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CANADA

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

This chapter begins with a review of the history and development of Canada. This history illuminates the early European colonization of the Aboriginal people. In the Canadian context, the colonization involved both the British and French; however, the result was the same: the decimation of the Aboriginal people. The chapter then explores the nature and scope of crime in Canada, with an emphasis on the plight of the Aboriginal people and residents that Canadians refer to as “visible minorities” or persons who are non-Caucasian in race or non-White in color (not including Aboriginals).

EARLY HISTORY

Canada is the second largest country in the world (see Figure 4.1). It is surrounded by the Pacific, Atlantic, and Arctic oceans. It was originally populated by indigenous persons (referred to as Amerindians) who, it is believed, between 12,000 to 20,000 years ago made their way from northern Asia, with some possibly having origins in Manchuria and Mongolia (See, 2001, p. 23). In addition, from A.D. 700 to 1000, the Inuit people from Arctic regions migrated to Canada. The native people were well-adjusted to cold climates and created survival methods, the diversity of which, is highlighted by Morton (1997a):

Whether it was the light snow shoes of the Algonquins, the hunting organization of the Blackfoot and Crees, or the Arctic clothing, kayaks, and igloos

of the Innu. All had unique artistic and decorative skills, sophisticated myths and legends to explain their world to themselves and others, and religious beliefs that sustained the human qualities needed for survival. (p. 23)

While Norsemen likely were among the first Europeans to settle in North America, John Cabot is credited with the first major settlement in Canada, having founded and claimed Newfoundland for Britain, in 1497 (Ray, 1997, pp. 20–21). And though Cabot had originally set out, like other European explorers, to find a quicker route to the riches in the Far East, he settled for the discovery of cod, which was heavily sought after in Europe (Ray, 1997). On the other hand, when Jacques Cartier claimed North America for France in 1534, his mission had been made clear in his commission from the King of France: “[Discover] certain isles and countries where it is said there must be great quantities of gold and other riches” (Ray, 1997, p. 22). In the end, no gold was found and because of the religious wars in France from 1560 to 1590, “the French had little time to spend on speculative trips across the Atlantic, and none at all for cold and disappointing Canada” (Bothwell, 2002, p. 13). In the early 1600s, the French returned to what they referred to as New France, and Pierre du Gua de Monts and Samuel de Champaign made modern-day Quebec the center of their new colony because of its strategic location. It became the center of the lucrative fur trade, which had a strong market in Europe.

Approximately 500,000 to 1 million native people lived in Canada when the Europeans arrived. However, as in other places, disease, weapons (guns and knives), attempts at religious conversion, and the introduction of alcohol into native life, resulted in the decimation of the native population (see Daunton & Halpern, 1999; Dickason, 2006; and more generally, Crosby, 1972). In some instances, the Europeans sided with certain tribes in wars with rival tribes. By doing so, they disrupted the natural order of tribal development and growth. For example, Champaign assisted the Huron tribe in fighting the Iroquois; however over time, the Iroquois eventually defeated the Huron and other tribes. Thus, by 1850, Bothwell (2002) reports that there were only 100,000 native people remaining.

Again, mirroring other colonial situations, as the native population decreased, the colonial population increased. With other settlements in strategic locations, such as Montreal, the French population increased from 20,000 in 1710 to 55,000 by 1754. However, this increase paled in comparison to the rising British population. In 1710, the British settlements had more than 400,000

persons, and by 1755 this figure had increased to 1.5 million (Bothwell, 2002). Drawn to British settlements by better weather than the French colonies and more land and freedom (Bothwell, 2002), such numbers proved to be a decisive advantage when the French and British intermittently warred, from 1689 to 1763, over control of Canada. However, it was the Seven Years' War, from 1756 to 1763, that resulted in the defeat of the French. Signed in 1763, the Treaty of Paris ended the war (See, 2001, p. 54). The treaty also included concessions for indigenous territories; however in the same year comes this from Pontiac, the chief of the Ottawa: "In a last ditch effort to hold back European expansion . . . mounted a series of bloody, terrifying raids on interior trading post . . . which . . . killed more than two thousand people" (Wynn, 1997, p. 194). Thus, while "Indian Territory" was initially listed on the revised map, a little more than a decade later, it was removed (Wynn, 1997, p. 194).

