

# PERCEPTIONS OF THE TORONTO POLICE AND IMPACT OF RULE CHANGES UNDER REGULATION 58/16: A COMMUNITY SURVEY

FINAL REPORT

**MAY, 2019**



# Executive Summary



This report presents the results of a baseline community survey undertaken in the City of Toronto on behalf of the Police and Community Engagement Review (PACER) Committee of the Toronto Police Service Board (TPSB). The purpose of the survey was to examine public perceptions of the Toronto Police Service (TPS) and to better understand the community's views on issues such as racial profiling, bias in policing and public trust in the city's law enforcement officers. The survey also attempted to assess the extent to which residents of Toronto are satisfied with the service delivered by their police officers. In addition, this research focused on the practice of regulated interactions, i.e. carding or street checks, and sought to better understand the perspective of Toronto residents on this often contentious issue. The extent to which Torontonians are supportive of street checks is examined, as well as the impact that the practice has on the community's perception of its law enforcement officers. The study also evaluates the public's awareness of the basic tenets of Ontario Regulation 58/16 which came into force on January 1, 2017 and now governs the practice of regulated interaction. As noted above these research objectives were accomplished by the execution of a survey of Torontonians. The survey involved in-depth personal interviews using a structured questionnaire and was undertaken over a two month period (November-December, 2017) in various locations across the city. The findings reported below are based on the responses of 1,517 individuals who agreed to the researchers' request for an interview.

**In terms of perceptions of the Toronto police the key findings of the study are as follows:**

- **Sixty-eight percent** of Torontonians believe that the city's police officers are honest.
  - **Seventy-two percent** of Torontonians believe that the city's police officers live up to their motto to serve and protect, i.e. they act with integrity.
  - **Sixty-five percent** of Torontonians believe that the city's police officers can be trusted to treat individuals of their ethnic group fairly.
  - **Nineteen percent** of Torontonians believe that the city's police officers have discriminated against them in the past because of their ethnic background.
  - **Sixteen percent** of Torontonians believe that the city's police officers have discriminated against them in the past because of where they live.
  - **Fifty percent** of Torontonians believe that the city's police officers are impartial, i.e. do not favor members of any particular ethnic group.
  - **Fifty-eight percent** of Torontonians believe that the city's police officers are responsive to their needs.
  - **Forty-three percent** of Torontonians believe that the city's police officers engage effectively with the community.
  - **Forty-five percent** of Torontonians believe that the city's police officers communicate effectively with members of the community.
  - **Sixty percent** of Torontonians are satisfied with the service provided by the city's police officers.
  - **Forty-two percent** of Torontonians agree with the use of physical force by the city's police officers against members of their community.
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It needs to be strongly emphasized at the onset that while many of these overall metrics may be positive they mask important underlying demographic differences that must be highlighted. For example, while 65% of the city's population believe that Toronto police officers can be trusted to treat members of their ethnic group fairly the result for blacks is only 26%. While 72% of the population believe that Toronto police act with integrity only 50% of blacks were in agreement. Similarly while 68% of Torontonians believe that officers are honest only 41% of blacks and 53% of Indigenous respondents were able to support that position. Lower approval ratings for Toronto police from non-Asian minority groups is unfortunately a consistent theme throughout this report and points to the need for a considered policy response.

With respect to bias, and as noted above, some 19% of the city's population who have had contact with Toronto police believe that they were discriminated against by officers because of their ethnic background. Some 16% perceive they were negatively stereotyped because of where they live. Here too demographic differences are salient. While 16% of the population of Toronto believe they have experienced neighborhood-based discrimination some 41% of blacks and 28% of Indigenous and Latin American respondents were found to hold that view. These are indeed difficult statistics to reconcile with the Toronto Police Service's stated zero tolerance policy towards bias. The metric that a full 50% of the city's population believe that officers are not impartial but instead favor members of particular ethnic groups also points to an area that needs to be monitored for improvement in subsequent community surveys. In this case the viewpoint seems to be widely held with 59% of Blacks supporting the notion but also 50% of White/Caucasian respondents.

The overall statistics for community engagement, responsiveness and communication are all in the 43-58% range while police legitimacy as measured by community support for the use of physical force by officers also seems quite muted. Similarly, a 60% overall satisfaction with the delivery of police services in the city should also be of concern to the Toronto Police Service. Given that this is a baseline study it will be interesting to observe if these metrics improve in subsequent years.

**On the issue of carding the study yielded some interesting results. These may be summarized as follows:**

- **Fifty-four percent** of respondents who had been carded do not believe that they were treated professionally and with respect by the Toronto police officer involved. In these circumstances it was the officer's tone of voice (not the words used or physical force) that led respondents to believe that they were not being treated professionally.
- **Fifty-nine percent** of respondents who had been carded believe that they were singled out because of their race.
- **Sixty-three percent** of respondents who had **never** been carded argue that in conducting street checks Toronto police single individuals out because of their race.

- ❑ **Sixty-five percent** of respondents who had been carded noted that the officer involved did explain the reason for them being stopped.
  - ❑ **Sixty-three percent** of respondents who had been carded held a negative perception of the honesty of Toronto police while **sixty-five percent** of those who had **not** been carded held a favorable view.
  - ❑ **Sixty-six percent** of respondents who had been carded do not trust officers to treat members of their ethnic group fairly compared to **fifty-seven percent** of respondents who had **not** been carded and do trust the police to deliver fair treatment.
  - ❑ **Ninety-two percent** of respondents who claimed to not have been treated with respect during a stop had a negative view of the honesty of Toronto police while **sixty-eight percent** of respondents who claim to have been treated with respect still perceived the police to be honest.
  - ❑ **Eighty-seven percent** of respondents who believe that they had been singled out by police because of their race went on to express the view that Toronto police officers are not honest.
  - ❑ **Seventy-seven percent** of those who did not receive an explanation for being carded went on to express the view that Toronto police officers are dishonest.
  - ❑ **Fifty-two percent** of all Torontonians believe that the police should have the legal right to card individuals.
  - ❑ **Sixty-four percent** of Torontonians believe that carding does indeed make for safer communities.
  - ❑ Being Black increases an individual's odds of being carded in the City of Toronto by **one hundred and twenty-four percent** while being South Asian increases an individual's odds of being stopped by **roughly ninety-nine percent**.
  - ❑ Being male increases an individual's odds of being carded by **one hundred and thirty-four percent**.
  - ❑ Every \$20,000 decrease in an individual's income increases the odds of the person being carded by **seven percent**.
  - ❑ Physical presence in a division with a high level of crime in one period marginally (**less than half of one percent**) increases an individual's odds of being carded in subsequent periods.
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It would appear that of those respondents who had been carded the majority do not believe that they were treated professionally and with respect by the officer involved. Rather disturbing is the finding that a majority of those who had been carded believe that their race was a factor in them being stopped. Interestingly, the perception that carding is motivated by race also seems to be shared by individuals with no personal experience with the practice. Over 60% of non-carded respondents believe that street checks are motivated by race. This study is also very clear that there is an association between carding and the public's perception of Toronto police officers. A high percentage of respondents who had been carded expressed the view that officers were less honest and could not be trusted to treat with the public fairly. The analysis, however, goes further and reveals that how an individual is treated during a stop also has a bearing on his/her perception of the police. For example, and as noted above, 92% of respondents who do not believe they were treated with respect had a negative view of the honesty of the city's law enforcement officers. In contrast 68% of individuals who believe they were treated professionally during a stop still had a favorable view of the police.

This study also sought to understand the key factors that would increase an individual's odds of being carded in the City of Toronto. Being Black or South Asian significantly increases one's odds of being stopped and questioned by police. As noted above being male also increases one's odds of being carded by 134%, while having a low level of personal income further increases an individual's odds of this type of police intervention. Indeed for every \$20,000 decrease in an individual's income the odds of being carded increase by 7%. The analysis in this report also contends that an individual's presence in an area with a history of criminal activity may also prompt the solicitation of personal information by Toronto police officers. Gender and race are the major factors which determine who is subject to this type of police intervention in the City of Toronto. The level of criminal activity and one's income, while statistically significant, have a marginal impact on the odds of being carded.

The study results suggest that a slight majority of Torontonians believe that the Toronto police should have the legal right to card individuals. Roughly 52% of the city's residents support officers having that right. Interestingly, however, when the practice of street checks is couched in terms of community safety support increases markedly. Despite the problems with regulated interactions, as highlighted by respondents to this survey, a majority of Torontonians (64%) do believe that carding makes for safer communities – a result which is supportive of the Toronto Police Service's position. It would appear that how this police intervention is framed has implications for the level of community support it will receive.

Given that the results presented above do point to deficiencies in the manner in which carding is carried out, further investigation was undertaken to better understand community views. Data on Torontonians' perception of their law enforcement officers were examined using the police division as the unit of analysis. The purpose of this approach was to determine whether there are police divisions where public perceptions are significantly better than the baseline. If significant variations are found, this may point to commands that have implemented best practices from which other divisions could learn. Using this approach Division 12 is the clear standout as illustrated by the results summarized below:

- **Seventy-seven percent** of respondents who reside in Division 12 believe that Toronto police officers can be trusted to treat individuals of their ethnic background fairly – a result which is well above the 53% reading for all TPS divisions.
- **Less than ten percent** of respondents who reside in Division 12 were of the view that officers are biased against individuals of their ethnic background – a result well below the 28% reading for all TPS divisions.
- **Thirteen percent** of residents in Division 12 held the view that officers favored members of particular ethnic groups. The overall reading for all divisions on this measure is 51%.
- **Sixty-one percent** of respondents who reside in Division 12 held the view that Toronto police officers are effective in their engagement with the community – the highest of any of the other divisions.
- **Fifty-nine percent** of respondents who reside in Division 12 expressed the view that officers communicated effectively with members of the community – the highest of all TPS divisions.

The above metrics stand in sharp contrast to other TPS commands e.g., Division 43, where perceptions of honesty, trust, bias and favoritism all lag the overall readings for the agency. Engagement and communication with members of the community follow a similar pattern. It may be useful for the Toronto Police Service to undertake an examination of the reasons for these differences. This would allow the TPS to determine whether there are indeed best practices which could be used to assist under-performing divisions, or whether the variations in public perception observed are due to demographic, economic or other factors. Such an analysis, while interesting, is beyond the scope of the current assignment.

This study did focus on respondents' awareness of Ontario Regulation 58/16 and their attitudes towards the new regulations. The main results of this exercise may be summarized as follows:

- **Forty-nine percent** of respondents knew of their right under the new legislation to disengage from any officer who stopped and solicited their personal information. **Seventy-seven percent** of those respondents were also aware of the conditions under which they could do so.
- **Seventy-four percent** of respondents knew that under the new rules Toronto police officers have an obligation to inform those stopped of their right to refuse their efforts to solicit personal information.



- **Seventy-eight percent** of respondents were aware that during a street check individuals must now be informed of the reason for the collection of their personal information.
- **Sixty-seven percent** of respondents were aware that during a street check a receipt must now be offered to those being carded.
- Despite demonstrating a good awareness of the provisions of the new rules **seventy-eight percent** of respondents claimed to not have been aware of the specifics of the new legislation.
- When provided with details, respondents seemed to be optimistic that the new rules would result in some positive changes in areas such as better engagement between the police and the community (**Seventy percent**), enhanced public trust in the police (**Sixty-seven percent**) and reduced incidents of racial profiling (**Sixty-four percent**). **Fifty-eight percent** of respondents believe the new legislation would reduce bias in policing.
- **Over Fifty percent** of respondents indicated that their attitude towards the Toronto Police Service was either much better or somewhat better given that these new rules are now in effect.

Respondents demonstrated a good grasp of the basic precepts of the new legislation even before they were formally made aware of its specific provisions during the interview. When respondents were informed of the details, however, 78% indicated that they were really not aware of the specific provisions. The study also found that respondents were generally optimistic that the new legislation would bring about meaningful changes in terms of trust, community engagement and racial profiling. Respondents were, however, more skeptical about the ability of the new legislation to reduce bias in policing. Overall, however, a slight majority of respondents indicated that the new rules improved their perception of the Toronto Police Service.

Based on the findings in this report the following recommendations are offered:

- ( 1 ) Differences in perception of the police between the various demographic groups in the city need to be narrowed. For example Blacks and some other minority groups clearly do not view the city's law enforcement officers in the same light as their White/Caucasian peers. Bridging these differences whether through more effective engagement in marginalized communities, better public messaging or other approaches, will be of tremendous societal benefit.
- ( 2 ) The TPSB is encouraged to examine the divisional differences in community perceptions surfaced in this report. While the reasons for these differences remain unclear empirical analysis may uncover novel solutions to some of the problems of effective community policing.



- (3) With a baseline established, the TPSB is encouraged to continuously monitor and work towards incremental improvements in the community perception metrics developed in this study. An overall satisfaction rating of 60% with the service delivered by officers, for example, clearly suggests that more needs to be done. To accomplish this the TPSB may wish to encourage the TPS to re-visit its training methodologies to ensure that front line officers clearly understand their obligations and have the support they need to engage effectively with the community.
- (4) With respect to carding the community appears to be hopeful that the new legislation will bring about meaningful change. There is clearly a foundation in place on which to build a true partnership between the police and the community. It is essential that this goodwill not be squandered. The establishment of a permanent standing committee of the TPSB with a mandate to provide advice on police-community relations on an ongoing basis may well pay dividends for the city.
- (5) The TPSB should consider the establishment of a separate office to adjudicate complaints from citizens that stem from the implementation of Ontario Regulation 58/16. There is skepticism that bias on the part of police officers can be effectively eliminated with the implementation of new legislation. The establishment of an office, which is independent of the TPS, to adjudicate complaints may allay the fears of some community members that their rights may still be violated despite the new rules.

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# 1 Introduction

The following report is submitted to the Police and Community Engagement Review (PACER) Committee of the Toronto Police Service Board (TPSB) by Dr. Gervan Fearon and Dr. Carlyle Farrell. It documents the results of a community survey undertaken in the City of Toronto over the period November-December, 2017. The survey sought to assess prevailing attitudes towards the police service among community members, and examine their views on regulated interactions, i.e. carding or street checks. The study also sought to evaluate the extent to which community members understood their rights during such encounters and their awareness of the new legislation, Ontario Regulation 58/16, which now governs the practice. The survey also attempts to assess the impact of the new rules on the community's perceptions of carding and Toronto law enforcement officers.

Street checks or "carding" is a long standing practice of the TPS<sup>1</sup>. The practice, which has generated considerable public debate, involves police stops and the solicitation of personal information from individuals subject

to the intervention. Information collected may include name, age, sex, estimated height and weight as well as skin color and the names of an individual's associates. Police officers would record the information provided by those stopped on contact cards which would subsequently be entered into a database for possible use in future criminal investigations. Concerns have been raised about the practice in the wake of revelations that, relative to their share of the Toronto population, young black males had been stopped disproportionately more frequently<sup>2</sup>. Further, few arrests or charges resulted from these interventions and there is little by way of hard evidence that the practice has actually made Toronto communities any safer or fostered a sense of trust between the public and the police<sup>3</sup>. As a result of these concerns, there have been repeated calls over the years for the practice to be banned and the data already collected destroyed. The TPS, on the other hand, has maintained that street checks are useful in its fight against crime and has resisted calls to discontinue the practice or delete the data already collected.

1 Toronto Police Service. The Police and Community Engagement Review (The PACER Report). Phase II – Internal Report & Recommendations, P. 11. Available at: <http://www.torontopolice.on.ca/publications/files/reports/2013pacereport.pdf>

2 *Ibid* P. 30.

3 See for example Doob A and Gartner R. Understanding the Impact of Police Stops. A report prepared for the Toronto Police Services Board. Center for Criminology and Sociolegal Studies, University of Toronto. 17 January 2017.

In response to public concerns, attempts have been made by the TPSB and provincial government to make the practice of street checks less contentious and more palatable to members of the community. The TPSB has approved new rules that ban officers from stopping citizens who are not suspected of being involved in criminal activity. It also bans street checks motivated by race and seeks to define a new set of rules that “will enhance public trust concerning the collection of identifying information, promote police-community engagement and improve community relations”.<sup>4</sup> Officers would, however, continue to have access to the historical data but only when authorized by the Chief of Police. The Toronto Police Chief is required, under the new rules, to rationalize access to the historical data to an independent committee - the Regulated Interactions Review Panel, comprised of a TPSB member, a retired judge and a member of the community. Officers are also required to undergo training in conducting street checks. Additionally, under the new rules, police officers are now required to inform citizens that they have the right to disengage from regulated interactions, i.e. walk away without answering the questions posed by law enforcement.

These rules are consistent with Ontario Regulation 58/16 which now governs the circumstances under which identifying information about an individual may be collected by the police from the individual in question. This new legislation took effect on January 1, 2017 and applies in circumstances in which the officer is:

- (a) inquiring into offences that have been or might be committed.
- (b) Inquiring into suspicious activities to detect offences.
- (c) Gathering information for intelligence purposes<sup>5</sup>.

However, the legislation does not apply in circumstances in which:

- (a) the individual is legally required to provide the information to a police officer.
- (b) The individual is under arrest or is being detained.
- (c) The officer is engaged in a covert operation.
- (d) The officer is executing a warrant, acting pursuant to a court order or performing related duties.
- (e) The individual from whom the officer attempts to collect information is employed in the administration of justice or is carrying out duties or providing services that are otherwise relevant to the carrying out of the officer’s duties<sup>6</sup>.

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4 Toronto Policy Service Board. Regulated Interaction with the Community and the Collection of Identifying Information. Available at: <http://www.tpsb.ca/policies-by-laws/board-policies/send/5-board-policies/543-regulated-interaction-with-the-community-and-the-collection-of-identifying-information>

5 Police Services Act. Ontario Regulation 58/16. Collection of Identifying Information in Certain Circumstances – Prohibition and Duties. P. 1. Available at: <https://www.ontario.ca/laws/regulation/160058>

6 *Ibid* P. 2.

Interest in conducting a study to better understand Torontonians' reaction to the new regulations reflects the findings of a recent PACER report which led the Committee to recommend *inter alia*: "That the Service conduct community surveys to proactively evaluate and address issues relating to public trust, police legitimacy, customer service, racial profiling and bias in police services<sup>7</sup>".

The PACER report argues that it is important for the broader community to have a mechanism to provide ongoing feedback on the new regulations as a way of improving trust and the delivery of police services. Community based surveys are seen as a way to give Torontonians a voice and would also, the report argues, have a positive impact on members of the TPS.

## 1.1 Research Objectives

The primary objectives of this study may be stated as follows:

- (a) to complete a baseline survey to assess prevailing attitudes towards the police service among community members in neighbourhoods that have and have not historically expressed concerns about their treatment by, and engagement with, the Toronto Police Service and the criminal justice system. Data will be collected as these relate to racial profiling, bias, trust, police legitimacy and customer service.
- (b) To capture in the baseline survey the level of awareness of the new rules on regulated interaction among community members in target neighbourhoods.
- (c) To capture in the baseline survey any change in attitudes towards the police service among community members in the target neighbourhoods as a direct result of the new rules on regulated interaction.

## 1.2 Organization of the Report

This report is organized into eight major sections. Following this brief introduction details of the study's research methodology are presented. Issues of questionnaire design and survey execution are discussed in this section. In the third section of the report is presented a demographic profile of survey respondents. This includes a discussion of key variables such as age, income, race and education which, of course, may well have implications for respondents' perceptions of the Toronto police and their views on carding. The fourth section of the report specifically addresses respondents' perceptions of Toronto police including issues of trust, bias, legitimacy, community engagement and overall satisfaction with the service provided by

7 Toronto Police Service. The Police and Community Engagement Review (The PACER Report). Phase II – Internal Report & Recommendations, P. 11. Available at: <http://www.torontopolice.on.ca/publications/files/reports/2013pacerreport.pdf>

officers. In the fifth section the issue of carding is addressed more directly with an examination of community members' personal experience with regulated interactions, and their perceptions of how they were treated during such encounters. Also considered in this section are the views of Torontonians who have never been carded but who, nonetheless, have an opinion with respect to the practice. Demographic variables such as race, gender and education are used to facilitate a deeper understanding of the views of community members. Also presented in this section is an analysis of the factors that determine the likelihood of being carded in the City of Toronto. In the sixth section of this report an analysis of community perceptions disaggregated by the seventeen police divisions across Toronto is presented. This evaluation was undertaken to allow the TPS to perhaps identify divisions with best practices and those where officers may need additional support and training. An assessment of respondent awareness of the rule changes that now govern regulated interactions is presented in the seventh section of this report. The discussion in this section also addresses how (if at all) attitudes towards Toronto police officers change once respondents are informed of their rights under the new legislation. The eighth and final section of this report summarizes the analysis and provides a set of recommendations to the TPSB. Appendices, acknowledgements and a profile of the authors follow the eighth section at the end of the report.



## 2 Methodology

This survey utilized a structured questionnaire which was administered at random to members of the Toronto community. The questionnaire (see Appendix A) is divided into five sections and was administered in person after informing prospective respondents of the purpose of the study and securing their cooperation. The interviews were undertaken across the City of Toronto and in a range of locations including outside shopping malls; coffee shops; community centers; subway stations; barber shops/hair dressing salons; public libraries; university campuses and at major street intersections. Information was solicited on the general perceptions of the Toronto police among members of the community including their views on community engagement, trust, police legitimacy, and issues of bias and racial profiling (Section A). Views on regulated interactions were also solicited from community members who had personally been subjected to the practice (Section B) as well as community members who had not (Section C). Section D of the questionnaire sought to test respondents' understanding of their rights under the new rules on regulated interaction, and solicit their views on whether the new guidelines changed in any way (positively or negatively) their perceptions of the practice and the TPS. Demographic information, e.g., age, education, income, place of residence,

employment status and gender, was recorded in Section E of the questionnaire.

A draft version of the questionnaire was reviewed by members of the PACER Committee in the summer of 2017. The draft survey instrument, recruiting script and detailed description of the research design were then submitted to the Brock University Ethics Review Board for approval after the questionnaire was pretested in the field. For the pretest, the questionnaire was administered at random to 30 individuals in the Scarborough and Bathurst & Lawrence areas of the city. During the pretest particular attention was paid to the length of time required to complete the exercise and whether the wording of any questions was unclear, ambiguous or in any other way problematic for respondents. The questionnaire was refined based on this feedback from the field. A total of sixteen enumerators were then recruited and trained for this study. Enumerators selected for this assignment are primarily current graduate and undergraduate students of Ryerson University in degree programs such as criminology and public policy. In a half-day session, enumerators were introduced to the questionnaire, provided with instruction on proper interviewing techniques and given guidance on minimizing selection bias. Enumerators were also given the opportunity to role play using the survey

instrument and provided with tips on personal safety when conducting interviews in the field.

Field work was completed over a 2 month period (November-December, 2017). A total of 1,517 Torontonians participated in the survey providing the researchers with a large and robust sample. In order to mitigate any potential negative impacts of participating in the survey (e.g., triggering of latent negative memories of an encounter with police) all respondents were offered a Canada 211 card at the conclusion of their interviews. This card provides one phone number that allows respondents to access a range of relevant support services, should they be needed. Data from the 1,517 useable questionnaires were entered and validated during the period January-February, 2018 by Ph.D. students specialised in information technology and data sciences, but who were not involved in conducting the field work. Diagnostic tests were subsequently run to ensure the internal consistency of the dataset prior to its use in the analysis. The data collected were analyzed using a range of statistical procedures in SPSS, including frequency analysis, cross tabulation, ANOVA and binary logistic regression. A draft report was submitted to the PACER Committee in June 2018.



## 3 Demographic Profile

In this section of the report the demographic profile of the respondents to the survey is presented. Data were collected on a range of characteristics such as gender, age, race, education and income. Data were also collected on respondents' employment status, place of residence and whether their first language is English or French. These factors may well prove to be important drivers of how individuals perceive the Toronto police and how they view the practice of carding. The demographic profile of respondents to this survey fits reasonably well the profile of the City of Toronto on a number of dimensions e.g. gender and income. On other variables, e.g. ethnic background, there is evidence of over/under-sampling of certain groups. It was, therefore, necessary to reweight the sample as discussed in Appendix B in order to ensure that the results reported below accurately represent the views of Torontonians.

### 3.1 Gender Distribution

As shown in Table 1, the sample of respondents was evenly split between males and females with roughly 49% self-identifying as belonging to one of these two categories<sup>8</sup>. Only one percent of respondents described themselves as "gender non-conforming". This

is an important result and suggests that the findings of the study are unlikely to be unduly influenced by a predominance of individuals in either major gender category, whatever their perspective. The analysis below will demonstrate whether men and women differ in their views on the issues to be discussed.

Table 1: Distribution of Sample by Gender

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Male	743	49.3
Female	745	49.4
Gender non-conforming	20	1.3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,508</b>	<b>100</b>

### 3.2 Age Distribution

Individuals 24 years and younger were the largest age cohort in the sample. Of the total number of Torontonians who responded positively to the request for an interview 46%

<sup>8</sup> Note that frequencies in the tables in this section may not sum to 1,517 as some respondents may have opted to not answer certain questions.

were 24 years old or younger<sup>9</sup>. As shown in Table 2 some 25% of respondents were between the ages of 25 and 34 years and 23% were between the ages of 35 and 54 years. At just 6%, individuals 55 and older do not constitute a significantly large category in the sample of respondents.

