



# **“THIS ISSUE HAS BEEN WITH US FOR AGES”**

**A COMMUNITY-BASED  
ASSESSMENT OF POLICE CONTACT  
CARDING IN 31 DIVISION**

**FINAL REPORT**

**NOVEMBER 2014**

**"THIS ISSUE HAS BEEN WITH  
US FOR AGES -- I REMEMBER  
PEOPLE TALKING ABOUT  
CHANGING THIS WHEN I WAS  
A TEENAGER. NOTHING HAS  
CHANGED."**

**- SURVEY RESPONDENT, 31 DIVISION**

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# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

**COMMUNITY ASSESSMENT OF POLICE PRACTICES (CAPP)** was a community based research project conducted over the summer of 2014. On behalf of CAPP, I would like to thank everyone who contributed to this study.

I would like to especially thank the 400-plus residents of 31 Division who participated in the survey interviews. We thank you for trusting us and sharing personal stories regarding your interactions with the Toronto Police Service.

The history of this community's struggle for equitable policing in 31 Division is long. We must acknowledge the efforts of residents, organizations, activists, community leaders, researchers and advocates – both past and present – who have worked tirelessly to achieve just treatment from the Toronto Police Service. This report is another contribution to this struggle.

Particular gratitude is extended to the members of the CAPP Community Advisory Committee who contributed to the project. Your commitment and support played a key role in achieving CAPP's research objectives, and your extensive knowledge of the community was useful in helping to refine the methodology.

Also, a special thank you to CAPP's 23 youth research assistants. Community-based research relies upon the collection of quality data. For this we owe enormous gratitude to each and every youth research assistant who canvassed neighbourhoods across 31 Division in order to engage survey respondents.

I would like to extend deep and sincere thanks to the entire CAPP research team. In particular, I would like to acknowledge the contributions of Dr. Uzo Anucha, Alexander Lovell, Chris Williams, Adanna Anucha, Talisha Ramsaroop, Henry Appiah, Vineeth Sekharan, Cauldrick Maloney, Rebecca Houwer and Anita Sekharan. It is due to your collective wisdom, expertise and commitment that this study was completed over such a short period of time.

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Lastly, I would like to thank the Toronto Police Services Board for funding this study. It is hoped that these findings, which give voice to a community's concerns, ideas and demands for improved police-community relations, will be helpful in your efforts to revise the Community Contacts Policy.

Neil Price  
Project Director  
Community Assessment of Police Practices  
November 2014

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

**DURING THE SUMMER OF 2014**, the Community Assessment of Police Practices (CAPP) research project surveyed over 400 community members across 31 Division in order to determine community satisfaction with policing during the June to August, 2014 time period, measure the impact of the Community Contacts policy, and make recommendations for changes or improvements to the Community Contacts policy. We canvassed high-traffic areas throughout six neighbourhoods in 31 Division, and we targeted our survey dissemination throughout Toronto Community Housing communities and via an online survey. Guided by a community advisory committee, CAPP also held two community forums in 31 Division to allow members of the community to respond to the research, and to propose solutions that could improve police-community relations.

Through our research, we learned that very few members of the public are aware of the new policy or the formal procedures involved in ‘carding’. We also learned that there is widespread dissatisfaction with the way that police interact with members of the community. In general, the level of trust in the police is low and many participants expressed negative views regarding the police. For example, a large number of respondents believe that police regularly abuse their power. In addition, there is a view that police racially profile members of the community. Compellingly, this belief was identified among both racialized and non-racialized groups. While a significant number of respondents identify small improvements in the relationship between police and community residents since June 2014, roughly 40% still feel that the relationship between police and the community is poor.

The status quo with respect to policing in 31 Division is unacceptable by any measure. Reflecting findings from the research, as well as recommendations from the public provided during the community forums, this report puts forward the following 10 recommendations for the Toronto Police Service Board with respect to (1) the implementation of the Community Contacts Policy and (2) certain means by which police-community relations in 31 Division can be improved.



## RECOMMENDATIONS

### *Recommendations regarding Community Contacts Policy revision:*

#### **1. Institute a ban on the carding of minors**

On the basis of policy compliance issues related to right-to-leave protocols, as well as the psychological impact of carding on children, the practice of carding minors should be terminated immediately.

#### **2. Revise current carding categories**

With the new emphasis on the need for carding to be carried out for valid public safety reasons, carding categories that are vague and highly subjective (e.g. “general investigation,” “loitering,” “suspicious activity,” etc.) should be eliminated.

#### **3. Purge all pre-policy contact cards**

From a logical and practical standpoint, the millions of contact cards filled out prior to the approval date of the Community Contacts Policy (April 24, 2014) could not have been completed in compliance with the policy and should therefore be entirely purged.

#### **4. Impose a 24 month retention limit on post-policy contact cards**

Contact card entries are used for employment background check purposes within the Toronto Police Service and beyond. In order to reduce the potentially negative impact of contact cards on the employment prospects of carded individuals, contact card entries should not be retained for more than 24 months.

### *Recommendations concerning improved community engagement:*

#### **5. Develop a policy compliance checklist that can be reviewed and published quarterly**

The TPSB should create and administer an accessible evaluation tool in the form of a checklist or mini-survey that could be administered on a quarterly basis. Results from this evaluation would provide the TPSB and the public with a regular “snapshot” concerning Toronto Police Service compliance with set policy. This tool could take the form of a 10 question online survey administered by community agencies. While extensive research projects like CAPP are essential in assessing police-community relations over the long-term, it is also important to have more timely research initiatives which respond rapidly to community concerns about policing.

**6. Create a robust and sustained community engagement strategy with emphasis on improved communications**

Considering the low levels of public knowledge about the details of the policy, a variety of communication strategies should be developed (using conventional media, social media and other avenues) to bolster public awareness. Form community-level partnerships with organizations working on police assessment and accountability issues.

**7. Commit to the ongoing funding of independent community-based research projects**

Well-executed research initiatives on community experiences with carding (and related police practices) are one of the main means by which to determine the effectiveness of the Community Contacts Policy.

**8. Develop an accountability strategy that boosts community confidence in the policy**

Given that accountability is emphasized in the policy (sections 18a and 18b), periodic updates on disciplinary outcomes in response to policy non-compliance should be shared with the public.

**9. Initiate and sustain public education initiatives focused on police issues**

TPSB should commit to providing regular and sustained community forums that offer community members an opportunity to educate themselves about relevant policing issues. These forums should be proactive rather than reactive and should seek to involve a broad spectrum of community stakeholders.

**10. Develop community-level “info clinics” which support those interested in accessing their personal information from police databases**

Large numbers of citizens who have been carded are unaware of the nature of the information that has been collected in connection with their names. Accordingly, information clinics dealing with the process of filing access requests with the Toronto Police Service should be conducted on a regular basis in various parts of the city.



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## NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

**OVER THE COURSE OF MULTIPLE YEARS,** the term “contact card” has been referenced in a variety of ways: Community Inquiry Reports (CIR), Field Information Reports (FIR), Community Safety Notes (CSN), 306 forms, 208 forms, etc. These various terms appear in different sections of the report (when, for example, police documents are quoted) and one should therefore bear in mind that they all refer to contact cards.

CAPP defined Carding and Racial Profiling as follows for this research:

**Carding:** The police practice of recording highly detailed personal information derived from citizens in primarily non-criminal encounters.

**Racial Profiling:** CAPP adopted the common definition of racial profiling by law enforcement as “a practice that targets people for suspicion of crime based on their race, ethnicity, religion or national origin.” (<http://www.nij.gov/topics/law-enforcement/legitimacy/Pages/racial-profiling.aspx>)

**“CONTACT CARDS (KNOWN AS 208s) ARE AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT OF INTELLIGENCE-LED POLICING. I HAVE ASKED MY FRONTLINE OFFICERS TO GET OUT INTO THE COMMUNITY MORE – TO SPEAK TO PEOPLE AND TO GET TO KNOW THEIR NAMES AND THEIR CONCERNS...IT IS MY EXPECTATION THAT OFFICERS WILL ENGAGE IN PUBLIC INTERACTIONS IN ACCORDANCE WITH OUR POLICIES AND PROCEDURES.”<sup>1</sup>**

**– WILLIAM BLAIR, CHIEF OF THE TORONTO POLICE SERVICE**

<sup>1</sup> William Blair, “[Making Communities More Secure](#),” *Toronto Star*, July 7, 2007.

**“...IF YOU’RE TALKING ABOUT BROAD DAYLIGHT, WE HAVE NOTHING TO DO, OUR SUPERIORS SAY WE NEED TO GO OUT AND CARD PEOPLE. THIS IS WHERE I DIFFER, BECAUSE WE’RE DOING WORK FOR THE FORCE AND NOT FOR THE RIGHT REASONS. SO, WE’LL ACTUALLY GO OUT IN THE PARKS AND WHATEVER AND WE’LL LOOK FOR GUYS WHO FIT A CERTAIN DESCRIPTION, WHO MAY NOT BE WEARING FANCY CLOTHES, AND WE’LL HARASS THEM, LIKE LITERALLY. AND WE CALL IT SHAKEDOWN.”<sup>2</sup>**

**- FORMER TORONTO POLICE OFFICER**

<sup>2</sup> Jim Rankin, “[Ex-Toronto Police Officer’s Candid View of Carding](#),” *Toronto Star*, September 27, 2013.

**“IF THE MANNER IN WHICH THESE 208 CARDS ARE CURRENTLY BEING USED CONTINUES THERE WILL BE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES AHEAD. THEY ARE BUT ANOTHER MEANS WHEREBY SUBJECTIVE ASSESSMENTS BASED UPON RACE – OR SOME OTHER IRRELEVANT FACTOR – CAN BE USED TO MASK DISCRIMINATORY CONDUCT. IF THIS IS SOMEDAY MADE OUT – THIS COURT FOR ONE WILL NOT TOLERATE IT. THIS KIND OF DAILY TRACKING OF THE WHEREABOUTS OF PERSONS – INCLUDING MANY INNOCENT LAW-ABIDING PERSONS – HAS AN ASPECT TO IT THAT REMINDS ME OF FORMER GOVERNMENT REGIMES THAT I AM CERTAIN ALL OF US WOULD PREFER NOT TO REPLICATE.”<sup>3</sup>**

**– JUSTICE HARRY S. LAFORME, ONTARIO SUPERIOR COURT OF JUSTICE**

<sup>3</sup> *R v. Ferdinand*, 2004 CanLII 5854 (ON SC).





- SECTION 01 -

# **INTRODUCTION:** WHAT IS THIS STUDY ABOUT?



# INTRODUCTION: WHAT IS THIS STUDY ABOUT?

## 1.1 STUDY OBJECTIVES

In recent years, general and special meetings conducted by the Toronto Police Services Board (TPSB) have identified concerns about the manner in which police officers gather intelligence (in the form of detailed personal information) from community members. Recent police data has shown that certain communities – such as the Black community – experience more frequent stops and carding by Toronto police officers.

In April 2014, the TPSB approved new policies and procedures for how the police should stop and question individuals. This policy is known as the Community Contacts Policy. The new policy is supposed to respond to concerns that the TPSB identified regarding the manner in which police officers gather intelligence from community members.

This study, the Community Assessment of Police Practices, was developed in response to a request for proposals by the TPSB which extended an opportunity for a community-based research group to examine if the revised policy is addressing the concerns raised about how contact carding has been practiced over the years.

CAPP's study objectives were informed by the three goals developed by the TPSB in the request for proposals:

1. determine community satisfaction with policing during the June to August, 2014 time period;
2. measure the impact of the Board's Community Contacts policy; and,
3. make recommendations for changes or improvements to the Board's Community Contacts policy.

## 1.2 ORGANIZATION OF THIS REPORT

This report is organized into six sections. Section one provides an introduction outlining the study's context and objectives; this section also provides an overview of previous work (primarily journalistic) on contact carding highlighting key issues related to raw numbers, patterns and

controversies. Section two describes the study's methodology which was formulated in accordance with community-based approaches to research. The findings are presented in section three while section four discusses four key themes that arise from the survey findings. Section five outlines recommendations based on the findings while section six reviews some limitations of the study, lessons learned and suggestions for building on the study.

### **1.3 WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT CONTACT CARDING? NUMBERS, PATTERNS AND CONTROVERSIES**

In the course of their day-to-day engagements in policing, police officers in Toronto to extract highly detailed personal information from citizens in primarily non-criminal situations following vehicular or pedestrian stops. The information – which includes an individual's date of birth, address, gender, skin colour, hair colour, eye colour, weight, clothing, etc. – is recorded on a small card, commonly referred to as a contact card, and subsequently entered into a searchable database and retained for an indeterminate period of time. As less than arrests but more than mere conversations, stops that entail contact carding qualify as a form of intelligence-gathering justified by police officials as an important component of their stated commitments to enhancing public safety, particularly in parts of the city that have been designated as “high crime areas.” This procedure is justified by police officials as an important component of their commitment to ensure public safety, particularly in parts of the city that have been designated as “high crime areas.”

Carding, despite its status as an established police practice that goes back decades, did not become a flashpoint issue until the *Toronto Star* published an in-depth investigative series in 2010, which drew attention to the number of cards filled out on a yearly basis, the geographical distribution of cards throughout the city's 72 police patrol zones, patterns of carding based on age, gender and race, and related matters. As a data-driven investigation enriched by personal accounts provided by carded individuals, the series, formally titled “Known to Police,”<sup>4</sup> was of considerable interest to members of the general public, as well as lawyers, civil libertarians, social workers, community activists and academics. A follow-up series in 2013<sup>5</sup> also garnered heavy readership, as well as a National Newspaper Award.<sup>6</sup>

In the *Toronto Star Analysis of Toronto Police Service Data – 2010*, an online data package, the *Star* research team revealed that over a six year period covering 2003-2008, Toronto police officers filled out 1.7 million contact cards pertaining to approximately 1.3 million individuals, 172,000

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<sup>4</sup> Toronto Star, *Known to Police*, [www.thestar.com/news/gta/known\\_topolice.html](http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/known_topolice.html) (accessed October 11, 2014).

<sup>5</sup> Toronto Star, *Known to Police 2013*, [www.thestar.com/news/gta/known\\_topolice2013.html](http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/known_topolice2013.html) (accessed October 11, 2014).

<sup>6</sup> Jessica McDiarmid, “Toronto Star Picks Up Five Top Journalism Awards,” *Toronto Star*, May 30, 2014.

of whom had been carded on more than one occasion.<sup>7</sup> With a focus on a single year, 2008, the *Star* also provided details on the stated reasons for the various contacts. Of the 289,400 cards entered in 2008, the overwhelming majority were for “general investigation” (158,700), “traffic stop” (47,600), “vehicle related” (15,500) and “loitering” (10,900). In sharp contrast, categories indicative of serious incidents accounted for a very small percentage of all contact cards: “organized crime” (42), “hold up” (125), “homicide” (153), “sound of gun shots” (246) and so forth.<sup>8</sup> Expressed as ratios, one therefore finds, for example, that for every “homicide” card there were over a thousand “general investigation” cards.

With respect to police designations of the skin colour of carded individuals – black, white, brown and other – the data showed underrepresentation of “other” (23.8% of the general population/5.5% of contact cards), roughly proportionate representation of “white” (53.1%/55.2%) and “brown” (14.7%/16.6%) and overrepresentation of “black” (8.4%/22.6%).<sup>9</sup> Using the 2006 census as a benchmark, the *Star* noted that of the 2,476,000 residents of Toronto, 208,000 were black. Given that in the 2003-2008 period police filled out 401,100 contact cards with the skin descriptor “black,” a significant percentage of the black population was entered into the database during those six years. Furthermore, in a subsequent data release entitled Preliminary Toronto Star Analysis of CIPS/FIR – 2013, one learns that police completed 88,300 “black”<sup>10</sup> contact cards in a single year (2011) or roughly 1,700 per week.<sup>11</sup> As for race/place patterns of carding, the same data release showed that in predominantly white neighbourhoods, blacks were six to ten times more likely to be carded than whites.<sup>12</sup>

The ensuing controversy was characterized by numerous critiques of carding from multiple quarters. Graeme Norton of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association stated, “what happens with that information is a big question, and retaining it in a police database...raises a number of very troubling issues for us.”<sup>13</sup> With reference to the prohibition on arbitrary detention in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, defence lawyer Reid Rusonik argued that “if only a tenth of these card investigations were arbitrary detentions, the Toronto Police Service is guilty of a massive, deliberate and systemic violation of one of our most fundamental Charter rights.”<sup>14</sup> Peter Rosenthal, a lawyer, activist and University of Toronto professor, suggested carding has no place

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<sup>7</sup> Andrew Bailey and Jim Rankin, “Toronto Star Analysis of Toronto Police Service Data – 2010: Advanced Findings,” *Toronto Star*, 7.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Andrew Bailey et al., “Preliminary Toronto Star Analysis of CIPS/FIR – 2013,” *Toronto Star*, August 7, 2013, 5.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>13</sup> Jim Rankin, “Police Documented Hundreds on G20 Weekend,” *Toronto Star*, April 16, 2011.

<sup>14</sup> Reid Rusonik, “Toronto Police Abusing Rights of Black Males,” *Toronto Star*, March 14, 2012.

in a free society: “Random stops of people who are not suspected of having knowledge of any specific crime under investigation is not a ‘recognized policing reason,’ except for military police in occupied territories.”<sup>15</sup> The subject of racial disparities in carding rates was critically addressed in a Toronto Star editorial which pointed out police justifications of carding made little sense in light of the data analysis:

Police Chief Bill Blair defends his force’s increased use of carding – the documenting of largely non-criminal encounters with citizens – by saying that police are targeting violent crime hot spots. But if that’s the case, why did the Star’s analysis find disproportionately high documentation of young black men regardless of the neighbourhood they were in? Indeed, blacks were even more likely to be carded in predominately white, more affluent neighbourhoods where violent crime is lower.<sup>16</sup>

Margaret Parsons, executive director of the African Canadian Legal Clinic, touched upon a relatively neglected aspect of the issue when she highlighted the role of contact cards in undermining the employment prospects of carded individuals, particularly racialized youth. As she stated, “they’re over-policing in our community. And the carding of youth? These contact cards are staying on their records. They’re showing up in background checks when youth go to get jobs.”<sup>17</sup>

Rather interestingly, the Toronto Police Service did provide partial corroboration of these critical comments in their 2012 Police and Community Engagement Review (PACER) report. In one segment, for example, they acknowledge that “data collection is not always for the purpose of a specific investigation, nor is it done because the subject from whom data is being collected is in fact a target of suspicion of wrongdoing,”<sup>18</sup> which lent support to claims about the apparently arbitrary nature much of carding activity. The PACER report also features a candid admission that internal organizational evaluative norms, rather than external factors (e.g. incidents of crime), often played a role in officer carding decisions:

Current performance measuring practices include a quantitative review of the number of FIRs/CIRs an Officer writes over a five week cycle. This practice is negatively impacting the performance of Officers because some feel pressured to initiate inquiries with community members for the primary purpose of increasing their perceived productivity. This has created a disproportionate focus on quantity instead of quality

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<sup>15</sup> Patty Winsa and Jim Rankin, “[Toronto Police Urged to Stop Carding](#),” *Toronto Star*, November 18, 2013.

<sup>16</sup> Toronto Star Editorial, “[Toronto Police Services Board Needs to Review the Practice of ‘Carding’](#),” *Toronto Star*, March 13, 2012.