Even with Britain's decisive victory over the French, another major war was on the horizon. A few decades after the defeat of the British in the American Revolutionary War, the Americans felt the time was ripe to take Canada from the British. Because the British were engulfed in military actions overseas, the Americans, who considerably outnumbered the Canadians, decided to try and take Canada, which they anticipated would result in a swift victory. However, the War of 1812 proved to be more protracted than the Americans had anticipated. Bothwell (2002) notes that, while the Canadians and the British army were, in fact, outnumbered, the American military was too fractured to mount a serious campaign against them. As a result, the undermanned British and colonial forces were victorious. With the signing of the Treaty of Ghent in 1814, the war officially ended.

After years of debate and hostilities, the various Canadian provinces moved to form a united nation and after some thought, in 1867 organized the Kingdom of Canada, which was later renamed the Dominion of Canada. The new government included a governor-general, who was a representative of the British government, and the Canadian federal Parliament, which included a House of Commons and a Senate. Cabinets were headed by the Prime Minister, but "were selected from among the majority in the House of Commons" (Bothwell, 2002, p. 55). Having taken notice of how the weak central government in America fell apart during the Civil War, the Canadians created a political structure with a strong central government. So, even though there were several provinces (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario), they had limited powers other than handling local affairs (Bothwell,

2002, p. 56). Even so, Manitoba became a province in 1870 and in 1871, with the promise of building a transcontinental railway, British Columbia joined the Dominion of Canada. Moreover, Prince Edward Island became a province in 1873 and in 1905, Saskatchewan and Alberta became provinces as well.

Even with these “unifying” developments, in the first decade of the 20th century, Canadians were still struggling with issues pertaining to language, schools, and indigenous people. In fact, Cook (1997) describes the way “outsiders” were handled in the early 20th-century Canada:

Native people were hived off on reservations; blacks, with the exception of small communities in Nova Scotia, Montreal, and Southern Ontario, were excluded; while entry of Chinese, Japanese, and even fellow members of the British Empire who came from India were severely restricted. (p. 391)

The general approach with the indigenous people was one of isolation. However, there was the hope they would assimilate into the mainstream of Canadian society. To expedite this process, the Indian Affairs branch of the Department of the Interior had as its major goal “the assimilation of native peoples into white society—when they were ready” (Cook, 1997, p. 435). The government worked in conjunction with missionaries to “modernize” them by altering their culture and religious beliefs. Moreover, as in other colonies, “children were separated from their families and sent off to a mission school in utterly unfamiliar surroundings” (Cook, 1997, p. 436). Cook notes that the fate of indigenous adults was equally destitute:

Men were pressed to give up trapping and hunting in favour of farming, which many native groups viewed as women’s work. Demoralization and alienation followed. Those who drifted off the reserves into the cities rarely escaped the traps of alcohol and prostitution. (p. 436)

However, the onset of World War I gave the country another focus. During the war, Canada sent 425,000 soldiers, with more than 60,000 of them lost in battle (Bothwell, 2002, p. 77). Oddly enough, the war was good for Canada; it jump-started the Canadian economy. Nevertheless, the prosperity that followed the end of the war only lasted about a decade; at which time Canada, as in the United States, headed into a depression. Brought on largely by a drought and reduced exports of grain, pulp and paper, minerals, and other goods, the Canadian economy resulted in dramatic income declines and increasing unemployment

(Cook, 1997, p. 444). It would take another world war to jump-start the Canadian economy.

The breakout of World War II meant that Canada would be involved in yet another war. Even so, they understood the necessity of their participation in a war to stop Hitler's aggression near their former mother country. Consequently, more than 1 million Canadians served in World War II, with more than 100,000 casualties (See, 2001, p. 133). While there was initially some heavy debate about the need for conscription, eventually, as in other countries, Canadians rallied around the cause. At home, where necessary, women filled in, in place of men. Unfortunately, though, when Japan entered the war, Canada also followed the practice of isolating persons of Japanese descent. Describing this practice, Cook (1997) wrote that:

Early in 1942, when Japan had joined the war, the Canadian government moved to dispossess and relocate all British Columbians of Japanese origin, even those who were Canadian citizens; families were split up and whatever property they could not carry was disposed of by the government. This was the culmination of decades of anti-Asiatic feeling on the Pacific coast. (p. 460)

During the war, Canada had enjoyed full employment and a steady stream of income (Morton, 1997b, p. 469). But despite concerns from the Canadian government and the populace, Canada's prosperity was sustained and did not result in a depression, as it had a decade after World War I. In fact, their prosperity was so good that in 1948 Newfoundland, hoping to also reap some benefits from the prosperity, entered the confederation and became a province of Canada (Morton, 1997b, p. 474).

