and quantitative performance indicators as part of organizational audits
- An independent complaints function with its own investigation team
- Requirement to undertake recruitment, retention and progression goals
- Guidelines for stops and searches
- A public awareness campaign on citizens' rights when stopped
- Racism awareness; new occupational standards for community/race relations; and service approaches to minority communities included in all courses
- Requirement to seek community support in publishing best practices
- Research using existing public cameras in strategic shopping and leisure areas to help in determining appropriate benchmarks on population being served
- Emphasis on quality of encounters with police and on supervision as critical to restoring or maintaining public trust
- Respect for community experiences as a measure of police service delivery

POLICY

Recommendations regarding policies for police organizations have included:

- A policy prohibiting the use of stereotypes and media in crime reporting
- A diversity management policy implemented by police senior officials
- An Anti-Racism and Diversity Committee with responsibility to develop an anti-racism strategy to eliminate systemic barriers in police policy and practice

SYSTEMS

Examples of best practices in Systemic Change:

- Requiring that all arrests, stops, detentions, searches and seizures be based on reasonable suspicion and probable cause
- Restricting officers' ability to use race or ethnicity in establishing reasonable suspicion or probable cause
- Holding officers accountable for their behaviour during interactions so there won't be any perception of racially biased policing

TRAINING

Training Recommendations made over the last thirty years in Canada include:

- Integrate race relations training into generic police training in areas such as education, skills development and behaviour
- Align race relations training objectives with organizational objectives and workforce realities
- Provide race relations training to all police services personnel within a reasonable time
- Provide ongoing refresher training and promotion-related training
- Integrate race relations training into refresher courses offered at the Ontario Police College and conduct professional assessment of this training
- Create an Ontario Police Training, Education and Development Board to implement government-recommended training
- Contract external race relations training professionals who are persons of colour ('visible minorities'), to conduct police training
- Ensure appropriate balance in the way training materials depict minorities
- Make race relations training a budgetary priority
- Increase the use of high-tech training resources
- Use videos to convey race-relations messages
- Develop model race relations and anti-discrimination training standards for use by Canadian police forces

OFFICER PERFORMANCE

Recommendations have stressed the need for officers to not only acquire skills in interacting with visible minorities, but also to increase those skills and be held accountable for them. This is best done through performance management and evaluation, implemented through a variety of means. Best practices suggest that the following strategies work well:

- Create an early warning system that alerts supervisors to an individual officer's stop and search patterns
- Hold middle management accountable for officers' actions
- Establish concrete requirements of officers, such as the use of alternatives to deadly force and improved behaviour during traffic stops
- Require supervising officers to report any cases of police records being improperly completed and search patterns of visible minorities being different than others. Follow-up steps should also be reported.
- Identify officers in racial profiling data, allowing for good practices to be recognized and problem areas to be addressed
- Identify clear roles for supervisors and officers in recording and reviewing profiling data
- Make it mandatory for all searches, including voluntary searches to be recorded and for this information to be shared with the citizens searched
- Require officers to explain the purpose of a stop or search so that the individual will be more cooperative and will feel less targeted
- Restrict stops and searches to valid reasons and share these reasons and their outcomes with the persons stopped
- Support officers in the use of a problem-solving approach to policing; offer tangible rewards when they do so and specified consequences when they don't.

ACCOUNTABILITY

Community-Based Policing

Police accountability to the communities they serve begins with strong and positive relations with those communities. Effective community-based policing requires both partnership and empowerment. These elements in turn thrive on mutual trust and respect between the community and the police. Among recommended strategies and best practices:

- Sponsor exchange programs between police and non-governmental organizations
- Create local community policing committees (CPCs) that report to police services boards. CPCs would (1) negotiate with police to establish and monitor local policing goals and performance standards (2) develop policies and practices (3) serve as liaison between the community and police services boards (4) help resolve informal complaints against the police and collaborate with police and others on police education.
- Fund community environmental scans every five years on topics such as local crime (reported and unreported), safety, and police-community interactions
- Encourage police to seek advice of respected community members on race relations on how to best serve the community
- Create a single body for co-ordinating police policy, program design and delivery and, assessment
- Educate the community on police units involved in community policing
- Ensure that police-community partnerships are balanced and not police-dominated
- Develop crisis communication strategies to enable police to make quick contact with community representatives
- Encourage police to participate in local recreational, educational and social activities, particularly those that relate to youth

Civilian Oversight and Complaints Mechanism

According to research, the highest level of police accountability comes through administration of citizen complaints and internal audits, undertaken within the context of a larger framework of public accountability. To strengthen the public complaints process, over the years various reports have suggested changes to the *Police Services Act* to allow race-based complaints to be brought before a mechanism run by a civilian body. Also recommended: create a means to resolve minor complaints quickly and with as little negative fallout as possible. Unit Commanders should also be requested to follow-up on officers involved in the incidents in question.