Table 2: Distribution of Sample by Age on last Birthday

Category (Years)	Frequency	Percentage
0-24	689	46.0
25-34	377	25.2
35-54	345	23.0
+55	88	5.8
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,499</b>	<b>100</b>

### 3.3 Distribution by Race

The race profile of the sample is instructive (Table 3). The sample consists of an almost equal percentage of respondents who self-identified as “Black” and who self-identified as “White/Caucasian”. Blacks represent 24% of the sample and White/Caucasian, 23%. Given the nature of this particular study, this is an interesting result as one would expect *a priori* that race would be an important variable in an individual’s perception of the police and the practice of carding. Other major cohorts were Arabs (7%), East Asians (8%), South Asians (12%) and South-East Asians (6%). Note as well that Asians as a group represent some 31% of the overall sample. As indicated above this sample distribution is not reflective of the population of Toronto and would require adjustment in the analysis below. Whites, for example are under-represented and Blacks and Arabs are over-represented in the sample distribution relative to the population of Toronto. It is argued here, however, that the oversampling of minority groups is a positive given the nature of this study, as it ensures an adequate number of respondents in these categories to undertake meaningful statistical analysis (see Appendix B).

<sup>9</sup> Note that enumerators were instructed not to interview any individuals under the age of 18.

Table 3: Distribution of Sample by Race

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Arab	106	7.2
Black	362	24.4
East Asian	123	8.3
Indigenous	32	2.2
Latin American	60	4.0
South Asian	174	11.7
South-East Asian	93	6.3
West Asian	62	4.2
White/Caucasian	346	23.3
Other	124	8.4
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,482</b>	<b>100</b>

### 3.4 Distribution by Employment & Income

The vast majority of respondents (75%) are employed outside the home (Table 4) although almost thirty percent earn less than \$20,000 and 45% earn less than \$40,000 (Table 5). As may be expected only a small percentage of respondents reported incomes in excess of \$100,000. Also with respect to income, it should be pointed out that a significant percentage of the sample (23%) opted not to provide enumerators with an estimate of how much they earn. Respondents either could not remember, or perhaps more likely, preferred not to answer this question. This is not particularly surprising given that some individuals may well view this information as confidential and may be skeptical about how their data would be used. Despite this the sample contains well over 1,000 observations on this variable and the high refusal rate is, therefore, unlikely to hamper the analysis below.

Table 4: Distribution of Sample by Employment Status

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Employed outside the home	1,120	75.1
Not employed outside the home	371	24.9
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,491</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 5: Distribution of Sample by Income

Category	Frequency	Percentage
\$0 - \$19,999	434	29.5
\$20,000 - \$39,999	223	15.2
\$40,000 - \$59,999	208	14.2
\$60,000 - \$79,999	147	10.0
\$80,000 - \$99,999	67	4.8
\$100,000 - \$119,999	30	2.0
\$120,000 - \$139,999	13	0.9
+\$140,000	6	0.4
Don't remember/Prefer not to answer	341	23.2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,469</b>	<b>100</b>

### 3.5 Distribution by Highest Level of Education

In terms of education, over 60% of respondents have completed up to and including a college diploma, while an additional 28% have an undergraduate university degree (Table 6). Only 2% of the sample indicated that elementary school was their highest level of education achieved while 9% have a masters or some other graduate degree. Overall the educational attainment of respondents is seen to be quite high, which again may be important when the analysis turns to a consideration of public perceptions of the Toronto police, views on regulated interactions and an understanding of the rights of Canadian citizens.

Table 6: Distribution of Sample by Highest level of Education

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Elementary School	28	1.9
High School	511	34.2
College	400	26.8
University undergraduate	417	27.9
University Graduate	138	9.2
Other	1	0.1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,495</b>	<b>100</b>

### 3.6 Distribution by First Language

Quite apart from educational achievement it should also be noted that the majority (68%) of the respondents to this survey reported that either English or French is their first language (Table 7). This would imply that the majority of respondents are well integrated into Canadian society and have the language tools necessary to access media reports and other forms of communication that may be relevant to an understanding of the issue of regulated integrations. This is not to suggest, however, that individuals whose first language is not English or French do not have this capacity<sup>10</sup>. Facility in multiple languages may well be possible. Additional analysis will determine whether this demographic variable is germane to perceptions of the Toronto police and the practice under study.

<sup>10</sup> It should be noted that this question relates to the individual's first language and not whether the respondent speaks English or French.

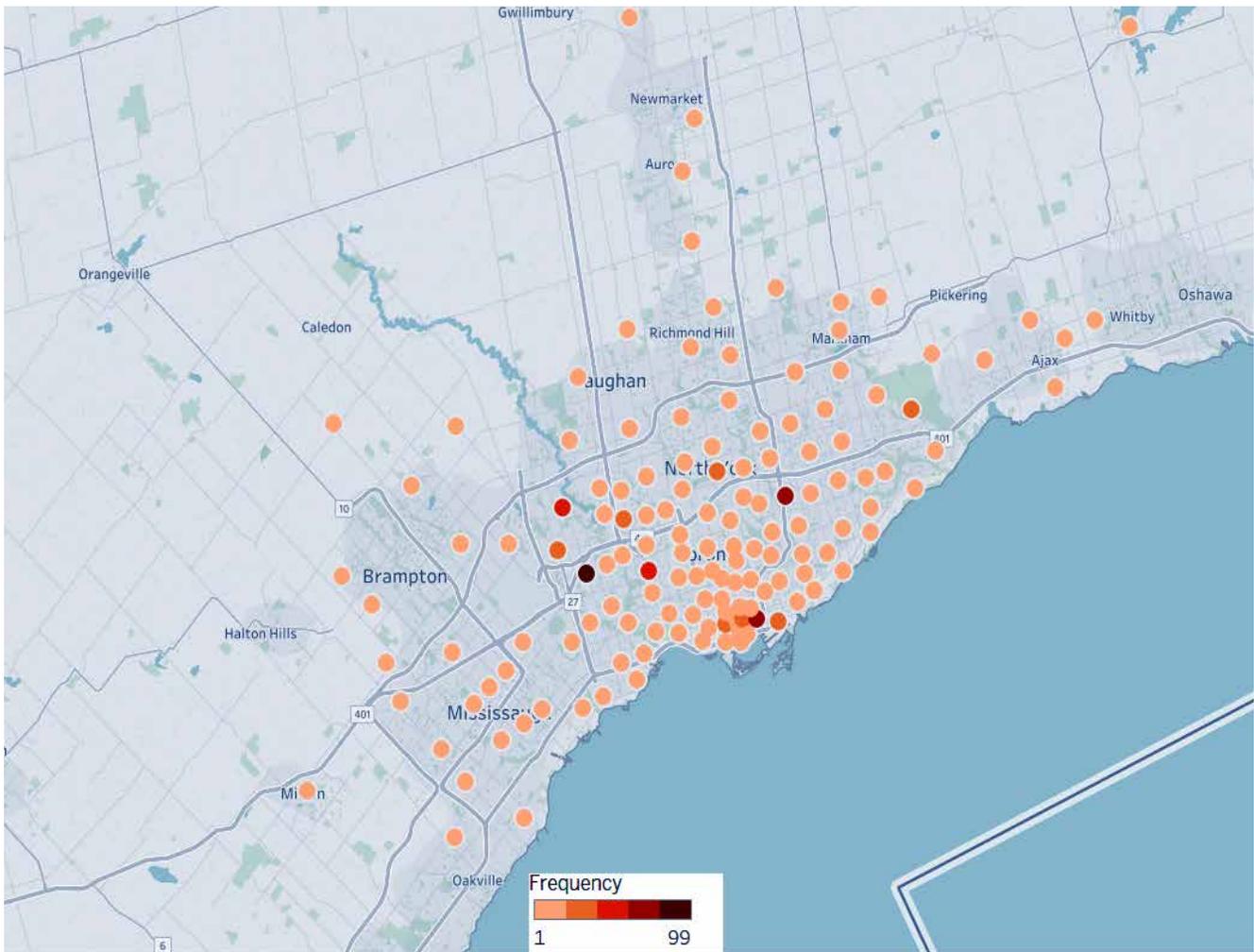
Table 7: Distribution of Sample by English or French as First Language

Category	Frequency	Percentage
English or French is respondent's first language	1,007	67.7
English or French is <b>not</b> respondent's first language	481	32.3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,488</b>	<b>100</b>

### 3.7 Distribution by Place of Residence

It would perhaps be instructive to examine the distribution of the sample by respondents' place of residence. Using the major street intersections nearest to respondents' place of residence as locators, it is possible to graphically illustrate the distribution across the City of Toronto (Figure 1). Several points need to be made. First, the distribution presented shows graphically that respondents reside across the length and breadth of the city although higher concentrations are observed in a few areas. Coverage, however, is considered to be adequate in terms of reflecting the geographic diversity of the city. It should also be noted that roughly 150 respondents to this survey indicated that they live outside of Toronto. This is clearly seen in Figure 1 with a few respondents residing in jurisdictions such as Mississauga and Milton to the west, Whitby to the east and New Market to the north. While technically not "Torontonians" these individuals clearly have an opinion about the city's police and a willingness to share their views. These respondents are, therefore, not excluded from the analysis below except when place of residence is a key variable. It should be noted as well that several respondents did not provide their place of residence. Despite this, the dataset does contain over 1,200 observations on this variable.

Figure 1: Geographic Distribution of Respondents

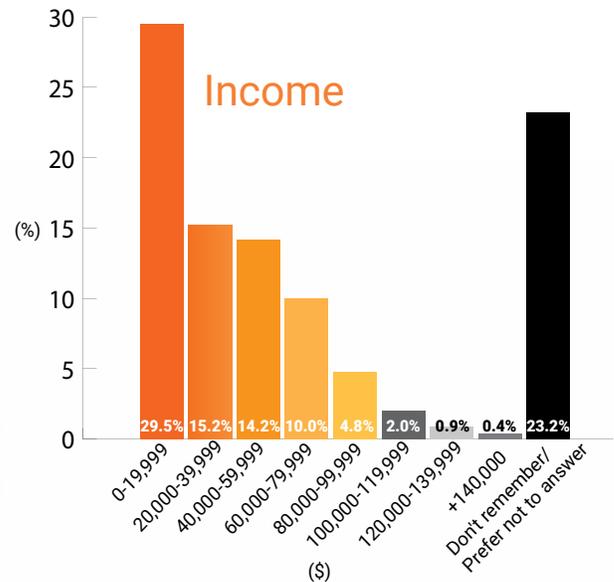
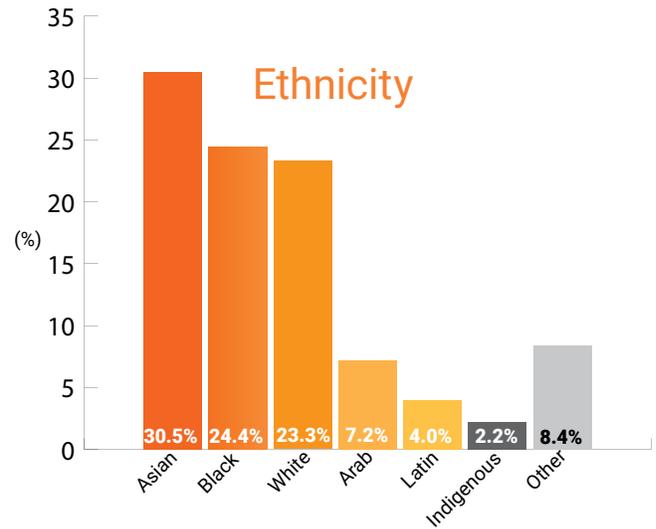
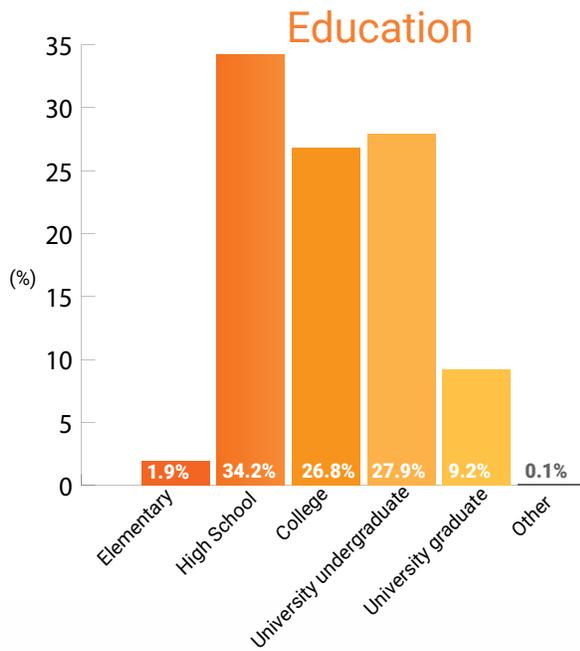
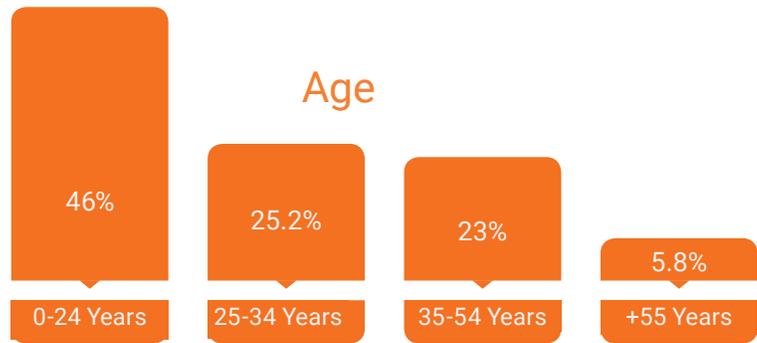
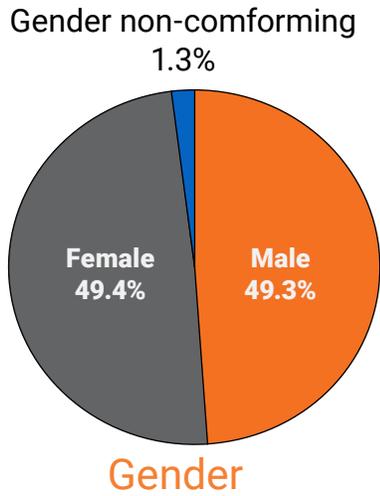


### 3.8 Summary

Exhibit 1 presents a snapshot of the respondents to this survey based on their demographic characteristics. As noted above comparisons to City of Toronto census statistics are contained in Appendix B.

Exhibit 1: Demographic Snapshot of Survey Respondents





## 4 Community Perceptions

The survey instrument contained a number of questions designed to better understand the Toronto community's perceptions of its police officers. Issues such as trust, impartiality, engagement and quality of service were addressed. The question of police legitimacy was also touched on in the analysis. These results are presented in this section<sup>11</sup>.

### 4.1 Honesty, Trust & Integrity

Survey participants were asked a number of questions related to the personal qualities of Toronto police officers and their relationship with members of the community. These questions touched on perceptions of honesty, fair treatment by the police and officers living up to their motto to serve and protect. When the issue of honesty was raised it was found that overall a majority (68%) of the population of the City of Toronto view their police officers as inherently honest. While this is an encouraging statistic for the TPS, and the community at large, a deeper analysis reveals some sharp differences based on the demographic characteristics of respondents. As may be expected differences in perceptions of honesty based on race are quite glaring (Table

8). The highest percentage of respondents who believe Toronto police to be honest are either White or Asian. Some 72% of whites and 65-76% of Asians answered this question in the affirmative compared to only 41% of blacks and 53% of Indigenous people. This is an important finding that is perhaps deserving of a policy response from the TPS and the relevant community groups. Trust between parties is certainly a *sine qua non* of effective community policing and these demographic differences should, therefore, be of concern.

Slightly more women than men were found to have a favorable perception of the honesty of Toronto police officers. Some 63% of women (compared to only 60% of men) were found to believe that police officers in the City of Toronto are honest (Table 9). The survey also found that a higher percentage of more educated Torontonians perceived the city's police officers to be honest when compared with other respondents with less formal education (Table 10). Essentially the more educated the respondent the more likely they were to believe that Toronto police officers are honest. Only 54% of respondents with elementary and high school education believe the city's police are honest. This rises to 61% for those with a college education, 67%

11 Note again that frequencies in the tables below may not sum to 1,517 as some respondents may have opted to not answer certain questions.

for those with an undergraduate degree and 70% for those with a graduate university degree. The relationship between years of formal education and perceptions of honesty is statistically quite strong. One may argue that a focus on the city's elementary and high schools, in terms of building police-community relationships, may well pay dividends over the long term.

Table 8: Perception that Toronto Police Officers are Honest by Race of Respondent

Ethnic Group	Do you believe that Toronto police officers are honest?		Sample Frequency	Reweighted Frequency <sup>12</sup>
	Yes (%)	No (%)		
Arab	56.2	43.8	105	19
Black	41.3	58.7	356	128
East Asian	76.2	23.8	122	190
Indigenous	53.1	46.9	32	12
Latin American	60.0	40.0	60	42
South Asian	65.3	34.7	173	184
South-East Asian	72.0	28	93	22
West Asian	69.4	30.6	62	33
White/Caucasian	71.5	28.5	340	698
Other	67.2	32.8	122	135
<b>Sample Totals</b>	<b>61.4</b>	<b>38.6</b>	<b>1465</b>	
<b>Reweighted Totals</b>	<b>67.6</b>	<b>32.4</b>		<b>1463</b>

**Sample:**  $\chi^2(9, N = 1465) = 97.770, p < .01$

**Reweighted:**  $\chi^2(9, N = 1463) = 56.085, p < .01$

12 Sample distribution re-weighted to more accurately reflect the population of Toronto. Note that sample and re-weighted frequency totals may differ due to rounding.

Table 9: Perception that Toronto Police Officers are Honest by Gender of Respondent

<b>Do you believe that Toronto police officers are honest?</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Gender Non-Conforming</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Yes (%)	63.1	59.8	36.8	61.1
No (%)	36.9	40.2	63.2	38.9
<b>Frequency</b>	<b>735</b>	<b>738</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>1492</b>

$$\chi^2 (2, N = 1492) = 6.539, p < .05$$

Table 10: Perception that Toronto Police Officers are Honest by Highest Education Achievement of Respondent

<b>Highest Education</b>	<b>Do you believe that Toronto police officers are honest?</b>		<b>Frequency</b>
	<b>Yes (%)</b>	<b>No (%)</b>	
Elementary School	53.6	46.4	28
High School	54.0	46.0	507
College	61.1	38.9	398
University Undergraduate	67.3	32.7	410
University Graduate	70.4	29.6	135
Other	0.0	100.0	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>61.1</b>	<b>38.9</b>	<b>1479</b>

$$\chi^2 (5, N = 1479) = 24.398, p < .01$$

Given the strong relationship between highest educational achievement and the percentage of respondents who believe that officers are honest it is unsurprising that a similar pattern was found to exist with respect to income (Table 11). Results indicate that as respondents' incomes rise their perception of police officer honesty also tends to increase. For example, at an income level of \$0 - \$19,999 only, 57% of respondents believe police are honest but this rises to roughly 79% for individuals earning \$80,000 - \$99,999. Support drops to 58% for those in the \$120,000 - \$139,999 category but rises to over 83% for the small number of respondents earning more than \$140,000. Again the data suggest that it is at the lower end of the income scale that most effort should be directed in terms of building the relationship between Toronto police officers and the community they serve.

Table 11: Perception that Toronto Police Officers are Honest by Income level of Respondent

Income Range	Do you believe that Toronto police officers are honest?		Frequency
	Yes (%)	No (%)	
\$0 - \$19,999	56.9	43.1	429
\$20,000 - \$39,999	54.1	45.9	222
\$40,000 - \$59,999	65.7	34.3	204
\$60,000 - \$79,999	67.3	32.7	147
\$80,000 - \$99,999	79.1	20.9	67
\$100,000 - \$119,999	56.7	43.3	30
\$120,000 - \$139,999	58.3	41.7	12
+\$140,000	83.3	16.7	6
Don't remember /Prefer not to answer	63.2	36.8	337
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>61.3</b>	<b>38.7</b>	<b>1454</b>

$\chi^2 (8, N = 1454) = 23.393, p < .05$

The results of this survey indicate that perceptions of Toronto police honesty are independent of age and employment status. No statistically significant differences were found among respondents based on these variables. It is, however, interesting to note that language, i.e. whether English or French is the respondent's first language is associated with perceptions of honesty. It was found that 59% of respondents whose first language is either English or French viewed Toronto police as honest compared to 65% whose first language is neither English nor French (Table 12). The precise reason for this result is unclear but may be related to individuals' previous experience in their home countries with perhaps weaker judicial systems, i.e. their bar in terms of law enforcement honesty may be lower than individuals born in Canada. While this is an interesting avenue of research the issue is not investigated further in this study.

Table 12: Perception that Toronto Police Officers are Honest by First Language of Respondent

Do you believe that Toronto police officers are honest?	First Language is English or French	First Language is <u>not</u> English or French	TOTAL
Yes (%)	59.1	64.9	61.0
No (%)	40.9	35.1	39.0
<b>Frequency</b>	<b>897</b>	<b>574</b>	<b>1471</b>

$\chi^2(1, N = 1471) = 4.468, p < .05$

Respondents were also asked to give their opinions on whether they believe that Toronto police live up to their motto to serve and protect, i.e. can officers be trusted to discharge their duties with integrity. As with honesty of police officers the overwhelming view of Torontonians is positive with some 72% of respondents answering in the affirmative. Again, however, this overall positive perception masks important demographic differences. As with honesty sharp differences in perception are seen when the data are analyzed by race with the appropriate population weights applied (Table 13). 76% of respondents who self-identified as “white” and 79% of south-east Asians believe this notion of police integrity to be true while only 50% of blacks were able to answer this question positively. Interestingly, 66% of Indigenous respondents were supportive of the notion – similar to the percentage of Arabs. Both of these groups were largely supportive of the idea that integrity is a hallmark of the city’s police force. Overall, and as noted above, 72% of Torontonians are of the view that the city’s police force lives up to its motto to serve and protect.

Table 13: Perception that Toronto Police Officers live up to their Motto to Serve and Protect by Race of Respondent

Ethnic Group	Do you believe that Toronto police officers live up to their motto to serve and protect?		Sample Frequency	Reweighted Frequency <sup>13</sup>
	Yes (%)	No (%)		
Arab	66.0	34.0	106	20
Black	50.3	49.7	358	129
East Asian	75.6	24.4	123	192
Indigenous	65.6	34.4	32	12
Latin American	58.3	41.7	60	43
South Asian	69.4	30.6	173	183
South-East Asian	78.5	21.5	93	23
West Asian	72.1	27.9	61	32
White/Caucasian	75.8	24.2	339	695
Other	72.6	27.4	124	138
<b>Sample Totals</b>	<b>66.9</b>	<b>33.1</b>	<b>1469</b>	
<b>Reweighted Totals</b>	<b>71.6</b>	<b>28.4</b>		<b>1467</b>

**Sample:**  $\chi^2(9, N = 1469) = 71.778, p < .01$

**Reweighted:**  $\chi^2(9, N = 1467) = 41.535, p < .01$

In terms of age most (73%) respondents in the 35-54 age group were of the view that Toronto police live up to their motto to serve and protect but support for this notion was lowest (64%) among those in the 0-24 age grouping (Table 14). The 25-34 and 55+ age groups were similar in their perception that officers operated with integrity and were indeed focussed on serving and protecting members of their community. Note that in this baseline survey age was not found to be associated with honesty so it is clear that respondents seem to make a distinction between officers being honest and living up to their motto to serve and protect. In the minds of

13 Sample distribution re-weighted to more accurately reflect the population of Toronto. Note that sample and re-weighted frequency totals may differ due to rounding.



respondents the latter may have more to do with responding to emergency calls for assistance as mandated by the institution, while the former may be viewed as more of a personality trait. This survey does not shed any further light on this distinction as it falls outside the scope of the present research. The analysis also revealed slight differences in the perception of men and women with respect to whether police officers in the city were living up to their motto. As shown in Table 15 slightly more women (69%) subscribed to this belief compared to their male counterparts (65%). This result is similar to that obtained when respondents were polled on the issue of honesty among TPS officers.

Table 14: Perception that Toronto Police Officers live up to their Motto to Serve and Protect by Age of Respondent

Age (Years)	Do you believe that Toronto police officers live up to their motto to serve and protect?		Frequency
	Yes (%)	No (%)	
0 - 24	64.2	35.8	685
25 - 34	65.4	34.6	373
35 - 54	73.1	26.9	342
+55	65.5	34.5	87
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>66.6</b>	<b>33.4</b>	<b>1487</b>

$\chi^2 (3, N = 1487) = 8.505, p < .05$

Table 15: Perception that Toronto Police Officers live up to their Motto to Serve and Protect by Gender of Respondent

Do you believe that Toronto police officers live up to their motto to serve and protect?	Female	Male	Gender Non-Conforming	TOTAL
Yes (%)	69.3	64.7	45.0	66.7
No (%)	30.7	35.3	55.0	33.3
<b>Frequency</b>	<b>739</b>	<b>737</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>1496</b>

$\chi^2 (2, N = 1496) = 7.759, p < .05$

While the analysis suggests that a respondent's first language being English or French was not germane to their views on whether Toronto police officers live up to their motto, demographic variables other than age, gender and race (above) were found to be important. For example, over 70% of respondents with a college diploma were of the view that officers upheld their motto, while support for the notion was less robust among respondents with only a high school or elementary school education (Table 16). Only 54% of respondents in this latter category answered the question in the affirmative. This is, of course, similar to the pattern observed above on the question of police honesty. It is also noted that support for the notion that officers can be trusted to act with integrity was strongest among respondents earning between \$60-79,900 relative to all other income groups at 80% but support was also strong among those in the \$80,000 - \$99,999 income category (Table 17). In terms of employment status it was found that support was stronger among respondents who do not work outside the home (72%) and slightly lower at 65% for those who do (Table 18).