<sup>17</sup> Patty Winsa, “[New York, Philadelphia Police Stops Draw Criticism](#),” *Toronto Star*, August 10, 2012.

<sup>18</sup> Toronto Police Service, [The Police and Community Engagement Review](#), 2012, 36.



and may lead to Charter violations and other risk management issues.<sup>19</sup>

The employment related impacts of contact cards were touched upon as well, for in addition to mentioning that contact cards are used for “matters unrelated to prosecutions or criminal law matters,”<sup>20</sup> the report draws attention to “the use of the data...in relation to employment checks and vulnerable sector records checks.”<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, on an internal level, the data can play a role in eliminating job applicants who apply to the Toronto Police Service: “Given the Service reviews FIRs/CIRs as part of the recruitment and hiring process, the accuracy and validity of the content of any such data should continue to be appropriately qualified by the submitting Officer. Supervisory oversight is required to determine the relevance of FIR/CIR data that may be used in ‘screening out’ a job applicant.”<sup>22</sup> Taken together, then, the journalistic work of the Toronto Star, the community-based criticisms of carding and the PACER report statements about questionable aspects of the practice created conditions in which the Toronto Police Services Board decided to formulate reform measures.

The TPSB Community Contacts Policy, approved on April 24, 2014, constitutes a provisional attempt to bring carding into the domain of legally supportable police activities. Accordingly, it attaches a number of conditions and stipulations to the practice: carding must be conducted in full accordance with the Ontario Human Rights Code and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms; carding must pertain to the advancement of genuine public safety objectives; police officers must inform citizens that they are not obligated to take part in these information extraction interactions; police officers must issue receipts to those who have been carded; police officers must not be required to engage in carding to meet performance standards; cards entered into the database prior to July 1, 2013 will be retained or purged based on retroactive policy compliance evaluations and so forth. Although the policy is animated by community concerns, it is also attentive to the furtherance of police objectives/interests. So, for example, the Board notes that “creating a policy that governs interactions between Service and community members will enhance public trust and cooperation with the police,” while also adopting the latest police term for carding: “Community Safety Notes.”

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 50, emphasis added.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 36.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 14.





- SECTION 02 -

**METHODOLOGY:**  
WHAT METHODS DID  
WE USE TO ANSWER OUR  
QUESTIONS?



# METHODOLOGY:

## WHAT METHODS DID WE USE TO ANSWER OUR QUESTIONS?

### 2.1 CAPP'S RESEARCH APPROACH

CAPP's research agenda was framed by a community-based research approach that sought to involve community members in deciding what to research, how to carry out such research, and what to do with the research findings. The key features of this community-based approach included a Community Advisory Committee, ethics review and approval by the Community Research Ethics Office, two Community Forums, and extensive Youth Engagement.

**A Community Advisory Committee** that included diverse community stakeholders directed CAPP's research agenda. Please see Appendix B for the committee's Terms of Reference. The Committee supported CAPP's community engagement and capacity building activities and advised CAPP's Research Team on methodologies, data collection strategies and analyses that were better suited for research with the communities within 31 Division. The committee also advised CAPP's Research Team on possible actionable activities that respond to the findings as well as dissemination opportunities.

**Ethics Approval:** All CAPP's research methods and processes were reviewed and approved as meeting the guidelines for community-based research with human subjects by the Community Research Ethics Board (CREO) – a local body that provides ethics review for community-based research projects. The Ethics Certificate is attached as Appendix C.

**Community Forums:** In keeping with the community-based research approach, CAPP hosted two community forums to provide an opportunity for community stakeholders in 31 Division communities to shape our research plans. The first community forum at the beginning of the project provided an opportunity for feedback on proposed research activities especially the community survey. Feedback from this first community forum ensured that the survey included questions that the community felt were important. A second community forum at the end of data collection and analysis shared emergent findings with community stakeholders and asked for suggestions on possible recommendations and actions that could address these findings.

**Youth Engagement:** As part of CAPP's community-based research approach, CAPP committed to building the research capacity of youth (15 – 29) in communities within 31 Division so they could participate in asking and answering questions about community-police relations. To prepare youth to fully participate in all of CAPP's research activities, CAPP provided several paid training sessions to about 25 youth in basic concepts of community-based research in collaboration with the ACT for Youth Project located at the School of Social Work, York University. After the training, 23 youth were selected to work as Youth RAs on CAPP. The training sessions for the youth included the following:

1. Overview of Research Methods
2. Research Ethics
3. Overview of police-community relations in Toronto
4. Overview of the Toronto Police Services Board's Community Contacts policy
5. Review of the CAPP questionnaire

## 2.2 SURVEY RESEARCH DESIGN AND QUESTIONNAIRE

The CAPP survey research design was designed to gather information from community stakeholders who live, work or go to school in 31 Division communities about their experiences with policing in 31 Division. Please see Figure 2 for a map of the community. The survey focused on understanding residents' satisfaction with policing and their suggestions on how to improve police-community interactions. The survey was also interested in understanding the impact of the recent changes in policy on how the police document their contacts with residents also known as 'carding' which denotes the police practice of recording highly detailed personal information derived from citizens in primarily non-criminal encounters. CAPP was particularly interested in the experiences of individuals who have been 'carded' by police in the area since June 2014 when the new Toronto Police Services board's contacts policy was launched.

The CAPP research team reviewed previous community satisfaction surveys focused on police-community interactions. Our final questionnaire was an amalgamation of questions from previous surveys including the recent surveys done by the Public Science Project (a community-university research partnership in New York City) and the Rhode Island ACLU.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> For more information on the Public Science Project, see: <http://publicscienceproject.org/research>



### Our questionnaire included three main analytical frames:

- First, the survey included questions for *all respondents who lived, worked or went to school in 31 Division*. These questions centred on individuals' perceptions of police-community relations, satisfaction with local policing, and knowledge of the new Community Contacts Policy.
- Secondly, the questionnaire requested information from *all respondents who had been carded by the police in 31 Division at some point in time*. These questions focused on their recollection of the nature of their last experience being stopped and questioned by police, including opportunities to identify both positive and negative aspects of those encounters.
- Thirdly, the questionnaire focused on *respondents who reported having been carded since the implementation of the new Community Contacts Policy* – for the study, this analytical frame included all respondents who reported being stopped and questioned by police since June 2014. These respondents were asked a specific set of questions about how their experiences reflected elements of the new procedures for police when carding individuals.

In order to ensure the questionnaire was appropriate for examination of compliance with the Toronto Police Services Board's Community Contacts policy, we adapted the policy into a series of questions with direction from the Board meeting minutes recorded at the time of the ratification of the policy.<sup>24</sup> This draft version was then reviewed by the project's advisory committee as well as the youth research assistants and team leads who would ultimately undertake the data collection. Both groups of reviewers provided further suggestions that were incorporated into the questionnaire.

After completion of the draft questionnaire, we requested feedback from the Ontario Human Rights Commission (OHRC) to help us finalize the questions and structure of the questionnaire. The OHRC suggested areas where we could make the language in the survey more accessible; and their reviewer provided us with revisions to make the survey more accurate according to the legal aspects of police encounters with residents. The OHRC also suggested that we revise the approach we were using to examine the impact of the policy change during the summer. All of this feedback was then incorporated into a draft for review by an external ethics board. To ensure that our draft questionnaire had face validity, the youth research assistants reviewed it and provided

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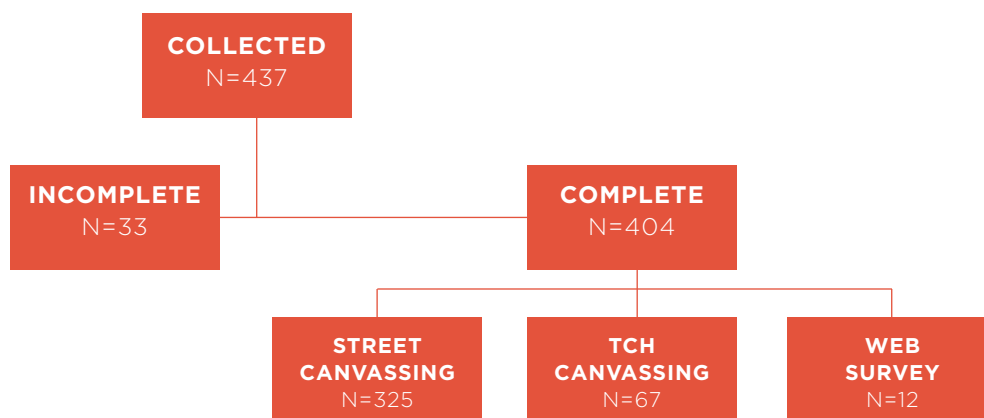
<sup>24</sup> Toronto Police Services Board; Minute No: P102/14

valuable suggestions on word choices. The draft was also pilot tested with university students who go to school in 31 Division.

## 2.3 SURVEY SAMPLING APPROACH

CAPP utilized a cluster non-random sampling method that was based on canvassing high-traffic areas throughout the six neighbourhoods in 31 Division, targeted survey dissemination throughout Toronto Community Housing communities, and distribution of an online survey. In order to be eligible to complete the survey, respondents needed to either live, work or go to school in 31 Division.

In total, 437 surveys were collected over the course of two weeks by the youth research assistants and via the online survey. Figure 1 summarizes the primary sources of survey data collected.



**FIGURE 1: SURVEY SAMPLING RESULTS**

33 of the surveys collected were not included in the analysis because they were missing a significant number of responses to questions (>30% incomplete); the remaining 404 surveys were included in the analysis.

The street canvassing approach generated the largest number of completed surveys. This activity involved groups of 8-12 youth research assistants supervised by a team lead canvassing major intersections and commercial areas. Each day, the teams would focus on 1-2 neighbourhoods and the team leads would gather completed surveys from the research assistants frequently through

each shift, review the questionnaires and provide feedback to ensure that the data collection process was effective. By monitoring the data collection regularly, we were able to gather a large number of surveys over a short period of time while maintaining good data quality. Table 1 summarizes the sources of data gathered through street canvassing.

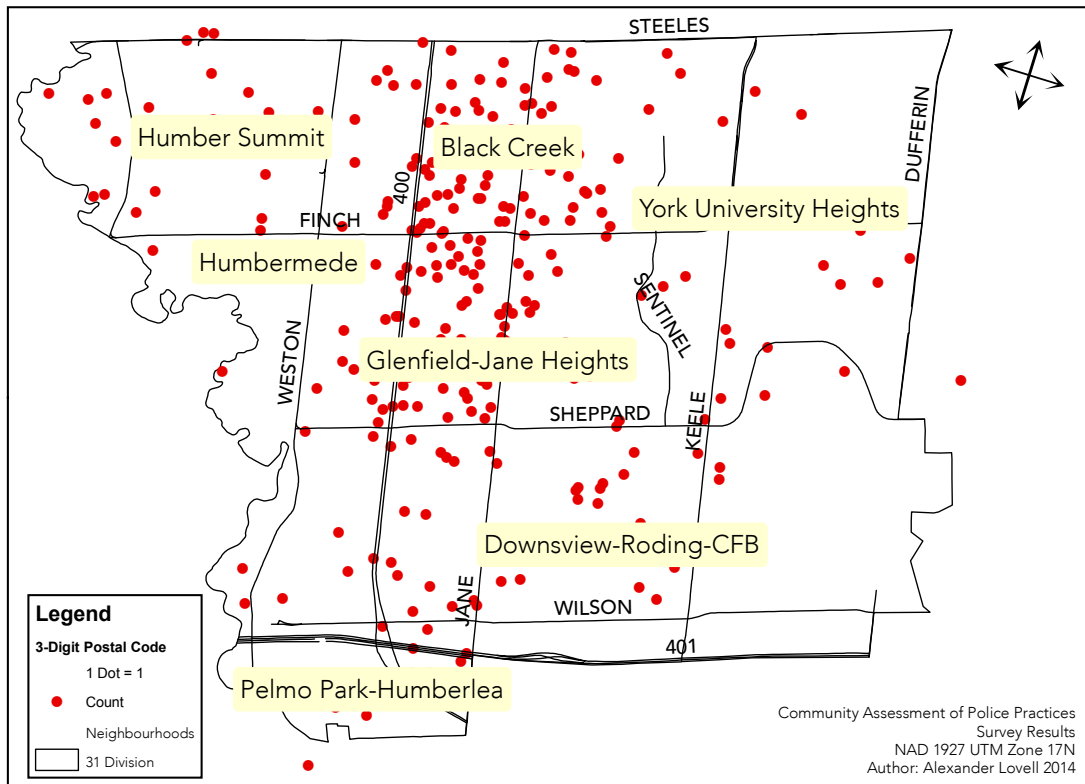
**TABLE 1: SURVEY DATA COLLECTION – COMMUNITY CANVASSING AREAS**

<i>Site</i>	<i>Main Intersection</i>	<i>Canvassing Areas</i>	<i>Completed Surveys</i>
Humber-Summit/ Humbermede	Weston Road and Finch Avenue	Finchdale Plaza Weston Health Centre	59
Black Creek	Jane Street and Finch Avenue	Yorkgate Mall Jane-Finch Mall Jane-Finch Plaza	83
Glenfield-Jane Heights	Jane Street and Sheppard Avenue	Jane-Sheppard Mall Various plazas @ Intersection	49
Pelmo Park-Humberlea	Jane Street and Wilson Avenue	North York Sheridan Mall Various plazas @ Intersection	62
Downsview Roding	Keele Street and Sheppard Avenue	Keele-Sheppard Plaza Downsview Flea Market	42
York University Heights	Keele and Finch	York University	30

In addition to the 325 surveys collected by the ‘street team’, 67 surveys were completed in Toronto Community Housing areas. These questionnaires were disseminated by 4 youth research assistants and focused on TCH communities at Jane-Shoreham, Jane and York Woods, and Jane and Sheppard. The remainder of the 404 completed surveys were completed online using FluidSurveys. A \$5 gift card was offered to all survey respondents as incentive for providing their time to complete the survey. The youth research assistants reported that it took approximately an average of 10 minutes for respondents to complete the questionnaire. In order to confirm that the



Residential Locations of Individuals Surveyed by CAPP

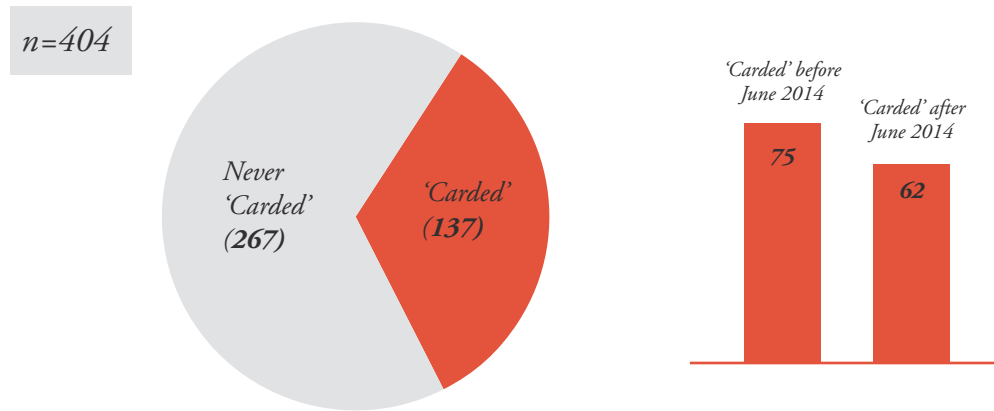


**FIGURE 2: RESIDENTIAL LOCATIONS OF CAPP SURVEY RESPONDENTS**

sampling approach elicited responses throughout 31 Division, we asked respondents to provide the residential 3-digit postal code. Figure 2 shows the residential locations of survey respondents as well as the neighbourhoods canvassed during the project. The mapping of the respondents' residential locations confirms that the data collection generated responses from across 31 Division and reflects the population density in the area with most respondent living along the Jane Street 'corridor'.

All analyses were conducted using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 22. Bivariate statistical analyses (cross-tabulations) were used to summarize relationships between variables of interest and demographic characteristics. Cross-tabulations are justified for this analysis since they test for significant patterns between two variables, and since the variables being tested were all at the nominal level of measurement. CAPP collected 437 completed questionnaires over the course of the study and 404 of them were included in the analysis.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> 92 percent of the surveys received were included in the analysis; the remaining 8 percent were discarded due to significant missing data (>30% missing data).



**FIGURE 3: ANALYTICAL FRAMES FOR THE STUDY**

Out of this, 34 percent of the sample (137 respondents) reported having been ‘carded’ at least once in the past and 15 percent (62 respondents) reported having been ‘carded’ since June and, therefore, eligible to provide insights on the implementation of the new Community Contacts policy.

**“THE POLICE ARE  
SUPPOSED TO SERVE AND  
PROTECT, BUT IT ALWAYS  
FEELS LIKE A BATTLE  
BETWEEN US AND THEM.”**

**- SURVEY RESPONDENT, 31 DIVISION**

**“ALTHOUGH I DO NOT FEEL PERSONALLY TARGETED BY THE POLICE, IT IS VERY OBVIOUS THE UNFAIR TREATMENT EXACTED ON MY FELLOW AFRICAN CANADIANS AROUND ME. IT CREATES FEAR IN ME FOR MY CHILDREN, ESPECIALLY MY 8 YEAR-OLD SON. I HOPE CHANGES WILL TAKE PLACE IN THE SYSTEM BEFORE HE GETS TO BE A TEENAGER.”**

**- SURVEY RESPONDENT, 31 DIVISION**



- SECTION 03 -

**FINDINGS:**  
WHAT DID WE LEARN  
FROM THE SURVEY?

# FINDINGS:

## WHAT DID WE LEARN FROM THE SURVEY?

### 3.1 RESPONDENTS' CHARACTERISTICS

The following section summarizes the social and demographic characteristics of the respondents who completed the CAPP survey. Although most respondents answered all of the questions in the survey, there are cases where individuals chose to not answer questions. Accordingly, only valid percentages are reported (Table 2). 70.5 percent of the survey respondents were residents in 31 Division areas and 29.5 percent lived outside of the area but either worked or went to school in the area. We also asked respondents to report on how long they had lived, worked or went to school in the 31 Division area. 57.6 percent reported having over 10 years of experience in the area, 11.4 percent reported having 6-10 years of experience in the area, 22.6 reported having 2-5 years, and 5.6 percent having 1 year or less than 1 year of experience.