With continued prosperity, the 1950s and 1960s saw the development of suburbs in Canada. Along with that, the Canadian baby boom caused a shortage of schools. During this period, Canadians also became increasingly concerned about the "American influence." American culture was being imported through television programs which after some concern became widely accepted by Canadian society. Besides American culture, there was increasing concern regarding increasing immigration to Canada. To illustrate the magnitude of the immigration "problem," Morton indicates that, from 1947 to 1967, 3 million people immigrated to Canada (Morton, 1997b, p. 482). This increasing immigration changed the nature of Canada and continued its long history of struggles with difference.

CONTEMPORARY HISTORY

The 1970s saw Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau try to institute social policies that contributed to social justice. His program involved reforms that included “regional economic development, unemployment insurance, Medicare, and education subsidies” (Bothwell, 2002, p. 140). Moreover, during the period, because of agreements made with the United States in the 1960s, the auto industry boomed in Canada. Regardless of the positives of the period, there was still concern that a constitutional change would be necessary to quell threats from separatists in Quebec. In Quebec, some were concerned about the Multiculturalism Act that encouraged immigrants to be themselves. In passing the Act, the government was responding to the wave of immigrants from Europe, Asia, the Caribbean, and African countries. However, the separatists felt that the Act would leave their culture in jeopardy.

In addition, things in general were changing in Canada; the once puritanical society now struggled with similar problems as in other industrialized countries. Born out of “dogmas based on conservative selfishness,” Morton (1997b) described the result of the adherence to such a philosophy:

Between 1971 and 1978, the abortion rate in Canada doubled. So did murder convictions. Urban parents, once terrified by the drug culture, now worried that their offspring would be swept into exotic religious cults . . . More than a third of all marriages now ended in divorce and the advance of feminism coincided with the spread of pornography and sexual assault. (p. 300)

The situation was further exasperated by increasing poverty rates in the 1980s and 1990s. Kazemipur and Halli (1999) observed that during most of the 1980s the poverty rate in Canada remained fairly stable and actually declined by 1990. However, by 1991, the rate had risen to 15.8%, up from 12.1% a year earlier. These rates were attributed to the declining income of the middle class, and the rising wealth of the upper class. Many also believed that slower economic growth in Canada and around the world contributed to this new poverty. Describing this new poverty, Kazemipur and Halli (1999) wrote:

The new wave of poverty is different from the earlier ones, not only in size but also in the comparison of its victims. The poverty rates of different groups in Canada show that, in 1996, female-headed, lone-parent families with children, women, unattached individuals, common-law families, young adults 18–24, and the elderly were over-represented among the poor. (p. 8)

The authors argue that the “feminization of poverty” (Kazempur & Halli, 1999, p. 8) caused by the high divorce rates, cut into their family incomes. The divorce rate, combined with the fact that females were typically in low-paying, part-time jobs, likely also contributed to their poverty levels. As for the elderly, as in most countries, increasing longevity contributed to their increasing poverty rates. As for racial/ethnic groups, it was believed that they were also affected by the new poverty, but there was a lack of interest in the ethnicization of poverty (Kazempur & Halli, 1999, p. 10). This was particularly problematic considering that ethnic minorities were clustered in many of the poorer neighborhoods where crime has traditionally flourished.

Even with these poverty-related issues, by the late 1990s, Canada consistently rated high among the United Nations as one of the “most fortunate places to live on earth” (Bothwell, 2002, p. 159). So while the government went through some changes during the 1990s, with the first female Prime Minister, Kim Campbell, replacing the retired Brian Mulroney, the country remained fairly stable. And in 2006, Stephen Harper became the Prime Minister of Canada.