Table 16: Perception that Toronto Police Officers live up to their Motto to Serve and Protect by highest Education Achievement of Respondent

Highest Education	Do you believe that Toronto police officers live up to their motto to serve and protect?		Frequency
	Yes (%)	No (%)	
Elementary School	53.6	46.4	28
High School	59.9	40.1	509
College	70.3	29.7	397
University Undergraduate	71.7	28.3	413
University Graduate	70.4	29.6	135
Other	0.0	100.0	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>66.8</b>	<b>33.2</b>	<b>1483</b>

$\chi^2 (5, N = 1483) = 22.423, p < .01$

Table 17: Perception that Toronto Police Officers live up to their Motto to Serve and Protect by Income of Respondent

Income Range	Do you believe that Toronto police officers live up to their motto to serve and protect?		Frequency
	Yes (%)	No (%)	
\$0 - \$19,999	62.9	37.1	431
\$20,000 - \$39,999	60.6	39.4	221
\$40,000 - \$59,999	74.1	25.9	205
\$60,000 - \$79,999	80.3	19.7	147
\$80,000 - \$99,999	77.6	22.4	67
\$100,000 - \$119,999	60.0	40.0	30
\$120,000 - \$139,999	58.3	41.7	12
+\$140,000	66.7	33.3	6
Don't remember /Prefer not to answer	65.9	34.1	337
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>67.2</b>	<b>32.8</b>	<b>1456</b>

$\chi^2 (8, N = 1456) = 28.546, p < .01$

Table 18: Perception that Toronto Police Officers live up to their Motto to Serve and Protect by Employment Status of Respondent

Do you believe that Toronto police officers live up to their motto to serve and protect?	Employed outside the home	Not Employed outside the home	Frequency
Yes (%)	65.1	71.6	66.7
No (%)	34.9	28.4	33.3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1109</b>	<b>370</b>	<b>1479</b>

$\chi^2 (1, N = 1479) = 5.309, p < .05$

Respondents were also asked to respond to a question on whether Toronto police can be trusted to treat members of their ethnic group fairly. The overall results are slightly less positive than previous metrics with some 65% of Torontonians answering in the affirmative. On this issue of trust and fair treatment once again we see race as a major driver. The results show a strong

statistically significant relationship between race and the view that Toronto police can be trusted to treat individuals of the respondent's ethnic group fairly. Trust is highest among whites (76%), East Asians (78%) and South-East Asians (74%) and lowest among blacks at just 26% (Table 19). While consistent with earlier results this is a disturbingly sharp divide and does not augur well for an effective police-community partnership in the fight against crime. As before a slight majority of women (57%) believe that individuals of their ethnic group would be treated fairly by Toronto police compared to male respondents (53%). It is also noted that the expectation of fair treat was quite low among the small sample of respondents who self-identified as gender non-conforming (Table 20).

Table 19: Perception that Toronto Police Officers can be trusted to treat Individuals fairly by Ethnic Group of Respondent

Ethnic Group	Overall do you believe that people of your ethnic background can trust Toronto police officers to treat them fairly?		Sample Frequency	Reweighted Frequency <sup>14</sup>
	Yes (%)	No (%)		
Arab	49.1	50.9	106	20
Black	25.8	74.2	360	129
East Asian	78.0	22.0	123	192
Indigenous	56.3	43.8	32	12
Latin American	51.7	48.3	60	42
South Asian	56.9	43.1	174	185
South-East Asian	74.2	25.8	93	23
West Asian	54.8	45.2	62	33
White/Caucasian	75.6	24.4	344	705
Other	44.4	55.6	124	137
<b>Sample Totals</b>	<b>54.6</b>	<b>45.4</b>	<b>1478</b>	
<b>Reweighted Totals</b>	<b>64.7</b>	<b>35.3</b>		<b>1478</b>

**Sample:**  $\chi^2(9, N = 1478) = 230.138, p < .01$

**Reweighted:**  $\chi^2(9, N = 1478) = 175.003, p < .01$

14 Sample distribution re-weighted to more accurately reflect the population of Toronto. Note that sample and re-weighted frequency totals may differ due to rounding.

Table 20: Perception that Toronto Police Officers can be trusted to treat Individuals fairly by Gender of Respondent

Overall do you believe that people of your ethnic background can trust Toronto police officers to treat them fairly?	Female	Male	Gender Non-Conforming	TOTAL
Yes (%)	56.8	52.5	30.0	54.3
No (%)	43.2	47.5	70.0	45.7
<b>Frequency</b>	<b>743</b>	<b>741</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>1504</b>

$$\chi^2 (2, N = 1504) = 7.597, p < .05$$

Rather surprisingly there was no statistically significant difference in responses based on the age group to which the respondent belonged. One may have assumed that trust would have been lower among younger respondents but this is not borne out by the analysis. Also interesting is the finding that income had no significant influence on respondents' perception that Toronto police can be trusted to treat individuals of their ethnic group fairly. The analysis shows that education as well is not a significant driver of perceptions on this issue while employment status and whether English or French is one's first language are significant. Table 21 illustrates that trust in the police to treat members of their ethnic group fairly is higher among respondents who do not work outside the home at 64% and lower among individuals who do work outside the home at 51%. Again with respect to first language we observe a similar pattern in which more respondents whose first language is neither English nor French trust the police to treat members of their ethnic group fairly (Table 22).

Table 21: Perception that Toronto Police Officers can be trusted to treat Individuals fairly by Employment Status of Respondent

Overall do you believe that people of your ethnic background can trust Toronto police officers to treat them fairly?	Employed outside the home	Not Employed outside the home	TOTAL
Yes (%)	51.2	63.6	54.3
No (%)	48.8	36.4	45.7
<b>Frequency</b>	<b>1117</b>	<b>371</b>	<b>1488</b>

$$\chi^2 (1, N = 1488) = 17.266, p < .01$$

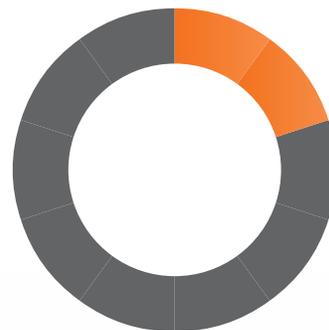
Table 22: Perception that Toronto Police Officers can be trusted to treat Individuals fairly by First Language of Respondent

Overall do you believe that people of your ethnic background can trust Toronto police officers to treat them fairly?	First Language is English or French	First Language is <u>not</u> English or French	TOTAL
Yes (%)	51.5	59.7	54.2
No (%)	48.5	40.3	45.8
<b>Frequency</b>	<b>1003</b>	<b>481</b>	<b>1484</b>

$\chi^2 (1, N = 1484) = 8.639, p < .05$

## 4.2 Negative Stereotyping and Favoritism

Survey participants were asked to respond to two questions that dealt directly with the issue of bias, i.e. harbouring negative stereotypes or prejudices against certain individuals. Bias was couched only in terms of the respondent's ethnic background and where the respondent lives, although it is recognized that other drivers of prejudice e.g. religion may be salient. Given the rather personal and sensitive nature of these questions individuals were given the option of indicating that they had no previous interaction with Toronto police and, therefore, no basis on which to judge. Overall, with re-weighting to reflect the population of the city, it is found that some 19% of Torontonians believe that police officers are biased against individuals of their ethnic background. At almost one in five residents this metric should be of some concern particularly given the TPS's stated zero tolerance policy towards prejudice of any type<sup>15</sup>. However, as this is the first baseline survey to address this issue no comparator data are available from which to establish a trend.



**19%**

of Torontonians believe that police officers are biased against individuals of their ethnic background

As may be expected from the analysis above it is found that perception of bias based on ethnic background was felt strongest among members of the black community (Table 23). Some 50% of black respondents argued that Toronto police officers are biased against individuals of their ethnic background – more than 30% above the overall population estimate. It is also interesting to note that this group reported the second highest incidence of interactions with Toronto police. Based on this analysis those respondents who self-identified as White/Caucasian were the

15 Toronto Police Service (nd). *Op. cit.* P. 4

least likely to perceive bias in their interactions with the police followed by East and Southeast Asian individuals. Although the sample is small at just 32 respondents only 25% of Indigenous individuals perceived bias in their dealings with the police with most members of this group reporting some previous interaction with Toronto law enforcement.

As illustrated in Table 24 more men than women held the view that Toronto police officers are biased, but the perception was particularly prevalent among the small sample of individuals who self-identified as gender non-conforming. Some 55% of this small group perceived bias in their interactions with the police. In terms of age it was individuals in the 25 – 34 year cohort who most perceived bias in their interactions with police where negative stereotyping was motivated by their ethnic background. At roughly 29% this is slightly higher than recorded for the 35 – 54 age group at 28% (Table 25). Interestingly both of these age groups reported having similar levels of interactions with Toronto law enforcement officers but well above that for the 0-24 and +55 cohorts.



Table 23: Perception of Race-Based Bias by Toronto Police Officers by Ethnic Background of Respondent

Ethnic Group	Do you believe that the Toronto police officers you have interacted with in the past are biased against individuals of your ethnic background?		No previous interaction with Toronto police (%)	Sample Frequency	Reweighted Frequency <sup>16</sup>
	Yes (%)	No (%)			
Arab	34.9	33.0	32.1	106	19
Black	49.9	23.7	26.5	359	129
East Asian	12.2	34.1	53.7	123	192
Indigenous	25.0	53.1	21.9	32	12
Latin American	28.3	26.7	45.0	60	42
South Asian	25.9	27.6	46.6	174	185
South-East Asian	12.9	35.5	51.6	93	23
West Asian	21.0	30.6	48.4	62	33
White/Caucasian	9.6	56.8	33.6	345	708
Other	29.8	28.2	41.9	124	138
<b>Sample Totals</b>	<b>26.8</b>	<b>35.6</b>	<b>37.6</b>	<b>1478</b>	
<b>Reweighted Totals</b>	<b>18.6</b>	<b>42.5</b>	<b>38.8</b>		<b>1481</b>

**Sample:**  $\chi^2(18, N = 1478) = 234.415, p < .01$

**Reweighted:**  $\chi^2(18, N = 1481) = 218.337, p < .01$

16 Sample distribution re-weighted to more accurately reflect the population of Toronto. Note that sample and re-weighted frequency totals may differ due to rounding.

Table 24: Perception of Race-Based Bias by Toronto Police Officers by Gender of Respondent

Do you believe that the Toronto police officers you have interacted with in the past are biased against individuals of your ethnic background?	Female	Male	Gender Non-Conforming	TOTAL
Yes (%)	21.5	32.0	55.0	27.1
No (%)	35.9	35.0	20.0	35.2
No previous interaction with Toronto police (%)	42.5	33.1	25.0	37.6
<b>Frequency</b>	<b>743</b>	<b>741</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>1504</b>

$\chi^2 (4, N = 1504) = 31.870, p < .01$

Table 25: Perception of Race-Based Bias by Toronto Police Officers by Age of Respondent

Age (Years)	Do you believe that the Toronto police officers you have interacted with in the past are biased against individuals of your ethnic background?		No previous interaction with Toronto police	Frequency
	Yes (%)	No (%)		
0 - 24	27.0	28.6	44.3	688
25 - 34	28.5	42.3	29.3	376
35 - 54	27.8	40.3	31.9	345
+55	21.8	40.2	37.9	87
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>27.3</b>	<b>35.4</b>	<b>37.3</b>	<b>1496</b>

$\chi^2 (6, N = 1496) = 36.380, p < .01$

Employment status and education were also found to be associated with perceived bias based on ethnic background. Individuals employed outside the home were more likely to perceive bias in their interactions with the police than respondents who do not work outside the home (Table 26). It should also be noted that among groups which are well represented in the sample respondents with a high school education reported the highest level of perceived bias against individuals of their ethnic background (Table 27). Some 30% of those respondents argued in favor of race-based bias by Toronto police while individuals with a college or university education perceived less such bias based on their interactions with the city’s law enforcement officers.

Table 26: Perception of Race-Based Bias by Toronto Police Officers by Employment Status of Respondent

Do you believe that the Toronto police officers you have interacted with in the past are biased against individuals of your ethnic background?	Employed outside the home	Not Employed outside the home	TOTAL
Yes (%)	28.6	22.4	27.1
No (%)	36.2	32.3	35.2
No previous interaction with Toronto police (%)	35.2	45.3	37.7
<b>Frequency</b>	<b>1117</b>	<b>371</b>	<b>1488</b>

$\chi^2(2, N = 1488) = 12.741, p < .01$

The analysis also reveals some differences in the perception of bias when language and income are examined. Respondents whose first language is one of the official in Canada were more likely to perceive bias based on their ethnic background compared to respondents whose first language is neither English nor French. Some 30% of the former group argued that there was negative stereotyping compared to only 23% of the latter. Also of interest is the finding that roughly 43% of respondents whose first language is neither English or French had no previous interaction with the police while 36% of those reporting English or French as their first language suggested that they had no previous interaction with law enforcement in Toronto (Table 28). With respect to income the relationship with perceived bias is less clear cut with all income groups with the exception of the \$100,000 - \$119,999 and \$40,000 - \$59,999 categories responding similarly (Table 29).

Table 27: Perception of Race-Based Bias by Toronto Police Officers by Highest Education of Respondent

Highest Education	Do you believe that the Toronto police officers you have interacted with in the past are biased against individuals of your ethnic background?		No previous interaction with Toronto police (%)	Frequency
	Yes (%)	No (%)		
Elementary School	32.1	32.1	35.7	28
High School	30.0	29.4	40.6	510
College	21.3	37.6	41.1	399
University Undergraduate	28.4	38.1	33.5	415
University Graduate	26.1	42.0	31.9	138
Other	100.0	0.0	0.0	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>27.0</b>	<b>35.2</b>	<b>37.8</b>	<b>1491</b>

$\chi^2(10, N = 1491) = 23.762, p < .01$

Table 28: Perception of Race-Based Bias by Toronto Police Officers by First Language of Respondent

Do you believe that the Toronto police officers you have interacted with in the past are biased against individuals of your ethnic background?	First Language is English or French	First Language is <u>not</u> English or French	TOTAL
Yes (%)	29.0	22.7	27.0
No ((%)	35.5	34.7	35.2
No previous interaction with Toronto police (%)	35.5	42.6	37.8
<b>Frequency</b>	<b>1003</b>	<b>481</b>	<b>1484</b>

$\chi^2(2, N = 1484) = 9.288, p < .05$

Table 29: Perception of Race-Based Bias by Toronto Police Officers by Income of Respondent

Income Range	Do you believe that the Toronto police officers you have interacted with in the past are biased against individuals of your ethnic background?		No previous interaction with Toronto police (%)	Frequency
	Yes (%)	No (%)		
\$0 - \$19,999	29.6	27.0	43.4	433
\$20,000 - \$39,999	31.4	37.2	31.4	223
\$40,000 - \$59,999	23.3	52.9	23.8	206
\$60,000 - \$79,999	26.5	46.3	27.2	147
\$80,000 - \$99,999	32.8	32.8	34.3	67
\$100,000 - \$119,999	20.0	53.3	26.7	30
\$120,000 - \$139,999	30.8	23.1	46.2	13
+\$140,000	33.3	33.3	33.3	6
Don't remember / Prefer not to answer	21.8	28.2	50.0	340
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>26.8</b>	<b>35.2</b>	<b>38.0</b>	<b>1465</b>

$\chi^2 (16, N = 1465) = 84.617, p < .01$

Respondents to this survey were also queried about their perception of bias as it relates to where they live. Overall 16% of the population of Toronto is of the view that they had experienced bias from police based on where they live. The analysis reveals that it is again in the arena of race that the sharpest contrasts are to be found. Table 30 presents the results based on the ethnic background of the respondent. Blacks were again the group that reported the highest incidence of bias from Toronto police based on where the individual lives. Some 41% of black respondents held this view compared to only 10% of White/Caucasian and Southeast Asian respondents. Arabs, Latin Americans and Indigenous people are also seen to have experienced some sort of bias from Toronto police but it is in the black community that this perception seems to be most pervasive.



**16%**

of the population of Toronto is of the view that they had experienced bias from police based on where they live.

In terms of gender more than a quarter of male respondents who had some previous interaction with the police were of the view that they had been discriminated against because of where they live. As illustrated in Table 31 a much smaller percentage of female respondents came

away with that perception following their interactions with the police. This table also makes clear the result that males had experienced more incidents (whether positive or negative) in which they were required to interact with the police than their female counterparts. Perception of bias based on respondents' neighbourhood is also high among those who self-identified as gender non-conforming but the number of individuals in this category is quite small.

In terms of age the 25-34 year cohort is again seen as the group where individuals most believe that they had been discriminated against because of where they live. A full 25% of respondents in this group came away from their interaction with the police with this perception (Table 32). Interestingly an almost equal percentage of more senior Torontonians (+55) believe they had experienced bias from police officers based on where they live. The number of respondents in this age group is relatively small but it the first time that the results from this cohort has figured so significantly in the analysis. Respondents who work outside the home and had reason to interact with Toronto police also perceived that they were being discriminated against based on where they live. Roughly 24% of respondents who work outside the home perceived that they were subject to some sort of negative stereotyping by the police based on where they live. This compares to only 18% of respondents who do not work outside the home. Note as well that individuals working outside the home came in contact with Toronto police at a slightly higher rate than their work at home counterparts (Table 33).



Table 30: Perception of Neighbourhood-Based Bias by Toronto Police Officers by Race of Respondent

Ethnic Group	Do you believe that the Toronto police officers you have interacted with in the past are biased against you because of where you live?		No previous interaction with Toronto police (%)	Sample Frequency	Reweighted Frequency <sup>17</sup>
	Yes (%)	No (%)			
Arab	27.4	38.7	34.0	106	20
Black	41.1	35.2	23.7	358	129
East Asian	14.6	37.4	48.0	123	192
Indigenous	28.1	50.0	21.9	32	12
Latin American	28.3	31.7	40.0	60	42
South Asian	15.5	39.7	44.8	174	185
South-East Asian	9.7	44.1	46.2	93	22
West Asian	12.9	35.5	51.6	62	33
White/Caucasian	10.1	54.3	35.5	346	710
Other	18.9	30.3	50.8	122	135
<b>Sample Totals</b>	<b>21.8</b>	<b>41.0</b>	<b>37.2</b>	<b>1476</b>	
<b>Reweighted Totals</b>	<b>15.7</b>	<b>45.0</b>	<b>39.3</b>		<b>1480</b>

**Sample:**  $\chi^2(18, N = 1476) = 163.647, p < .01$

**Reweighted:**  $\chi^2(18, N = 1480) = 126.425, p < .01$

<sup>17</sup> Sample distribution re-weighted to more accurately reflect the population of Toronto. Note that sample and re-weighted frequency totals may differ due to rounding.

Table 31: Perception of Neighbourhood-Based Bias by Toronto Police Officers by Gender

Do you believe that the Toronto police officers you have interacted with in the past are biased against you because of where you live?	Female	Male	Gender Non-Conforming	TOTAL
Yes (%)	17.5	26.5	26.3	22.0
No (%)	40.0	41.3	52.6	40.8
No previous interaction with Toronto police	42.5	32.3	21.1	37.2
<b>Frequency</b>	<b>742</b>	<b>741</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>1502</b>

$\chi^2(4, N = 1502) = 26.106, p < .01$

Table 32: Perception of Neighbourhood-Based Bias by Toronto Police Officers by Age of Respondent

Age (Years)	Do you believe that the Toronto police officers you have interacted with in the past are biased against you because of where you live?		No previous interaction with Toronto police	Frequency
	Yes (%)	No (%)		
0 - 24	21.1	36.3	42.6	688
25 - 34	25.0	46.0	29.0	376
35 - 54	21.0	45.5	33.5	343
+55	23.0	39.1	37.9	87
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>22.2</b>	<b>41.0</b>	<b>36.8</b>	<b>1494</b>

$\chi^2(6, N = 1494) = 23.193, p < .01$

As with issues of trust, education also seems to be associated with perceived bias based on where the individual lives (Table 34). A greater percentage of respondents who reported that their highest level of education was either elementary or high school also reported perceptions of bias when compared to the more formally educated sub-groups. This again is consistent with earlier findings about respondents with less formal education. For example 27% of respondents with a high school diploma as their highest educational achievement reported that they had been discriminated against based on where they live. This contrasts with 19% of respondents with an undergraduate degree or college diploma and who also reported negative stereotyping based on the neighbourhood in which they live. Based on the preceding analysis would not be surprising that individuals with the lowest incomes would report higher rates of negative stereotyping by the police based on where in the city they reside. This is in fact the result observed (Table 35).

Table 33: Perception of Neighbourhood-Based Bias by Toronto Police Officers by Employment Status of Respondent

Do you believe that the Toronto police officers you have interacted with in the past are biased against you because of where you live?	Employed outside the home	Not Employed outside the home	TOTAL
Yes (%)	23.5	17.8	22.1
No (%)	41.3	39.1	40.7
No previous interaction with Toronto police (%)	35.2	43.1	37.2
<b>Frequency</b>	<b>1115</b>	<b>371</b>	<b>1486</b>

$\chi^2 (2, N = 1486) = 9.077, p < .05$

Table 34: Perception of Neighbourhood-Based Bias by Toronto Police Officers by Highest Education of Respondent

Highest Education	Do you believe that the Toronto police officers you have interacted with in the past are biased against you because of where you live?		No previous interaction with Toronto police (%)	Frequency
	Yes (%)	No (%)		
Elementary School	32.1	32.1	35.7	28
High School	27.3	35.4	37.3	509
College	18.6	41.2	40.2	398
University Undergraduate	18.8	44.8	36.4	415
University Graduate	20.3	47.1	32.6	138
Other	0.0	100.0	0.0	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>22.0</b>	<b>40.6</b>	<b>37.3</b>	<b>1489</b>

$\chi^2 (10, N = 1489) = 22.534, p < .05$

Table 35: Perception of Neighbourhood-Based Bias by Toronto Police Officers by Income of Respondent

Income Range	Do you believe that the Toronto police officers you have interacted with in the past are biased against you because of where you live?		No previous interaction with Toronto police (%)	Frequency
	Yes (%)	No (%)		
\$0 - \$19,999	24.4	33.4	42.2	434
\$20,000 - \$39,999	30.3	38.9	30.8	221
\$40,000 - \$59,999	20.8	54.6	24.6	207
\$60,000 - \$79,999	17.0	53.1	29.9	147
\$80,000 - \$99,999	20.9	40.3	38.8	67
\$100,000 - \$119,999	10.0	56.7	33.3	30
\$120,000 - \$139,999	23.1	30.8	46.2	13
+\$140,000	0.0	66.7	33.3	6
Don't remember / Prefer not to answer	17.4	36.2	46.5	340
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>21.8</b>	<b>40.8</b>	<b>37.4</b>	<b>1465</b>

$\chi^2(16, N = 1465) = 67.097, p < .01$

Survey participants were also asked to respond to questions that sought to address the issue of impartiality in the delivery of police services. These questions focussed on whether Toronto police officers discharge their duties without fear or favor or whether in fact they tended to favor members of particular ethnic groups. Tables 36 and 37 present the aggregate results. The findings are in essence mirror images of each other and provide a useful check on the consistency of the responses received from survey participants. Roughly 52% of respondents suggested that Toronto police favor members of particular ethnic groups (Table 36) which is roughly the same percentage who argued that they do not discharge their duties without fear or favor (Table 37).

Table 36: Perception of Favoritism by Toronto Police Officers

Do you believe that Toronto Police officers favor members of particular ethnic groups in your community?	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	775	51.5
No	730	48.5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1505</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 37: Perception of Impartiality among Toronto Police Officers

Overall to you believe that Toronto police officers are impartial and discharge their duties without fear or favor?	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	726	48.3
No	778	51.7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1504</b>	<b>100</b>

Given the importance of race in the preceding analysis it may be instructive to delve more deeply into the issue of favoritism based on this demographic variable. As shown in Table 38 some 59% of blacks and 58% of Latin Americans support the notion of favoritism on the part of Toronto police but interestingly the belief also seems to be widely held in white and Asian communities across the city. No attempt was made in this study to identify the group that is perceived as benefitting from special treatment by Toronto police officers as this was outside the scope of the present study. Overall, however, with re-weighting of the sample, some 50% of Torontonians held the view that there was favoritism in the delivery of law enforcement services.

Table 38: Perception of Favoritism by Toronto Police Officers by Race of Respondent

Ethnic Group	Do you believe that Toronto Police officers favor members of particular ethnic groups in your community?		Sample Frequency	Reweighted Frequency <sup>18</sup>
	Yes (%)	No (%)		
Arab	46.2	53.8	106	19
Black	58.6	41.4	360	130
East Asian	38.2	61.8	123	193
Indigenous	51.6	48.4	31	12
Latin American	57.6	42.4	59	42
South Asian	50.0	50.0	174	184
South-East Asian	39.8	60.2	93	23
West Asian	54.1	45.9	61	32
White/Caucasian	50.4	49.6	345	708
Other	53.2	46.8	124	137
<b>Sample Totals</b>	<b>51.1</b>	<b>48.9</b>	<b>1476</b>	
<b>Reweighted Totals</b>	<b>49.8</b>	<b>50.2</b>		<b>1480</b>

**Sample:**  $\chi^2(9, N = 1476) = 23.675, p < .01$

**Reweighted:**  $\chi^2(9, N = 1480) = 16.955 p < .01$

### 4.3 Engagement and Quality of Police Service

Using a five-point Likert scale respondents were asked to weigh in on a number of issues directly related to the quality of police services they receive. More specifically participants were asked to indicate the extent of their agreement with each of the following statements:

*"Toronto police officers are responsive to the needs of my community".*

*"Toronto police officers communicate effectively with members of my community in order to discharge their duties to serve and protect."*

18 Sample distribution re-weighted to more accurately reflect the population of Toronto. Note that sample and re-weighted totals may differ due to rounding.