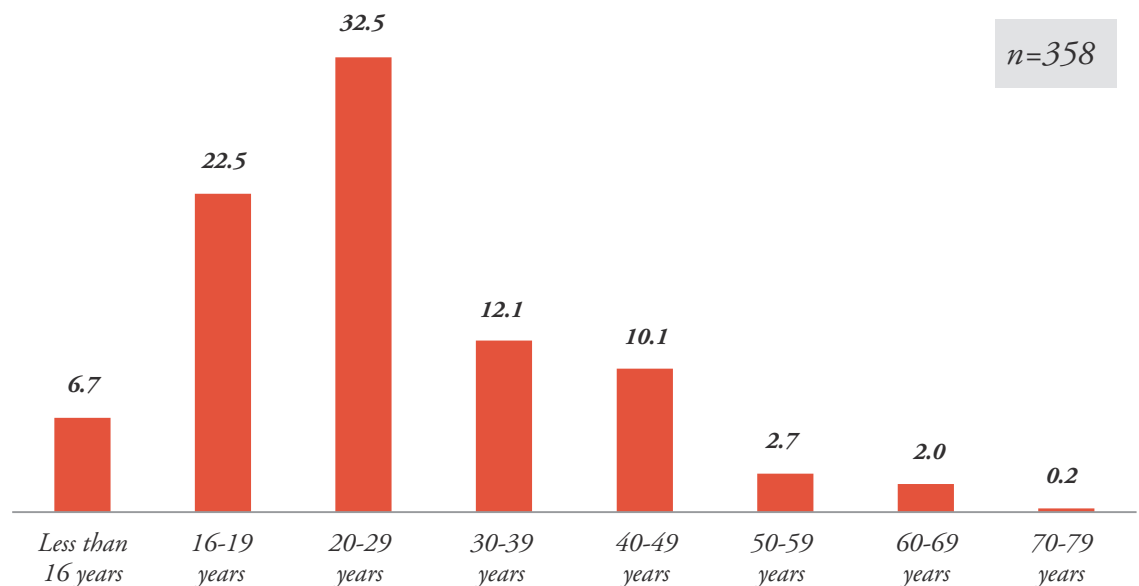


FIGURE 4: RESPONDENTS BY AGE GROUP

Figure 4 shows the CAPP survey respondents by age group. The average age of respondents was 27 with 61.4 percent of survey respondents being youth between the ages of 15 and 29 – 27.2 percent were adults between 30 to 79 years of age.

There was a fairly even distribution of respondents by gender in the survey sample – 48 percent of respondents were female, 43.6 percent were male and 2 percent identified as transgender or ‘other’.



**TABLE 2: SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF CAPP SURVEY RESPONDENTS**

		<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
<b>Age Groups</b>	Youth	248	61.4
	Adult	110	27.2
<b>Gender</b>	Female	194	48
	Male	176	43.6
	Other	8	2
<b>Race</b>	Racialized - Black	206	51
	Racialized - Other	123	30.4
	White	49	12.1
<b>Immigration Status</b>	Born in Canada	208	51.5
	Born Outside of Canada	174	43.1
<b>Occupational Status</b>	Employed FT	124	30.7
	Employed PT	89	22
	Unemployed	49	12.1
	In School	100	24.8
	Retired	7	1.7
	Other	11	2.7
<b>Housing Situation</b>	Renter (Private Landlord)	151	37.4
	Owner Occupied	126	31.2
	Renter (Subsidized)	84	20.8
	No Place	7	1.7
	Other	6	1.5
<b>Community Connection - Residential Status</b>	Live in Community	285	70.5
	Live Outside Community	119	29.5
<b>Community Connection - Length of Time</b>	Less than 1 year	9	2.2
	1 year	9	2.2
	2-5 years	73	18.1
	6-9 years	46	11.4
	Over 10 years	186	46
<b>Total</b>		<b>404</b>	<b>100</b>

**TABLE 3: RESPONDENTS BY ‘RACE’/  
ETHNICITY**

<i>Racial/Ethnic Group</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Black	206	54.5
East African	2	.5
East Asian	26	6.9
First Nations	1	.3
Guyanese	2	.5
Latin America	24	6.3
Middle Eastern	1	.3
South Asian	49	13
West Indian	3	.8
White	49	13
Other	15	4
Total	378	100

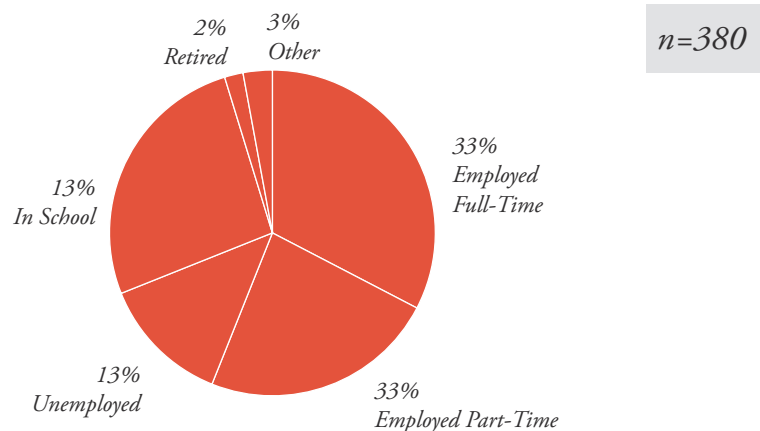
The following table summarizes the race/ethnicity of respondents (Table 3). The survey provided a list of racial groups including Black, East Asian, South Asian, Latin American, First Nations and White. The survey also provided a space for individuals to identify their race/ethnicity beyond these categories.

54.4 percent of respondents identified as Black, followed by 13 percent who identified as South Asian and White, respectively. 6.9 percent of survey respondents identified as East Asian – the remaining respondents identified themselves as members of the other categories or self-identified groups.

In order to enable meaningful bivariate analysis, we also recoded the race/ethnicity categories into three groups: Racialized (Black), Racialized (Other) and White. According to these categories, 51 percent of the survey sample was Black, 30.4 percent were from other racialized groups and 12.1 percent were White.

The CAPP survey also requested information on the immigration status of respondents. 51.5 percent of respondents were born in Canada and the remaining 45.5 percent of the sample reported immigrating to Canada from another country.

The majority of the survey respondents – 82 percent – reported being employed (either full-time or part-time) or currently enrolled in school (Figure 5).



**FIGURE 5: RESPONDENTS BY EMPLOYMENT AND EDUCATIONAL STATUS**

13 percent of respondents reported being unemployed at the time of the survey and 2 percent were retired. We also requested information on the housing situation of respondents. The majority of respondents were currently renting their home with 40.4 percent renting from a private landlord and 22.5 renting a subsidized home such as a Toronto Community Housing unit. 33.7 percent reported living in home owned by them or their family, 1.9 percent reported not having any accommodation.

### 3.2 EXPERIENCES OF RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE BEEN CARDED

The CAPP Survey sought feedback on the experiences of respondents who had been carded by police at some point in the past. All of the respondents who reported being carded in 31 Division (N=137) were provided with a series of statements about their experience and asked to identify the statements that best reflected their most recent experience being carded. The statements included both positive and negative responses. Although the list of statements included statements that reflected a positive experience with police, the statements that were identified as most reflective of respondents' last experience being carded tended to be negative (Table 4).

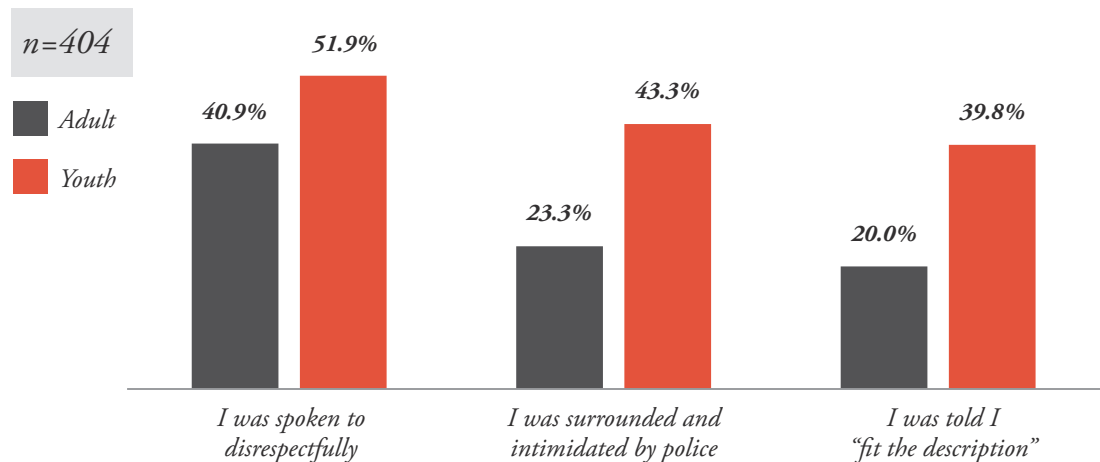
**TABLE 4: REFLECTIONS ON LAST TIME BEING 'CARDED' BY POLICE**

<i>Response Statements</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
I was spoken to disrespectfully	66	48.2
I was surrounded and intimidated by police	53	38.7
I was told "I fit the description"	45	32.8
I felt I needed to do something to change the way the police do their job	45	32.8
I felt anxious about the incident	39	28.5
I've changed my walking route to avoid police	37	27.0
I feel like I am constantly being watched by police	36	26.3
I avoid going out at certain times because of police	35	25.5
I felt depressed	30	21.9
I was asked to show ID in or just outside my friend or family member's home apartment building?	27	19.7
An officer showed me respect	27	19.7

**TABLE 4: REFLECTIONS ON LAST TIME BEING ‘CARDED’ BY POLICE (CONTINUED)**

<i>Response Statements</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
The police accused me of being in a gang or asked me if I was a gang member	26	19.0
My property was taken by police and never returned	24	17.5
I had a nice conversation with police	19	13.9
An officer did something nice for my family member (or friends)	13	9.5

48 percent of respondents identified with the statement that police spoke to them disrespectfully during their last encounter and 39 percent reported that they were surrounded and intimidated by police during their encounter. Over a quarter of respondents reported feeling anxious about the incident; and a similar number of respondents reported that feel that they are constantly being watched by police and avoid going out at certain times because of police. Among the positive statements, 20 percent identified with the statement that police showed them respect during their last carding encounter; and 14 percent reported that they had a nice conversation with police during the encounter.

**FIGURE 6: ‘CARDING’ EXPERIENCES - AGE COMPARISON**

Further analysis of the three most commonly cited statements revealed significant differences in experiences with carding by age, gender and ‘race’/ethnicity (Figure 6). Youth were significantly more likely to cite being spoken to disrespectfully by police, being surrounded and intimidated during the encounter and being told that they “fit a description”<sup>26</sup> than were adults. For example,

<sup>26</sup> ‘Fit a description’ refers to incidents where the police told individuals they stopped that they resembled something who was suspected of committing a crime.

**“I WAS WEARING A HOODIE  
ON A BIKE AND THE POLICE  
STOPPED ME AND MISTAKED  
ME FOR SOMEONE ELSE.”**

**- SURVEY RESPONDENT, 31 DIVISION**

**“I WAS JUST WALKING  
HOME FROM PLAYING BALL  
AND THE POLICE STOPPED  
ME SAYING I FIT THE  
DESCRIPTION.”**

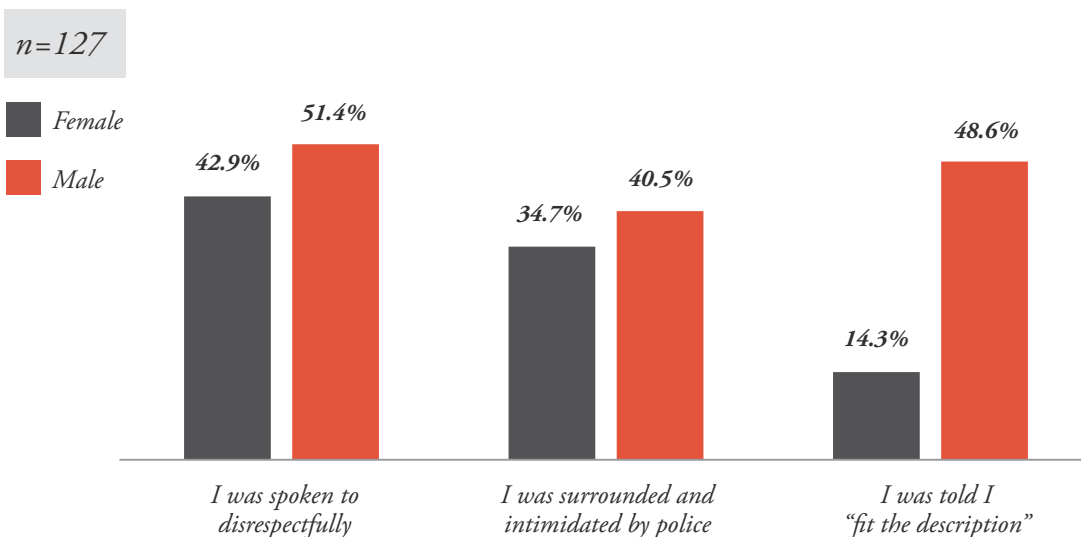
**- SURVEY RESPONDENT, 31 DIVISION**

**“THEY HAVE A TOUGH JOB  
AND THEY ALSO HAVE TO  
PROTECT INDIVIDUALS THEY  
DON’T KNOW. THEREFORE I  
GIVE THEM THE BENEFIT OF  
THE DOUBT. IF I WAS ASKED  
TO DO THE JOB, I DON’T  
THINK I WOULD.”**

**- SURVEY RESPONDENT, 31 DIVISION**

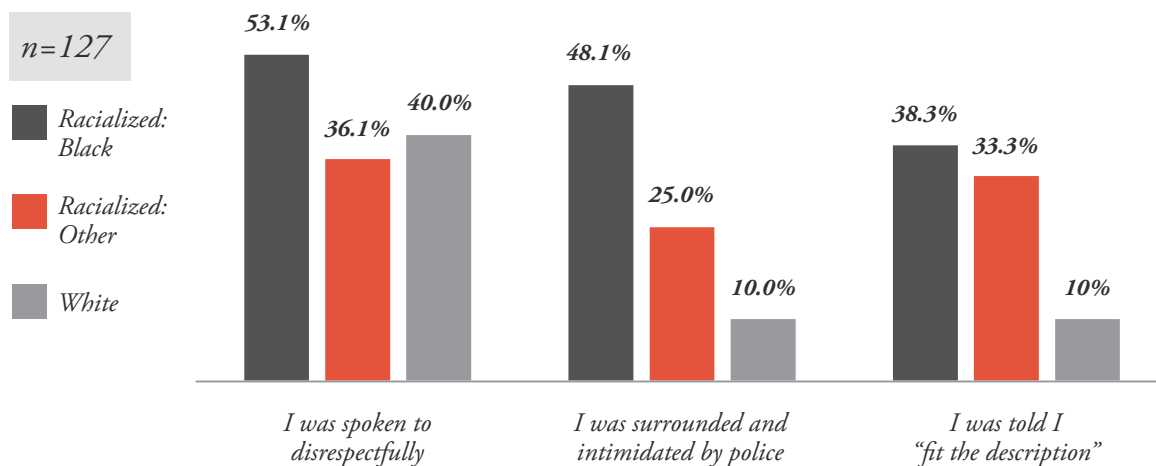


43 percent of respondents who were between 15 and 29 years of age reported being surrounded and intimidated during their last carding encounter compared to 23 percent of adults.



**FIGURE 7: 'CARDING' EXPERIENCES - GENDER COMPARISON**

Significant gender differences were also found with 49 percent of males identifying with the statement that they were told they fit a description by police compared with 14 percent of female respondents (Figure 7).



**FIGURE 8: 'CARDING' EXPERIENCES - COMPARISON BY RACE/ETHNICITY**

Figure 8 summarizes the comparison of the most commonly cited experiences according to the race/ethnicity of respondents.

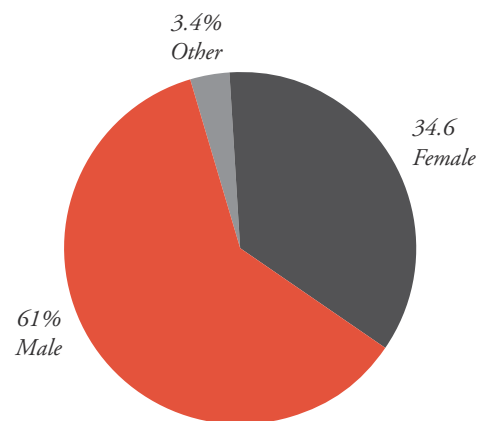
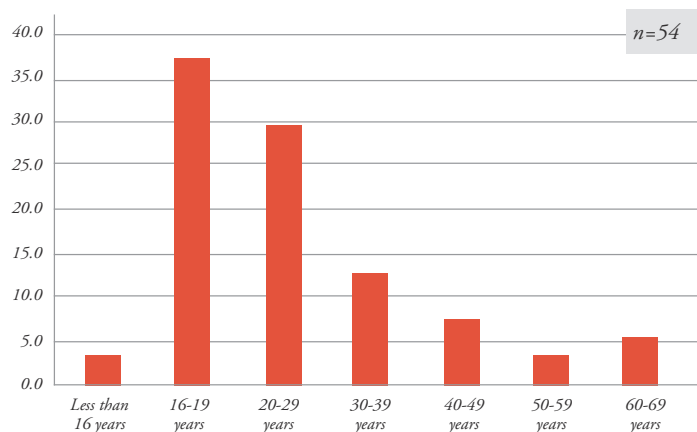
Black respondents were the most likely to report negative experiences with police during their last carding encounter. Over half of respondents who identified as Black (53%) reported being spoken to disrespectfully; 48 percent reported being surrounded and intimidated and 38 percent reported being told that they fit a description. Comparatively, 10 percent of respondents who identified as White reported being surrounded and intimidated and being told that they fit a description during their last encounter.

The survey analysis also found that over 30 percent of respondents from racialized and White groups reported being spoken to disrespectfully during the prior carding encounter with police.

### **3.3 EXPERIENCES OF RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE BEEN RECENTLY CARDED (AFTER JUNE 2014)**

The following section examines the response of the 62 respondents who reported being stopped and questioned by police (i.e. carded) since June of this year. This section focuses on their reflections of the encounter in order to examine whether elements of the new policy were followed. More specifically, we asked respondents who have been recently carded whether they received a reason for the stop; if they were provided with a receipt that included the officer's name, badge number and reason for the stop; whether they felt they had the right to leave the encounter; whether they felt that the police had a valid public safety reason for stopping and questioning them; and whether they felt that the police prolonged the encounter to gather information to justify formal questions and whether they felt that the encounter was based on the investigation of a specific crime.

Figure 9 provides description of the social and demographic characteristics of respondents who reported being carded since June 2014. 70 percent of those who reported having been carded since June 2014 were youth between 15 and 29 years of age; the remainder were primarily young adults. 61 percent were male, 36 percent were female and 3 percent identified their gender as "other". The substantial majority of respondents who were recently carded identified as Black (71%), followed by White (12%) and Latin American (9 percent). The employment and educational characteristics of those who were recently carded were similar to the broader survey sample, with those employed either full-time or part-time comprising about 70 percent. Respondents who lived in rental units were the most likely to report being carded, with slightly higher numbers among those living in subsidized housing. Finally, 49 percent of respondents who reported being recently carded indicated that they had lived, worked, or went to school in 31 Division for over 10 years.