Among recommendations regarding citizens' complaints:

- a telephone hotline for citizen comments/ complaints
- use of less jargon in police interaction with citizens
- audio tapes or videotapes for accountability and monitoring

Experts also offer different models for civilian complaint systems:

- in-house, where complaints are investigated and adjudicated by the police;
- externally-supervised, where complaints are investigated and adjudicated by the police but with an external body that can review cases
- police investigation with independent adjudication, where the investigation is conducted by the police but the adjudication is done by a civilian body;
- independent investigation with police adjudication; and;
- putting the entire complaint process in the hands of a civilian oversight body.

Two prominent researchers in this area take different approaches to the subject of civilian oversight. Walker suggests that the best models are those that engage a civilian review. Scott Wortley on the other hand expresses concern that there isn't enough research to evaluate the impact of civilian oversight of complaints systems. Walker bases his support for civilian oversight on jurisdictions in which these models are in operation. The key to their success, he says, lies in qualities such as full power to independently investigate citizen complaints, authority to examine any and all aspects of a police department and ability to audit controversial incidents.

Wortley focuses on the number of police complaints, case outcomes, complainants satisfaction with the process, public perceptions and police satisfaction. He does, however, report that Australia's Criminal Justice Commission has made "...a very significant contribution to...police reform and accountability", evident in increased willingness among officers to report colleague misconduct. Wortley also suggests seventeen elements to take into account when considering civilian oversight, including: external reporting mechanisms, accessibility, provision for third party complaints and informal resolutions, independent as well as proactive investigations, monitoring police management, establishing early warning systems, representing minority interests and monitoring and evaluation.

In other parts of the world, Brazil has established police Ombudsman offices in nine of its states as a response to the number of deaths in police custody; Peru has reconstituted its Police Service Commission; South Africa has established the Independent Complaints Directorate. In Kenya oversight comes through the Human Rights Commission and in India through the Institute of Communication and Development, Chandigarh. Generally, these offices respond to citizen complaints about police misconduct, analyze trends and take complaints from police officers who wish to report misconduct of their colleagues to an independent body. They also investigate allegations and determine punishment.

DATA COLLECTION

Data collection is an increasingly important tool in Canada and the U.S. for capturing information that assists lawmakers and police forces in documenting whether or not members of certain groups are being stopped and/or searched disproportionately. Data collection is also assisting police organizations to develop strategies that enable them to serve their communities fairly and equitably. In many jurisdictions community representatives participate meaningfully in the process as well. Over the years in Canada several report recommendations have urged police and governments to undertake some form of data collection to assist providing equitable service.

The Andrews Report (Toronto, 1993) recommended that a database be created to "measure police activity relative to discretionary charges (against police)" resulting from police contact with the public. Statistics should be detailed enough to allow statistically correct conclusions. Access to the raw data would be limited to a civilian body that would compile, maintain and analyze them. A Police Chief or senior officer could authorize collection and release of the statistics. Other recommendations have called for use of force incidents to be analyzed in order to track trends among the officers in question. The Ministry of the Solicitor General has also been called upon to fund research about collecting reliable evidence on use of force. Among other recommendations:

- When investigating incidents involving police shooting, require notes from more than one officer for a more accurate account;
- Create means to obtain feedback from the public regarding police service

Best Practices in Data Collection

The Smith report documents many instances of police jurisdictions in the U.S. and Britain that collect data, usually on traffic and pedestrian stops. According to the Stephen Lawrence (U.K.) Inquiry, data collection is critical to police accountability at individual, supervisory and public levels. To collect data, police forces in Britain and the U.S. are using the following techniques:

- Procedures for collecting data on the number of civilian stops and searches
- Video cameras in police vehicles to record all interactions with the public
- Community surveys to assess perception of stops and searches
- Comprehensive change strategies that address all aspects of policing and police relationships with visible minority communities

In California alone some 75 agencies, including the Highway Patrol collect data on traffic stops, while 14 states have passed legislation making racial profiling policies mandatory. In total some 400 U.S. law enforcement agencies collect data on traffic stops. Why is data collection seen to be so important? Smith quotes Captain Ronald L. Davis of the Oakland Police Department:

“Police departments increasingly rely on information systems to guide their policing. New York led the way early in the 1990s with its Compstat system, used to monitor crime and pinpoint areas where more resources should be deployed ...” and further that “Racial profiling, itself defined through statistics, has led to a new expansion of police information gathering. Laws passed and remedies in consent decrees have encouraged police to take advantage of technology in order to modernize their approach to routine traffic stops.”