CANADA: A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHICS

In 2001, the Canadian census counted approximately 30 million people residing in Canada. By January 2008, the Canadian population had risen to more than 33 million people. Table 4.1 clearly illustrates the diversity of the Canadian population. More than 5 million visible minorities live in the country. Like the United States, Canada is truly a nation of immigrants. And when one examines where ethnic minorities reside in Canada, it is clear they are fairly integrated throughout the land, but in some provinces, such as Ontario, there tends to be even more diversity. This is, in large part, due to the presence of the city of Toronto in Ontario.

The 2006 census figures also reveal that the largest “visible minority” in Canada are people of South Asian descent (see Table 4.2). Chinese and Blacks have the second and third highest representation of “visible minorities,” respectively. Thus, while the largest share of immigrants arriving in Canada from 2002 to 2004 were from Asia, between 1998 to 2004 the number of African immigrants “accepted in Canada as permanent residents has practically doubled since 1998, from 14,500 to 27,600 in 2004” (Belanger, 2006, p. 3). As for the Aboriginal population, the 2006 census counted 1,172,785 residents.

(Text continues on page 116)

Table 4.1 Population of Canada

<i>Visible Minority Groups (15)</i>	<i>Total-Immigrant Status and Period of Immigration</i>	<i>Non-Immigrants¹</i>	<i>Immigrants²</i>	<i>Before 1991</i>	<i>1991 to 2000</i>	<i>1991 to 1995</i>	<i>1996 to 2000</i>	<i>2001 to 2006³</i>	<i>Non-Permanent Residents⁴</i>
Total population by visible minority groups	31,241,030	24,788,720	6,186,950	3,408,415	1,668,550	823,925	844,625	1,109,980	265,355
Total visible minority population ⁵	5,068,095	1,528,345	3,362,150	1,295,475	1,234,010	611,145	622,860	832,665	177,595
Chinese	1,216,570	310,085	870,955	340,345	348,320	172,325	175,995	182,285	35,525
South Asian ⁶	1,262,865	370,535	867,450	295,180	330,020	147,330	182,690	242,250	24,875

<i>Visible Minority Groups (15)</i>	<i>Total-Immigrant Status and Period of Immigration</i>	<i>Non-Immigrants¹</i>	<i>Immigrants²</i>	<i>Before 1991</i>	<i>1991 to 2000</i>	<i>1991 to 1995</i>	<i>1996 to 2000</i>	<i>2001 to 2006³</i>	<i>Non-Permanent Residents⁴</i>
Black	783,795	346,950	411,840	195,165	125,800	67,815	57,985	90,875	25,010
Filipino	410,695	105,205	289,365	101,185	112,710	62,175	50,535	75,465	16,120
Latin American	304,245	64,070	218,155	91,040	67,600	40,720	26,880	59,515	22,025
Southeast Asian ⁷	239,935	74,940	159,530	96,160	44,985	30,010	14,970	18,385	5,465
Arab	265,550	71,795	182,550	52,580	70,495	33,595	36,895	59,480	11,205
West Asian ⁸	156,700	23,240	129,060	27,865	57,225	22,110	35,115	43,970	4,400
Korean	141,895	21,260	99,695	26,655	37,025	13,350	23,670	36,020	20,940
Japanese	81,305	51,355	21,615	9,640	6,470	2,570	3,895	5,505	8,330
Visible minority, n.i.e. ⁹	71,420	24,335	45,530	23,530	14,725	8,665	6,060	7,270	1,550

(Continued)

Table 4.1 (Continued)

<i>Visible Minority Groups (15)</i>	<i>Total-Immigrant Status and Period of Immigration</i>	<i>Non-Immigrants¹</i>	<i>Immigrants²</i>	<i>Before 1991</i>	<i>1991 to 2000</i>	<i>1991 to 1995</i>	<i>1996 to 2000</i>	<i>2001 to 2006³</i>	<i>Non-Permanent Residents⁴</i>
Multiple visible minority ¹⁰	133,120	64,570	66,405	36,120	18,635	10,470	8,165	11,650	2,145
Not a visible minority ¹¹	26,172,940	23,260,375	2,824,805	2,112,940	434,540	212,775	221,765	277,320	87,765