<i>Racial/Ethnic Group</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Black	42	71.2
East Asian	1	1.7
Latin America	5	8.5
South Asian	1	1.7
White	7	11.9
Other	3	5.1
Total	59	100
Missing	3	
Total	62	

		<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Employment/ Education	Employed	41	68.3
	Unemployed	5	8.3
	In School	10	16.7
	Retired	2	3.3
	Other	2	3.3
Housing Situation	Owner Occupied	20	33.9
	Renter (Private Landlord)	17	28.8
	Renter (Subsidized)	19	32.2
	No Place	3	5.1
Length of Time in the Area	Less than 1 year	1	2.2
	1 year	1	2.2
	2-5 years	12	26.7
	6-9 years	9	20
	Over 10 years	22	48.9
Total		62	100

AGE GROUPS  
 GENDER  
 'RACE'/ETHNICITY  
 EMPLOYMENT + EDUCATION  
 HOUSING SITUATION  
 LENGTH OF TIME IN THE AREA

**FIGURE 9: SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS  
CARDED SINCE JUNE 2014**

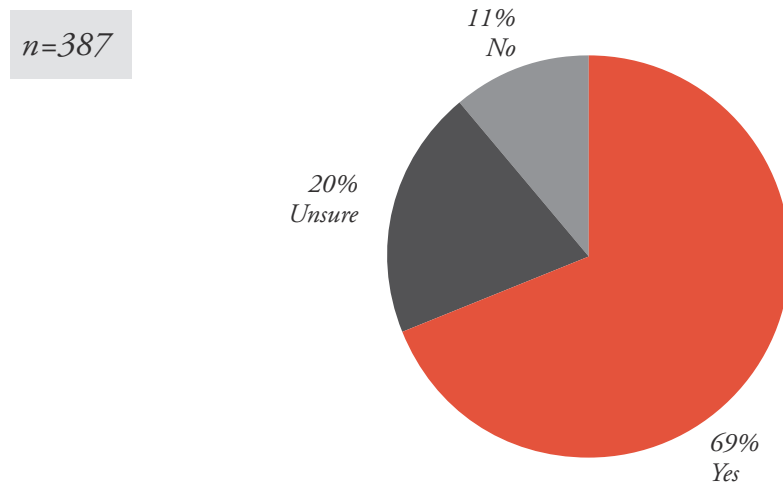
Table 5 summarizes the results of the questions provided to individuals stopped and questioned by police since June 2014.

**TABLE 5: EXPERIENCES WITH ‘CARDING’ SINCE JUNE 2014**

<i>Response Statements</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
I did not receive a receipt from the police officer with the officer's name, badge number and reason for the stop.	53	85.5
I did not feel that I had a right to leave when I was stopped and questioned.	41	69.5
I did not feel that the police had a valid public safety reason for stopping and questioning me.	40	65.6
I think the police prolonged their contact with me because they hoped to get information that would justify formal questioning.	37	62.7
I believe that I was stopped and questioned to gather information even though they were not investigating a specific crime.	38	62.3

### 3.4 PERSPECTIVES ON POLICE CARDING PRACTICES IN 31 DIVISION

The CAPP survey also sought broad-based information on community perspectives on carding and related police-community relations. In order to document this information the questionnaire asked respondents a series of questions relating to carding as well as public opinion about the nature of police practices in the community.

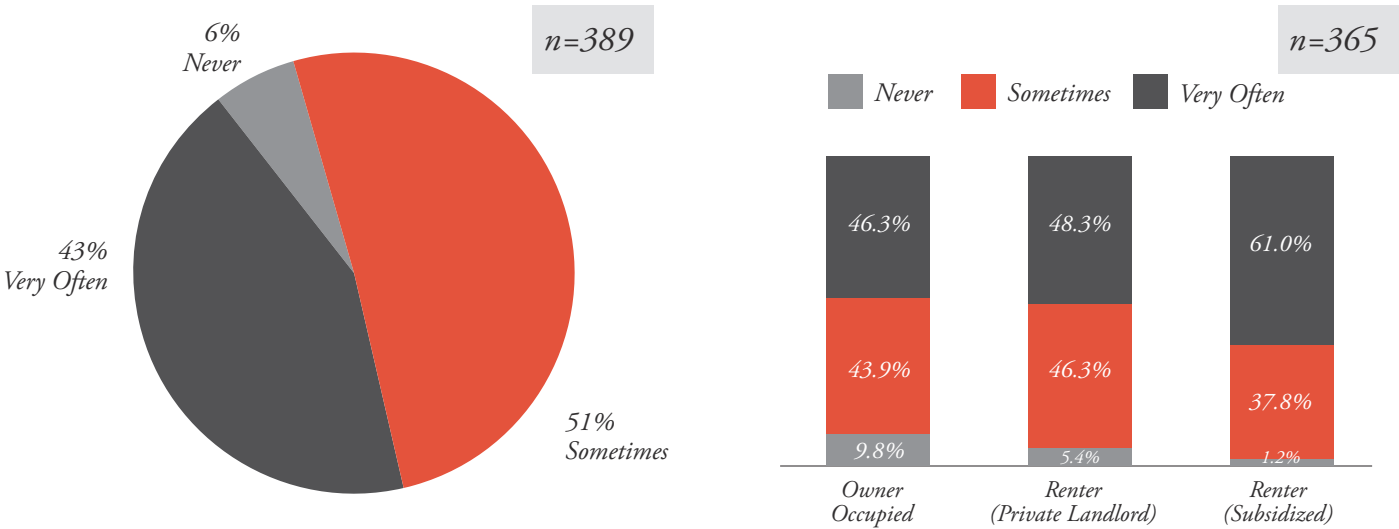


**FIGURE 10: DO YOU THINK POLICE SOMETIMES STOP INDIVIDUALS IN ORDER TO MEET A QUOTA OR PERFORMANCE TARGET?**

Building on the survey's interest in examining police procedures that were addressed through the new Community Contacts Policy, we asked all respondents if they believed that police stop and

question people in the community to meet work performance targets (Figure 10). 69 percent of respondents believed that police sometimes stop and question individuals in order to meet a quota (set by their supervisors) or to meet a performance target.

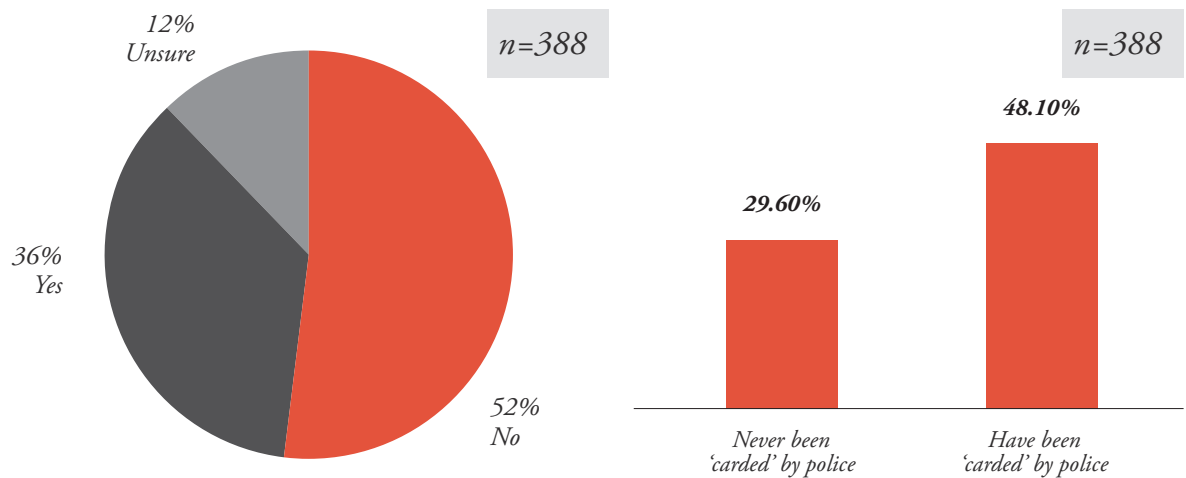
We also asked all respondents about whether they believed that carding was being done to show police presence in the community (Figure 11). 94 percent of respondents reported that they believed that police stop and question individuals to show police presence in the community – 51 percent reported that this was done “very often” and 43 percent reported that was done only “sometimes”. 6 percent reported that they believed police never stop and question individuals in order to show police presence in the community.



**FIGURE 11: DO YOU THINK POLICE SOMETIMES STOP INDIVIDUALS TO SHOW POLICE PRESENCE IN THE COMMUNITY?**

Further analysis found that renters, especially respondents who lived in subsidized housing, believed that police stop and question individuals to show police presence in the community compared to those who reported living in an owner occupied home.

We also asked all respondents whether they had ever decided to not call police for help because they felt police might make the problem worse (Figure 12).



**FIGURE 12: HAVE YOU EVER DECIDED NOT TO CALL THE POLICE FOR HELP BECAUSE YOU THOUGHT THEY MIGHT MAKE THE PROBLEM WORSE?**

A slight majority of all respondents, 52 percent, reported that they had never decided to not call police because of expectations that they might make the problem worse; 36 percent reported having chosen to not call police in the past because they thought police might make the problem worse; and 12 percent reported being unsure of a response to the question. Through examination of the differences based on previous experiences of being carded, it was found that respondents who have been carded were 1.6 times more likely to not have called the police when a problem arose than respondents who have never been carded (48 percent vs. 30%, respectively).

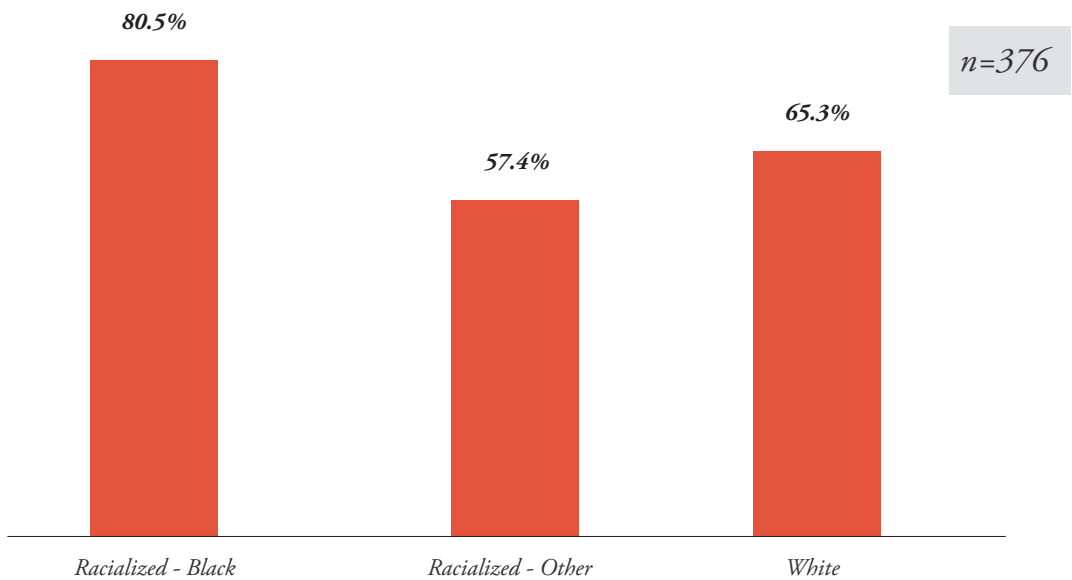
### 3.5 PERCEPTIONS OF RACIAL PROFILING

Considering that evidence of racial discrimination drove the need for the creation of a policy to govern carding, CAPP made a commitment to examine the issue of racial profiling<sup>27</sup> through the survey. The survey asked each respondent three questions directly pertaining to racial profiling. When respondents were asked if they believe that Toronto police officers engage in racial profiling in deciding who to stop and question (card) in the community, 71 percent reported that they believed Toronto police engage in racial profiling; 16 percent reported that they did not believe that police engage in racial profiling and 13 percent were unsure of a response to the question. Figure 13 shows that the majority of respondents from all racial group believe that Toronto police engage in racial profiling. 81 percent of respondents who identified as Black believing that

<sup>27</sup> Racial profiling by law enforcement is commonly defined as a practice that targets people for suspicion of crime based on their race, ethnicity, religion or national origin.” (<http://www.nij.gov/topics/law-enforcement/legitimacy/Pages/racial-profiling.aspx>)



police engage in racial profiling, followed by 65 percent of White respondents and 57 percent of respondents who were racialized members of a group other than Black.



**FIGURE 13: DO YOU BELIEVE THAT TORONTO POLICE ENGAGE IN RACIAL PROFILING IN DECIDING WHO TO STOP, QUESTION?**

2) What do you think about the police in your neighborhood? Check the circle above the statement you most agree with. Check the middle circle if you feel somewhere in between the statements.

**A - RESPECT FOR POLICE**

☐ I have little respect ☐ I have a lot of respect

**B - FAIRNESS**

☐ They are unfair ☐ They are fair

**C - TRUST**

☐ They are not trustworthy ☐ They are trustworthy

**D - HONESTY**

☐ They are dishonest ☐ They are honest

**E - USE OF POWER**

☐ They abuse power ☐ They use power responsibly

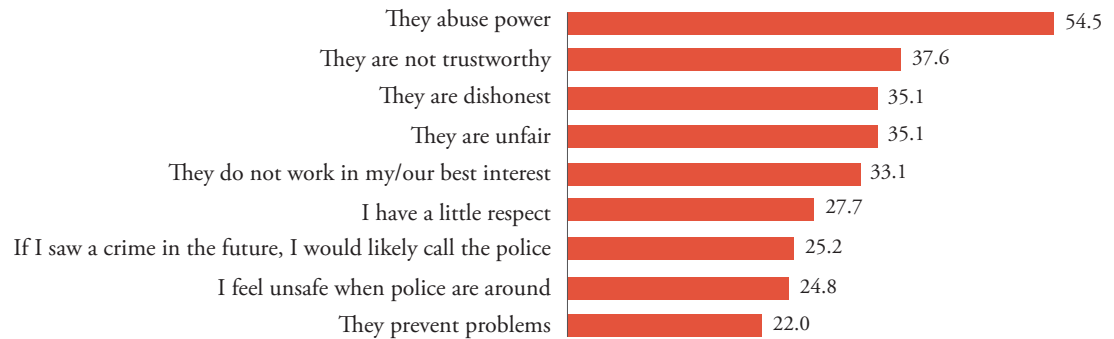
**FIGURE 14: SAMPLE SURVEY QUESTION STRUCTURE**

**3.6 PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE IN 31 DIVISION: TRUST, POWER AND RESPECT**

All of the survey respondents were also provided with a series of questions about perceptions of police. These questions covered the perceptions of the following: respect for police, fairness, trust, honesty, police use of power, the role of police in managing problems, whether police typically work in the community’s best interest, the role of police presence in perceptions of safety and crime. Figure 14 provides a sample of the way the questions were structured.

*What do you think about the police in your neighbourhood?*

*n=385*



**FIGURE 15: PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE**

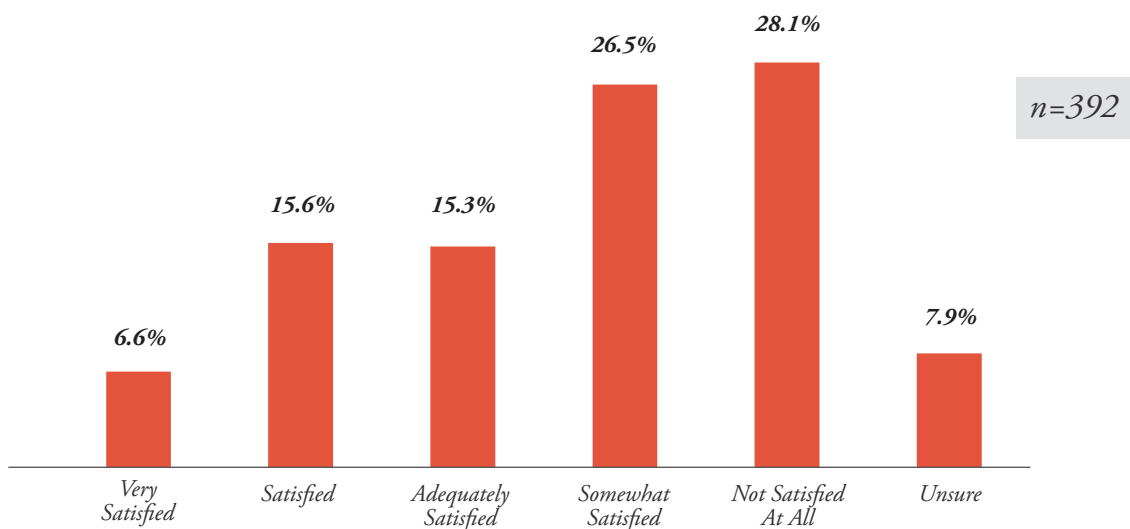
55 percent of respondents reported that they believe police abuse their power in 31 Division (Figure 15). 38 percent reported that police were not trustworthy. 35 percent felt that police are dishonest and unfair in their practices, respectively. 33 percent reported feeling that police do not work within their best interest or the best interests of the communities they serve. 28 percent reported having little respect for police. 25 percent indicated that they would not contact police in the event that they witnessed a crime in the future. 25 percent also reported that they feel unsafe when police are present. And, only 22 percent of respondents indicated that they believe police prevent problems in the community.

### 3.7 SATISFACTION WITH POLICING IN 31 DIVISION

When asked about overall satisfaction with police in 31 Division, it was found that more than half of the survey respondents were not generally satisfied with police in the area (Figure 16). 28 percent of respondents indicated that they were not satisfied ‘at all’ with policing in 31 Division; 27 percent reported feeling ‘somewhat satisfied’; 15 percent reported being ‘adequately satisfied’; 16 percent indicated that they were ‘satisfied’; and 7 percent reported being ‘very satisfied’ with policing in 31 Division.

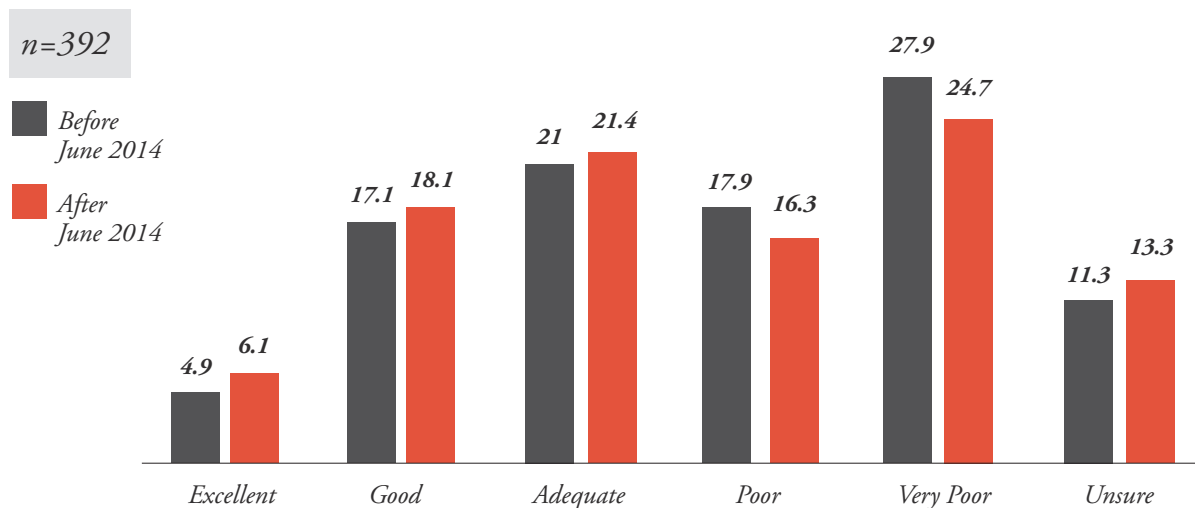
Overall, more than twice as many respondents indicated a negative satisfaction rating, with 54.6 percent reporting either being ‘somewhat’ or ‘not at all satisfied’ with police in 31 Division compared with 22.2 percent who reported being ‘very satisfied’ or ‘satisfied’.

We also sought perspectives on the perceived quality of the police-community relationship in 31 Division. This question was designed to examine whether respondents felt that the relationship between police and community was improving or getting worse since the summer with an eye on the possible impact of the new Community Contacts Policy on police-community relations. The analysis found that respondents believed there was a slight improvement in the relationship



**FIGURE 16: OVERALL SATISFACTION WITH POLICE IN 31 DIVISION**

between police and the community since June 2014; however, the majority of the respondents reported that the relationship continued to be poor (Figure 17).