In 1997 legislation was proposed in the U.S. Congress to require all States to collect data on the race, age, gender of all persons in vehicles stopped by the police; purpose of the stop; whether police asked consent before searching vehicles and the result of the stop or search. The law did not pass, but several police jurisdictions adopted elements of the law, beginning with police jurisdictions in Connecticut and North Carolina.

Discretionary Stops

A prime focus of data collection is on discretionary stops...those in which police use factors such as the person’s movements, behaviour, location and direction given to the officer. In Britain, discretion accounts for 86% of all stops; 93% of vehicle stops; 73% of searches; and, more than a half of pedestrian stops and searches. Understanding police discretion is critical to gauging the legitimacy of police stops.

Studies abroad reveal several challenges in collecting stop and search data, notably:

- How officers determine the race of the person stopped
- The time required to collect the data
- Police cooperation in collecting data
- Accuracy and appropriate criteria
- Use of data in training and in police-community relations
- Level of community involvement

The National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives has also addressed the challenges of data collection and has made recommendations on the type of data to collect; how to identify race; the importance of involving stakeholders; data analysis and benchmarking; community responsibilities; and the purposes and benefits of collecting data.

Disproportionate Stops

A second major focus of discussions around data collection lies in disproportionate stops—how do we define a stop, given that police officers stop individuals for a variety of reasons, including to: search them; issue a summons for a moving violation; ask a simple question or follow-up on a suspicion. The Association of Chief Police Officers (the U.K.) defines disproportionate policing as:

"a difference in policing outcome between different ethnic or other groups in respect of police power. Disproportionality raises concerns that discrimination may be occurring, and the presence of disproportionality in stop and search monitoring figures may serve to reinforce the perception in some communities that police officers exercise their powers in a discriminatory way."

Jurisdictional Best Practices

As best practices, Charles C. Smith also cites the following jurisdictions, based on the conclusions of U.S. researchers:

Chattanooga Police Department, which records every moving citation, recording stats in the department's Field Interview and Vehicle Stop Report. The report includes name, date of birth, social security number and identifying characteristics. One-page reports based on the data are submitted to the Chief once a month.

Baltimore Police Department issues receipts to civilians following every stop. The receipts list the date, time, location and duration of the stop; the officer's name and badge number; reason for the stop; information about the person's vehicle and whether or not the police obtained consent if and when a search was conducted.

St. Paul Police Department uses their Computer Aided Dispatch (CAD) system to collect data, then submits the data to the University of Minnesota for analysis. Community organizations are involved in the process.

The Oakland Police Department sets benchmarks for data collection, based on the city's racial composition, using localized population breakdown, rather than aggregate census data. The Department tracks the number of officers dispatched to different neighbourhoods and examines the relationship between traffic stops, searches and crime rates. Statistics also record number of people stopped while on probation or parole, number of repeat offenders and special programs, such as drunk driving initiatives, which require targeting or profiling specific portions of the population for stops and searches. The National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives has recognized the Department as a model for data collection.

San Jose Police Department's instituted a new data collection system in 1999 following repeated complaints to the city's independent police auditor of disproportionate race-based stops and searches. The new system, supported by a mobile data terminal, requires officers to notify the police dispatcher of the race, age and gender of the person stopped. Information is relayed via codes, such as (H) for Hispanic, and (B) for African American, by computer directly into the dispatcher system. Officers must also report the reason for the stop and the outcome.

San Diego has seen reduction in crime for nine years in a row, while its homicide rate specifically has declined 75%. The Department has strong community links and hundreds of volunteers. All traffic stops capture 14 elements, ranging from district in which the stop was made and purpose of the stop, to the race, age and gender. Information is relayed by codes to the dispatcher using hand-held or laptop computers. Neither the motorist nor the officer is identified by name and only aggregate figures are used. The Department says cost of the system is minimal and that the data takes 20-30 seconds to enter.