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, 2008. Visible Minority Groups (15), Immigrant Status and Period of Immigration (9), Age Groups (10) and Sex (3) for the Population of Canada, Provinces, Territories, Census Divisions and Census Subdivisions, 2006 Census - 20% Sample Data (table). Topic-based tabulation. 2006 Census of Population

NOTES:

1. Non-immigrants
Non-immigrants are persons who are Canadian citizens by birth. Although most Canadian citizens by birth were born in Canada, a small number were born outside Canada to Canadian parents.
2. Immigrants
Immigrants are persons who are, or have ever been, landed immigrants in Canada. A landed immigrant is a person who has been granted the right to live in Canada permanently by immigration authorities. Some immigrants have resided in Canada for a number of years, while others are recent arrivals. Most immigrants are born outside Canada, but a small number were born in Canada. Includes immigrants who landed in Canada prior to Census Day, May 16, 2006.
3. 2001 to 2006
Includes immigrants who landed in Canada prior to Census Day, May 16, 2006.
4. Non-permanent residents
Non-permanent residents are persons from another country who, at the time of the census, held a Work or Study Permit or who were refugee claimants, as well as family members living with them in Canada.

5. Total visible minority population
The Employment Equity Act defines visible minorities as “persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour”.
6. South Asian
For example, “East Indian,” “Pakistani,” “Sri Lankan,” etc.
7. Southeast Asian
For example, “Vietnamese,” “Cambodian,” “Malaysian,” “Laotian,” etc.
8. West Asian
For example, “Iranian,” “Afghan,” etc.
9. Visible minority, n.i.e.
The abbreviation “n.i.e.” means “not included elsewhere”. Includes respondents who reported a write-in response such as “Guyanese,” “West Indian,” “Kurd,” “Tibetan,” “Polynesian,” “Pacific Islander,” etc.
10. Multiple visible minority
Includes respondents who reported more than one visible minority group by checking two or more mark-in circles, e.g., “Black” and “South Asian”.
11. Not a visible minority
Includes respondents who reported “Yes” to the Aboriginal identity question (Question 18) as well as respondents who were not considered to be members of a visible minority group.

Δ Data quality note(s)

- Excludes census data for one or more incompletely enumerated Indian reserves or Indian settlements.

Table 4.2 Aboriginal Identity Population by Age Groups, Median Age and Sex, 2006 Counts, for Canada, Provinces and Territories — 20% Sample Data

<i>Geographic Name</i>	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>Aboriginal Identity Population¹</i>	<i>North American Indian</i>	<i>Métis</i>	<i>Inuit</i>	<i>Non-aboriginal Identity Population</i>
Canada¹	31,241,030	1,172,785	698,025	389,780	50,480	30,068,240
Newfoundland and Labrador	500,610	23,455	7,765	6,470	4,715	477,160
Prince Edward Island	134,205	1,730	1,225	385	30	132,475
Nova Scotia ¹	903,090	24,175	15,240	7,680	325	878,920
New Brunswick	719,650	17,650	12,385	4,270	185	701,995
Quebec ¹	7,435,905	108,425	65,085	27,980	10,950	7,327,475
Ontario ¹	12,028,895	242,495	158,395	73,605	2,035	11,786,405
Manitoba ¹	1,133,515	175,395	100,640	71,805	565	958,115
Saskatchewan ¹	953,850	141,890	91,400	48,120	215	811,960
Alberta ¹	3,256,355	188,365	97,275	85,495	1,610	3,067,990

<i>Geographic Name</i>	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>Aboriginal Identity Population¹</i>	<i>North American Indian</i>	<i>Métis</i>	<i>Inuit</i>	<i>Non-Aboriginal Identity Population</i>
British Columbia ¹	4,074,385	196,075	129,580	59,445	795	3,878,310
Yukon Territory ¹	30,190	7,580	6,280	800	255	22,615
Northwest Territories	41,060	20,635	12,640	3,580	4,160	20,420
Nunavut ¹	29,325	24,915	100	130	24,635	4,405

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, 2008. *Aboriginal identity population by age groups, median age and sex, 2006 counts, for Canada, provinces and territories - 20% sample data* (table) and *Aboriginal Peoples Highlight Tables*. 2006 Census. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 97-558-XWE2006002. Ottawa. Released January 15, 2008. <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census06/data/highlights/aboriginal/index.cfm?Lang=E> (accessed June 21, 2008).