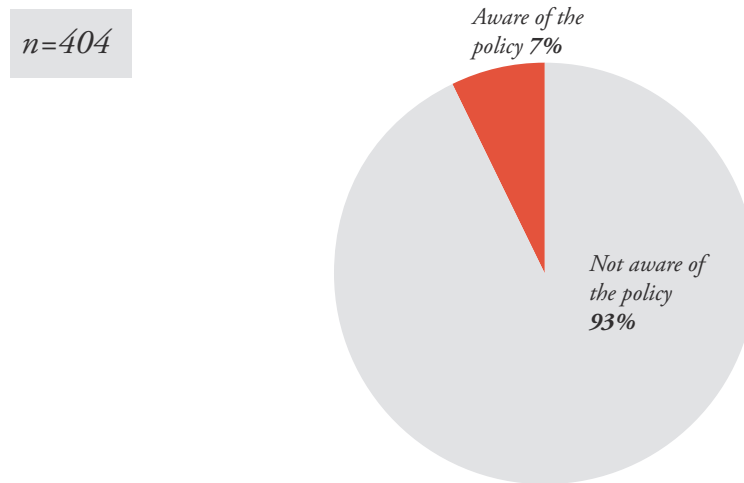


**FIGURE 17: PERCEPTIONS OF COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE POLICE BEFORE & AFTER JUNE, 2014**

45.8 percent of respondents rated the community relationship with police as either 'poor' or 'very poor' before June which decreased to 41 percent when asked about the relationship since June. Conversely, 22 percent of respondents rated the relationship to be 'excellent' or 'good' before June and this rating increased to 24.2 when asked about the police-community relationship since June.

### 3.8 AWARENESS OF THE NEW COMMUNITY CONTACTS POLICY

As one of its key objectives, the survey sought to poll a broad cross-section of the community about their awareness of the new Community Contacts Policy. Since being ratified at the end of April, the policy received a brief period of media attention and some community groups have promoted a greater awareness of the policy – its advent and implications – to community members. Despite these efforts, the survey found that very few respondents were aware of the new policy (Figure 18). 93 percent of all respondents to the survey reported being unaware of the policy prior to learning about it through CAPP.’



**FIGURE 18: PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WHO WERE AWARE OF THE NEW 'CONTACT CARD' POLICY**

### 3.9 CONCERNS ABOUT POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

The survey included areas where respondents were asked to provide comments on their experiences with police. These include a request for respondents' comments on their experience being stopped and why they believed they were carded as well as suggestions for ways to improve the relationship between police and community members.

22 percent of respondents provided comments regarding their specific concerns with police-community relations in 31 Division. Figure 19 summarizes the concerns presented in the survey.

## ROLE OF POLICE

"I'm concerned with police use of force, especially with mental health issues."	"I worry about how police are impacting our younger generation."	"They only serve and protect themselves. Where is the accountability for officers who have violated their police conduct?"	The media focuses on the community but no one seems to care when police violate the law... behind closed doors, I think there is a lack of respect for the law+community."
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## POLICE PRACTICES

"I feel this way because they are rude and disrespectful to youth."	"I respect them but sometimes they're too harsh."	"I believe that police abuse their power and make people feel unsafe."	"I think the role of institutional racism plays a big part in the way the police deals with a pre-dominantly black/immigrant community."
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## COMMUNITY POWER

"We don't have much control over this issue."	"Studies like this don't make any difference."	"This issue has been with us for ages -- I remember people talking about changing this when I was a teenager. Nothing has changed."	"The community needs to become more organized to change this issue."
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**FIGURE 19: CONCERNS WITH THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLICE AND COMMUNITY MEMBERS IN 31 DIVISION**

Respondents' concerns about police and community relations covered three broad areas: 1) the role of police; 2) police practices; and 3) the power of the community to impact change. Where respondents focused on the role of police, three broad themes emerged. Firstly, respondents indicated that they were concerned with the way that police were interacting with vulnerable populations (e.g. young people and individuals experiencing mental health issues). Secondly, there was concern about the level of accountability for police actions with several respondents

taking the stance that police are empowered to act with little concern for repercussions should they abuse power and break the law. Thirdly, there were concerns raised about the way that the media is implicated in the way that outsiders view the communities in 31 Division.

In terms of police practices, the comments centred on the ways that police appear threatening and disrespectful to members of the community. Several concerns were raised about the lack of understanding of the community among officers. The fact that the community is diverse and not reflected in the composition of officers in 31 Division was frequently raised. As a key theme, respondents frequently cited the cultural and experiential disconnect between police and the community as a cause of the ‘us’ and ‘them’ dynamic that has come to characterize the relationship between police and community in 31 Division.

The third theme identified among the comments in the open-ended questions related to a pervading sense of powerlessness in the community to influence the nature of police interactions with the public. Although respondents welcomed the survey as an opportunity to provide feedback on their experiences with police and for raising awareness about the new policy, there was a strand of comments that considered individuals and the broader community unable to bring about change.



- SECTION 04 -

**DISCUSSION:**  
AN IN-DEPTH DISCUSSION  
OF THE SURVEY



# DISCUSSION:

## AN IN-DEPTH DISCUSSION OF THE SURVEY

### 4.1. POLICY COMPLIANCE ISSUES

On the basis of the survey results it is evident that a number of findings are worthy of further elaboration, especially insofar as they speak to the experiences of the 137 respondents who have been carded at some point in the past and the special subset, consisting of 62 respondents, who have been carded since June 2014. In this regard, the findings pertaining to the response statement “I was surrounded and intimidated by police” are notable given certain assertions about carding that have been propounded by prominent voices.

For example, Frank Addario, in his December 2013 carding related legal opinion prepared for the Toronto Police Services Board, states “there are three ways in which the police can detain someone: physically, by psychological restraint with legal compulsion and by psychological restraint without legal compulsion. The first of these is not engaged by so-called carding or the Board’s draft policy.” However, the limitations of this claim become evident when one considers the wealth of narratives voiced by carded individuals who have in fact been *physically* detained, as well as newspaper articles which corroborate such narratives. In “Life on the Street: ‘Are You Part of a Gang?’,”<sup>28</sup> *National Post* reporter Natalie Alcoba provides a firsthand description of how police officers patrolling a Scarborough townhouse complex surrounded a group of teenagers, resulting in a “sardine can-tight mix of police officers and young men” followed by police questioning and completion of contact cards.<sup>29</sup> The prevalence of this practice on a citywide basis is unknown and likely unknowable. However, 39% of carded respondents noted that it has happened to them.

Findings with respect to the response statement “I was told ‘I fit the description’” are perhaps equally striking. “Fitting a description” is suggestive of citizen-initiated police activity (e.g. a robbery victim calling police to provide them with detailed actionable information) that falls under the category of intelligence-led policing yet, as the Toronto Police Service points out in the PACER report, only a small percentage of contact cards are generated in response to intelligence: “Analysis indicated from 2009 to 2011, there were 1,104,561 persons entered into

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<sup>28</sup> Frank Addario, “[Legal opinion on police stops, community inquiries, detentions and record-keeping](#),” December 6, 2013, 2

<sup>29</sup> Natalie Alcoba, “[Life on the Street: ‘Are You Part of a Gang?’](#),” *National Post*, March 25, 2006.

the FIR database...Additional analysis examined traditional intelligence led nature of contacts and determined *fewer than one in ten* FIR cards collected since 2009 had been assigned a nature of contact which flagged the card as being directly related to an intelligence led policing strategy.”<sup>30</sup>

In more recent times, particularly since July 2013 when carding declined sharply, it may be the case that intelligence related contact cards have increased as a share of overall totals; indeed, emphases on quality over quantity figure prominently in the PACER report. Still, among our carded respondents 33% had “fit the description” experiences, some of which may have been legitimate (in the sense of being genuinely intelligence-led) while in other instances police deception could have been a factor.

Such deception has long been documented in controversial cases of police/citizen encounters in Toronto; the officers involved in the October 1993 gunpoint takedown of City TV assignment editor Dwight Drummond famously claimed they confronted Drummond based on a gunshot related tip from an alleged witness (who was never located or even mentioned in their notes)<sup>31</sup> and, more recently, the videotaped police assault on four blacks teens on Neptune Drive in November 2011 featured, among other things, a claim by an involved officer that a robbery had taken place in the area (which was not mentioned by any officer in any set of notes).<sup>32</sup> Whether reforms proposed in the PACER report will enhance the likelihood of total correspondence between on-the-street officer justifications for carding (e.g. “there was a robbery”) and final information entry (e.g. a contact card with “hold up” as the reason for the documentation) remains to be seen.

To a considerable extent these aspects of the survey results are bound up with a matter addressed in section 5(c) of the TPSB Community Contacts Policy, namely, the right of citizens to refrain from answering police questions: “The Chief will establish procedures regarding the initiation of Contacts to ensure that...Community members know as much as possible in the circumstances about their right to leave and the reason for the Contact,” states the policy, while adding in section 5(d) that officer “disengagement from a Contact is an acceptable, valued and sometimes necessary policing step.” Contrary to common perceptions, these stipulations are not altogether novel; in 1986, Robert Kerr (see Appendix B), the Staff Inspector of 31 Division, addressed the question of citizen refusal to show identification to police officers by declaring “if the citizen doesn’t want to show it, and the officer does not have reasonable and probable grounds that this person may have

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<sup>30</sup> Toronto Police Service, *The Police and Community Engagement Review*, 2012, 7, emphasis added.

<sup>31</sup> David Tanovich, “Using the Charter to Stop Racial Profiling: The Development of an Equality-Based Conception of Arbitrary Detention,” *Osgoode Hall Law Journal* 40, no. 2 (2002):155-156.

<sup>32</sup> Jim Rankin, “Toronto Police TAVIS Stop of Four Teens Ends in Arrests, Captured on Video,” *Toronto Star*, August 7, 2012.

been involved in an offence, then the officer has to back away.”<sup>33</sup>

Almost 30 years later, and millions of contact cards later, 70% of CAPP survey respondents who have been carded since June 2014 felt they did not have the right to leave when they were stopped and questioned. Speculatively speaking, this might indicate some measure of progress (perhaps in previous years the figure would have been higher) but at this point right-to-leave injunctions seem to have more life on paper than on the streets; this issue is especially pressing in light of the fact that children are not exempt from being carded and are the population subset most likely to experience psychological detention when approached and questioned by police officers.

Apparent policy compliance issues have also come to the fore in connection with the TPSB receipt protocol, articulated in section 5(f), which requires officers to “complete and offer a receipt to the subject of the Contact identifying the Service member by name and badge number and reason for the Contact, at a minimum.” Strikingly, however, 86% of recently carded survey respondents did not receive a receipt, a finding that is potentially explainable in terms of the organizational contexts that shape officer perceptions of policy validity. Mike McCormack, head of the Toronto Police Association, has spoken critically of the receipt system as follows: “My opinion is those cards are an investigative tool. They should not be used for tracking police officers.”<sup>34</sup> The Toronto Police Service has also put forth criticisms of receipts on multiple grounds. For example, the PACER report asserts that issuing receipts is a fundamentally foreign, non-Canadian police requirement: “the community representatives who suggested the implementation of a receipt, did so based on comparison to jurisdictions outside of Canada with different laws and police practices.”<sup>35</sup> Views of receipt issuance as burdensome and time-consuming are also advanced in the PACER report, which claims officers “are spending a significant amount of time explaining” the receipt protocol to carded individuals, thereby generating negative impacts on “Officer productivity.”<sup>36</sup> These anti-receipt perspectives, combined with the tendency of carding to be directed at low-status groups (see Appendix A), bolster the likelihood of police dismissiveness of the receipt requirement. It should be added that the old philosophical problem of attempting to prove a negative has concrete applicability to this issue: how, after all, does a carded individual prove that he or she did *not* receive a receipt?

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<sup>33</sup> Bill Schiller, “Police Profile in Jane-Finch Stirs Tension, Residents Say,” *Toronto Star*, November 2, 1986.

<sup>34</sup> Patty Winsa and Jim Rankin, “Carding by Toronto Police Drops Sharply,” *Toronto Star*, November 18, 2013.

<sup>35</sup> Toronto Police Service, *The Police and Community Engagement Review*, 2012, 78.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

## 4.2 COMMUNITY UNAWARENESS OF THE POLICY

All of these problems are exacerbated by the profound lack of community knowledge about the TPSB contacts policy. Among all survey respondents (404 in total) only 7% knew of the new policy prior to their participation in the survey, a figure that cannot be presented as representative of citywide (un)awareness but which does, nonetheless, indicate that policy related knowledge dissemination efforts have been less than robust, to put it mildly. Although there is a sense in which widespread public ignorance of police-related policies might be functional for the police (citizens who do not know they are entitled to receipts will obviously not launch complaints when they do not receive them, for example) this state of affairs is dysfunctional in relation to the democratic proposition that a knowledgeable and vigilant citizenry is the ultimate foundation of all police accountability measures.

## 4.3 RACIAL PROFILING AND CARDING

Although carding and racial profiling are not one and the same (racial profiling does not always entail carding and carding does not always entail racial profiling), the connections between the two practices have been established to the point where discussing carding without mentioning racial profiling is problematic at best. It is therefore unsurprising that the second paragraph of the TPSB contacts policy declares, “the Board does not condone and explicitly condemns any police practice that may have a discriminatory impact on any member or section of the community, including, specifically, racial profiling.” Equally unsurprising is the fact that a supermajority of survey respondents – 71%, to be exact – hold the view that police in Toronto engage in racial profiling. And contrary to the perception that white Torontonians are inclined to deny racial profiling exists, 65% of white survey participants answered affirmatively when asked whether they think police-driven racial profiling occurs in this city, though whites residing in 31 Division might be unusually sensitized to the issue given the depth of historical and contemporary race-specific police/community tensions in the area (see Appendix B).

A shift to police perspectives on racial profiling reveals that the Toronto Police Service oscillates between two claims: racial profiling is a minor problem (minimization) or racial profiling does not occur, at least not in connection with carding (denial). The PACER report, commonly touted as a highly progressive police document, advances the discourse of minimization in this manner:

In recent years there has been a growing discord between the public and the police as a result of allegations and perceptions of racial profiling...The Service has acknowledged racially biased policing does exist. Officers believe the Service needs to better explain the



context of this statement and ensure the public understands the acknowledgement refers to isolated incidents and is not a universal condemnation of all Officers.<sup>37</sup>

Aside from the implication that racial profiling complainants stand on flimsy ground – they merely perceive racial profiling and allege it is a problem – it is clear that the authors of the PACER report have zero regard for the voluminous publically available carding data compiled and analyzed by the Toronto Star. From 2008 to 2012, police in Toronto filled out 418,510 “black” contact cards and 278,920 “brown” cards for a total of 697,430.<sup>38</sup> If only 5% of those cards were completed on the basis of racial profiling that would equal 34,870 instances of profiling yet, according to the police, racial profiling consists of nothing more than “isolated incidents.”

With respect to the discourse of denial, a more recent police publication claims, “When a Toronto Police officer is in your neighbourhood, the intent is that they are in the right place, at the right time, to prevent crime and catch criminals in the act. It’s a place-based approach to policing that targets crimes and safety issues in areas, not people.”<sup>39</sup> The title of the publication is *Fair Policing, Not Black and White*, which is very revealing because “fair policing” is not presented as something prospective, as something the police have to work towards, it is, instead, a *current reality* from this standpoint. The fact that blacks in patrol zone 113 (an affluent, predominantly white area) are 13.4 times more likely to be carded than whites<sup>40</sup> is apparently an acceptable manifestation of fair policing – all is well, nothing is amiss, no people are being targeted.

#### 4.4 NON-REPORTING OF CRIME AND OTHER IMPACTS OF CARDING

To their credit, however, the police have granted some consideration to a key concern addressed in the CAPP survey, namely, carding as a factor fuelling citizen reluctance to report crime, as evidenced by the finding that 48% of carded respondents have at some point chosen to not call the police in response to expectations that the police would make an existing problem worse. Along similar lines, the PACER report, which was partially formulated on the basis of community consultation sessions, features this critical observation:

The participants in the consultation process discussed some of the negative implications of carding including the social cost produced by the practice...The lack of trust the

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 48, emphasis added.

<sup>38</sup> Andrew Bailey et al., “Preliminary Toronto Star Analysis of CIPS/FIR – 2013,” *Toronto Star*, August 7, 2013, 5.

<sup>39</sup> Toronto Police Service, *Fair Policing, Not Black and White*, 2014.

<sup>40</sup> Patty Winsa, “Likelihood of Being Stopped if You’re Black Increases Halfway Through 2013,” *Toronto Star*, July 25, 2014.



practice engendered often caused members of the affected communities to refuse to report crime or to come forward as witnesses. This, the participants asserted, often caused those communities to be vulnerable to continued victimization.<sup>41</sup>

Concordantly, a high ranking police official notes that “we decrease our ability to solve and prevent crimes when we lose more trust and confidence. Fewer people show up at shooting scenes, fewer people who do show up volunteer usable information, fewer people who volunteer usable information show up to court.”<sup>42</sup> Solid statistical indicators of crime-related non-reporting are not readily available but, for what it is worth, data on Crime Stoppers arrests shows that in 2008, 649 such arrests were made whereas in 2012 the arrest totals dropped to 138,<sup>43</sup> a 79% decrease. Although no direct causal link can be established between carding and reduced community-to-police Crime Stoppers tips, these numbers are perhaps suggestive indices of the social costs of carding. Standard declarations about how much safer Toronto has become over the past seven or eight years might therefore be too optimistic if, over the same period of time, increasing percentages of crime witnesses and even victims refrain from contacting the police due to deep distrust.

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<sup>41</sup> Toronto Police Service, *The Police and Community Engagement Review*, 2012, 42.

<sup>42</sup> Toronto Police Service, *Fair Policing, Not Black and White*, 2014.

<sup>43</sup> Toronto Police Service, *2012 Annual Statistical Report*, 2012, 10.

# FINAL THOUGHTS

## 5.1 COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVES ON POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Over the course of the survey and during the community forums, community members provided a range of suggestions to improve police-community relations in the neighbourhoods policed by 31 Division. When asked for ways to improve police-community relations, respondents provided a range of suggestions. Figure 20 summarizes these recommendations under three broad categories: Firstly, recommendations for recruiting and training police officers in 31 Division; secondly, recommendations for the ways that police interact with members of the community and; thirdly, recommendations for changes in the community that can improve the relationship between police and community.

In terms of recruitment and training of police officers working in 31 Division, the recommendations sought to mediate the social disconnect between officers and the community. Firstly, respondents identified the relative lack of diversity among the force relative to the diversity of the communities in 31 Division.

Some respondents suggested that this issue could be addressed through training and orientation to the diversity and lived-realities of community members; while others saw this issue as requiring a proactive recruitment effort to hire police officers with roots in the community. Respondents also recommended training in approaches to community interaction that are less aggressive and more culturally-appropriate. This recommendation would require more consultation with the community to develop an understanding of the appropriate content.

In terms of recommendations that focused on police involvement in the community, it was recommended that police take a more positive role in community affairs to counter-balance their usual role in the community. Among these recommendations, it was suggested that police should be encouraged to contribute to community development and volunteer activities in the local area.

There were some responses that focused on ways that the community could help to improve the relationship with police. Among these, two main points were evident: first, that there are attitudes towards police among community members that make building a better relationship difficult. It was suggested that something needs to be done to change attitudes to police from the community side, although it is not clear what efforts should be undertaken in this regard.