New Jersey collects data through the computer aided dispatch system (CAD) by which officers relay information to dispatchers regarding the stop in progress. Officers are required to call the dispatcher before approaching a car (unless this is not impractical) and the communications centre assigns an incident number to each stop and post-stop activity. Legislation also requires the Attorney General to conduct a random survey of persons stopped to determine if they felt the stop was appropriately conducted.

U.K.

Recent legislative changes allow Police Chiefs to be held liable for acts of discrimination by their officers and to detail policies and activities to implement recommendations. Officers across the U.K. are also required to fill out an 'Information for Persons Searched' form after conducting a search. The form is carbon copied and available to the

person searched up to a year following the incident. The form takes 5-10 minutes to complete. Unlike U.S. jurisdictions studied, persons stopped by U.K. police are required to self-identify under 17 racial/ethnic categories. Other U.K. initiatives include:

- Requirement that officers hand out a 'Know Your Rights' card to persons stopped and searched, particularly youth 14-25
- Hiring data management professionals to monitor reporting
- Providing officers with a 'prompt card' to ensure proper questioning during a stop or search
- Discontinued voluntary searches
- Police and management training on the use of searches
- Community and field officer collaboration to identify reasons for disproportionate stops of Blacks
- Identify good officer practices and share them with the entire force
- Identify competencies officers need in order to handle stops well, including local knowledge, use of intelligence, good communication skills and use of back-up
- Community involvement in developing appropriate strategies for conducting stops and searches

Challenges

One study by MacMahon concluded after looking at the data from some 3 million police stops in the U.S. that:

"Most of the analyses reported show that police traffic stops are not proportional to the racial distribution of that jurisdiction's resident population, but most studies do not conclude that the police are engaged in racial profiling."

Smith attributes this apparent inconsistency to differences in definition of racial profiling, in what constitutes a stop and in what actions in different jurisdictions are viewed as disproportionate. In addition, studies show differences in the design, implementation and interpretation of the data collected and even in the scope of data collected. There is evidence of under-reporting, which skews the data, and variations between departments with similar characteristics and crime rates and in the frequency of collection.

Notwithstanding the challenges in data collection, researchers have found:

- strong police-community relations help in the success of collection efforts
- an early-warning system helps identify areas of potential problems
- data collection may assist in identifying effective stop-search procedures
- police tend to 'think twice' and examine their motives in deciding to make stops
- the public is less resistant to being stopped and searched if the purpose is explained ahead of time
- some officers see documentation as a safeguard against unfounded allegations against them
- data collection accuracy improves with effective supervision

To increase effectiveness, a data collection system needs to:

- Establish a task force with the police, community and academics/researchers
- Implement a 3-6 month pilot program
- Design the collection process using systems and technologies already in place
- Collect data on routine stops, using identification codes and information linked to related stops and searches

For impact, data collection should be part of a systemic approach to equitable policing.

EPILOGUE

Crisis, Conflict and Accountability and **In Their Own Voices** have captured the essence of experiences, perspectives, perceptions and solutions that African Canadians—particularly in the GTA—have offered up over the last 30 years in the interest of addressing racial profiling and bridging the gap between their communities and the police. **Crisis, Conflict and Accountability** looks at racial profiling as a historical and operational phenomenon and places it in the context of U.S. and U.K. jurisdictions, which are also facing similar questions about whether Blacks are being policed differently than other people. Charles C. Smith then presents what many of those jurisdictions are doing to address racial profiling, as reflected in qualitative and quantitative research. **In Their Own Voices** adds the voices of Blacks in the GTA, in vivid, first person accounts of negative experiences with the police. For some, these negative experiences seem to be the norm: for others, they are an exception to otherwise positive relations. These voices, however, dissect the phenomenon of racial profiling and lay bare the heart of what Blacks mean when they say “We are being targeted and racially profiled by police.” And, in many instances, they offer suggestions on how racial profiling should be addressed, regardless of whether it affects many or just a few members of their communities.

THE END

For additional information on racial profiling and on best practices to address it, see the *Racial Profiling Fact Sheet Series*.

Maureen J. Brown is a former journalist who runs her own company, **DiversityTrainersPlus**. **DiversityTrainersPlus** equips organizations and jurisdictions to create inclusive environments, through support in research, strategic planning and training. Maureen served ten years at the Ontario Human Rights Commission and is the author of *Growing Up Black in Oakville: The Impact of Community on Black Youth Identity Formation and Civic Participation*.

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