*“Toronto police officers are effective in their engagement with members of my community.”*

Respondents were also asked to indicate their overall level of satisfaction with the police service provided to members of their community. Results are summarized below.

Figure 2 presents respondents’ views on whether or not Toronto police are responsive to the needs of members of their community. A slight majority (52%) of respondents either agreed or strongly agreed with this statement. When adjusted for over/under-sampling of particular ethnic groups, however, this figure rises to 58% for the population of Toronto. As one would perhaps infer from the results presented earlier respondents who most strongly supported this statement (i.e. agree or strongly agree) self-identified as either White/Caucasian, South Asian or West Asian with the least support coming from Blacks (Figure 3).

Figure 2: Toronto Police Officers are Responsive to the Needs of my Community (N= 1510)

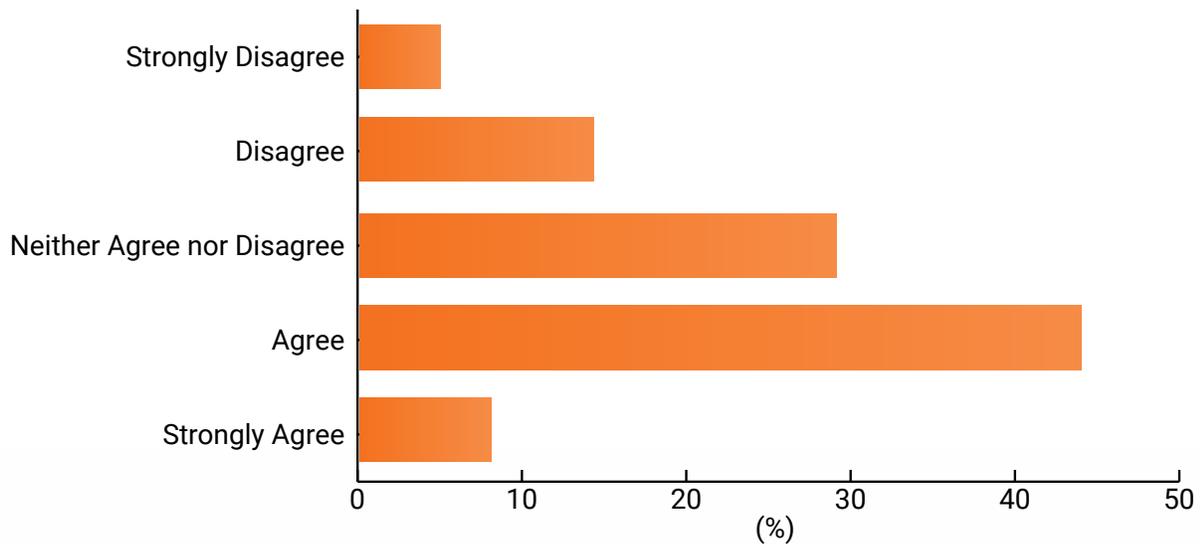
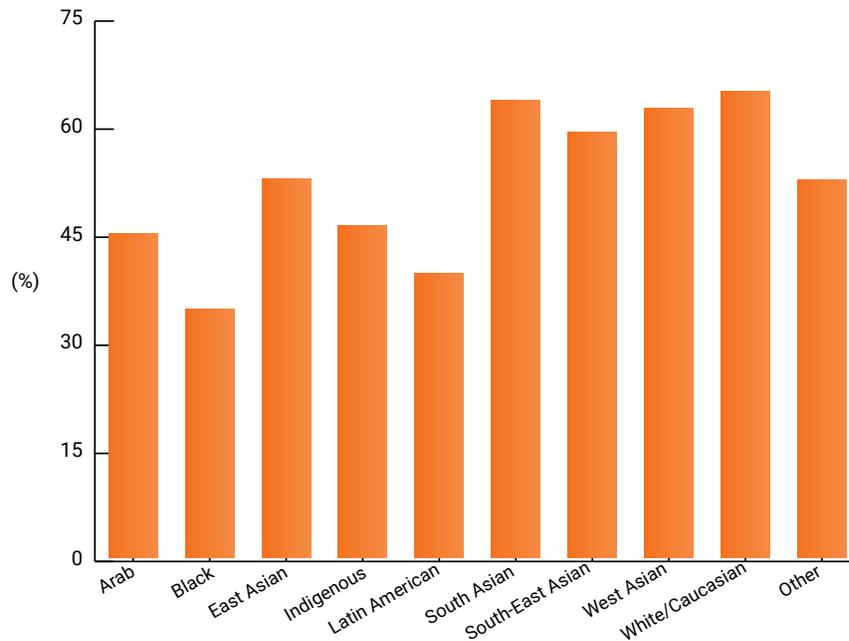


Figure 3: Toronto Police Officers are Responsive to the needs of my Community: Respondents Agreeing or Strongly Agreeing by Ethnic Group (N=861)



In terms of communication effectiveness it would appear that community members are less impressed with their police officers. Only 41% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that Toronto police communicate effectively with the community, with an almost equal number (37%) remaining non-committal (Figure 4). Again with adjustments to more closely reflect the population distribution of Toronto this estimate of those in agreement rises slightly to 45%. Scores for the TPS on this metric are uniformly low even among white and Asian respondents. Black and Indigenous respondents were the least impressed with the communication effectiveness of Toronto law enforcement professionals (Figure 5).

Figure 4: Toronto Police Officers Communicate Effectively with Members of my Community (N= 1510)

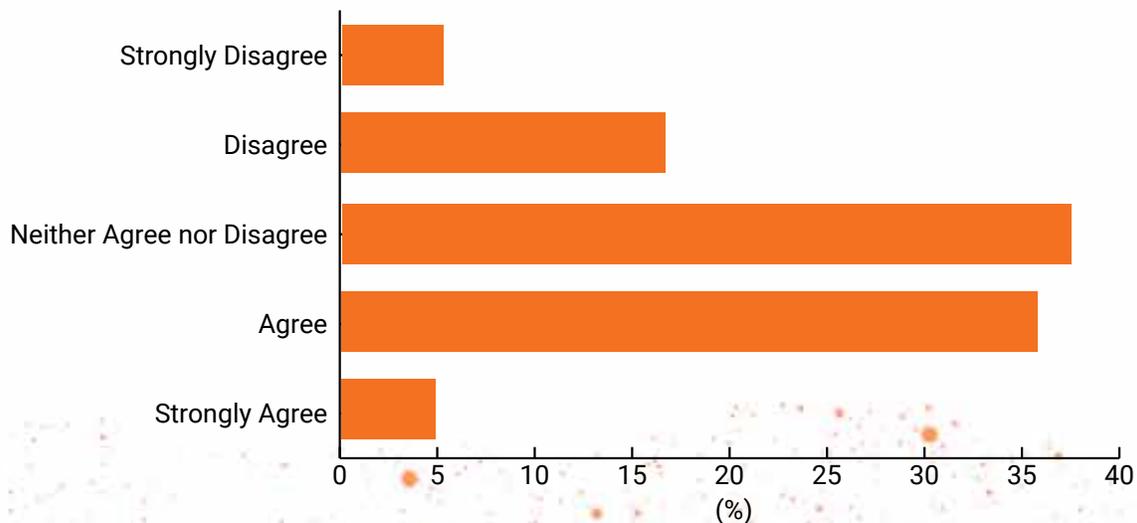
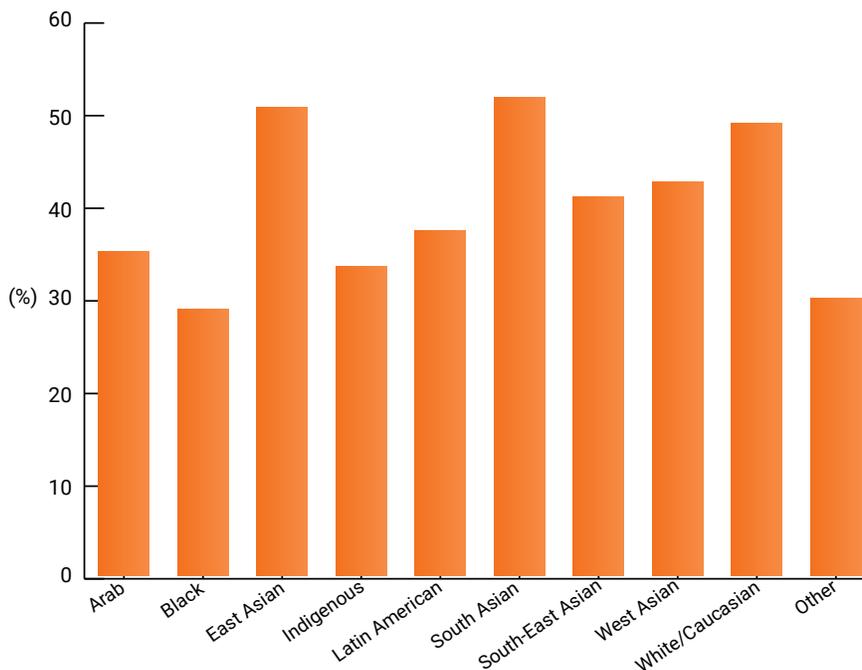
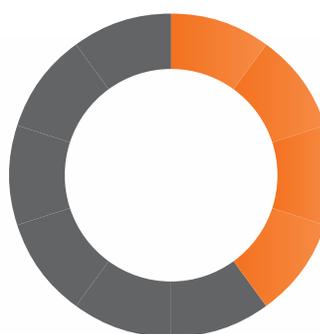




Figure 5: Toronto Police Officers Communicate Effectively with Members of my Community: Respondents Agreeing or strongly Agreeing by Ethnic Group (N=666)



The PACER report defines community engagement as “in-person communications between a police officer and a member of the community”<sup>19</sup>. These in-person communications include community inquiries where the officer questions a member of the public in order to preserve the peace or deter criminal activity, or informal interactions, i.e. a simple exchange of pleasantries. When asked about the effectiveness of police engagement with the community, support was tepid at best. Only 38% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that Toronto police are effective in the area of community engagement with a sizeable 36% expressing indifference (Figure 6). The estimate of those agreeing with the statement rises slightly to 43% with appropriate re-weighting of the sample to reflect the population of Toronto. This result mirrors that presented above for the effectiveness of communication and provides another useful internal check on the consistency of the responses received to this survey. As illustrated in Figure 7 support for the notion of community engagement is weak across the board, irrespective of the ethnic background of the respondent.



**43%**  
of Torontonians agreed or strongly agreed that Toronto police are effective in the area of community engagement.

19 Toronto Police Service (nd). *Op. Cit.* P.3

Figure 6: Toronto Police Officers are Effective in their Engagement with Members of my Community (N= 1509)

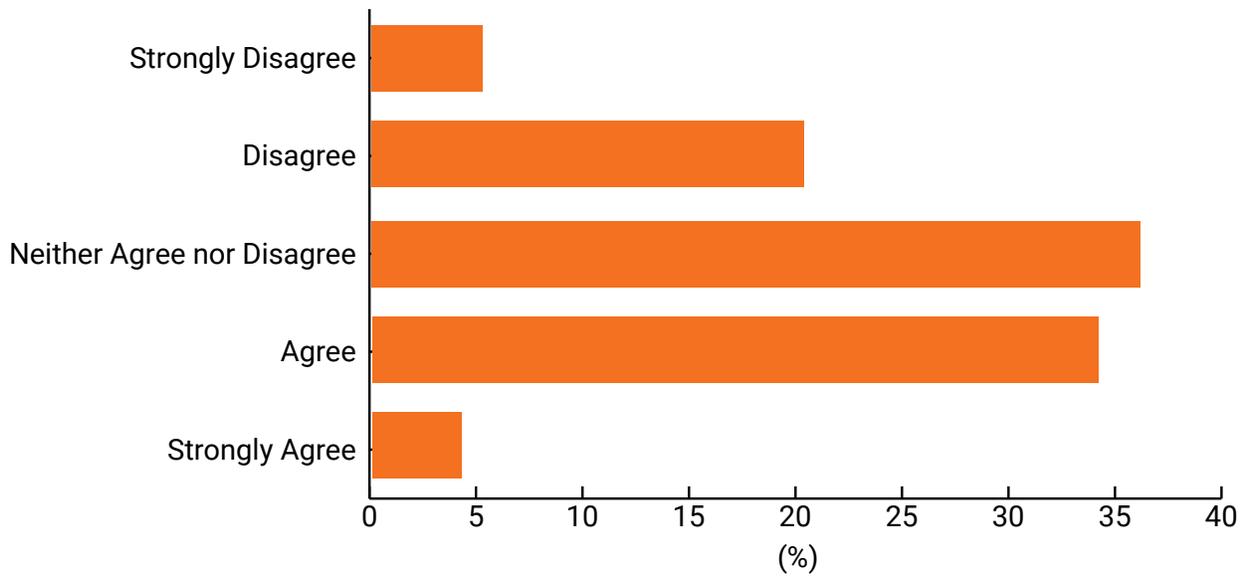
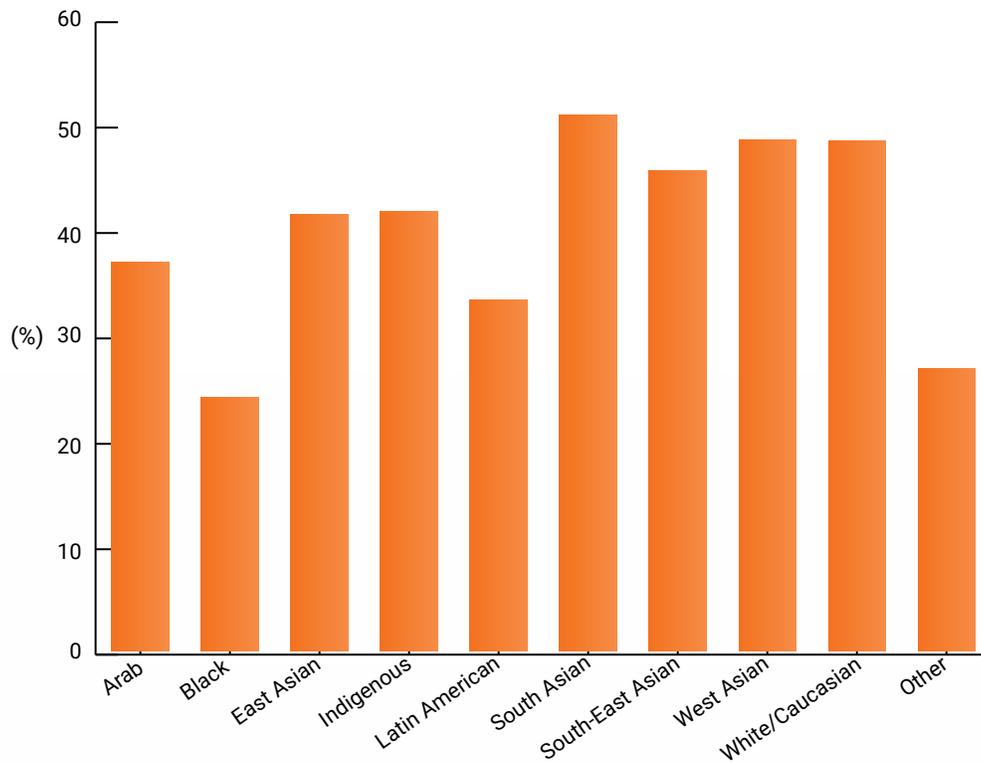
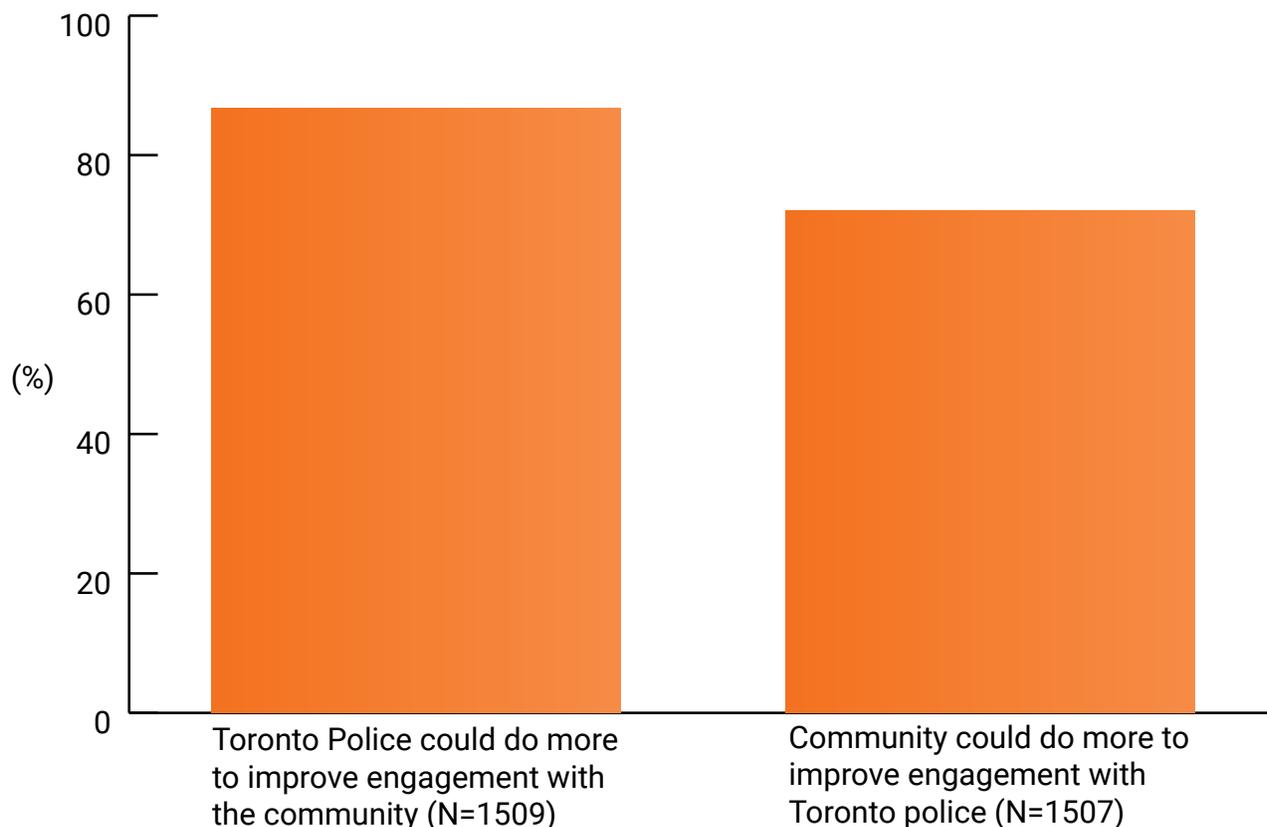


Figure 7: Toronto Police Officers are Effective in their Engagement with Members of my Community: Respondents Agreeing or strongly Agreeing by Ethnic Group (N=637)



Continuing on this theme, survey participants were of the view that both the Toronto police and the community at large could do more to improve the level of engagement between the groups. For example 87% of respondents argued that the Toronto police could do more to improve engagement with the community while 72% were of the view that the community could do more to improve engagement with the police (see Figure 8).

Figure 8: Engagement between Police and the Community



In terms of overall satisfaction with the delivery of police services the survey results also point to a need for improvement. Only 52% of respondents indicated that they were very satisfied or somewhat satisfied with the level of service the Toronto police provides to members of their community (Figure 9). While 25% of respondents were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied and an almost equal number (23%) was somewhat dissatisfied or very dissatisfied. When the sample is re-weighted to conform more closely to the population distribution just over 60% of Torontonians are either very satisfied or somewhat satisfied with the level of service the city’s police provides. As may be expected from results presented earlier the highest level of satisfaction is among White/Caucasian respondents with Blacks and Latin Americans being the least impressed with the delivery of police services in their communities (Figure 10).



**60%** of Torontonians are either very satisfied or somewhat satisfied with the level of service the city’s police provides.

Figure 9: Overall satisfaction with the Level of Service Provided by Toronto Police (N= 1506)

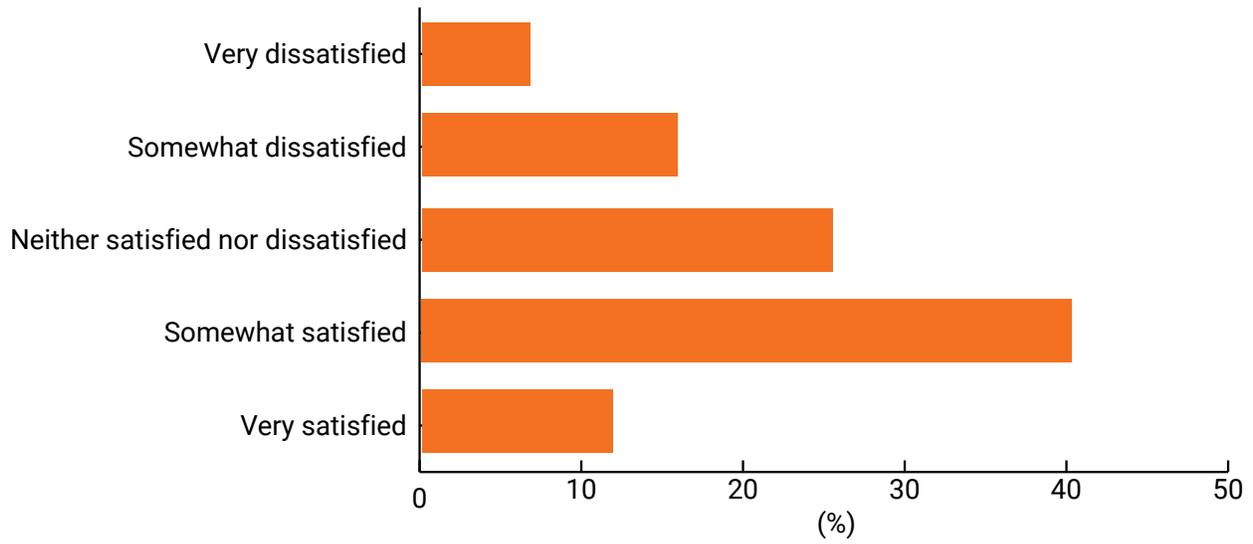
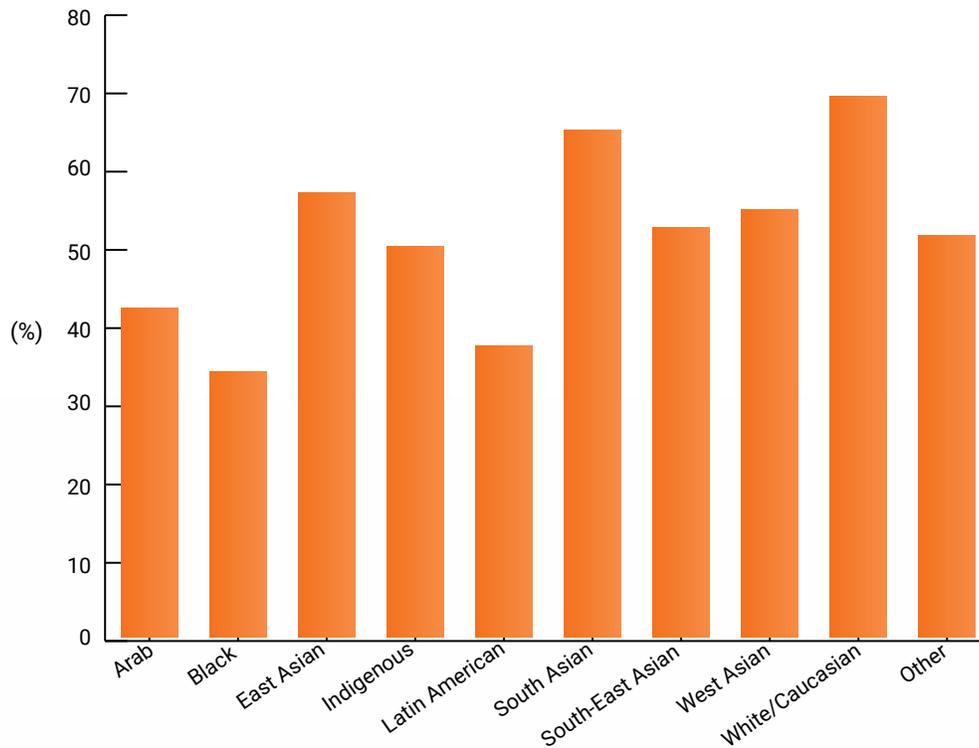


Figure 10: Overall Satisfaction with the Level of Service Provided by Toronto Police: Respondents Satisfied or very Satisfied by Ethnic Group (N=889)



### 4.4 Police Legitimacy

This baseline community survey also briefly touched on the issue of police legitimacy. Respondents were asked to indicate the extent of their agreement with the following statement:

*“Toronto police officers may at times have to use physical force against a member of my community”*

The results are summarized in Figure 11 below. Only 38% of those interviewed agreed or strongly agreed with the statement with an equal percentage opposed. Overall, however, with re-weighting to reflect the population of the city some 42% of Torontonians support the statement with 34% opposed. Analysis by demographic grouping does shed some additional light. Roughly 47% of white respondents tended to agree or strongly agree with the statement on the use of physical force while only 22% of Indigenous people, 29% of Arabs and 35% of Blacks indicated agreement (Table 39). The age of respondents also seems to be relevant with the least support for the use of physical force coming from those in the 25-34 age group. This is the age group, as was seen above, that most perceived that they were being discriminated against because of their ethnic background and place of residence. Only 29% of respondents in this age category agreed or strongly agreed with the statement while the most support for the use of physical force came from respondents 55 years and older (Table 40). In terms of highest educational achievement the least support for the use of physical force came from respondents whose highest level of education was elementary school (18%) or college (29%) while the greatest support came from respondents with a high school or university education (Table 41). The analysis revealed that gender does not inform one’s opinion on the use of physical force by Toronto police.