The other recommendation for community action to improve police-community relations was a call for more awareness about rights and responsibilities regarding policing. These comments suggested that much needs to be done to improve the public's understanding of the role of the police and the new policy.

## POLICE RECRUITMENT & TRAINING

There needs to be more police training in cultural issues and a better understanding of the experiences in the community	Police should be oriented to the community -- get to know the people before they start their position	The police in this community are outsiders -- we need more officers who know what the place is like from lived-experience	I think police should be trianed on how to present themselves in a non-threatening way
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## INVOLVEMENT IN THE COMMUNITY

Police should be more involved in children and youth programs	Police should volunteer in the community and community development projects -- We only see police when something is wrong	They need to have a friendlier presence to show they're helping us. Not walking around like they own the place trying to intimidate people.
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## COMMUNITY RESPONSE

A lot of people resent police and should be more open-minded -- not every police officer out to get you.	Community members need to become more aware of their rights and the difference between 'good' and 'bad' policing
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FIGURE 20: RESPONDENTS' RECOMMENDATIONS TO IMPROVE POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS IN 31 DIVISION

## 5.2 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

### *Survey Sample Characteristics Vs. Population Characteristics*

The CAPP survey elicited responses from a large number of people with a stake in areas policed by 31 Division – with over 70 percent reporting being residents of neighbourhoods in the area. The sampling method was also effective in canvassing across the area including a balance of responses that reflects the population distribution of residents across Census Tracts. Examination of the employment status indicators in the sample likewise suggests that the survey captured a reflective approximation of the characteristics of the local area as did the results of the sample concerning housing tenure.

There were two ways that the sample results diverged from the general population characteristics of the area: the results indicate an oversampling of young individuals and members of the Black population. In our survey team meetings over the course of data collection culminating in two focus groups with our youth research assistants, it was acknowledged that the emerging sample was substantially younger than the general population. It was also recognized that with Black respondents comprising 50 percent of the sample, our canvassing method captured an oversampling of individuals with a unique racialized perspective on police-community interactions.

During these team meetings, we instructed the team leads and youth research assistants to make greater effort eliciting responses from a more diverse group of people to some effect but ultimately the survey oversampled youth and Black respondents vis-à-vis the general socio-demographic of the area.

The oversampling of younger individuals and Black respondents was the result of two methodological considerations. Firstly, although our youth research assistants were trained and consistently encouraged to contact individuals of all ages, they admitted that older contacts tended to have less time to complete the survey and younger contacts were more comfortable engaging with the street canvassing teams since these teams were comprised of youth. It also seems likely that younger respondents were more interested in the subject matter because they are more likely to be carded by police than adults. Secondly, it was clear that the project held more interest from racialized respondents – especially Black respondents – because Black people are more likely to be stopped and questioned by police. According to police data published by the Toronto Star, of the 238,640 contact cards filled out in 31 Division between 2008 to 2012, 94,830 were completed

with “black” as the skin descriptor (about 40%).<sup>44</sup> The fact that Black members of the community have historically been more likely to be impacted by the policies and procedures surrounding carding made it understandable that our sample resulted in an oversampling of members of this broad community.

We believe that the oversampling of both groups is mainly due to the nature of the issue we were studying and, therefore, a positive element of the study since these individuals who have either or both characteristics have an acute understanding and perspective on the issue of police-community interactions in 31 Division.

### ***Time Constraints***

The CAPP research project was given three months in which to complete its work. Despite this short time-period, we made every effort to involve the community in all aspects of the project. For example, we ensured that the Community Advisory Committee was comprised of residents, social service providers and other community stakeholders with significant involvement with 31 Division. We also facilitated two community forums which were open to the community and widely publicized. Lastly, we spent a considerable amount of time and effort engaging youth from the community as research assistants. Despite these efforts, the time constraints meant that we were unable to include focus groups and other qualitative methods which would have enriched the study’s findings.

### ***Unavailability of Toronto Police Service Data***

The CAPP research team submitted a request to Toronto Police Services (TPS) on 22 September 2014 for access to contact card and statistical crime data pertinent to 31 Division for the period covering June-August 2014. The data requests for criminal charges in connection with homicide, robbery, firearm use, etc. have obvious implications for community perceptions of crime in 31 Division and the effectiveness of the police in addressing serious criminality. We also submitted requests for data on less serious offences (e.g. drug possession, driving without insurance, etc.) which is connected to this study insofar as carding is a subset of proactive policing, and rates of carding are potentially linked to uncovering (or not uncovering) offences of this nature. Lastly, we requested maps of certain occurrences such as break and enters, robberies, thefts of motor vehicles, etc. which are the types of crimes that would stimulate searches for suspects, which, in turn, is connected to carding. For these reasons, we felt we could not conduct a proper examination

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<sup>44</sup> Andrew Bailey et al., “[Preliminary Toronto Star Analysis of CIPS/FIR – 2013](#),” Toronto Star, August 7, 2013, 15.

of carding in 31 Division based on survey or carding data alone. Unfortunately, this data was not made available at the time of writing this report. However, TPS has indicated agreement with the request and has committed to sharing the requested data at a later date.

### **5.3 FUTURE OPPORTUNITIES FOR COMMUNITY-BASED RESEARCH**

While the CAPP research project provides a solid base-line from which to gauge levels of community satisfaction with policing in 31 Division, future research could explore areas of inquiry which focus on related subject matter. This could include a study that looks more closely at the social impacts carding or, more specifically, at the link between carding, the police background check process and associated impacts on employment. Given adequate time and resources, the youth engagement component could be expanded to include a more thorough capacity-building process consisting of targeted recruitment of youth with lived experience with police interactions, as well as more in-depth training and de-brief sessions with youth. In addition, increased time to build rapport with community members would ensure greater “buy-in” with the research process. Similarly, additional time would allow for a productive interface with Toronto Police Service throughout the course of the research. Based on the themes which emerged, TPSB may consider implementing quarterly or annual reviews of compliance. This could involve research teams working with the community to evaluate policy impacts in an ongoing manner. Lastly, there appears to be great potential for replication of the CAPP research model in other communities across the GTA. This could allow for comparative research and analysis between different communities. To be effective, such initiatives should be given the necessary resources and time to deliver their findings.

**“THERE SHOULD BE MORE  
GATHERINGS WHERE POLICE  
OFFICERS AND RESIDENTS  
HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO  
EXPRESS THEIR WANTS AND  
EXPECTATIONS”**

**- SURVEY RESPONDENT, 31 DIVISION**



# RECOMMENDATIONS

THE FOLLOWING RECOMMENDATIONS FOCUS ON TWO BROAD THEMES WHICH EMERGE FROM THE STUDY'S FINDINGS, AS WELL AS FEEDBACK AND SUGGESTIONS COLLECTED AT CAPP'S COMMUNITY FORUMS. THE FIRST SET OF RECOMMENDATIONS ADDRESS THE NEED TO REVISE THE COMMUNITY CONTACTS POLICY. THE SECOND SET OF RECOMMENDATIONS PUT FORWARD IDEAS RELATED TO THE TPSB'S COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT STRATEGY.

## *Recommendations regarding Community Contacts Policy revision:*

### **1. Institute a ban on the carding of minors**

On the basis of policy compliance issues related to right-to-leave protocols, as well as the psychological impact of carding on children, the practice of carding minors should be terminated immediately.

### **2. Revise current carding categories**

With the new emphasis on the need for carding to be carried out for valid public safety reasons, carding categories that are vague and highly subjective (e.g. "general investigation," "loitering," "suspicious activity," etc.) should be eliminated.

### **3. Purge all pre-policy contact cards**

From a logical and practical standpoint, the millions of contact cards filled out prior to the approval date of the Community Contacts Policy (April 24, 2014) could not have been completed in compliance with the policy and should therefore be entirely purged.

### **4. Impose a 24 month retention limit on post-policy contact cards**

Contact card entries are used for employment background check purposes within the Toronto Police Service and beyond. In order to reduce the potentially negative impact of contact cards on the employment prospects of carded individuals, contact card entries should not be retained for more than 24 months.

## *Recommendations concerning improved community engagement:*

### **5. Develop a policy compliance checklist that can be reviewed and published quarterly**

The TPSB should create and administer an accessible evaluation tool in the form of a checklist

or mini-survey that could be administered on a quarterly basis. Results from this evaluation would provide the TPSB and the public with a regular “snapshot” concerning Toronto Police Service compliance with set policy. This tool could take the form of a 10 question online survey administered by community agencies. While extensive research projects like CAPP are essential in assessing police-community relations over the long-term, it is also important to have more timely research initiatives which respond rapidly to community concerns about policing.

#### **6. Create a robust and sustained community engagement strategy with emphasis on improved communications**

Considering the low levels of public knowledge about the details of the policy, a variety of communication strategies should be developed (using conventional media, social media and other avenues) to bolster public awareness. Form community-level partnerships with organizations working on police assessment and accountability issues

#### **7. Commit to the ongoing funding of independent community-based research projects**

Well-executed research initiatives on community experiences with carding (and related police practices) are one of the main means by which to determine the effectiveness of the Community Contacts Policy.

#### **8. Develop an accountability strategy that boosts community confidence in the policy**

Given that accountability is emphasized in the policy (sections 18a and 18b), periodic updates on disciplinary outcomes in response to policy non-compliance should be shared with the public.

#### **9. Initiate and sustain public education initiatives focused on police issues**

TPSB should commit to providing regular and sustained community forums that offer community members an opportunity to educate themselves about relevant policing issues. These forums should be proactive rather than reactive and should seek to involve a broad spectrum of community stakeholders.

#### **10. Develop community-level “info clinics” which support those interested in accessing their personal information from police databases**

Large numbers of citizens who have been carded are unaware of the nature of the information that has been collected in connection with their names. Accordingly, information clinics dealing with the process of filing access requests with the Toronto Police Service should be conducted on a regular basis in various parts of the city.



# **“THIS ISSUE HAS BEEN WITH US FOR AGES”**

**A COMMUNITY-BASED  
ASSESSMENT OF POLICE CONTACT  
CARDING IN 31 DIVISION**

## **FINAL REPORT APPENDICES**

**NOVEMBER 2014**

## APPENDIX A: “THE POLICE ARE GOING TO GET A BACKLASH”: A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF POLICE/COMMUNITY TENSIONS IN 31 DIVISION

Over the past few decades, the north-west quadrant of Toronto has come to be associated with less than rosy police/community relations, to put it mildly. The 43 square kilometer catchment area of 31 Division has been a hotbed of disputes that pivot on questions regarding the appropriate scope and nature of police activity. From a community standpoint, policing should be a very focused endeavor geared to the task of addressing *genuine* threats to public safety; instead, on innumerable occasions, police in 31 Division have made their presence felt in tranquil situations where they are quite simply not welcome. Consider this excerpt from a March 1989 *Globe and Mail* article:

It is Saturday night at the Driftwood Community Centre, just north of the intersection of Jane and Finch in the northern reaches of Metro Toronto; this neighborhood is the most densely populated, multicultural district in Canada. If this were a Jewish or a Roman Catholic event, there likely wouldn't be any policemen in attendance, in uniforms, carrying guns. But tonight, at a multicultural festival organized by the Jane-Finch Concerned Citizens Organization (JFCCO), most of the audience is black-skinned, well-dressed, polite, not abusing illegal substances and accompanied by children of all ages.

In every sense but one, this is a bourgeois scene: ‘Everywhere you look, there's a cop; it's upsetting,’ says a local mother. ‘Why are they here? It's like they want to make us feel there's something wrong with us, that we can't have a party without them. It's oppressive.’<sup>45</sup>

The charge of racially-driven double standards has been levelled against police in 31 Division for quite some time and it ought to be noted that “persistent complaints from blacks, East Indians and other minorities”<sup>46</sup> have been put forth by people who, in theory, should be staunchly pro-police: law-abiding citizens who want their neighbourhoods to be vibrant, livable and safe. In practice, however, these citizens have been inclined to view the police as oppressive to the extent that their law-abiding status does not protect them from police power. “I was stopped by the police nine times in one year,” said Lennox Farrell in 1986,<sup>47</sup> a striking illustration of how a teacher and local activist with three degrees from the University of Toronto endured persistent police scrutiny.

The commonplace notion that police “go where the trouble is” implies that police are problem-solvers but for some residents in the 31 Division area the police have long functioned as problem-creators, as heavily armed agents of the state who purport to have a specific mandate – crime suppression – but who actually engage in the general targeting of low-status groups. Consequently, “complaints that police officers...are infringing on the rights of the entire black community with unnecessary searches, surveillance and, in some cases, beatings”<sup>48</sup> were commonly voiced in the 1980s. Although beatings were not daily occurrences, questionable stops were an aspect of day-to-day reality, leading one *Toronto Star* journalist to observe that “it is the random checks that anger most.”<sup>49</sup> In relation to the pervasiveness of such checks, Trevor Wilson, a special assistant to David Peterson, the Premier of Ontario, spoke for many youth in the community when he posed the following question: “Why should these kids feel like they have to live under constant surveillance?”<sup>50</sup> The experience of going through middle-school then high school and beyond

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<sup>45</sup> Judy Steed, “The Corridors of Powerlessness,” *The Globe and Mail*, March 18, 1989.

<sup>46</sup> Peter Cheney, “Police to Listen to Complaints on Minorities’ ‘Home Ground,’” *Toronto Star*, October 20, 1986.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Deborah Wilson, “Black Youths, Police Discuss Rising Tensions,” *The Globe and Mail*, October 20, 1986.

<sup>49</sup> Bill Schiller, “Police Profile in Jane-Finch Stirs Tension, Residents Say,” *Toronto Star*, November 2, 1986.

<sup>50</sup> Cheney, “Police to Listen to Complaints on Minorities’ ‘Home Ground.’”

with the weight of being regularly confronted by police officers was obviously frustrating for these youth, their parents and other concerned residents.

Such frustration manifested itself in a variety of ways. Over the years some residents began to formulate critiques of policing centred on the notion that an unspoken aim of the police was to actively undermine the life chances of youth in the 31 Division area by saddling them with criminal records for petty offences or fabricated offences. In the words of Bev Folkes, a long-time community worker, “sometimes I feel that if kids don't have a criminal record here, the police want to ensure that they get one.”<sup>51</sup> Other residents went farther by predicting that persistent heavy-handed policing would eventually produce explosive outbursts of collective action against the police. Lennox Farrell put this in general terms when he declared “the police are going to get a backlash,”<sup>52</sup> while Greg Bobb, a local youth leader, was more specific and more ominous: “The black kids coming up here aren't going to put up with this much longer. If the situation doesn't improve, what happened in Brixton (England) could happen here. Only we wouldn't be burning down any of our own businesses. We don't own any.”<sup>53</sup> Some classified these statements as irresponsible rhetoric whereas others considered them legitimate warnings, but in any case it was clear that sizable segments of the local population viewed the police as adversaries with vile agendas.

Unsurprisingly, the police had much to say in the course of attempting to counter their critics, with emphases on denials of discrimination, racial or otherwise, combined with assertions of solid police professionalism and claims of substantial community approval of police strategies in the area. Consider, for example, this newspaper account: “Staff Inspector Robert Kerr, head of Metro's 31 division, said reports of harassment by black youths and adults are unproven allegations...he has told his officers to do more ‘pro-active’ policing, which he said means stopping and talking to people at random, but maintaining a professional manner.”<sup>54</sup> To *acknowledge* the reality of arbitrary stops while *denying* the validity of harassment complaints was indicative of the degree to which Kerr lived in an experiential and symbolic world far removed from that of black residents. Nonetheless, he did not hesitate to declare that “we know as well as anyone that there are good people here. There is broad support for us from a silent majority that includes not only the black community but all of the people who live in Jane-Finch.”<sup>55</sup>

Kerr's successor, Julian Fantino, who became the head of 31 Division in October 1988, quickly established himself as a man with little patience for diplomatic niceties. From his standpoint, complaints about police harassment were manifestations of “blatant discrimination directed against the police”<sup>56</sup> which diverted attention from what he saw as the core issue: “Police have an inordinate number of negative contacts with black youths. An inordinate amount of serious crimes involve blacks, particularly black youths. Many of the victims are black citizens.”<sup>57</sup> Fantino sought to drive the point home in February 1989 by taking the virtually unprecedented step of compiling and releasing statistics which allegedly “proved” steep black overrepresentation in crimes such as robbery and drug trafficking/possession.<sup>58</sup> He readily acknowledged that he gathered the numbers “in light of the criticisms that we pick on black youths”<sup>59</sup> thereby purifying the officers under his command by presenting them as public servants who carried out their duties based on irrefutable facts on the ground. Any black person stopped and questioned by the police was, by implication, non-innocent.

Having ventured beyond the usual bounds of public police discourse, Fantino's actions sparked a lively backlash from multiple quarters. Prominent activist Dudley Laws minced no words when he stated, “it's a racist and deliberate attempt to divide our community from the larger communities and for the police to obtain unlimited

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<sup>51</sup> Schiller, “Police Profile in Jane-Finch Stirs Tension, Residents Say.”

<sup>52</sup> Bruce DeMara, “Jane-Finch Blacks Plan March to Protest ‘Police Harassment,’” *Toronto Star*, November 5, 1988.

<sup>53</sup> Schiller, “Police Profile in Jane-Finch Stirs Tension, Residents Say,” parenthesis in original.

<sup>54</sup> Wilson, “Black Youths, Police Discuss Rising Tensions.”

<sup>55</sup> Schiller, “Police Profile in Jane-Finch Stirs Tension, Residents Say.”

<sup>56</sup> Andrew Duffy, “Police Sweeps of Jane-Finch Upset Blacks,” *Toronto Star*, February 18, 1989.

<sup>57</sup> Royson James, “Police Tally of ‘Crimes by Blacks’ Draws Fire,” *Toronto Star*, February 17, 1989.

<sup>58</sup> Royson James, “‘Disgusting’ for Police to Release Race Statistics on Crime, Critics Say,” *Toronto Star*, February 17, 1989.

<sup>59</sup> James, “‘Disgusting’ for Police to Release Race Statistics on Crime, Critics Say.”

moral authority and action to harass and brutalize.”<sup>60</sup> Al Mercury, a member of the North York Race Relations Committee, questioned the logic of tabulating “black crimes” and ridiculed Fantino’s apparent disinterest in other forms of racial counting: “If one black person commits 20 crimes, it’s 20 black crimes. And when we ask him how many black policemen he has in the Jane-Finch area, he can’t tell us.”<sup>61</sup>

Local political officials also expressed their thoughts and one among them, Roger Hollander, a city councillor, contended that police assumptions about black criminality were self-fulfilling in the sense that intense scrutiny of blacks inevitably lead to the disproportionate criminalization of black residents: “If you have a bias that blacks commit more crimes, more blacks will be arrested,” he reasoned.<sup>62</sup> Interestingly, one of the most penetrating and perceptive observations came from a senior police official who, speaking anonymously, couched Fantino’s actions in the context of local conflicts based on race, class, property relations and ethnic loyalties. In his words, “Fantino has made a lot of stupid mistakes, no question. The Italian homeowners are angry at the black community, which they see as being ‘warehoused’ in public housing, bringing down property values. Fantino’s Italian and he walked right into the middle of a long-simmering dispute.”<sup>63</sup> So while Fantino did not create multi-faceted intergroup tensions in 31 Division, he was criticized for making matters worse by adding racial fuel to pre-existing fires.