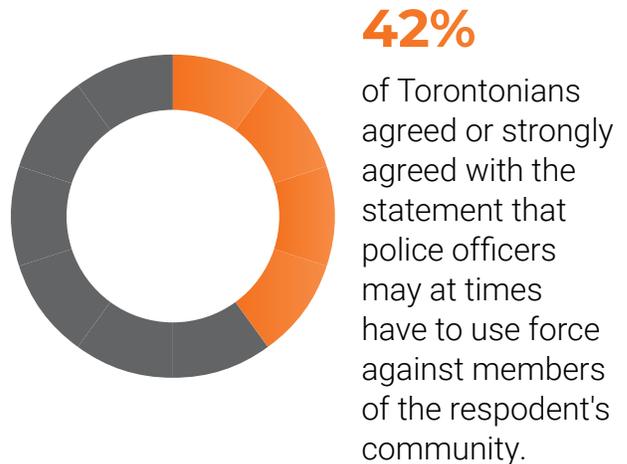


Figure 11: Toronto Police Officers may at times have to use Physical Force against a Member of my Community (N= 1508)

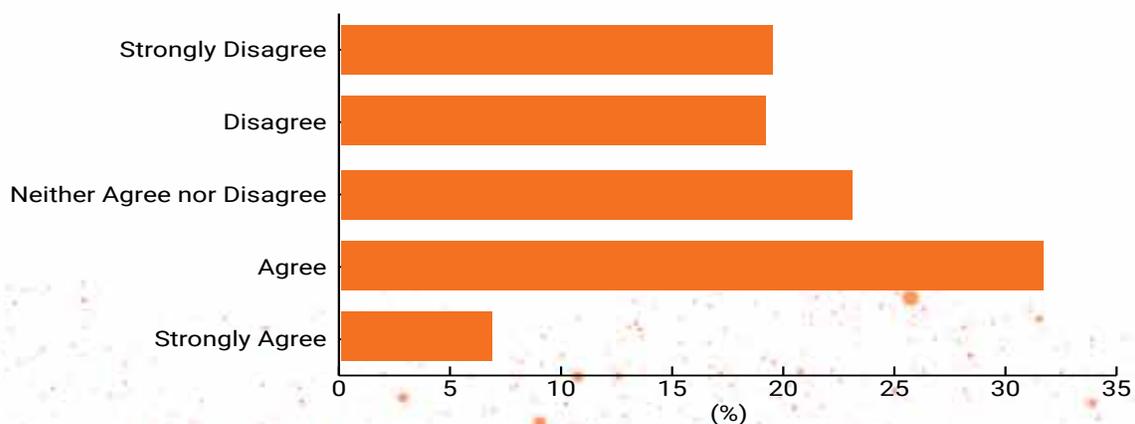


Table 39: Agreement with the use of Physical Force by Toronto Police Officers by Race of Respondent

Ethnic Group	Toronto police officers may at times have to use physical force against a member of my community (%)					Sample Frequency	Reweighted Frequency <sup>20</sup>
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree		
Arab	3.8	25.5	17.9	24.5	28.3	106	19
Black	5.0	30.2	16.9	23.0	24.9	361	129
East Asian	8.1	30.9	22.0	13.8	25.2	123	192
Indigenous	3.1	18.8	28.1	25.0	25.0	32	11
Latin American	1.7	31.7	31.7	25.0	10.0	60	42
South Asian	8.6	32.8	31.0	11.5	16.1	174	184
South-East Asian	6.5	29.0	24.7	15.1	24.7	93	23
West Asian	6.5	30.6	25.8	24.2	12.9	62	32
White/Caucasian	10.5	36.0	24.7	18.3	10.5	344	705
Other	4.1	32.5	22.0	17.1	24.4	123	136
<b>Sample Total</b>	<b>6.8</b>	<b>31.5</b>	<b>23.0</b>	<b>19.1</b>	<b>19.6</b>	<b>1478</b>	
<b>Reweighted Total</b>	<b>8.4</b>	<b>33.5</b>	<b>24.3</b>	<b>17.7</b>	<b>16.2</b>		<b>1473</b>

**Sample:**  $\chi^2$  (36, N = 1478) = 86.015, p < .01

**Reweighted:**  $\chi^2$  (36, N = 1473) = 75.822, p < .01

20 Sample distribution re-weighted to more accurately reflect the population of Toronto. Note that sample and re-weighted frequency totals may differ due to rounding.

Table 40: Agreement with the use of Physical Force by Toronto Police Officers by Age of Respondent

Age (Years)	Toronto police officers may at times have to use physical force against a member of my community (%)					Frequency
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
0 - 24	8.7	33.0	26.7	17.3	14.2	688
25 - 34	5.0	23.9	19.9	22.5	28.6	377
35 - 54	5.3	35.7	20.2	18.7	20.2	342
+55	5.7	40.9	17.0	21.6	14.8	88
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>6.8</b>	<b>31.8</b>	<b>22.9</b>	<b>19.2</b>	<b>19.3</b>	<b>1495</b>

$\chi^2$  (12, N = 1495) = 57.891, p < .01

Table 41: Agreement with the use of Physical Force by Toronto Police Officers by Highest Education of Respondent

Highest Education	Toronto police officers may at times have to use physical force against a member of my community (%)					Frequency
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Elementary School	7.1	10.7	28.6	25.0	28.6	28
High School	9.4	35.0	25.7	15.7	14.1	509
College	3.5	25.5	18.8	16.8	35.5	400
University Undergraduate	5.5	34.8	24.5	22.8	12.5	417
University Graduate	11.0	33.8	19.1	26.5	9.6	136
Other	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>6.8</b>	<b>31.9</b>	<b>22.9</b>	<b>19.1</b>	<b>19.2</b>	<b>1491</b>

$\chi^2$  (20, N = 1491) = 127.673, p < .01



## 4.5 Summary

Exhibit 2 below provides a summary of the community's perception of Toronto police with respect to the metrics discussed in this section. It provides a benchmark as it were against which the TPS may wish to evaluate its performance in subsequent years. Data provided in this exhibit reflect, *mutatis mutandis*, the views of residents of the City of Toronto. As noted elsewhere these summary statistics mask sensitive issues that are salient to specific demographic groups.

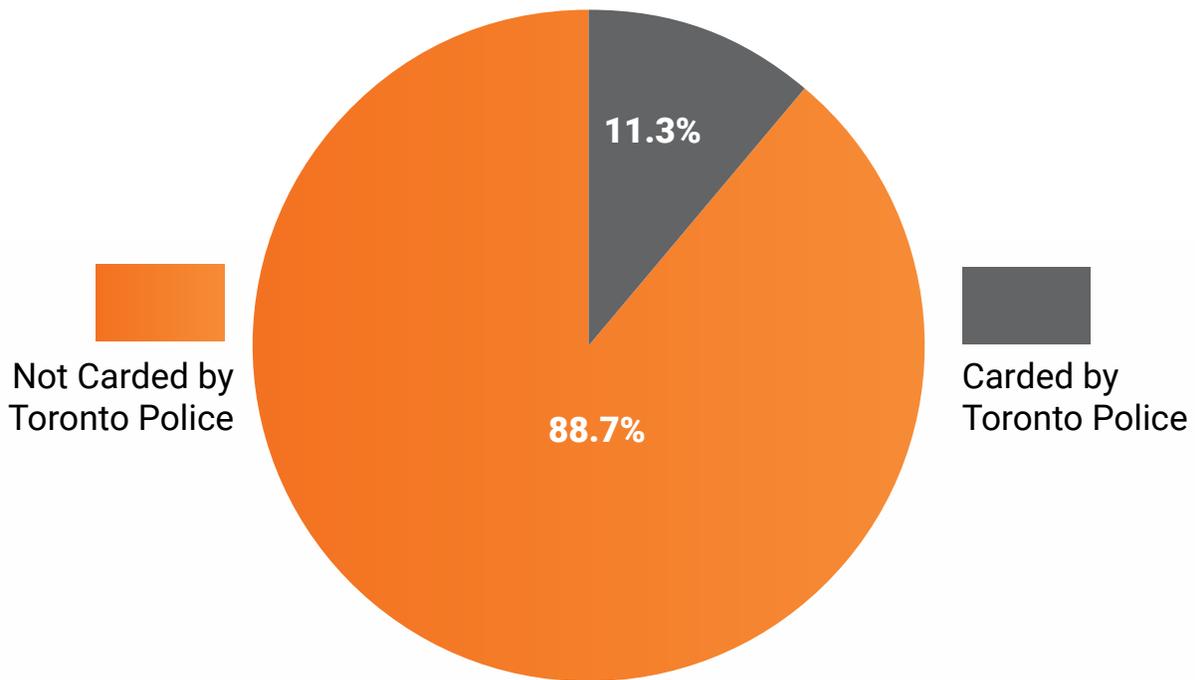
## Exhibit 2: 2017 Community Perception Benchmark (CPB)

- **Sixty-eight percent** of Torontonians believe that the city's police officers are honest.
  - **Seventy-two percent** of Torontonians believe that the city's police officers live up to their motto to serve and protect, i.e. they act with integrity.
  - **Sixty-five percent** of Torontonians believe that the city's police officers can be trusted to treat individuals of their ethnic group fairly.
  - **Nineteen percent** of Torontonians believe that the city's police officers have discriminated against them in the past because of their ethnic background.
  - **Sixteen percent** of Torontonians believe that the city's police officers have discriminated against them in the past because of where they live.
  - **Fifty percent** of Torontonians believe that the city's police officers are impartial, i.e. do not favor members of any particular ethnic group.
  - **Fifty-eight percent** of Torontonians believe that the city's police officers are responsive to their needs.
  - **Forty-three percent** of Torontonians believe that the city's police officers engage effectively with the community.
  - **Forty-five percent** of Torontonians believe that the city's officers communicate effectively with members of the community.
  - **Sixty percent** of Torontonians are satisfied with the service provided by the city's police officers.
  - **Forty-two percent** of Torontonians agree with the use of physical force by the city's police officers against members of their community.
- 

## 5 Views on Carding

In this section of the report we move on to consider the community's views on regulated interactions. As defined for respondents "carding or street checks refers to a police officer stopping and asking you a series of questions e.g. your name, age, height, weight, names of your friends etc. and recording this information on a contact card. The information is subsequently entered into a database for possible use in future criminal investigations". Based on this definition 11% of respondents to this survey indicated that they had been carded by Toronto police (Figure 12). This equates to 170 respondents of a total of 1,503 individuals who provided an answer to the question <sup>21</sup>.

Figure 12: Percentage of Respondents who have been Carded by Toronto Police (N=1,503)



<sup>21</sup> Note that in the tables and figures below frequencies may not sum to 170 as some individuals who had been carded may have opted to not answer certain questions.

## 5.1 Demographic profile of Respondents who had been carded

As shown in Table 42 of the 170 respondents who had been carded some 75% are male with women representing roughly 22%. The data also show that a higher percentage of younger individuals (under the age of 35) seemed to have been carded relative to older survey participants. As shown in Table 43 of the respondents who had been carded roughly 48% are below the age of 24 with an additional 30% between the ages of 25-34. Very few older respondents had been stopped and questioned by Toronto police.

Table 42: Gender Distribution of Respondents who had been Carded

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Female	37	21.8
Male	128	75.3
Gender Non-Conforming	5	2.9
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>170</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 43: Age Distribution of Respondents who had been Carded

Age (Years)	Frequency	Percentage
0-24	81	47.6
25-34	51	30.0
35-54	33	19.4
+55	5	2.9
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>170</b>	<b>100</b>

Also interesting is the data presented in Table 44 which show that of those respondents who had been carded some 42% are black – the highest of any of the other ethnic groups under study. Approximately 12% of carded individuals are white with Arabs and South Asians at roughly 11%. The percentage of Latin Americans and Indigenous people in the sample who had been carded is relatively low at  $\leq 3\%$ . It is also instructive to note that fully one-third of respondents who had been carded by Toronto police earn less than \$20,000 annually. This contrasts with roughly 2% of carded respondents who earn \$80,000 - \$99,999 per year (Table 45). It would also appear from the data that the majority of respondents subjected to the practice of regulated interaction have just high school as their highest educational achievement (Table 46) although substantial numbers of respondents with college and university diplomas have also been stopped and questioned.

Table 44: Distribution of Respondents who had been Carded by Ethnic Background of Respondent

Ethnic Group	Frequency	Percentage
Arab	18	10.9
Black	69	41.8
East Asian	5	3.0
Indigenous	4	2.4
Latin American	5	3.0
South Asian	18	10.9
South-East Asian	9	5.5
West Asian	9	5.5
White/Caucasian	19	11.5
Other	9	5.5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>100</b>



Table 45: Distribution of Respondents who had been Carded by Income of Respondent

Income Range	Frequency	Percentage
\$0 - \$19,999	55	33.5
\$20,000 - \$39,999	43	26.2
\$40,000 - \$59,999	26	15.9
\$60,000 - \$79,999	7	4.3
\$80,000 - \$99,999	4	2.4
Don't remember / Prefer not to answer	29	17.7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>164</b>	<b>100</b>

## 5.2 The Frequency of Regulated Interactions

The majority (43%) of respondents who had been carded reported that they only had one such encounter with Toronto police (Table 47). A further 31% reported a second encounter with only a small number of respondents (6%) reporting being involved in more than four such incidents in the City of Toronto. Of those who had been carded it is interesting to note that the majority (63%) reported that their encounter with the Toronto police took place within the last three years (i.e. 2015-2017). Also interesting is the result that 21% of respondents reported being carded in calendar year 2017 (the year the new rules took effect) which compares to the 19% of respondents who reported being carded the previous year when the new rules were not yet in force (Table 48). One may, therefore, conclude that the imposition of these new rules has not diminished the rate at which individuals are being carded in the City of Toronto. Note as well that the highest incidence took place in 2015 when roughly 24% of respondents were stopped.

Table 46: Distribution of Respondents who had been Carded by Highest Education of Respondent

Highest Education	Frequency	Percentage
Elementary School	6	3.6
High School	66	39.5
College	42	25.1
University Undergraduate	45	26.9
University Graduate	8	4.8
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 47: Number of times Respondents had been Carded by Toronto Police

Number of Incidents	Number of Respondents	Percentage
Once	70	42.9
Twice	51	31.3
Three times	23	14.1
Four times	3	1.8
More than four times	9	5.5
Don't remember	7	4.3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 48: Last Occasion Respondents were Carded by Toronto Police<sup>22</sup>

Year	Number of Respondents	Percentage
This year (2017)	34	20.5
Last year (2016)	32	19.3
Two years ago (2015)	39	23.5
Three years ago (2014)	18	10.8
More than 3 years ago	27	16.3
Don't remember	16	9.6
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>166</b>	<b>100</b>

### 5.3 Respondent Experience with Regulated Interactions

Of those respondents who reported being carded it would appear that the majority do not believe that the situation was handled professionally. Some 54% of respondents to this survey indicated that they were not treated professionally and with respect by the Toronto police officer involved (Figure 13). While this is a troubling result, also of concern are the reasons that respondents formed their opinion of the treatment received by the officer in question. As illustrated in Figure 14, it was the officer's tone of voice (not the words used or physical force) that led most

22 Table 48 indicates that a number of individuals reported being carded in 2015 and 2016 even though the practice was officially suspended in those years. It may well be that during those years Toronto police officers continued to stop and question community members for intelligence gathering purposes but their personal data were not entered into the database. While these individuals were stopped and questioned it would be difficult for them to verify whether their personal information was in fact entered into the TPS database in accordance with the strict definition.

to believe that they were not being treated professionally. While only 42 individuals responded to this question some 38% perceived the officer's tone of voice to be less than professional with only approximately 19% taking exception to the words used by the officer or his/her body language. Again the number of observations is small but these results may point to the need for additional training of front line officers or perhaps some modification of training methodologies.

More encouraging perhaps is the finding that among those respondents who had been carded a majority (65%) noted that the officer involved did explain the reason for them being stopped (Table 49). On the other hand, however, a majority (59%) of those carded believe that they were singled out because of their race (Table 50). It should be noted that the perception that carding is motivated by race is also held by respondents who have **never** been stopped and questioned by the police. As shown in Figure 15 over 60% of these respondents argue that Toronto police single individuals out because of their race in conducting street checks. Given that it is pervasive, this may well be a perception that the TPS may wish to counter in some form of public outreach campaign. It should be noted that of the respondents who have never been carded only 39% know of a friend or family member who has been stopped and questioned by Toronto police. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that this perception of race-based carding is likely being formed primarily by social and mainstream media outlets rather than personal contacts. If true, one could argue that carding has a broader social impact due to this network effect.

Figure 13: Was the Respondent treated Professionally and with Respect by the Toronto Police Officer (N=166)

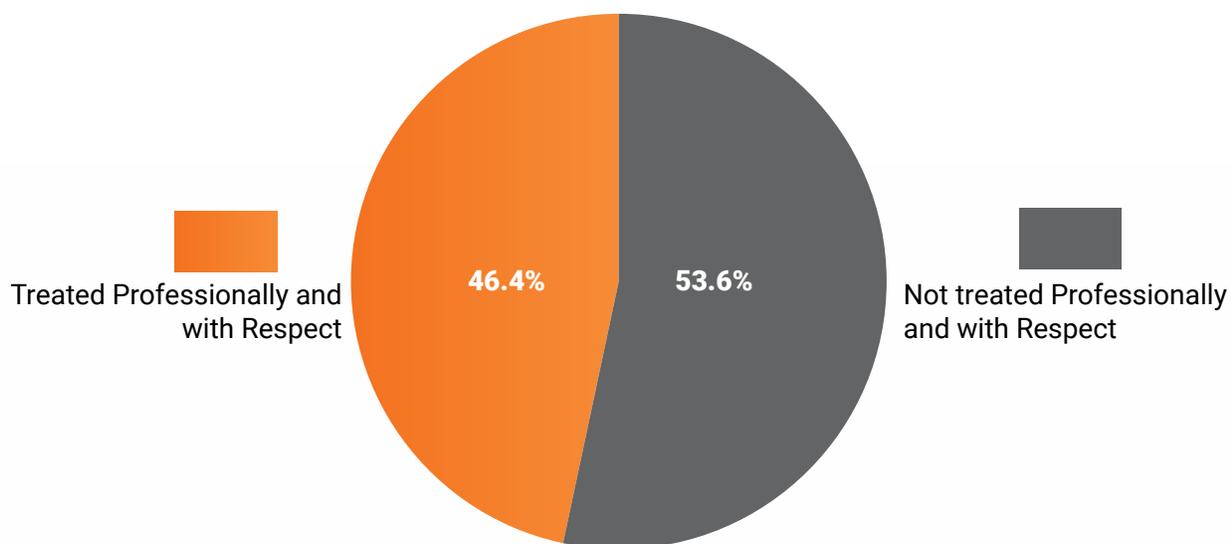


Figure 14: Reason Respondent believes he/she was not Treated Professionally and with Respect by Toronto Police (N=42)

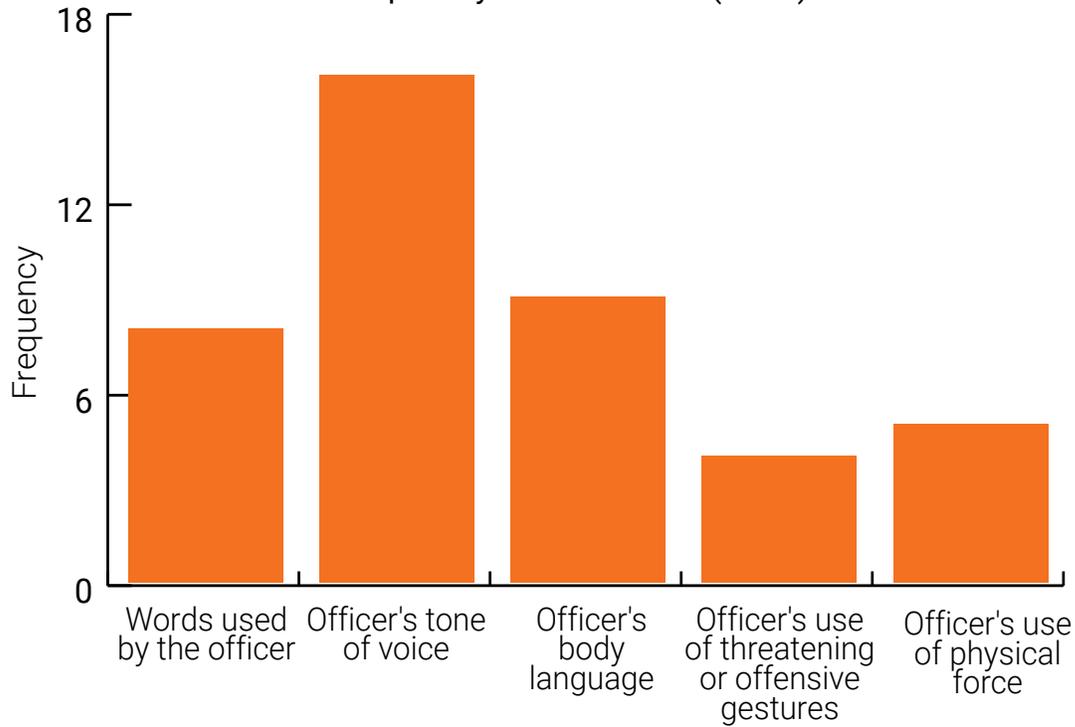


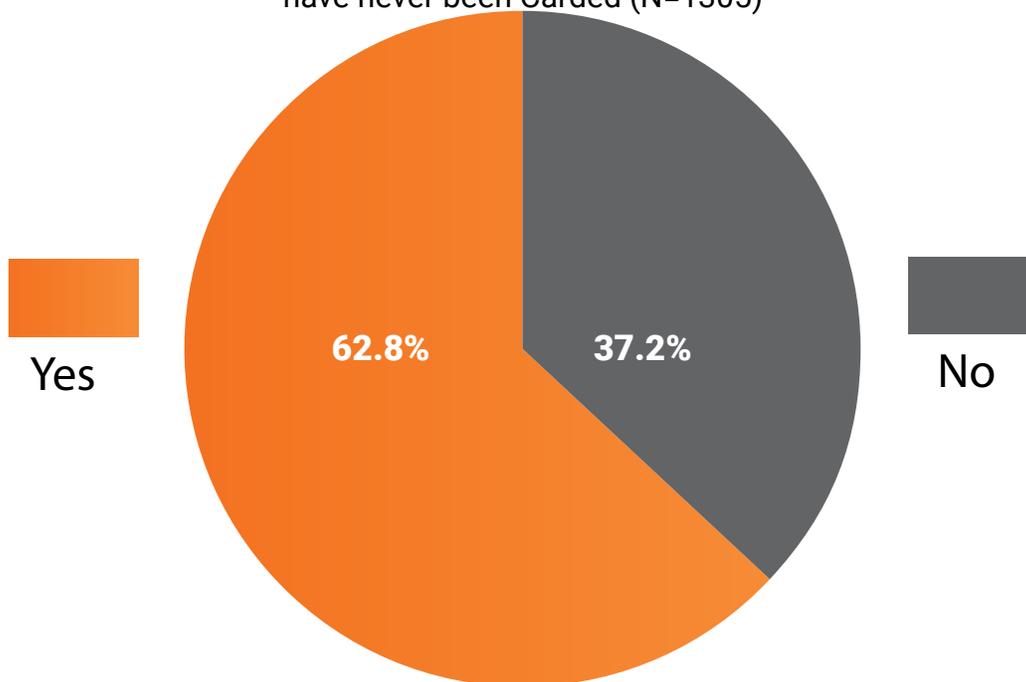
Table 49: Toronto Police Officer Explained the Reason for the Stop

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	108	65.1
No	58	34.9
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>166</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 50: Belief that Race was a Factor in being Carded

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	97	58.8
No	68	41.2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>166</b>	<b>100</b>

Figure 15: Toronto Police Single out Individuals because of their Race: Respondents who have never been Carded (N=1305)



## 5.4 Regulated Interactions and Perceptions of Toronto Police

Examining data from the full sample of respondents it is clear that whether or not an individual had been carded is associated with their perception of Toronto police officers. As shown in Table 51 some 63% of respondents who had been carded held a negative perception of the honesty of Toronto police while 65% of those who had not been carded held a favorable view. A similar pattern is observed with respect to integrity. Those who had been carded were subsequently found to have a more negative perception of the integrity of the city's police force relative to other respondents (Table 52). The analysis also suggests that the practice of carding is associated with an erosion in the community's trust to receive fair treatment by Toronto police (Table 53). Of those who had been carded some 66% do not trust officers to treat members of their ethnic group fairly compared to 43% of respondents who had not been carded.

Table 51: Respondent carded by Perception of Police Honesty

Respondent carded or not	Toronto police are honest		Frequency
	Yes (%)	No (%)	
Individual carded	37.0	63.0	165
Individual not carded	64.5	35.5	1292
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>61.4</b>	<b>38.6</b>	<b>1457</b>

$\chi^2 (1, N = 1457) = 46.682, p < .01$

Table 52: Respondent Carded by Perception that Police Live up to their Motto

Respondent carded or not	Toronto police live up to their motto to serve and protect		Frequency
	Yes (%)	No (%)	
Individual carded	37.6	62.4	165
Individual not carded	70.7	29.3	1296
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>66.9</b>	<b>33.1</b>	<b>1461</b>

$\chi^2 (1, N = 1461) = 72.476, p < .01$

Table 53: Respondent Carded by Perception that Police can be Trusted

Respondent carded or not	Toronto police can be trusted to treat members of my ethnic group fairly		Frequency
	Yes (%)	No (%)	
Individual carded	33.9	66.1	165
Individual not carded	57.0	43.0	1304
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>54.4</b>	<b>45.6</b>	<b>1469</b>

$\chi^2 (1, N = 1469) = 31.340, p < .01$

As demonstrated above carding is associated with negative perceptions of the police. It is also important to note that among those who had been carded their personal experience during the interaction is also important in shaping their perceptions. For example, of the respondents who claimed to not have been treated with respect during a stop, some 92% had a negative view of the honesty of Toronto police. In contrast of those respondents who claim to have been treated professionally and with respect 68% still perceived the police to be honest, despite the fact that they had been carded (Table 54). Similarly explaining the reason for the stop is associated with more favorable perceptions of officer honesty. Indeed 77% of those who did not receive an explanation went on to express the view that Toronto police officers are dishonest (Table 55). The percentage of respondents holding this view drops to 58% in situations where the reason for the stop was explained. Respondents who believe that they had been singled out by police because of their race also held a negative view of officer honesty with some 87% of them holding to the opinion that honesty was lacking among Toronto's law enforcement officers (Table 56).

Table 54: Treatment during Street Check by Perception of Police Honesty

Treatment	Toronto police are honest		Frequency
	Yes (%)	No (%)	
Treated Professionally and with Respect	67.6	32.4	74
Not Treated Professionally and with Respect	8.0	92.0	87
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>35.4</b>	<b>64.6</b>	<b>161</b>

$$\chi^2(1, N = 161) = 67.317, p < .01$$

Table 55: Reason for the Stop explained by Perception of Police Honesty

Explanation	Toronto police are honest		Frequency
	Yes (%)	No (%)	
Reason for the stop explained	41.9	58.1	105
Reason for the stop not explained	23.2	76.8	56
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>35.4</b>	<b>64.6</b>	<b>161</b>

$$\chi^2(1, N = 161) = 5.579, p < .05$$

Table 56: Singled out because of Race by Perception of Police Honesty

Singled out	Toronto police are honest		Frequency
	Yes (%)	No (%)	
Respondent felt singled out because of race	13.5	86.5	96
Respondent did not feel singled out because of race	68.8	31.3	64
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>35.6</b>	<b>64.4</b>	<b>160</b>

$\chi^2(1, N = 160) = 51.035, p < .01$

## 5.5 Perceptions of Carding Effectiveness

In order to probe more deeply into the community's perception of carding as a police tool, respondents were asked to give their opinions on the legality of carding and whether or not regulated interactions indeed make for safer neighbourhoods. These questions were asked both of those who had been carded and those with no personal experience with the practice. As shown in Tables 57 and 58 there are marked differences in responses between the two groups. On the issue of whether Toronto police should have the legal right to card members of the community an overwhelming percentage of respondents who had been carded were opposed. On the other hand among those with no personal experience with the practice the sample was more or less evenly split between those who are for and those who are against. Overall 48% of all respondents believed that the Toronto police should have the legal right to card individuals. With appropriate re-weighting to reflect the ethnic composition of the city this estimate increases slightly to 52%.



**52%**

of all Torontonians believe that the Toronto police should have the legal right to card individuals.

A similar pattern is observed when respondents were asked to weigh in on the issue of whether or not carding makes communities safer (Table 58). The majority of those who had been carded in the past do not believe that the practice makes communities any safer while those with no personal experience are overwhelmingly supportive of the practice as an effective police tool which enhances community safety. Based on the above results it is perhaps a reasonable

assumption that the process of being carding alters one’s perception of its legality and effectiveness. The data also suggest, however, that when carding is couched as an instrument of community safety a majority of respondents are encouraged to support the practice. Interestingly, even some individuals who had been carded seem to be more supportive. Evidently a majority of Torontonians are prepared to sacrifice some individual liberties in the interest of perceived community safety. Overall, 59% of respondents believe that carding does indeed make for safer communities. Again with appropriate re-weighting of the sample this estimate increases to 64%.



**64%**  
of Torontonians believe that carding does indeed make for safer communities.

*"Evidently a majority of Torontonians are prepared to sacrifice some individual liberties in the interest of perceived community safety."*

Table 57: Toronto Police should have the Legal Right to card Individuals

	Personal Experience with Carding		No Personal Experience with Carding	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Police should have the legal right to card individuals (%)	33.7	66.3	49.9	50.1
Frequency	56	110	652	655





## 5.6 Likelihood of Being Carded in the City of Toronto

Given the above analysis it is perhaps appropriate to ask what factors would increase an individual's chances of being carded in the City of Toronto. To answer this question a binary logistic model was specified and estimated. Binary logistic regression seeks to determine the probabilities of two outcomes of a categorical dependent variable using a set of independent variables. The general functional form of the binary logistic model may be written as:

$$P = \frac{1}{1 + e^{-(a+bX)}} .$$

In this study, P is categorical and represents the natural log of the odds of an individual being carded or not being carded. This variable is coded "0" for respondents who have not been carded and "1" for those who have. The independent variables, X, represent the vector of demographic variables such as gender, age, income and ethnic background. The set of independent variables also include data on crime in the TPS divisions where individuals were carded both for the year of the survey (2017) as well as for 2012. The year 2012 was used as a proxy for the crime history of the division. Crime statistics were collected in all major categories i.e. assault, break and enter, murder, robbery, auto theft and sexual violence as well as totals for the period. Data from the survey on where respondents live were categorized by the seventeen TPS divisions and also used as explanatory variables. In essence it is hypothesised that an individual's chances of being carded/not being carded will be determined by personal demographic factors, the crime history of the area, current criminal activity and one's presence in a particular geographic location. The construction of a correlation matrix allowed for the identification and exclusion of highly correlated variables. Model parameters were estimated using maximum likelihood in SPSS.

Table 59 presents the results of the final model specified. The overall fit of the model is good. The model Chi-square is 426.202 and is significant at the 1% level resulting in rejection of the null hypothesis that the explanatory variables are not useful in predicting values of the dependent variable. For the model as a whole the Nagelkerke R<sup>2</sup> is .502. It should be noted that this is a pseudo R<sup>2</sup> and for logistic regression does not have the same goodness of fit interpretation as for ordinary least squares, and is usually lower. For a regression model using cross-sectional data this R<sup>2</sup> can be viewed positively. Overall the model correctly classifies 92.6% of cases, a result that exceeds what would be expected from the toss of a fair coin. The model correctly classifies 97.1% of cases when an individual is not carded and 57.3% of cases when the individual is carded. The lower percentage in the case of individuals who are carded is perhaps to be expected as there are a myriad of situational and behavioral factors, e.g. loitering in dark alleyways, use of obscene language in public etc., that may attract the attention of police officers, and which cannot be adequately captured in this or any modelling exercise.

Table 59: Results Logistic Regression

Variable	$\beta$	Wald	Sig.	Exp( $\beta$ )
Total Crime (2012)	.004	256.433	.000	1.004
Black	.805	11.022	.001	2.237
Gender	.849	14.940	.000	2.338
Income	-.073	3.772	.052	.930
South Asian	.685	4.019	.045	1.983
Constant	-4.864	118.958	.000	.008

Model Statistics:

Nagelkerke  $R^2 = .502$

$\chi^2$  (5, N = 1458) = 426.202,  $p < .01$

- 2 log likelihood = 599.283

Overall cases correctly classified = 92.6%

Not carded cases correctly classified = 97.1%

Carded cases correctly classified = 57.3%

The results of the analysis show that individuals are more likely to be carded in the City of Toronto if they are Black or South Asian. These two explanatory variables were found to be highly significant (Table 59). In fact the odds ratios (Exp  $\beta$ ) for these two variables indicate that being Black increases one's odds of being carded in the City of Toronto by roughly 124% while being South Asian increases the odds of being stopped by almost 99%. The results also suggest that males are far more likely to be carded than females – a result which is consistent with the frequency analysis presented in an earlier section. From this model being male increases an individual's odds of being carded by almost 134%. Clearly the combination of being Black/South Asian and male will further increase one's chances of being stopped and questioned by the police.

The logistic regression model also demonstrates a statistically significant and inverse relationship between being carded and one's income <sup>23</sup>. The higher the individual's income the lower is the probability of being carded in the City of Toronto. Quantitatively the model suggests that every \$20,000 decrease in an individual's income increases the odds of the person being carded by 7%. According to this model street checks are, therefore, more likely to be instigated

<sup>23</sup> It should be noted that when the income variable was restricted to individuals earning less than \$100,000/year and gender to males and females only statistical significance improved to .001 but this came at the expense of the model's predictive power.

***"Being Black increases one's odds of being carded in the City of Toronto by 124% while being South Asian increases the odds of being stopped by roughly 99%"***

***"Being male increases an individual's odds of being carded by almost 134%"***

***"Street checks are, therefore, more likely to be instigated against lower income earners in the city"***

***"Presence in a division with a history of high crime statistics increases an individual's chances of being carded in the current period "***

against lower income earners in the city. This too is an important result with much broader social implications but which are clearly outside the scope of this report.

The model also suggests that the odds of being carded increase marginally (<0.5%) with the history of crime in the TPS division. As noted earlier total crime in 2012 was used as a proxy for this variable and encompasses robberies, sexual assault, murder and auto theft. It would appear that there is a lagged response to crime with Toronto police becoming more vigilant when there is a spike in criminal activity in earlier periods. In essence, presence in a division with a history of high crime statistics increases an individual's chances of being carded in the current period. It should be noted that crime in the current period was not found to be statistically significant so officers are in essence responding to past events. It is important to note that the analysis did not find statistically significant relationships between being carded and one's age, level of education or place of residence. Contrary to what may have been expected these are not factors that are likely to increase one's chances of being carded in the City of Toronto. The explanatory power of variables such as age, education and place of residence may have been adequately captured in the model by other factors such as race and income which are statistically significant. From the above, one may conclude that gender and race are the major factors which determine who is subject to regulated interaction in the City of Toronto. The level of criminal activity and one's income, while statistically significant, have a marginal impact on the odds of being carded.

## 5.7 Summary

The results of the analysis of community perceptions of regulated interactions and the primary determinants of an individual's chances of being street checked are summarized in Exhibits 3 and 4 below.

### Exhibit 3: Summary of Community Views on Carding

#### Community views on Carding...

- 🔴 **Fifty-four percent** of respondents who had been carded do not believe that they were treated professionally and with respect by the Toronto police officer involved. In these circumstances it was the officer's tone of voice (not the words used or physical force) that led respondents to believe that they were not being treated professionally.
  - 🔴 **Fifty-nine percent** of respondents who had been carded believe that they were singled out because of their race.
  - 🔴 **Sixty-three percent** of respondents who had **never** been carded argue that in conducting street checks Toronto police single individuals out because of their race.
  - 🔴 **Sixty-five percent** of respondents who had been carded noted that the officer involved did explain the reason for them being stopped.
  - 🔴 **Sixty-three percent** of respondents who had been carded held a negative perception of the honesty of Toronto police while 65% of those who had **not** been carded held a favorable view.
  - 🔴 **Sixty-six percent** of respondents who had been carded do not trust officers to treat members of their ethnic group fairly compared to 57% of respondents who had **not** been carded and do trust the police to deliver fair treatment.
  - 🔴 **Ninety-two percent** of respondents who claimed to not have been treated with respect during a stop had a negative view of the honesty of Toronto police while 68% of respondents who claim to have been treated with respect still perceived the police to be honest.
- 

- **Eighty-seven percent** of respondents who believe that they had been singled out by police because of their race went on to express the view that Toronto police officers are not honest.
- **Seventy-seven percent** of those who did not receive an explanation for being carded went on to express the view that Toronto police officers are dishonest.
- **Fifty-two percent** of all Torontonians believe that the police should have the legal right to card individuals.
- **Sixty-four percent** of Torontonians believe that carding does indeed make for safer communities.

#### Exhibit 4: Factors which Increase the Odds of Being Carding

### Increasing the odds.....

- Odds of being carded if an individual is Black: **one hundred and twenty-four percent**
- Odds of being carded if an individual is South Asian: **roughly ninety-nine percent**
- Odds of being carded if an individual is male: **one hundred and thirty-four percent**
- Increase in the odds of being carded for every \$20,000 decrease in an individual's income: **seven percent**
- Increase in the odds of being carded in the current period if an individual is physically present in a division with a history of high levels of crime: **less than half of one percent**

## 6 Analysis by TPS Division

As noted earlier in this report an attempt was made to understand issues of trust, bias, impartiality and satisfaction at the level of the TPS division. The purpose of this analysis is to identify divisions where perceptions were significantly better (or worse) than the baseline<sup>24</sup>. This level of analysis would allow the TPS to undertake its own internal assessment to better understand the reasons for any differences in community perception benchmark (CPB) performance and take necessary corrective actions. Table 60 illustrates the results for respondents' perceptions of the honesty of Toronto police officers by the TPS division in which the respondent lives, while Exhibit 5 shows the boundaries of the various TPS divisions. As shown in Table 60 Division 12 stands out with roughly 87% of respondents who live within its boundaries answering in the affirmative, i.e. that police officers are honest<sup>25</sup>. Divisions 52 and 54 are also well above the TPS reading of 60%.

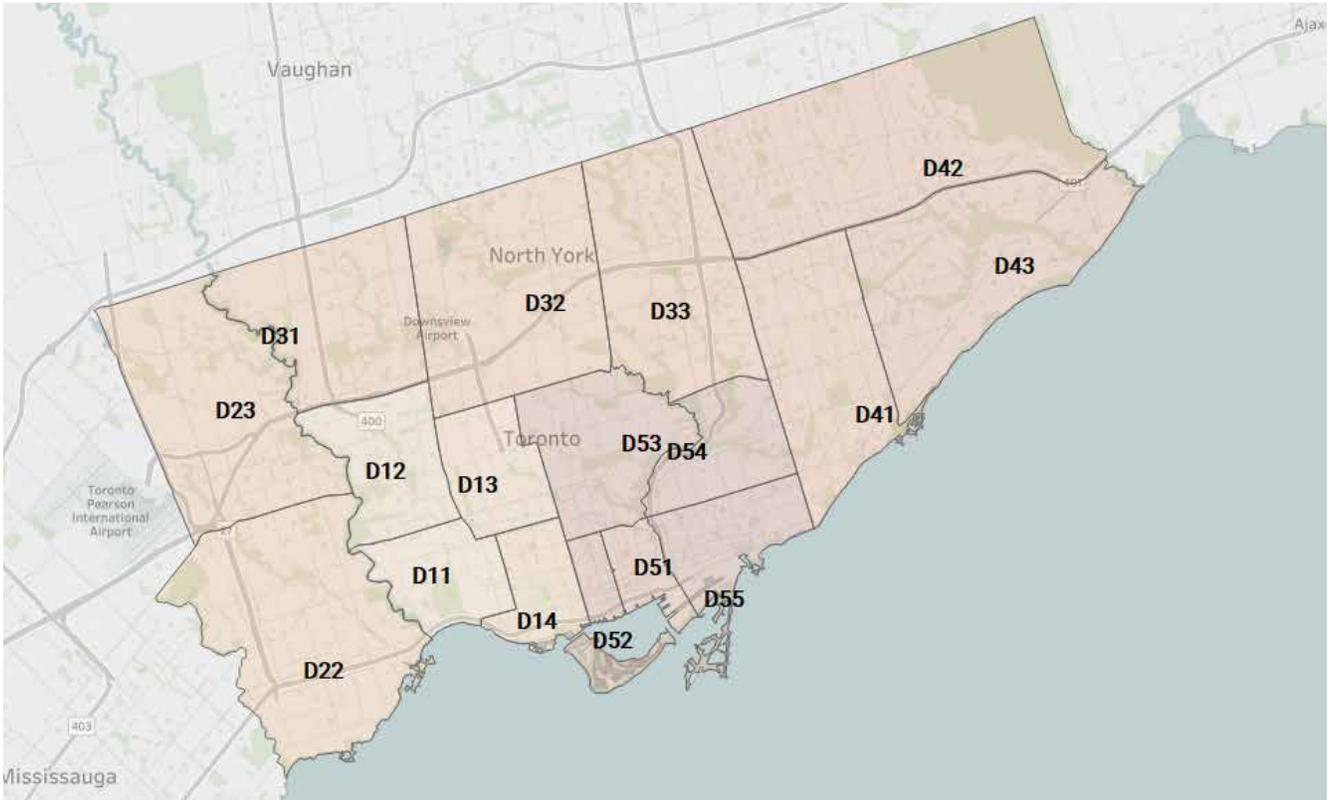
In terms of trust in Toronto police to treat individuals fairly it is noted that Division 12 again stands out with 77% of respondents indicating that trust in police officers is warranted (Table 61). With respect to perceptions of bias based on ethnic background Division 12 again figures prominently with the lowest percentage of respondents who believe they were stereotyped because of their race. Less than 10% of respondents who reside in that division were of the view that officers are biased against individuals of their ethnic background – a result well below the 28% reading for all TPS divisions (Table 62). When the data on perceptions of favoritism are analyzed by division it is also found that Division 12 posts the best performance (Table 63). Only 13% of residents in that division held the view that officers favored members of particular ethnic groups. The overall reading for TPS divisions on this measure is 51%.

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24 Frequencies in the tables below may not sum to 1517 as some respondents may have opted to not answer certain questions.

25 Note that the question referred to Toronto police officers in general and not specifically to officers assigned to the respondent's division. Perceptions, however, are more likely to be formed by officers assigned to the respondent's neighbourhood than those working in divisions further afield.

Exhibit 5: Map of Toronto Police Service Divisions



Source: Toronto Police Service. <http://www.torontopolice.on.ca/divisions/map.php>

Table 60: Perception that Toronto Police Officers are Honest by TPS Division in which the Respondent lives

TPS Division	Do you believe that Toronto police officers are honest?		Frequency
	Yes (%)	No (%)	
D11	62.5	37.5	32
D12	86.6	13.4	82
D13	56.3	43.8	16
D14	59.3	40.7	54
D22	48.5	51.5	33
D23	56.1	43.9	198
D31	54.9	45.1	71
D32	61.2	38.8	67
D33	65.6	34.4	157
D41	66.0	34.0	53
D42	50.9	49.1	53
D43	51.2	48.8	41
D51	52.1	47.9	165
D52	74.6	25.4	59
D53	56.4	43.6	55
D54	71.4	28.6	21
D55	56.4	43.6	55
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>60.4</b>	<b>39.6</b>	<b>1212</b>

$\chi^2(16, N = 1212) = 45.544, p < .01$

Table 61: Perception that Toronto Police Officers can be trusted by TPS Division in which the Respondent lives

TPS Division	Overall do you believe that people of your ethnic background can trust Toronto police officers to treat them fairly?		Frequency
	Yes (%)	No (%)	
D11	62.5	37.5	32
D12	76.8	23.2	82
D13	47.1	52.9	17
D14	49.1	50.9	55
D22	51.5	48.5	33
D23	56.6	43.4	198
D31	54.2	45.8	72
D32	56.7	43.3	67
D33	43.8	56.3	160
D41	52.8	47.2	53
D42	46.3	53.7	54
D43	34.1	65.9	41
D51	44.6	55.4	168
D52	68.3	31.7	60
D53	64.3	35.7	56
D54	42.9	57.1	21
D55	54.5	45.5	55
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>53.3</b>	<b>46.7</b>	<b>1224</b>

$\chi^2 (16, N = 1224) = 48.356, p < .01$

Table 62: Perception of Race-based Bias by Division in which the Respondent lives

TPS Division	Do you believe that the Toronto police officers you have interacted with in the past are biased against individuals of your ethnic background?		No Previous Interaction with Toronto Police (%)	Frequency
	Yes (%)	No (%)		
D11	18.8	56.3	25.0	32
D12	9.8	62.2	28.0	82
D13	35.3	29.4	35.3	17
D14	33.9	32.1	33.9	56
D22	33.3	27.3	39.4	33
D23	24.2	43.9	31.8	198
D31	30.6	31.9	37.5	72
D32	22.4	31.3	46.3	67
D33	31.9	49.4	18.8	160
D41	37.7	30.2	32.1	53
D42	27.8	38.9	33.3	54
D43	46.3	19.5	34.1	41
D51	33.9	26.2	39.9	168
D52	21.7	26.7	51.7	60
D53	26.8	42.9	30.4	56
D54	28.6	33.3	38.1	21
D55	25.5	38.2	36.4	55
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>28.2</b>	<b>38.2</b>	<b>33.6</b>	<b>1225</b>

$\chi^2 (32, N = 1225) = 87.844, p < .01$

Table 63: Perception of Favoritism by Division in which the Respondent lives

TPS Division	Do you believe that Toronto Police officers favor members of particular ethnic groups in your community?		Frequency
	Yes (%)	No (%)	
D11	59.4	40.6	32
D12	13.4	86.6	82
D13	43.8	56.3	16
D14	58.2	41.8	55
D22	63.6	36.4	33
D23	43.9	56.1	198
D31	40.3	59.7	72
D32	55.4	44.6	65
D33	48.1	51.9	160
D41	62.3	37.7	53
D42	57.4	42.6	54
D43	73.8	26.2	42
D51	58.9	41.1	168
D52	51.7	48.3	60
D53	69.6	30.4	56
D54	66.7	33.3	21
D55	48.1	51.9	54
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>51.0</b>	<b>49.0</b>	<b>1221</b>

$\chi^2(16, N = 1221) = 85.711, p < .01$

A majority (61%) of respondents who reside in Division 12 also held the view that Toronto police officers are effective in their engagement with the community – the highest of any of the other divisions (Figure 17). Further, some 59% of these residents also expressed the view that officers communicated effectively with members of the community – again the highest of all TPS divisions (Figure 18). While an in-depth analysis of the relatively superior performance of this division is outside the scope of this study it may be instructive for the TPS to undertake such an evaluation. It is also clear from the data presented that some divisions have not been

particularly successful in crafting a positive image among residents in their jurisdictions. Metrics for Division 43, for example, clearly indicate that additional support, training or alternative models of engagement may be needed. Perceptions of honesty, trust, bias and favoritism all lag overall readings for the agency as do engagement and communication with members of the community. It may be instructive for the TPS to target any public outreach efforts to those divisions seen to be underperforming the CPB.