Beyond the 1980s, the 31 Division area has maintained its unenviable status as a place in which police/community relations are among the worst in the city. Mutual animosity and frayed lines of communication have numerous costs, including relatively high rates of unsolved crimes. With a focus on the 1990s, a *Toronto Star* investigation made this key finding:

The Star collected data on all 612 homicides in the city between 1990 and 1999, and came up with a clearance rate – the police term for arrest rate – for each of the 17 divisions across the city. The lowest clearance rate was in North York’s 31 Division, which runs from Lawrence Ave. W. north to Steeles Ave., and from Islington Ave. to just east of Keele St. at the Canadian National Railway tracks. Police made arrests in just 58.9 per cent of its 56 homicides in the ’90s.<sup>64</sup>

Nonetheless, 31 Division officers remain wedded to militaristic forms of policing that are virtually guaranteed to sustain the troubling status quo. Like an old damaged record that repeats the same song segment over and over again, not much has changed as indicated by these opening lines of a May 2006 article by journalist Joe Friesen: “The calm of a spring evening in the Firgrove public housing complex was interrupted last week by the arrival of a large white passenger van. Its back doors swung open, and a dozen police officers in blue uniforms and black gloves came spilling out into a courtyard dotted with teenagers, young children and parents.”<sup>65</sup> In response, the manager of the housing unit was highly critical, stating “they come out as if they had just landed in Kandahar...It would be a lot better if they would just work with us. [Ours] is not a Rambo approach to the solution.”<sup>66</sup> In at least one sense the analogy seems appropriate: the first installment of the *Rambo* movie series was released in 1982 and over roughly the same period of time 31 Division has been a site of intergenerational tensions between civilians and uniformed government agents known as the police.

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<sup>60</sup> Alan Story and Jim Byers, “Stop Collecting Race Statistics, Police Told,” *Toronto Star*, February 18, 1989.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Steed, “The Corridors of Powerlessness.”

<sup>64</sup> Michelle Shephard and John Duncanson, “An Ugly Homicide Truth: Fewer Cases Being Solved,” *Toronto Star*, October 7, 2000.

<sup>65</sup> Joe Friesen, “A Show of Community, Not Force,” *The Globe and Mail*, May 15, 2006.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

# BEHIND THE BADGE: THE REALITIES OF POLICE POWER IN EVERYDAY COMMUNITY LIFE

There is a sense in which an age of pessimism has arisen over the past few decades with respect to the capacity of large-scale public sector entities to improve life for everyday citizens but, by and large, one key public institution has managed to maintain a good measure of mainstream support, namely, the police. Although such support does have certain logical underpinnings, it also depends on the widespread circulation of notions and images that fuel highly emotional attachments to the police. In this regard, relevant considerations include “a set of predispositions which operate in such a way that when people think of crime and order they reach as it were instinctively for the police. Such dispositions amount...to an unthought category of thought that habitually leads people to couple crime and policing together as one. An idealized force for good is imagined as struggling with, and seeking to contain, an unknown, unpredictable and demonized evil.”<sup>67</sup> Rendered in these terms, the police come across as lawful agents of the state who are fully dedicated to controlling crime and bolstering public safety on behalf of all citizens, or at least those who are law-abiding.

But the realm of the real, as opposed to that of the ideal, is characterized by complexity and contradictions of various sorts. Policing, as an institution, functions within socio-political contexts marked by unequal power relations, conflicting group-linked interests and competing ideas about how to best enforce law and maintain order; additionally, the police, for their part, have enough operational autonomy to pursue objectives which may or may not correspond with the preferences of the general public. Much of this can be explained with reference to organization theory which “postulates that, while organizations are properly instruments for the securing of social goals, organizational actions and decisions are frequently better understood by imputing to the organization self-serving or ‘reflexive’ goals. Organizations tend to suffer ‘goal displacement’; they have a propensity to deviate from the pursuit of their stated goals.”<sup>68</sup> Such deviation applies with particular force to policing for two key reasons.

First, prevailing images of the police as effective crime-fighters run contrary to well-established bodies of knowledge about crime causation and related matters. For example, an FBI document entitled *Uniform Crime Reporting Statistics: Their Proper Use* features a list of “some factors that are known to affect the volume and type of crime occurring from place to place.” Thirteen factors are listed (such as “population density and degree of urbanization,” “variations in composition of the population, particularly youth concentration,” “family conditions with respect to divorce and family cohesiveness” etc.), only two of which pertain to policing.<sup>69</sup> It follows, quite obviously, that the ability of the police to suppress crime is far more modest than popular conceptions would suggest.

Of relevance in this regard is the willingness of some retired police officials to issue declarations along the following lines: “The idea of police as crime preventers is rubbish. By the time the cop appears the criminal has been formed and the crime has been committed,” says Anthony Bouza, a former Minneapolis police chief.<sup>70</sup> Additionally, Christopher Braiden, a former superintendent in the Edmonton Police Service, expresses criticism of police emphases on crime in the public sphere: “Contemporary police strategies are predicated upon the presumption that crime is a public-place event, but contemporary society spends little of its time in purely public places. Today, an infinitesimal portion of crime is committed in public places.”<sup>71</sup> It should be added that the overwhelming majority of violent crimes (murder, attempted murder, assault, sexual assault, kidnapping, forcible confinement, etc.) involve victims who know/knew their victimizers (family members, friends, acquaintances and forth); in Canada, for example, year-

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<sup>67</sup> Ian Loader, “Policing and the Social: Questions of Symbolic Power,” *The British Journal of Sociology* 48, no. 1 (1997): 4.

<sup>68</sup> Roger A. Shiner, “Citizens’ Rights and Police Powers,” in *Police Powers in Canada: The Evolution and Practice of Authority*, ed. R.C. Macleod and David Schneiderman (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 64.

<sup>69</sup> Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Uniform Crime Reporting Statistics: Their Proper Use*, 2011, Washington, DC.

<sup>70</sup> Anthony V. Bouza, *Police Unbound: Corruption, Abuse, and Heroism by the Boys in Blue* (Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books, 2001), 40.

<sup>71</sup> Christopher Braiden, “Policing: From the Belly of the Whale,” in *Police Powers in Canada: The Evolution and Practice of Authority*, ed. R.C. Macleod and David Schneiderman (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 341.



to-year statistics demonstrate that 84% of homicide victims knew their killers.<sup>72</sup> Standard calls for “more police on the streets” – which assume that stranger-on-stranger violence is the norm – therefore rest on weak argumentative grounds.

Second, police adherence to formally articulated organizational objectives and standards is regularly undercut by the influence of police culture, a constellation of norms, values and customs which can translate into modes of behaviour that are lawless. Reflecting on his early days as a young police officer, Norm Stamper, former chief of the Seattle Police Department, acknowledges that “within months...I was saying and doing things I’d never said or done before in my life. Not nice things, not proper things. But, oh my lord, it was fun! Screwing people around, laughing and joking about it after shift with my peers. My favourite stunt? Choking people out.”<sup>73</sup>

Stamper’s candor is reflective of multiple analyses of policing centred on the observation that within police culture sharp distinctions are drawn between policing by the book and policing on the street; the former is commonly disparaged as unrealistic, as rooted in police academy lessons that are supposedly impractical when applied to real world situations. It is therefore critical to heed the words of Christopher Braiden: “All organizations live two lives; there is the structural life – and then there is the culture. The structure is formal and represents the theory of what is *supposed* to happen. Culture is informal and represents the reality of what *actually* does happen. Make no mistake about it, it is the culture that runs things.”<sup>74</sup> Accordingly, the task of developing solid understandings of how communities are actually policed can only be achieved by dispensing with the unsupportable notion that policing is conducted by strictly lawful, rule-bound crime fighters.

## DIFFERENT PUBLICS, DIFFERENT POLICING: RIGHTS, CITIZENSHIP AND “POLICE PROPERTY”

A key aspect of dominant police imagery speaks to the idea that police organizations exist to serve the public as a whole. From this standpoint, one is encouraged to believe that although society is segmented and divided along various axes of social differentiation – in terms of race, class, gender, religion, sexuality, etc. – policing is somehow universalistic: all people, no matter their station in life, are treated in a fair, respectful and impartial manner by the police. Against this view, numerous researchers in the field of police studies contend that the police think in terms of *publics* – plural, not singular – only some of which are comprised of people regarded as full-fledged citizens:

To the extent that the civil population are regarded as citizens with rights, the exercise of state authority by the police is restrained. However, policing is not simply restrained or unrestrained *per se*, but tends to be restrained when dealing with *some* members of the civil population and less so when dealing with others....Despite democratic rhetoric, citizenship is far from uniform throughout the civil population: some have full citizenship, while that of others is partial, qualified or, in some cases, almost entirely absent.<sup>75</sup>

All of this is readily accepted in the context of discussions about policing in foreign lands; it is uncontroversial to point out that in various parts of the world (Central and South America, the Caribbean, Africa, Asia and Eastern Europe) police agencies work for or against different population segments depending on their perceptions of who matters and who does not. In countries such as the UK, the US and Canada, however, police worldviews are said to be radically different in terms of the value placed on inclusivity. Even so, prominent figures in the police community occasionally make brutally honest statements about how they truly view society. In Toronto in the early 1990s, for example, Art Lymer, head of the Toronto Police Association, responded to multiple critiques of local policing by declaring: “We’re not adverse to being accountable to the public – but which public? The broad spectrum of the

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<sup>72</sup> Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, [Homicide in Canada, 2012](#), 2013, Ottawa: Minister of Industry, 16.

<sup>73</sup> Norm Stamper, *Breaking Rank: A Top Cop's Exposé of the Dark Side of American Policing* (New York: Nation Books, 2005), x.

<sup>74</sup> Braiden, “Policing: From the Belly of the Whale,” 312, emphasis in original.

<sup>75</sup> P.A.J. Waddington, *Policing Citizens: Authority and Rights* (London: UCL Press, 1999), 28-29, emphasis added.

public, okay, we'll police the city the way they want it policed.”<sup>76</sup> Accountable to some, unaccountable to others – an unremarkable fact of life given the grossly unequal distributions of power and status in Canadian society.

The topics of citizenship, differentiated publics and police restraint have overlapping implications for police legitimacy. In this regard, one of the most interesting findings in the relevant literature is that the less contact one has with the police, the more likely one is to regard policing as a laudable and legitimate endeavour; conversely, frequent contact tends to produce unfavorable sentiments about the police. A number of historical examples could be cited in furtherance of this line of thought, but an especially compelling instance of resentment toward all-too-regular police/public contact was encapsulated in a 1926 letter issued to Canada's Minister of Justice by James G. Gardiner, the premier of Saskatchewan:

The policing of this Province is rapidly developing into a condition which is likely to bring the whole matter into the field of political controversy. The main reason for this, to my mind, is that we are very much over policed. We have a condition which developed during the war, which leaves us with virtually three police forces, the R.C.M.P., the Provincial Police and the Municipal Police. The result is...the appearance of too many uniformed men at every public gathering...[which gives] the appearance of a military occupation.<sup>77</sup>

In the present day, almost nine decades later, controversy about over-policing is alive and well, while current research affirms the validity of the less contact/more legitimacy thesis. “The weight of evidence suggests citizens who have the greatest satisfaction with the police are those who have no direct contact with them,”<sup>78</sup> an observation supported in a journal article entitled “Chinese immigrants’ perceptions of the police in Toronto, Canada,” which found that “previous contact with the police was negatively associated with positive perceptions of the police. People who had previous contact (voluntary or involuntary) with the police expressed less satisfaction with police.”<sup>79</sup> The practical implications are obvious and likely well understood by all within a given police hierarchy, from the chief down to the rookie constable: when dealing with people who matter, those who qualify as genuine rights-bearing citizens, non-interference is the appropriate stance.

The seamy flipside of police respect (in the form of non-contact) for individuals and groups with power and status is contempt for people who fall under the category of “police property,” which consists of

low-status, powerless groups whom the dominant majority see as problematic or distasteful. The majority are prepared to let the police deal with their ‘property’ and turn a blind eye to the manner in which this is done. Examples would be vagrants, skid-row alcoholics, the unemployed or casually employed residuum, youth adopting a deviant cultural style, ethnic minorities, gays, prostitutes and radical political organisations. The prime function of the police has always been to control and segregate such groups, and they are armed with a battery of permissive and discretionary laws for this purpose.<sup>80</sup>

The concept of police property highlights the fallacies associated with equating policing with law enforcement, for much police activity directed toward low-status groups has nothing to do with responding to violations of the law. There is no law against, say, the presence of black youth in affluent, predominantly white neighbourhoods (youth who may well live there, by the way) but from the standpoint of police culture such a presence conflicts with rigidly

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<sup>76</sup> Andrew Duffy, “Years of frustration behind police protests,” *Toronto Star*, October 10, 1992.

<sup>77</sup> R.C. Macleod, “The RCMP and the Evolution of Provincial Policing,” in *Police Powers in Canada: The Evolution and Practice of Authority*, ed. R.C. Macleod and David Schneiderman (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 50.

<sup>78</sup> Murray Leea and Alyce McGovern, “Force to Sell: Policing the Image and Manufacturing Public Confidence,” *Policing and Society: An International Journal of Research and Policy* 23, no. 1 (2013): 108.

<sup>79</sup> Doris C. Chu and John Huey-Long Song, “Chinese Immigrants’ Perceptions of the Police in Toronto, Canada,” *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management* 31, no. 4 (2008): 623.

<sup>80</sup> Robert Reiner, *The Politics of the Police*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 118.

conservative conceptions about who belongs where – certain races are thought belong in certain places – so black youth in those settings are regularly stopped and questioned about where they live, where they have been, where they are going and so on. Stated simply, “legal evidence of a crime does not always impel police action, *nor does the lack of such evidence prevent it*.”<sup>81</sup> Involvement in criminal activity is not a necessary condition for qualifying as police property; one can be a saint and nonetheless be on the receiving end of frequent police scrutiny.

Criminologists have long understood the degree to which police resources are mobilized in pursuit of multiple objectives, some of which have nothing to do with crime control and everything to do with social control/discipline. In a notable article published in the *British Journal of Criminology*, Satnam Choong provides a detailed explication of how police practices unfold with an eye toward reinforcing social discipline:

An exercise in social discipline involves the use of coercion in circumstances where such coercion is not intended to further a criminal investigation. Rather, its initial and primary purpose is to remind an individual or a community that they are under constant surveillance: the objective is to punish or humiliate the individual, or to communicate police contempt for a particular community or family, or to demonstrate that the police have absolute control over those who challenge the right of the police to define and enforce ‘normality.’<sup>82</sup>

Police-driven social discipline, as an ongoing and institutionally accepted expression of state power, is alive and well in major jurisdictions throughout the world, including Toronto. Consider the words of Nate Fraser, a recreation centre supervisor in a low-income area known as Chalkfarm, who describes the daily ordeals of teenagers under his watch:

During the summertime, there wasn’t a day you wouldn’t see a police car here. They’re sitting outside when we’re closing the building. They’re waiting for someone to come outside. It’s the adolescents. They love to target them. The police would grab one or two and question them and search them. The (officers) would write down information. The (kids) would come back in here, upset. They’re venting. They would say, ‘They searched my pockets. I don’t know why. They asked me all these questions.’ The kids were afraid to go outside.<sup>83</sup>

Notwithstanding *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* prohibitions against unreasonable search and seizure (Section 8) and arbitrary detention (Section 9), such targeting, questioning and information extraction is a regular feature of life in Toronto – at least for those designated as police property.

## FULCRUMS OF CHANGE: COMPETING APPROACHES TO POLICE REFORM

It has been said that “every society gets the policing it deserves,” meaning the police can be no better than the socio-cultural milieus within which they operate. The obvious truth of this statement is that the police do not stand apart from, or above, society and, as such, are thoroughly immersed in familiar norms, outlooks and ideologies, the likes of which inform their day-to-day practices. Nonetheless, the construct known as “society” is far from monolithic and when it comes to the subject of policing one might say the debates are so lively precisely because the possibilities are so varied. As Sandra Bass explains:

Underlying the conflicts between the police, political leaders, and the public over specific police policies or practices is...[a] fundamental ‘value’ conflict over competing visions of policing in a

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<sup>81</sup> Steve Herbert, *Policing Space: Territoriality and the Los Angeles Police Department*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 55, emphasis added.

<sup>82</sup> Satnam Choong, “Policing the Dross: A Social Disciplinary Model of Policing,” *British Journal of Criminology* 38, no. 4 (1998): 626.

<sup>83</sup> David Bruser, “[Troubled Neighbourhood Desperate for Change](#),” Toronto Star, February 7, 2010.

democratic society. Should the police enjoy broad organizational autonomy, or should they be subject to greater democratic oversight? Should police services be delivered in an impersonal, bureaucratic, standardized way, or should the police be more attentive to community variations and build partnerships with external actors? Should the police be a function-oriented bureaucracy focusing narrowly on crime, or should the police be more active in broadly construed order maintenance activities?<sup>84</sup>

Aside from hard-core pessimists who regard police reform efforts as chimerical, most citizens who are deeply concerned with policing issues are willing to engage in collective and individual actions (writing letters to newspapers, participating in consultative committees, presenting deputations to official public bodies, aligning with grassroots organizations, etc.) with the aim of translating their visions into feasible and impactful policy decisions. Beyond this, at the level of elected officials, police brass and other societal powerbrokers, broad agreement seems to exist with respect to the value of police/community interchanges, at least in principle.

In this context, the notion of community policing looms large as *the* key police innovation to take hold within the past few decades. Long seen as excessively insular, organizationally conservative and undemocratically autonomous, police organizations throughout North America now tout their commitments to community policing as evidence of their responsiveness to public demands for movement away from outmoded ways of doing things. In the words of one researcher, community policing is “a strategy designed to increase citizen participation in the provision of public safety.”<sup>85</sup> Additionally, Phillip Stenning, a former professor at the Centre of Criminology at the University of Toronto, explains that community policing is based on the interrelated ideas “that the police should be more proactive in their policing efforts and...that they address themselves to identifying and rectifying ‘underlying causes’ of crime and disorder, rather than simply reacting, after the fact, to actual manifestations of them.”<sup>86</sup> Framed in these terms, it is not difficult to understand why community policing is so commonly invoked by police officials and, in turn, why such invocations are generally well-received by the public.

Equally understandable is the emergence, since the 1980s, of sharp critiques of community policing. In *The Politics of Community Policing*, William Lyons cast doubt on the participatory dimensions of community policing by highlighting “police led activities that tap community partnerships only insofar as they are a resource for the police department.”<sup>87</sup> Almost two decades earlier, Phil Scraton, a noted critical criminologist based in the UK, thoroughly repudiated police/community consultations as superficial exercises unconnected to actual mechanisms of accountability:

commitment to community consultation has been used as an indication that the police are becoming more in tune with local communities, more responsive to the demands of their inhabitants and, therefore, more accountable to the people. Consultation, however, should not be confused with accountability. The process of community consultation gives no community access to the procedures of accountability. People can state their dissatisfaction with the police and they can offer advice, but *the police are under no obligation to do what they ask*.<sup>88</sup>

The other notable pillar of community policing, namely, the pronounced emphasis on proactive policing, is said to entail “greater penetration of communities,”<sup>89</sup> which, for Scraton, is fundamentally problematic: “The gathering of

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<sup>84</sup> Sandra Bass, “Negotiating Change: Community Organizations and the Politics of Policing,” *Urban Affairs Review* 36, no.2 (2000): 149-150.