Figure 17: Toronto Police Officers are Effective in their Engagement with Members of my Community by TPS Division: Respondents Agreeing or strongly Agreeing (N= 1225)

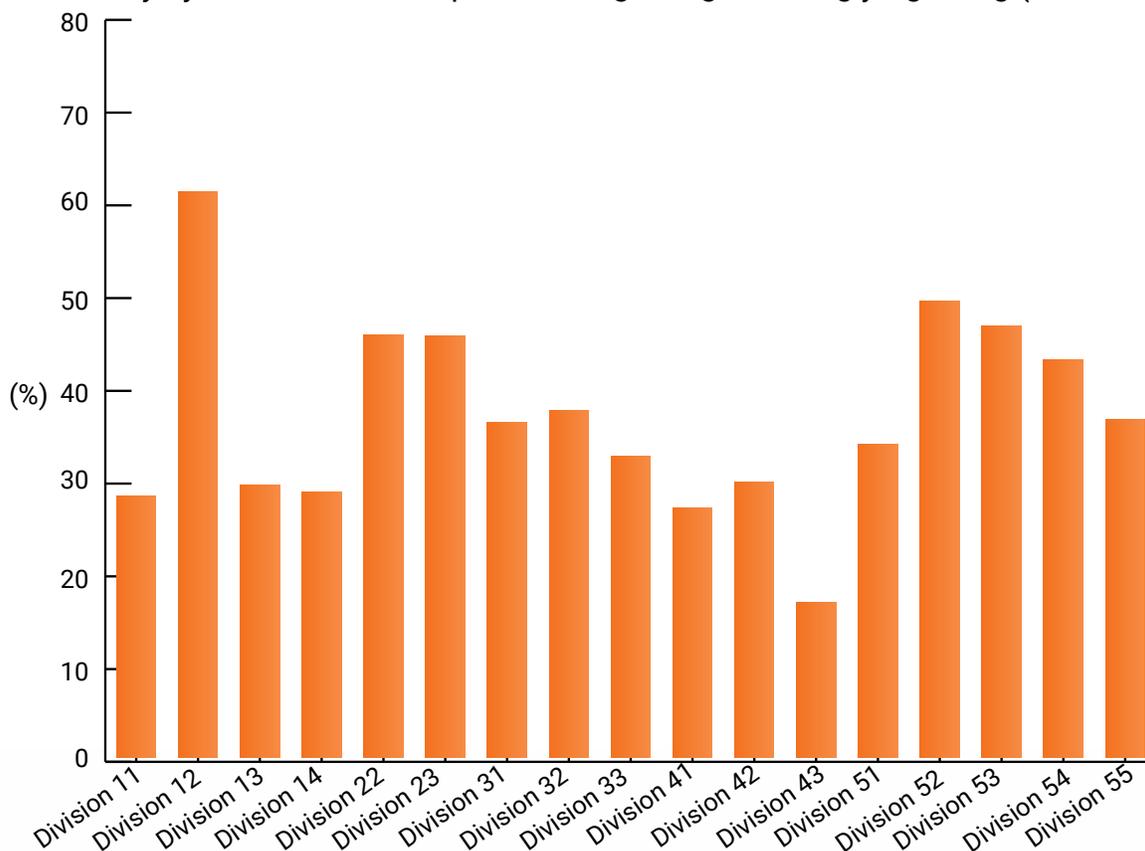
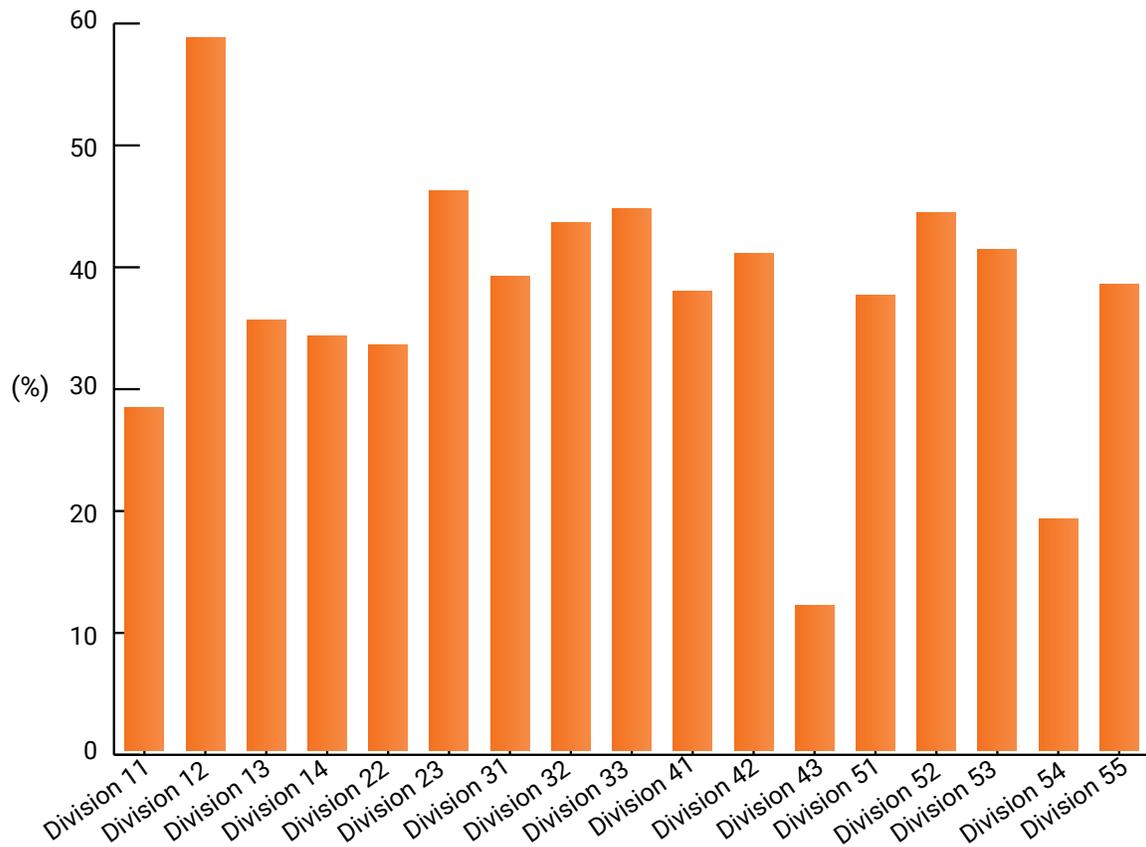


Figure 18: Toronto Police Officers Communicate Effectively with Members of my Community by TPS Division: Respondents Agreeing or strongly Agreeing (N= 1226)



## 6.1 Summary

The analysis above clearly demonstrates that certain divisions have performed better than others with respect to community perceptions of honesty, trust, fairness as well as engagement and communication effectiveness. In fact Division 12 is seen to be the standout on all metrics analysed while other divisions e.g. 43 have clearly lagged. The TPS may wish to assess the reasons for the variations observed to determine whether these have more to do with the demographic composition of the divisions or other factors related to training and supervision in the field.

# 7 New Rule Changes

As noted above effective January 1, 2017 new rules were introduced to guide officers during regulated interactions with members of the Toronto community. These rule changes are designed to protect the rights of citizens while also allowing the Toronto police to continue using a tool which they believe to be useful. An attempt was made to assess respondents' awareness of these rule changes and better understand their views once they were made aware of the specifics of the new legislation.

## 7.1 Awareness

Respondents were asked a series of questions to test their current understanding of the new legislation on carding. These questions related to a citizen's right to refuse to answer questions posed by a Toronto police officer and the circumstances under which that would be an acceptable course of action. Questions were also asked about the officer's obligations

to provide a rationale for the stop and to offer a receipt after the desired information had been documented. Results are summarized below.

In terms of right of refusal roughly 49% of respondents knew that under the new legislation they could simply disengage from any officer who stopped and solicited their personal information (Table 64). Roughly 50% of those interviewed answered this question incorrectly or admitted that they simply did not know. Given that this right of refusal is not universal, respondents were also asked under what specific conditions it could be exercised. Of those respondents who knew of their right to disengage, some 71% were also aware of the conditions under which they could do so (Table 65). Respondents were also tested on their awareness of the obligation of Toronto police officers under the new legislation to inform individuals that they have the right to refuse their efforts to solicit personal information. A majority (74%) of those polled seemed to understand their rights in this regard (Table 66). A significant percentage of the sample

also seemed to grasp that under the new legislation Toronto police officers are required to inform individuals why their information is being collected and that they must now be offered a receipt which documents the details of the stop. These results are summarised in Tables 67 and 68 below. 78% of respondents were aware that individuals must now be informed of the reason for the collection of their personal information while 67% were aware that a receipt must now be offered to those carded.

Table 64: Right to Refuse to Answer Questions Posed by Toronto Police Officers

If you are being carded today by Toronto police officers do you believe you have the right to refuse to answer their questions?	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	738	49.2
No	373	24.9
Don't know	389	25.9
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1500</b>	<b>100</b>

**Note:** Frequency does not sum to 1,517 due to missing values.

Table 65: Circumstances under which Individuals have the Right to Refuse to Answer the Questions of a Toronto Police Officer

When do you believe you have that right?	Frequency	Percentage
If I'm not under arrest	118	16.4
If the officer is not executing a warrant	35	4.9
If the officer is not involved in an undercover operation	16	2.2
All of the above	506	70.5
None of the above	43	6.0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>718</b>	<b>100</b>

**Note:** Frequency does not sum to 738 due to missing values.

Table 66: Obligations of Toronto Police Officers to advise Individuals of their Right to Refuse to Answer Questions

If you were being carded today do you believe the Toronto police officer must inform you that you can refuse to answer the questions?	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	1112	74
No	161	10.7
Don't know	230	15.3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1503</b>	<b>100</b>

**Note:** Frequency does not sum to 1,517 due to missing values.

Table 67: Obligations of Toronto Police Officers to advise Individuals why their Information is being Collected

If you are being carded today do you believe the Toronto police officer must tell you why the information is being collected?	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	1174	78
No	120	8
Don't know	211	14
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1505</b>	<b>100</b>

**Note:** Frequency does not sum to 1,517 due to missing values.

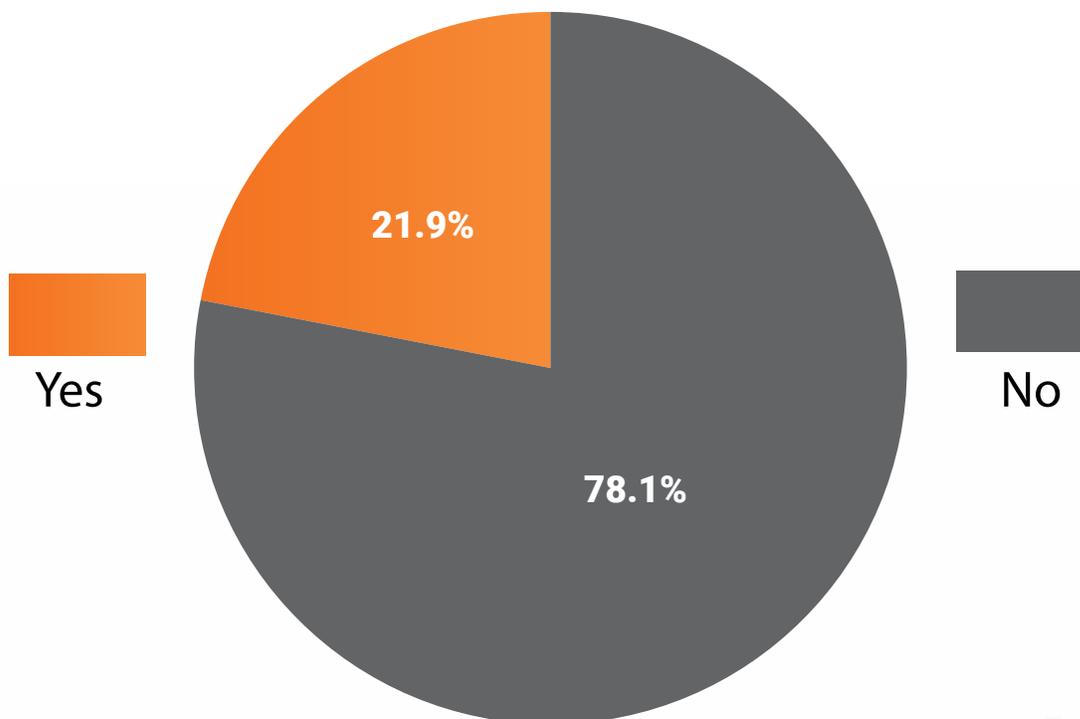
Table 68: Obligations of Toronto Police Officers to offer you a Receipt

If you are being carded today do you believe the Toronto police officer must offer you a document with details of the stop e.g. name of the officer, location, date and time?	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	1006	66.8
No	156	10.4
Don't know	343	22.8
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1505</b>	<b>100</b>

**Note:** Frequency does not sum to 1,517 due to missing values.

Despite the fact that respondents provided correct answers to the four awareness questions posed, when the specific rule changes were made available to them in the interview roughly 78% claimed to not have been aware of the specifics of the new legislation (Figure 19). This would suggest that many of the rule changes recently implemented are intuitive and simply make logical sense to the average Torontonians although relatively few knew that the changes had been formulated as new legislation. Of those who were aware of the rule changes the primary sources of this information were friends and family, television, as well as newspapers. The Internet was also an important source of information on this topic (Figure 20).

Figure 19: Awareness of these New Rules with Respect to Carding (N=1505)



## 7.2 Attitudes towards the new rules

Respondents were also asked a series of questions to better understand their attitudes towards the new rule changes. They would have been made aware of the rule changes earlier in the interview. With this understanding respondents seemed to be fairly optimistic that the new rules would result in some positive changes in areas such as better engagement between the police and the community, enhanced public trust in the police and reduced incidents of racial profiling (Table 69). However, a cursory review of the results in this table indicates that slightly fewer of the respondents to this survey were optimistic that new rules would reduce negative stereotyping of particular groups. In this latter case respondents seem to be suggesting that it would require more than new legislation to alter perceived prejudice on the part of some TPS officers. It would appear, however, that awareness of the new rules on regulated interactions has improved the attitudes of respondents towards the Toronto police. Indeed a little over 50% of respondents indicated that their attitudes towards the TPS was either much better or somewhat better given that these new rules are now in effect. Only 5% of those surveyed suggested that their attitudes towards the TPS was somewhat worse or much worse (Figure 21).

Figure 20: Source of Information about the Rule Changes (N=330)

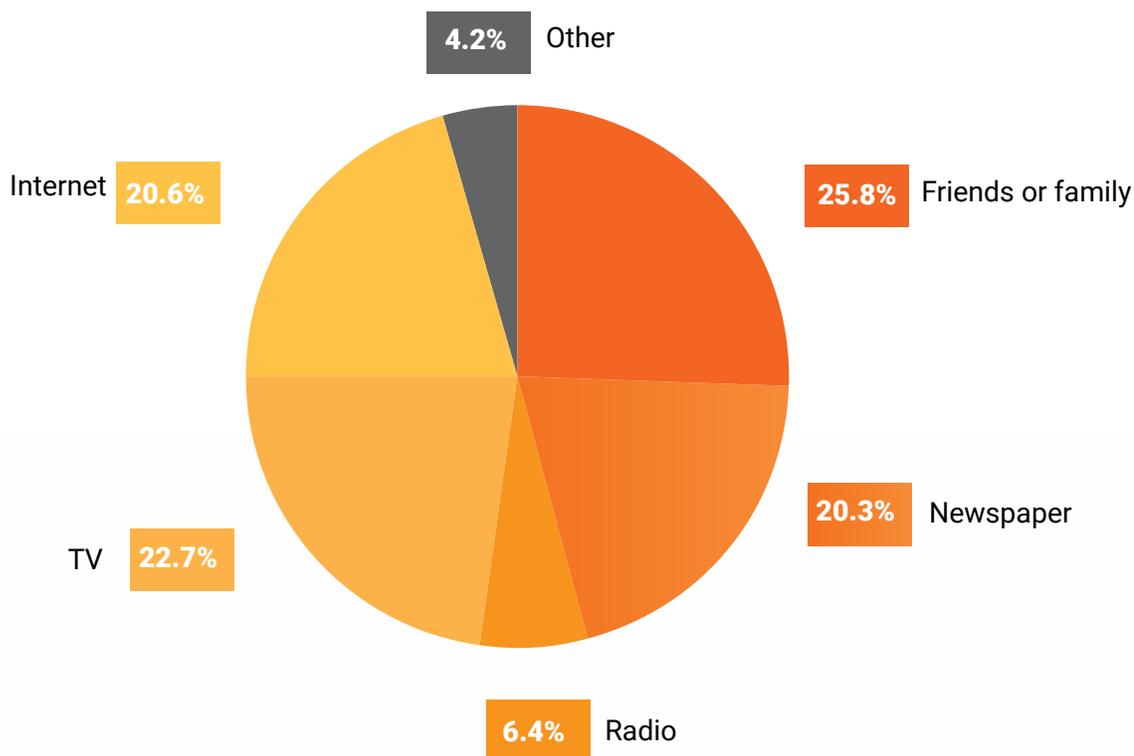
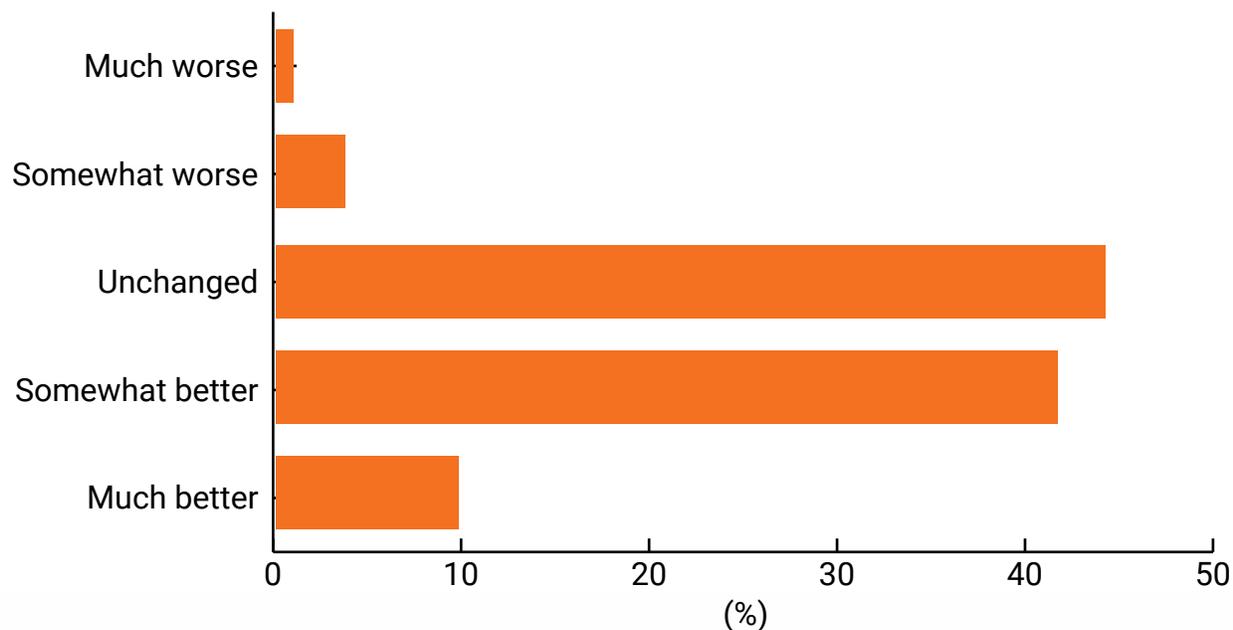


Table 69: Anticipated Impact of the New Rules on Regulated Interactions

Response	The new rule changes will....			
	Promote better engagement	Enhance public trust	Reduce racial profiling	Reduce Bias
Yes (%)	70.1	66.8	64.4	57.7
No (%)	29.9	33.2	35.6	42.3
<b>N</b>	<b>1504</b>	<b>1505</b>	<b>1504</b>	<b>1501</b>

**Note:** Frequency does not sum to 1,517 due to missing values.

Figure 21: Change in Attitudes towards the Toronto Police Service as a result of New Rules on Carding (N=1501)



### 7.3 Summary

Respondent attitudes towards the new legislation and the change in attitude towards the Toronto police as a result are summarized in Exhibit 6 below.

## Exhibit 6: Summary of Awareness and Attitudes

## Awareness of the new rules and attitudes towards the police.....

- **Forty-nine percent** of respondents knew of their right under the new legislation to disengage from any officer who stopped and solicited their personal information. **Seventy-one percent** of those respondents were also aware of the conditions under which they could do so.
  - **Seventy-four percent** of respondents knew that under the new rules Toronto police officers had an obligation to inform those stopped of their right to refuse their efforts to solicit personal information.
  - **Seventy-eight percent** of respondents were aware that during a street check individuals must now be informed of the reason for the collection of their personal information.
  - **Sixty-seven percent** of respondents were aware that during a street check a receipt must now be offered to those being carded.
  - Despite demonstrating a good awareness of the provisions of the new rules **Seventy-eight percent** of respondents claimed to not have been aware of the specifics of the new legislation.
  - When provided with details, respondents seemed to be optimistic that the new rules would result in some positive changes in areas such as better engagement between the police and the community (**Seventy percent**), enhanced public trust in the police (**Sixty-seven percent**) and reduced incidents of racial profiling (**Sixty-four percent**). **Fifty-eight percent** of respondents believe the new legislation would reduce bias in policing.
  - **Over Fifty percent** of respondents indicated that their attitude towards the Toronto Police Service was either much better or somewhat better given that these new rules are now in effect.
- 

## 8 Recommendations

In this final section of the report is provided a summary of the research findings and a set of recommendations. The findings of this study are based on a large scale survey of Torontonians undertaken towards the end of calendar year 2017. In-depth personal interviews were completed with some 1,500 individuals to assess their views of the city's police officers in areas such as honesty, integrity, impartiality and bias. Using a structured survey instrument respondents were also polled on their views on carding including perceived efficacy and fairness of the practice. Survey participants were also queried with respect to their awareness of Ontario Regulation 58/16 which came into effect on January 1, 2017 and now governs the behavior of police officers as they use regulated interactions for the stated purpose of fighting crime in the City of Toronto. An attempt was also made in the study to assess how respondents' attitudes towards street checks change once they are made aware of the specifics of the new legislation.

In terms of perceptions of Toronto police the majority of Torontonians do believe that officers are honest and discharge their duties with integrity. Some 68% of Torontonians were of the view that the city's police officers are honest, but differences of opinion are evident with respect to demographic variables such as race, income and level of formal education. For

example considerably more Whites and Asians held the view that officers are honest compared to Blacks and Indigenous people. Similarly, more highly educated respondents and those earning the most in terms of personal income tended to view Toronto police officers as honest compared to their less educated and lower earning counterparts. With respect to integrity a majority (72%) of the population of Toronto supports the notion that the city's officers live up to their motto to serve and protect but as was found with honesty the overall positive result masks underlying differences with respect to the demographic profile of the respondent. For example white and black respondents see the situation somewhat differently. Over 70% of white respondents believe that officers operate with integrity compared to only 50% of blacks. Differences were also found with respect to age, education and language. Support for police officer integrity was highest among respondents in the 35-54 age group, those with higher levels of formal education and those whose first language is neither English nor French.

Some 19% of city residents believe Toronto police to be biased against them because of their ethnic background and 16% believe that they had been negatively stereotyped by officers based on where they live. These are not flattering statistics. This

research also found that overall trust in Toronto police to treat individuals of the respondent's ethnic group fairly was quite low at 65% as was the view that officers are impartial (50%). The perception that law enforcement officers in the city favor particular ethnic groups also seems to be pervasive with 52% of respondents holding this view. A roughly similar percentage of those polled argued that officers do not discharge their duties without fear or favor, i.e. they are not impartial. These data are not particularly encouraging and do suggest that more needs to be done to improve citizens' perception of the city's police.

In terms of responsiveness to the needs of the community some 58% of the city's residents were in agreement that Toronto police officers are responsive. A much smaller percentage of the population (45%) held the view that their law enforcement officers are effective communicators while fewer still (43%) believe that Toronto police engage effectively with the community. In fact 87% of those interviewed expressed the view that the police could do more to engage with the community while a lower percentage (72%) believe that the community could do more to engage with Toronto police. The message seems to be that the TPS has not done enough to engage with the public and Torontonians are expecting much greater effort in this regard on a go forward basis. The survey results suggest, however, that residents of the city do recognize that they have a role to play in improving the level of engagement. Overall only 60% of Torontonians are very satisfied or somewhat satisfied with the service provided by their police officers.

On the thorny issue of carding the survey found that most of the respondents who had been street checked are black. Most of the survey participants who had been carded also have relatively low incomes and a low (high school) level of educational achievement. Of the individuals who had been carded and who responded to this survey, some 54% believe that they were not treated professionally and with respect by the Toronto police officer involved and the majority of those individuals arrived at that conclusion because of the tone of voice used by the officer during the interaction. Interestingly, the perception of poor treatment during a stop or a feeling of being targeted was associated with a negative view of police honesty and integrity, but when treatment was perceived as professional the majority of carded individuals still had a positive view of officers.

A disturbing finding of this baseline community survey is that the majority of respondents believe that carding is racially motivated. This view was held both by respondents who had been carded and those who had not. When pressed further it was found that overall 48% of respondents believe that the police should have the legal right to card individuals. With re-weighting to reflect the ethnic composition of the city this estimate increases to 52%. This viewpoint, however, depended on whether or not the individual had been carded. A majority of respondents who had been carded in the past were opposed while respondents with no personal experience with the practice were more or less evenly split. On the issue of whether carding makes communities safer it is found that a strong majority (64%) of Torontonians were onside with this perspective which is essentially the viewpoint of the TPS. Of the respondents who were opposed most argued that regulated interactions could be equated with racial profiling of blacks.

An attempt was also made in this study to develop a deeper understanding of the factors that determine the likelihood of an individual being carded in the City of Toronto. In order to accomplish this a binary logistic model was estimated. It was found that the odds of being carded in the city were indeed driven by one's race (e.g. black) but also influenced by other factors such as gender and income. Being Black increases one's chances of being carded by roughly 124% while being South Asian increases one's odds of being carded by roughly 99%. Men generally have a greater probability of being carded than women. In fact being male increases the odds of a person being carded by approximately 134%. In terms of income it was found that the lower the individual's income the higher is the probability that the person will be stopped and questioned by police. For every \$20,000 decrease in individual income the odds of being carded increase by 7%. The history of crime in the city also seems to influence the odds of a street check. A spike in criminal activity in one period was found to lead to an increase in the odds of being carded in subsequent periods. As noted above age was not found to be a significant driver of this particular police action nor was one's education or place of residence.

This research also examined the perceptions of Torontonians by the TPS division in which they live. On the metrics covered by the 2017 CPB, divisional differences were observed in terms of honesty, trust, bias and impartiality. Divisional differences were also uncovered when the analysis turned to consider respondents' perceptions of Toronto police engagement and communication effectiveness. Some commands such as Division 12 turned in consistently better performance than the overall readings for the agency while others lagged, suggesting that better support and training or perhaps better messaging was required to assuage residents of those divisions. An analysis of the underlying reasons for these divisional differences is, however, beyond the scope of this study.

In terms of Ontario Regulation 58/16 a majority of respondents claimed to not be aware of its provisions although participants seem to intuitively understand its major precepts. For example 49% were aware of their legal right to refuse to answer questions posed by an officer and the majority of those knew the conditions under which that right could be exercised. Again a majority of those polled knew that the officer needed to inform them why their information was being collected and had to offer them a receipt at the conclusion of the interaction. Further, there was general optimism among respondents that these new rules would reduce racial profiling, reduce bias and promote better engagement and enhanced trust between Toronto police and the community served. As a result of the rule changes roughly 50% of respondents suggested that they now have a much better or somewhat better attitude towards the TPS.