<sup>85</sup> Melissa Schaefer Morabito, “The Adoption of Police Innovation: The Role of the Political Environment,” *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management* 31, no. 3 (2008): 567.

<sup>86</sup> Philip C. Stenning, “Police and Politics: There and Back Again?,” in *Police Powers in Canada: The Evolution and Practice of Authority*, ed. R.C. Macleod and David Schneiderman (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 231.

<sup>87</sup> William Lyons, *The Politics of Community Policing: Rearranging the Power to Punish* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 36.

<sup>88</sup> Phil Scraton, *The State of the Police* (London: Pluto Press, 1985), 125, emphasis added.

<sup>89</sup> Stenning, “Police and Politics: There and Back Again?,” 232.

information without any check on how it may be used...[is an example] of what community-policing initiatives mean in practice...The use of such a strategy to ‘gain the confidence’ of other agencies, key workers in the community and the people themselves, provides the opportunity for a level of targeting and surveillance which no previous strategy could offer.”<sup>90</sup> Analogically speaking, then, the staging of community policing involves police as the main actors while community members serve as extras. And insofar as agendas situated under the rubric of community policing are ultimately formulated and executed by the police (e.g. “getting to know the community” aka intelligence-gathering), community policing is not synonymous with *community-driven* policing.

Moving beyond the confines of community policing leads us to a consideration of collective agency as exercised by independent community organizations. As catalysts for community-driven policing, these organizations derive their capacities for transformative action by pursuing multiple, mutually reinforcing strategies for change and by providing political elites with substantial pools of practical/symbolic support for reform agendas. As Sandra Bass explains, “change in policing is often a result of external forces advocating for reform. Community organizations and collective action play an important role in the politics of policing and police reform. They are critical for pushing reluctant or cautious political leaders to address difficult or unpopular police policy decisions.”<sup>91</sup> To the extent that these organizations are not wedded to police-generated categories of thought, they can engage in outside-the-box practices along the lines of People United for a Better Life in Oakland (PUEBLO) which has “conducted its own studies of how police handled citizen complaints and released them to the media.”<sup>92</sup> When the same grievances are put forth by the same communities for years and even decades, it becomes quite clear that agenda-setting at the community level is vitally important.

## CHALLENGING HIERARCHIES OF CREDIBILITY: THE VALUE OF COMMUNITY VOICES

In 1967 one of the most prominent and celebrated sociologists of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Howard S. Becker, published an article entitled “Whose Side Are We On?,” in which he drew attention to the realities of “an established status order, in which knowledge of truth and the right to be heard are not equally distributed.”<sup>93</sup> Assumptions of credibility are linked to considerations of status so that, for example, the prison warden who claims that prison conditions are stellar can, with relative ease, override the voices of inmates who say the exact opposite. For Becker, however, “unthinking acceptance of the hierarchy of credibility” should be repudiated for a variety of reasons, especially because “officials usually have to lie. That is a gross way of putting it, but not inaccurate. Officials must lie because things are seldom as they ought to be. For a great variety of reasons, well known to sociologists, institutions are refractory. They do not perform as society would like them to.”<sup>94</sup> This speaks, again, to the common gaps that exist between official statements about how institutions supposedly function versus how they actually function.

In the domain of policing, maintaining legitimacy and conveying truth can be incompatible aims. The need to present police organizations in overwhelmingly positive ways creates symbolic and material incentives for police officials to issue lofty declarations with which most members of the public are familiar. To wit: we target people based on criminal activity, not based on social status; racial profiling does not exist or if it does exist it is due to the actions of a few bad apples; adding more of our officers to high-crime communities will produce significant public safety benefits; our mechanisms of internal accountability ensure that officer misconduct will be thoroughly investigated and punished; we have an increasingly diverse police department so no one can question our commitment to progressive transformation – and so on. Prominent police officials who make hundreds of thousands of dollars per year, and who are beholden to the organizations that confer power and prestige upon them, are unlikely to be reliable sources of critical information about controversial police practices. “After thirty years on the

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<sup>90</sup> Scraton, *The State of the Police*, 129,139.

<sup>91</sup> Bass, “Negotiating Change: Community Organizations and the Politics of Policing,” 174.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid, 156.

<sup>93</sup> Howard S. Becker, “Whose Side Are We On?,” *Social Problems* 14, no. 3 (1967): 242.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

inside I have come to the conclusion that policing is cultist, functioning more upon myth than reality,” says Christopher Braiden in the course of reflecting on his career with the Edmonton Police Service.<sup>95</sup> It is a harsh observation, to be sure, but it goes some way toward explaining why the form and content of police pronouncements are so consistent and so impervious to disconfirming evidence.

Nonetheless, if agreement exists on one basic point, that policing is a multidimensional endeavour, then it makes sense to suggest that understanding policing is contingent upon accessing and documenting a range of everyday community voices: the elderly couple who have been in a neighbourhood for several decades, the single mother working multiple jobs to make ends meet, the optimistic high school student who hopes to enter university in a couple of years, the affluent professional who views the status quo as desirable and worthy of preservation, the middle-aged man who was laid off months ago and is struggling to find work, the racialized youth who wonder if they have a meaningful place in society, etc. Basic democratic principles affirm the need for members of the general public to have a say in the creation, implementation and transformation of public policies. This report, accordingly, is unapologetically community-based.

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<sup>95</sup> Braiden, “Policing: From the Belly of the Whale,” 312.



# **APPENDIX B: COMMUNITY ASSESSMENT OF POLICE PRACTICES (CAPP) COMMUNITY ADVISORY COMMITTEE TERMS OF REFERENCE**

## **ROLE OF THE COMMITTEE**

The purpose of the Community Advisory Committee is to support, guide and inform the Community Assessment of Police Practices' (CAPP) participatory action research agenda.

CAPP is a community-based research initiative that is examining community satisfaction with police-community interactions in the City of Toronto. In recent years, community consultations conducted by the Toronto Police Services Board have identified concerns about the manner in which police officers interact with community members. Recent police data has shown that certain communities such as the Black community experience more frequent stops and carding by Toronto police officers. The Community Contact Policy was revised in April 2014 to respond to such concerns. Our current research in 31 Division, guided by the Advisory Committee, will examine if the revised policy is addressing the concerns raised about the previous policy. The findings will provide information to police and communities with the aim of improving policing.

The Research Advisory Committee will:

1. Provide feedback to CAPP's Research Team on the Summer 2014 research activities including advice on community engagement, methodologies, data collection strategies and analysis.
2. Support CAPP's community engagement and capacity building activities
3. Advise CAPP's Research Team on possible actionable activities that respond to the findings from the research as well as dissemination opportunities
4. Provide feedback on whether CAPP's research activities are in compliance with CAPP's Research Ethics Guidelines (see page 2).

## **MEMBERSHIP**

The Committee shall consist of 9-12 members representing a diverse group of research and community interests relating to police-community relations in 31 Division. These interests include: theory and practice in social justice, race, anti-racism/anti-oppression, policing, legal rights, participatory action research practice, community development and well-being and the criminal justice system. Majority of Committee members will live or work in 31 Division. CAPP's Project Director will act as the Chair of the committee.

## **MEETING PROCEDURES**

The Committee shall meet twice in-person between July 15 and September 15. Additional meetings and communications (a maximum of 3) will be conducted via teleconference, email and other electronic means as required. CAPP's Project Director will prepare and distribute minutes and agendas as required.

The Project Director will provide the opportunity for members to evaluate the Committee's terms of reference throughout the project's duration.

# APPENDIX C: ETHICS CERTIFICATE FROM THE COMMUNITY RESEARCH ETHICS OFFICE



COMMUNITY  
RESEARCH  
ETHICS OFFICE

Strengthening and Supporting Community Research  
Waterloo Region, Ontario, Canada and Internationally

August 14, 2014

Neil Price, Executive Director  
LogicalOutcomes  
100 Wells Street,  
Toronto, ON M5R 1P3

Dear Neil:

We are pleased to inform you that the ethical review of your research project: Community Assessment of Police Services has been completed. Based on the changes you have made, we have determined that your research proposal is ethically sound and we agree to the use of our approval statement on any documents related to the research project. That statement reads: This project has been reviewed and approved by the Community Research Ethics Board. If you feel you have not been treated according to the descriptions in our information, or your rights as a participant in research have been violated during the course of this project, you may contact the Chair, Community Research Ethics Board, Community Research Ethics Office, {519} 741-1318.

We ask that, if you make any major changes to your research process and/or reviewed documents, you request our further review.

On behalf of our Board of Directors, thank you for using the services of the Community Research Ethics Office. If we can be of service in the future, please contact us.

We wish you all the best in successfully completing your research project.

Yours sincerely,  
Theron Kramer  
Co-Chair, Board of Directors  
Community Research Ethics Office



## APPENDIX D: CAPP SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE



SURVEY NUMBER (FOR OFFICE USE ONLY):

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DATE OF SURVEY (DD/MM/YYYY):

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INTERVIEW LOCATION IF APPLICABLE:

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RESEARCH ASSISTANT NAME IF APPLICABLE:

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# Community Assessment of Police Practices Survey

by LogicalOutcomes

### ABOUT THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

The Community Assessment of Police Practices (CAPP) Survey is designed to gather feedback on the experience with policing in communities in 31 Division (please see map below). The survey is interested in understanding the impact of recent changes in policies related to how police document their contacts with residents also known as 'carding'. 'Carding' is defined as the process of documenting how police interact with citizens using police 'contact cards'. This survey also wants to understand residents' satisfaction with policing in the community and to collect feedback on how to improve police-community interactions.

### WHO CAN TAKE THE CAPP-31 SURVEY?

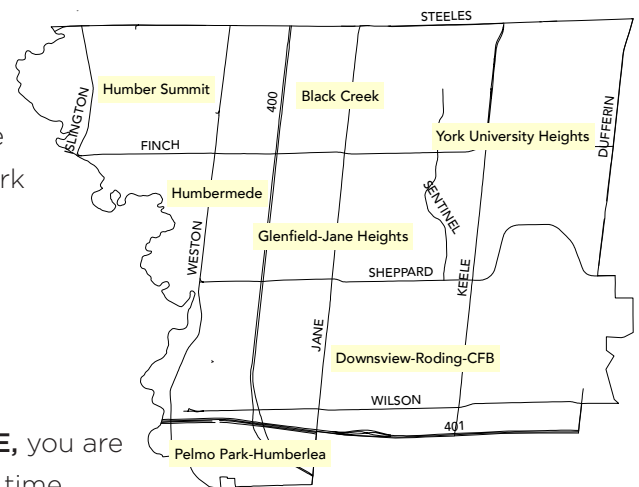
If you are interested in taking this survey, please answer the following question to see if you are eligible: Do you live, work or go to school in 31 Division? Please check all that apply:

- ☐ Living
- ☐ Work
- ☐ Go to School

If you did not select **ANY OF THE THREE OPTIONS ABOVE**, you are not eligible to participate in this survey. Thank you for your time.

If you selected **ONE OF THE OPTIONS ABOVE** and you are willing to complete the survey, please read the information letter and check the "consent box" below. Thank you for your time.

- ☐ I have read and understand the Information Letter regarding this survey and I consent to taking this survey. I understand that this is voluntary, anonymous and I can skip any questions I don't feel comfortable answering.



## SECTION A

### EXPERIENCES WITH POLICE

***We are interested in hearing about your positive and negative experiences with the police in this area.***

**1) Have you ever been stopped by the police in 31 Division?**

☐ Yes ☐ No

If you have NEVER been stopped and questioned by the police, please skip to question 7.

**2) How many times have you been stopped?**

\_\_\_\_\_ times

**3) How old were you the first time you were stopped and questioned by the police?**

\_\_\_\_\_ years old

**4) What was the experience like for you? Check all the boxes that apply:**

- ☐ I was asked to show ID in or just outside my apartment building.
- ☐ I had a nice conversation with police.
- ☐ I was asked to show ID in or just outside my friend or family member's apartment building.
- ☐ An officer did something nice for my family member (or friends).
- ☐ I was told "I fit the description"
- ☐ An officer showed me respect
- ☐ I was spoken to disrespectfully
- ☐ I was surrounded and intimidated by police
- ☐ My property was taken by police and never returned.
- ☐ The police accused me of being in a gang or asked me if I was a gang member

**5) What have you experienced BECAUSE of being stopped and questioned by the police?**

- ☐ I felt depressed
- ☐ I felt anxious about the incident
- ☐ I was not hired because of my record
- ☐ I felt I needed to do something to change the way the police do their job
- ☐ I've changed my walking route to avoid police
- ☐ I avoid going out at certain times because of police
- ☐ I feel like I am constantly being watched by police
- ☐ Other? Please provide details.

**6) Have you been stopped by the police SINCE JUNE 2014?**

☐ Yes ☐ No

If you have not been stopped since June 2014, please go to question 7.

**6.1) Do you believe the police had a valid public safety reason for stopping and questioning you?<sup>1</sup>**

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Unsure

**6.2) Did the police provide a reason for stopping you?**

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Unsure

**6.3) Do you believe that the police stopped you to gather information even though they were not investigating a specific crime?**

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Unsure

**6.4) Do you think police prolonged their contact with you because they hoped to get information that would justify formal questioning?**

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Unsure

**6.5) Did you receive a receipt from the police officer with the officer's name, badge number and reason for the stop?**

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Unsure

**6.6) In many cases, people who are approached informally by police have a right to leave without answering questions. Did you feel that you had a right to leave when you were stopped and questioned?**

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Unsure

**7) Do you think police sometimes stop individuals in order to meet a quota or performance target?**

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Unsure

**8) How often do you think police stop and question individuals just to show police presence in your community?**

☐ Very Often ☐ Sometimes ☐ Never

**9) Have you ever decided not to call the police for help because you thought they might make the problem worse?**

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Unsure

**10) If YES, please explain why you thought calling the police might make the problem worse?**

## SECTION B

### SATISFACTION WITH POLICE

**1) The last time you witnessed police stop someone in the neighbourhood, how did you feel? Please check the circle next to the statement you most agree with.**

- Angry ☐ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ Didn't Care
- Less Safe ☐ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ Safer
- Worried ☐ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ Not Worried
- Distrustful ☐ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ Trustful
- Hopeless ☐ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ Hopeful

**2) What do you think about the police in your neighborhood? Check the circle above the statement you most agree with. Check the middle circle if you feel somewhere in between the statements.**

#### A - RESPECT FOR POLICE

☐ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐

I have little respect I have a lot of respect

#### B - FAIRNESS

☐ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐

They are unfair They are fair

#### C - TRUST

☐ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐

They are not trustworthy They are trustworthy

#### D - HONESTY

☐ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐

They are dishonest They are honest

#### E - USE OF POWER

☐ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐

They abuse power They use power responsibly

#### F - MANAGING PROBLEMS

☐ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐

They create problems They prevent problems

#### G - OUR BEST INTERESTS

☐ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐

They do not work in my/our best interests They work in my/our best interests

#### F - SAFETY

☐ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐

I feel unsafe when police are around I feel safe when police are around

#### G - CRIME

☐ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐

If I saw a crime in the future, I would likely not call the police. If I saw a crime in the future, I would likely call the police.

**3) How would you rate the relationship between police and residents in your community BEFORE JUNE 2014?**

- ☐ Very Poor ☐ Poor ☐ Adequate
- ☐ Good ☐ Excellent ☐ Unsure

**4) How would rate the relationship between police and residents in your community SINCE JUNE 2014?**

- ☐ Very Poor ☐ Poor ☐ Adequate
- ☐ Good ☐ Excellent ☐ Unsure

**5) In general, how satisfied are you with policing in your neighbourhood?**

- ☐ Not satisfied at all ☐ Somewhat Satisfied
- ☐ Adequately satisfied ☐ Satisfied
- ☐ Very satisfied ☐ Unsure

**6) Please tell us why you feel this way.**

## SECTION C

### COMMUNITY CONTACTS POLICY

*In April 2014, the Toronto Police Services Board approved new policies and procedures for how the police should stop and question individuals. This policy is known as the Community Contacts Policy. The revised policy is supposed to respond to concerns that the Toronto Police Services Board identified about the manner in which police officers interact with community members. This survey will examine if the revised policy is addressing the concerns raised about the previous policy. The findings will provide information to police and communities with the aim of improving policing.*

**1) Were you aware that in April 2014 the Toronto Police Services Board approved NEW POLICIES AND PROCEDURES for stopping and questioning individuals as described above?**

☐ Yes      ☐ No

**2) If you're aware of the new policy, please describe what you know about the new procedures.**

**3) How did you learn about the new policy?**

**4) Please tell us what you think needs to be done to change the way police interact with residents.**

## SECTION D

### RACIAL PROFILING

*“Racial profiling by law enforcement is commonly defined as a practice that targets people for suspicion of crime based on their race, ethnicity, religion or national origin.”*

(<http://www.nij.gov/topics/law-enforcement/legitimacy/Pages/racial-profiling.aspx>)

Based on this definition of racial profiling:

1) Do you believe that Toronto Police engages in racial profiling in deciding who to stop and/or question?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Unsure

2) Have you or someone you know experienced racial profiling by police BEFORE JUNE 2014?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Unsure

3) Have you or someone you know experienced racial profiling by police SINCE JUNE 2014?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Unsure

## SECTION E

### A LITTLE ABOUT YOURSELF

Some people believe that the police treat people differently because of who they are. We are trying to find out if this is true. Please help us by sharing a little bit about yourself.

1) How old are you? \_\_\_\_\_ years old  
Do you feel targeted by police because of your age?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Unsure

2) What is your gender?

☐ Male ☐ Female ☐ Transgender  
☐ Other \_\_\_\_\_

Do you feel targeted by police because of your gender?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Unsure

3) What is your race/ethnicity?

☐ Black ☐ East Asian ☐ South Asian  
☐ Latin American ☐ First Nations ☐ White  
☐ Other \_\_\_\_\_

Do you feel targeted by police because of your race/ethnicity?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Unsure

4) What is your sexual orientation?

☐ Straight ☐ Lesbian ☐ Gay  
☐ Bisexual ☐ Queer ☐ Questioning  
☐ Other \_\_\_\_\_

Do you feel targeted by police because of your sexual orientation?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Unsure

5) What is your immigration status? Please pick one.

☐ Born in Canada ☐ Born Outside Canada

Do you feel targeted by police because of your immigration status?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Unsure

6) What is your employment status? Please check off all that apply.

☐ Employed Full-Time ☐ Employed Part-Time  
☐ In School ☐ Unemployed  
☐ Retired ☐ Other \_\_\_\_\_

Do you feel targeted by police because of your employment status?

Yes ☐ No ☐ Unsure

7) Which of the following best describes your housing situation. I live in a home that...

☐ I or my family owns a home  
☐ I or my family rents from a private landlord  
☐ Is subsidized (e.g. TCH Building)  
☐ I do not have a regular place to stay at the moment  
☐ Other \_\_\_\_\_

Do you feel targeted by police because of where you live?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Unsure

8) Who comes to mind when you think of a person who is the most likely to be targeted by the police? Please describe below.

## SECTION E

### A LITTLE ABOUT YOURSELF

9) If you answered yes to feeling targeted by the police, can you please tell us a story or give an example about this below?

10) How long have you lived, worked, or gone to school in this area?

11) What are the first three digits of your postal code (e.g. M3N)

**Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey. We appreciate your time. If you have any final thoughts or comments, please share them below.**

**You can confidentially contact us for more information:**

**Neil Price, CAPP Project Director**  
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Twitter: @capptoronto