Several recommendations flow naturally from the analysis in this report:

( 1 ) Differences in perception of the police between the various demographic groups in the city need to be narrowed. For example Blacks and some other minority groups clearly do not view the city's law enforcement officers in the same light as their White/ Caucasian peers. Bridging these differences whether through more effective engagement in marginalized communities, better public messaging or other approaches, will be of tremendous societal benefit.

( 2 ) The TPSB is encouraged to examine the divisional differences in community perceptions surfaced in this report. While the reasons for these differences remain unclear empirical analysis may uncover novel solutions to some of the problems of effective community policing.

( 3 ) With a baseline established, the TPSB is encouraged to continuously monitor and work towards incremental improvements in the community perception metrics developed in this study. An overall satisfaction rating of 60% with the service delivered by officers, for example, clearly suggests that more needs to be done. To accomplish this the TPSB may wish to encourage the TPS to re-visit its training methodologies to ensure that front line officers clearly understand their obligations and have the support they need to engage effectively with the community.

( 4 ) With respect to carding the community appears to be hopeful that the new legislation will bring about meaningful change. There is clearly a foundation in place on which to build a true partnership between the police and the community. It is essential that this goodwill not be squandered. The establishment of a permanent standing committee of the TPSB with a mandate to provide advice on police-community relations on an ongoing basis may well pay dividends for the city.

( 5 ) The TPSB should consider the establishment of a separate office to adjudicate complaints from citizens that stem from the implementation of Ontario Regulation 58/16. There is skepticism that bias on the part of police officers can be effectively eliminated with the implementation of new legislation. The establishment of an office, which is independent of the TPS, to adjudicate complaints may allay the fears of some community members that their rights may still be violated despite the new rules.



# Appendices

## Appendix A (Survey Instrument)



**Community Survey to Assess the Impact of Rule Changes under Regulation 58/16****Baseline Questionnaire****Questionnaire No.****Date of interview (DD/MM/YYYY):** \_\_\_/\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_\_**Interviewer name/signature:** \_\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_\_**Supervisor name/signature:** \_\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_\_

This survey is being conducted by FRF Analytics, an independent Canadian research firm, on behalf of the Police and Community Engagement Review Committee (PACER) of the Toronto Police Service Board. In a recent report PACER recommended that community surveys be undertaken “to proactively evaluate and address issues relating to public trust, police legitimacy, customer service, racial profiling and bias in police services.” The Committee wants to hear from community members about their experience interacting with Toronto police officers and in particular their views on carding. All data will be kept strictly private and confidential and destroyed two years after the completion of the study. Only summary statistics will be included in the report to the Committee. The information you provide will be very helpful to the Committee and will assist in improving the delivery of police services in the city. The survey will take approximately 10-15 minutes to complete. Participation in this survey is voluntary and you may refuse to answer any or all questions posed. You may stop participating at any time in which case your data will not be used.

**Section A: General Perceptions of the Toronto Police Service**

We’ll start the interview with some general questions about your perceptions of the Toronto Police Service.

1. Do you believe that Toronto police officers are honest? (Please ✓ one)

Yes

No

2. Do you believe that Toronto police officers live up to their motto to **serve and protect**? (Please ✓ one)

Yes

No

3. Overall do you believe that people of your ethnic background can **trust** Toronto police officers to treat them fairly? (Please ✓ one)

Yes

No

4. Do you believe that the Toronto police officers you have interacted with in the past are biased (i.e. harbour negative stereotypes or prejudices) against individuals of your **ethnic background**? (Please ✓ one)

Yes

No

No previous interaction with Toronto police

5. Do you believe that the Toronto police officers you have interacted with in the past are biased (i.e. harbour negative stereotypes or prejudices) against you because of **where you live**? (Please ✓ one)

Yes

No

No previous interaction with Toronto police

6. Do you believe that Toronto police officers favor members of particular ethnic groups in your community? (Please ✓ one)

Yes

No

7. Overall do you believe that Toronto police officers are impartial and discharge their duties without fear or favour? (Please ✓ one)

Yes

No

8. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the statement: Toronto police officers are responsive to the needs of my community? (Please ✓ one)

Strongly agree

Agree

Neither agree not disagree

Disagree

Strongly disagree

9. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the statement: Toronto police officers communicate effectively with members of my community in order to discharge their duties to serve and protect? (Please ✓ one)

Strongly agree

Agree

Neither agree not disagree

Disagree

Strongly disagree

10. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the statement: Toronto police officers are effective in their engagement with members of my community? (Please ✓ one)

Strongly agree

Agree

Neither agree not disagree

Disagree

Strongly disagree

11. Overall how satisfied are you with the level of service Toronto police officers provide to members of your community? (Please ✓one)

Very satisfied

Somewhat satisfied

Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied

Somewhat dissatisfied

Very dissatisfied

12. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the statement: Toronto police officers may at times have to use physical force against a member of my community? (Please ✓one)

Strongly agree

Agree

Neither agree not disagree

Disagree

Strongly disagree

13. Do you believe the **Toronto Police Service** could do more to improve its level of engagement with members of your community? (Please ✓one)

Yes

No

14. Do you believe **your community** could do more to improve its level of engagement with members of the Toronto Police Service? (Please ✓ one)

Yes

No

### Section B: Personal Experience with Carding

We'll now ask a few questions that are specific to carding. We'll first define what we mean by carding or street checks.

**Carding or street checks refers to a police officer stopping and asking you a series of questions e.g. your name, age, height, weight, names of your friends etc. and recording this information on a contact card. The information is subsequently entered into a database for possible use in future criminal investigations.**

15. Have you ever been carded by Toronto police officers? (Please ✓one)

Yes

No

**(If "No" please go to Section C on P. 9)**



16. Approximately how many times have you been carded by Toronto police officers?  
(Please ✓ one)

Once

Twice

Three times

Four times

More than four times

Don't remember

17. When was the **last** time you were carded by Toronto police officers? (Please ✓ one)

This year (2017)

Last year (2016)

Two years ago (2015)

Three years ago (2014)

More than 3 years ago

Don't remember

18. Where were you the **last** time you were carded by Toronto police officers? (Please specify street or major intersection)

---

19. On the **last occasion** you were carded were you treated professionally and with respect by the Toronto police officer involved? (Please ✓one)

Yes

No

20. (If "No"). On the **last occasion** you were carded why do you believe that you were not treated professionally and with respect by the Toronto police officer involved? (Please ✓ all that apply)

Words used by the officer

Officer's tone of voice

Officer's body language

Officer's use of threatening or offensive gestures

Officer's use of physical force

Other (Please specify)

---



21. On the **last occasion** you were carded did the Toronto police officer explain the reason for stopping you? (Please ✓ one)

Yes

No

22. On the **last occasion** you were carded do you believe that you were singled out by the Toronto police officer because of your race? (Please ✓ one)

Yes

No

23. Do you believe Toronto police officers should have the **legal** right to card individuals? (Please ✓ one)

Yes

No

24. The Toronto Police Service argues that carding makes communities safer. Do **you** believe that carding makes communities safer? (Please ✓ one)

Yes

No

25. (If "No") Why then do you believe Toronto police officers card individuals?

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**(Please go to Section D on P. 10)**

**Section C: No Personal Experience with Carding**

Despite the fact that you have no personal experience with carding we are still interested in hearing your views based on what you may have read, observed or heard from others.

26. During street checks do you believe Toronto police officers single out individuals because of their race? (Please ✓ one)

Yes

No

27. Do you believe Toronto police officers should have the **legal** right to card individuals? (Please ✓ one)

Yes

No

28. The Toronto Police Service argues that carding makes communities safer. Do **you** believe that carding makes communities safer? (Please ✓ one)

Yes

No

29. (If "No") Why then do you believe Toronto police officers card individuals?

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---

---



30. While you have never been carded are you aware of any friends or family members who have been carded by Toronto police? (Please ✓ one)

Yes

No

### Section D: Awareness of and Attitude towards Rule Changes

**We'll now ask a few questions about your rights with respect to carding.**

31. If you are being carded **today** by Toronto police officers do you believe you have the right to refuse to answer their questions?

Yes

No

Don't Know

32. (If "yes") When do you believe you have that right? (Please ✓ all that apply)

If I'm not under arrest

If the officer is not executing a warrant

If the officer is not involved in an undercover operation

All of the above

None of the above

33. If you were being carded **today** do you believe the Toronto police officer must inform you that you can refuse to answer the questions?

Yes

No

Don't Know

34. If you are being carded **today** do you believe the Toronto police officer must tell you why the information is being collected?

Yes

No

Don't know

35. If you are being carded **today** do you believe the Toronto police officer must offer you a document with details of the stop e.g. name of the officer, location, date and time?

Yes

No

Don't know

**Thanks for your answers to those questions. We'll now describe the main points of the new legislation on carding.**

Effective January 1, 2017 new rules came into effect with respect to carding or street checks. The new rules:

- Ban carding/street checks that are motivated by race
- Require police officers to undergo training on how to conduct street checks
- Require the officer involved inform you that you have the right to refuse to answer any questions and walk away. **This only applies if you are not under arrest; the officer is not involved in a covert operation or is not executing a warrant.**
- Requires the police officer to ask if you wish to have a document with details of the stop.

36. Were you aware of these new rules with respect to carding? (Please ✓ one)

Yes

No

37. (If 'Yes') Where did you first hear about these new rule changes with respect to carding?  
(Please ✓ one)

Friends or family

Newspaper

Radio

TV

Internet

Other (Please specify)

---

38. Do you believe these new rule changes with respect to carding will promote better engagement between the Toronto Police Service and your Community? (Please ✓ one)

Yes

No

39. Do you believe these new rule changes with respect to carding will enhance public trust in the Toronto Police Service? (Please ✓ one)

Yes

No

40. We may define racial profiling as an officer's use of a person's race as a proxy for the propensity to commit a crime. In other words you assume someone is likely to commit a crime simply because of their race. Based on this definition do you believe these new rule changes with respect to carding will **reduce incidents of racial profiling** by the Toronto Police Service? (Please ✓one)

Yes

No

41. Do you believe these new rule changes with respect to carding will **reduce bias** (i.e. harbouring negative stereotypes or prejudices about a particular group of people) on the part of Toronto police officers in the execution of their duties? (Please ✓ one)

Yes

No

42. Given these new rule changes with respect to carding that have come into effect is your overall attitude towards the Toronto Police Service now: (Please ✓ one)

Much better

Somewhat better

Unchanged

Somewhat worse

Much worse

**Section E: Demographics**

We'll now ask a few personal questions to get to know you a little better.

43. In terms of gender are you? (Please ✓ one)

Female

Male

Gender non-conforming

44. In which age group did you fall on your last birthday? (Please ✓ one)

0-24

25-34

35-54

+55

45. Racial groups are defined by race or colour only – not by country of birth, citizenship or religious affiliation. Do you consider yourself to be: (Please ✓ all that apply)

Arab

Black

East Asian

Indigenous

Latin American

South Asian

South-East Asian

West Asian

White/Caucasian

Other (Please Specify): \_\_\_\_\_

46. What is the nearest major intersection to where you currently live?

\_\_\_\_\_

47. What are the first three digits of your postal code (e.g. M3N)? \_\_\_\_\_

48. Are you currently employed outside the home? (Please ✓ one)

Yes

No

49. In which income range did you fall last year? (Please ✓ one)

- \$0 - \$19,999
- \$20,000 - \$39,999
- \$40,000 - \$59,999
- \$60,000 - \$79,999
- \$80,000 - \$99,999
- \$100,000 - \$119,999
- \$120,000 - \$139,999
- +\$140,000
- Don't remember/Prefer not to answer

50. What is the **highest** level of education you have achieved? (Please ✓ one)

- Elementary school
- High school
- College
- University undergraduate
- University graduate
- Other (Please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

51. Is English or French your first language? (Please ✓ one)

- Yes
- No

**Thank Respondent**



## Appendix B (Re-Weighting Procedure)

### Comparison to Census:

Below is presented a comparison of demographic characteristics of the sample of respondents with Statistics Canada 2016 census data for the City of Toronto. It is observed that in terms of gender the sample matches reasonably closely the profile of the city with a roughly equal distribution of males and females (Table B.1). In terms of age as shown in Table B.2 there is a significantly higher percentage of individuals in the 0-24 age category in the sample relative to the 2016 census. Individuals in the 25-34 age group are also over-represented relative to census while the sample under-represents both the 35-54 and the +55 age groups. In terms of ethnic background it is also found that the sample does not adequately mirror the Statistics Canada census data. Blacks, for example, constitute some 24% of the sample of respondents but only 9% of population while White/Caucasians are 24% of the sample but 48% of the city's population (Table B.3). Other groups e.g. Arabs and Latin Americans are also over-represented in the sample. Given the nature of this research the oversampling of these minority groups is viewed as a positive as it ensures sufficiently large numbers to generate meaningful results on these groups. The significant divergence between sample and census does, however, necessitate that the potential for bias be corrected by re-weighting the sample as explained below.

In terms of personal income (Table B.4) it is noted that the sample approximates the census distribution very well with the sole exception of individuals earning over \$100,000 annually. Again the difference between sample and census is not deemed to be great enough to warrant the re-weighting of this variable. Education as well is fairly representative of the population with relatively minor deviations in the high school and college categories and generally consistent estimates for both undergraduate and graduate university degrees (Table B.5). Again there is little evidence that the sample distribution on this variable has the potential to significantly bias the overall results. In terms of language Statistics Canada's census does not align closely with the way in which the language question was posed to respondents in this survey. Statistics Canada couched its question in terms of the language respondents most speak at home whereas this survey queried respondents on whether their first language is English or French. Despite the fact that the questions were not similarly worded we note that 74% of Torontonians reported that they mostly speak English or French at home which accords well with the survey data, i.e. that the first language of 67% of respondents is either English or French (Table B.6). Given this consistency it is unlikely that the sample distribution on this variable will introduce any meaningful bias into the overall results.

Given the importance of ethnic background of respondents to this particular study the sample distribution on this variable was re-weighted to correct for any potential bias. With this re-weighting research findings may be stated in terms of the population of the City of Toronto. The approach used is described below.

**Table B.1**  
**Comparison of 2016 Census with Sample:**  
**Gender Distribution**

Category	Sample (%)	Census City of Toronto (%)
Male	49.3	48.1
Female	49.4	51.9
Gender non-conforming	1.3	-
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Statistics Canada Census Profile, 2016. Available at:

<http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CS-D&Code1=3520005&Geo2=PR&Code2=35&Data=Count&SearchText=Toronto&SearchType=Begins&Search-PR=01&B1=All&GeoLevel=PR&GeoCode=3520005&TABID=1>

**Table B.2**  
**Comparison of 2016 Census with Sample:**  
**Age Distribution**

Category (Years)	Sample (%)	Census City of Toronto (%)
0-24	46.0	27.0
25-34	25.2	16.7
35-54	23.0	28.3
+55	5.8	28.0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Statistics Canada Census Profile, 2016. Available at:

<http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CS-D&Code1=3520005&Geo2=PR&Code2=35&Data=Count&SearchText=Toronto&SearchType=Begins&Search-PR=01&B1=All&GeoLevel=PR&GeoCode=3520005&TABID=1>

**Table B.3**  
**Comparison of 2016 Census with Sample:**  
**Ethnic Group Distribution**

Category	Sample (%)	Census City of Toronto (%)
Arab	7.2	1.32
Black	24.4	8.78
East Asian	8.3	12.98
Indigenous	2.2	0.84
Latin America	4.0	2.82
South Asian	11.7	12.41
South-East Asian	6.3	1.52
West Asian	4.2	2.21
White/Caucasian	23.3	47.8
Other	8.4	9.31
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Statistics Canada Census Profile, 2016. Available at:

<http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CS-D&Code1=3520005&Geo2=PR&Code2=35&Data=Count&SearchText=Toronto&SearchType=Begins&Search-PR=01&B1=All&GeoLevel=PR&GeoCode=3520005&TABID=1>

**Table B.4**  
**Comparison of 2016 Census with Sample:**  
**Income Distribution**

Category	Sample (%) <sup>1</sup>	Census City of Toronto (%) <sup>2</sup>
\$0 - \$19,999	38.48	35.1
\$20,000 - \$39,999	19.77	21.2
\$40,000 - \$59,999	18.44	16.2
\$60,000 - \$79,999	13.03	10.3
\$80,000 - \$99,999	5.94	6.9
+\$100,000	4.34	10.5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Statistics Canada Census Profile, 2016. Available at:

<http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CS-D&Code1=3520005&Geo2=PR&Code2=35&Data=Count&SearchText=Toronto&SearchType=Begin&Search-PR=01&B1=All&GeoLevel=PR&GeoCode=3520005&TABID=1>

**Note:**

<sup>1</sup>Effective percentage omitting “Don’t remember/prefer not to answer” responses and combining higher income categories to match census groupings.

<sup>2</sup>Based on 2015 income.

**Table B.5**  
**Comparison of 2016 Census with Sample:**  
**Distribution by Highest Education**

Category	Sample (%)	Census City of Toronto (%)
Elementary School	1.9	-
High School	34.2	24.5
College	26.8	19.9
University undergraduate	27.9	26.7
University Graduate	9.2	9.7
Other	0.1	19.3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Statistics Canada Census Profile, 2016. Available at:

<http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CS-D&Code1=3520005&Geo2=PR&Code2=35&Data=Count&SearchText=Toronto&SearchType=Begins&Search-PR=01&B1=All&GeoLevel=PR&GeoCode=3520005&TABID=1>

**Table B.6**  
**Comparison of 2016 Census with Sample:**  
**Distribution by First Language/Language spoken most often at Home**

Category	Sample (%)	Census City of Toronto (%) <sup>1</sup>
Yes	67.7	74.1
No	32.3	25.9
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Statistics Canada Census Profile, 2016. Available at:

<http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CS-D&Code1=3520005&Geo2=PR&Code2=35&Data=Count&SearchText=Toronto&SearchType=Begins&Search-PR=01&B1=All&GeoLevel=PR&GeoCode=3520005&TABID=1>

**Note:**

<sup>1</sup>English or French as the language spoken most often at home.

## Re-Weighting to Census:

A procedure in SPSS was used to re-weight the sample distribution to more closely reflect the population. Weights were computed as the ratio of the population distribution to the sample distribution (Table B.7). New weighted variables were then created for use in the analysis. Using this approach the sample distribution is made to conform to the population eliminating the potential for bias as a result of over/under-sampling. This procedure was used only for the ethnic background of respondents given the importance of this variable to the nature of this study.

**Table B.7**  
**Ethnic Group Weights**

Category	Weights
Arab	0.183333333
Black	0.359836066
East Asian	1.563855422
Indigenous	0.381818182
Latin America	0.705000000
South Asian	1.060683761
South-East Asian	0.241269841
West Asian	0.526190476
White/Caucasian	2.051502146
Other	1.108333333
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1.000000000</b>

# Acknowledgements

The authors of this report, Dr. Gervan Fearon and Dr. Carlyle Farrell, wish to thank the Toronto Police Service Board and the PACER Committee for the opportunity to work on this important project. We are hopeful that the research undertaken would add value to the deliberations of the Board and will aid in policy decisions that improve the operational effectiveness of Toronto police officers and the lives of all citizens in the City of Toronto. A study of this magnitude would not be possible without the assistance of a number of individuals. Several Ryerson University graduate and undergraduate students served as enumerators and made a significant contribution to the assignment generating the raw data and providing invaluable feedback from the field. We wish to publicly thank them for their dedication and hard work on this project. The following individuals wished to be acknowledged in the report:

## Data Collection

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## Data Entry & Validation

The following Ryerson Ph.D. students associated with the Ted Rogers School of Management Institute for Innovation and Technology Management assisted with data entry and validation. We are sincerely grateful for their contribution to this project.

 Hanna Woldeyohannes

 Mohamed Elmi

Mohamed Elmi also provided able support in the area of graphic design<sup>2</sup> of the final report.

## Study Participants

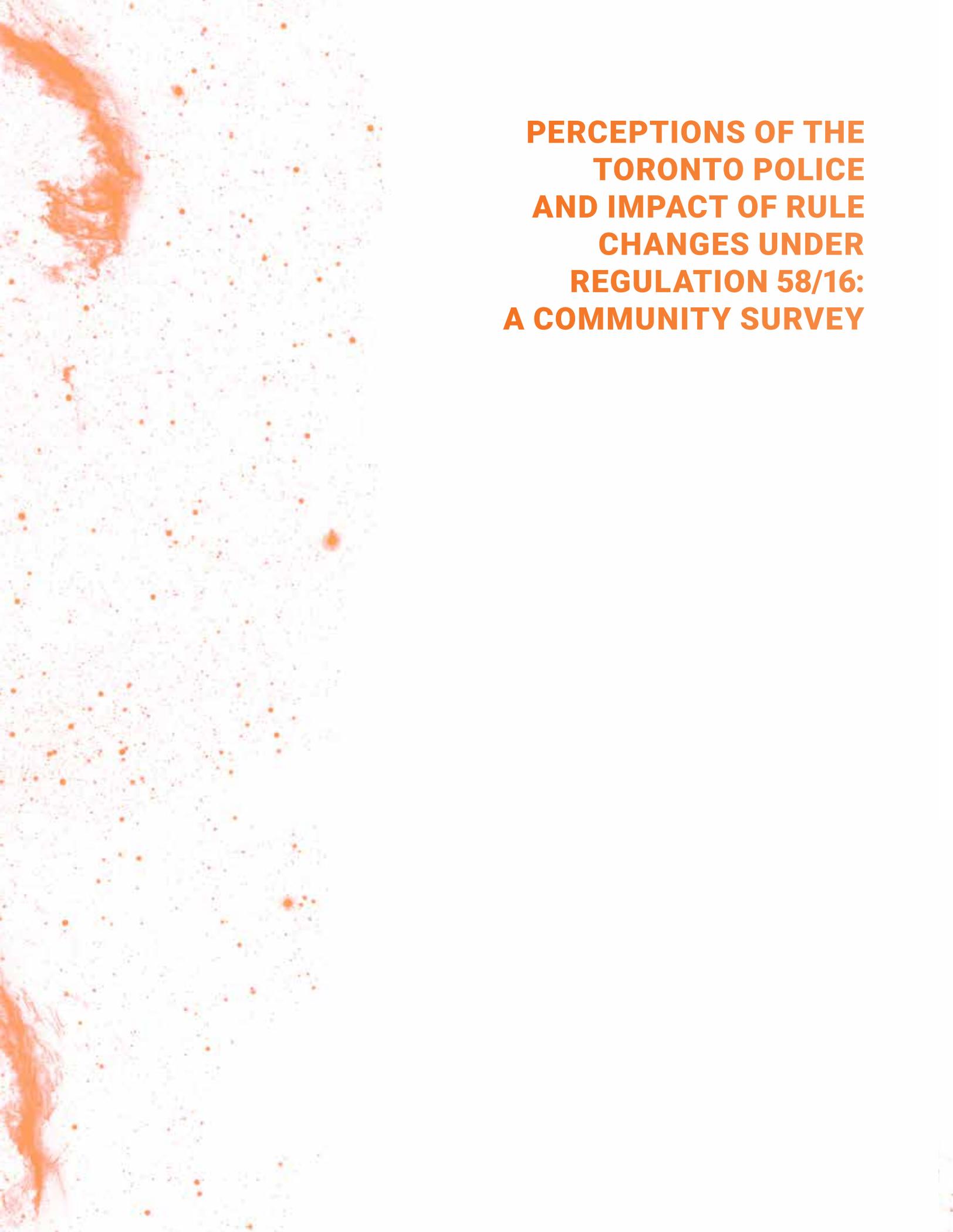
We are, of course, also grateful to the over 1,500 individuals who responded positively to our request for an interview and who gave so generously of their time and insights. This report would not have been possible without their enthusiastic support and cooperation. We trust that we have reflected your views clearly and objectively.

<sup>2</sup> All images used under license from Shutterstock.com

# About the Authors

**Dr. Gervan Fearon** is the President and Vice-Chancellor at Brock University. He has held similar positions at Brandon University and also served as that institution's Vice-President (Academic and Provost). Dr. Fearon has also served as Dean of The G. Raymond Chang School of Continuing Education at Ryerson University and as Associate Dean at York University. Gervan has previously served as the President of Tropicana Community Services and is a member of several boards. Dr. Fearon holds a Ph.D. in Economics from the University of Western Ontario, B.Sc. and M.Sc. degrees from the University of Guelph as well as a Chartered Professional Accountant designation. Along with Dr. Farrell, Dr. Gervan Fearon served as a co-investigator on a major project to assess the economic impact of the Scotiabank Caribbean Carnival – an assignment that involved the conduct of over 1,000 personal interviews at various events in the downtown Toronto area. This study was the first to quantify the economic impact of the festival on the Toronto and provincial economies and was extensively quoted in the media and used as a basis for policy discussions.

**Dr. Carlyle Farrell** is an associate professor in the Ted Rogers School of Management (TRSM) at Ryerson University where he teaches courses in international marketing and the Latin American and Caribbean business environments. He served as the Chair of the Global Management Studies Department in TRSM for eight years. He holds a B.Sc. degree from the University of the West Indies, an M.Sc. degree from the University of Guelph and a Ph.D. from the University of Manitoba. Dr. Farrell has over 15 years of private sector experience as a management consultant. He has undertaken consulting assignments in over 20 countries around the world for a range of clients in the public and private sector including the World Bank, United Nations, Inter-American Development Bank and the African Development Bank. Along with Dr. Fearon, he served as co-investigator on a major project to assess the economic impact of the Scotiabank Caribbean Carnival (see above).



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