NOTE:

1. The total Aboriginal identity population includes the Aboriginal groups (North American Indian, Métis and Inuit), multiple Aboriginal responses and Aboriginal responses not included elsewhere.

Other recent figures of interest include those showing that in 2004, the median total income for families with a couple living together was \$64,800, while lone-parent families had median incomes of \$29,500. In addition, Canada has one of the longest life expectancies in the world, with men living until age 77 and women surviving to age 82 (Belanger, 2006, p. 2).

CRIME AND JUSTICE STATISTICS

As in most countries, Canada keeps records of national crime statistics. Since the early 1960s, police-reported crime data have provided information on “actual criminal incidents that have come to the attention of police, as well as those that have been detected through criminal investigation” (Gannon, 2006, p. 2). Almost identical in name to the United States, the system is referred to as the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) survey. In 2006, the news was good. Crime had dropped by 3% (Silver, 2007). Excluding drug offenses, traffic offenses, and other federal statute violations, there were 2,452,787 federal incidents reported to the police (see Table 4.3). Figure 4.2 reveals that crime peaked in 1991, and has steadily gone down. Even so, across Canada crime varies considerably by province (see Figure 4.3).

Like elsewhere in the world, crime statistics in Canada are delineated by categories such as violent and property offenses. Violent crime includes the following crimes: homicide, attempted murder, assault, sexual assault, other assault, other sexual assault, abduction, and robbery. There were 310,307 violent offenses in 2006, most of which were assaults. While the number of homicides rose in Canada from 2004 to 2005 (Gannon, 2006), it went down 10% in 2006 to a total of 605. As seen in Table 4.4, Canada has one of the lower homicide rates when compared to other countries. In Canada, like the United States, firearms are often used in homicides. In 2006, 31.4% of Canadian homicides were labeled as firearms-related. The remaining homicides were the result of stabbings (34.7%), beatings (19.3%), strangulation (7.9%), or some other cause (see Table 4.5) (Li, 2007). The nature in which homicide victims were killed mirrored global victim-offender trends, with 49% being killed by someone they knew, 17.3% involving spousal homicides, and another 17.2% being gang-related. For the latter category of homicides, gang-related included incidents that were confirmed and suspected as being gang-related (Li, 2007, p. 15).

(Text continues on page 129)

Table 4.3 Federal Statute Incidents Reported to Police, by Most Serious Offence, Canada, 2002 to 2006¹

	2002		2003		2004		2005 ²		2006		Percent Change 2005 to 2006		Percent Change 1996 to 2006	
	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Rate	Rate	Rate	Rate
Population	31,372,587		31,676,077		31,989,454		32,299,496		32,623,490					
Homicide ²	582	1.9	549	1.7	624	2.0	663	2.1	605	1.9		-10		-14
Attempted murder	678	2.2	707	2.2	671	2.1	822	2.5	852	2.6		3		-12
Assault—total	235,710	751	236,802	748	234,259	732	236,682	733	239,702	735		0		-1
Level 1	189,185	603	188,667	596	184,883	578	183,231	567	183,504	562		-1		-8
Level 2- Weapon	43,793	140	45,222	143	46,643	146	50,356	156	52,910	162		4		35
Level 3- aggravated	2,732	9	2,913	9	2,733	9	3,095	10	3,288	10		5		9
Other assaults	12,454	40	12,534	40	12,811	40	12,845	40	12,981	40		0		-3
Sexual assault—total	24,499	78	23,514	74	23,036	72	23,521	73	22,136	68		-7		-26
Level 1	23,973	76	22,983	73	22,449	70	22,956	71	21,572	66		-7		-25

(Continued)

Table 4.3 (Continued)

	2002		2003		2004		2005*		2006		Percent Change 1996 to 2006	
	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Rate	Rate
Level 2-weapon	373	1	359	1	397	1	389	1	381	1	-3	-47
Level 3-aggravated	153	0	172	1	190	1	176	1	183	1	3	-44
Other sexual offences	2,756	9	2,565	8	2,614	8	2,777	9	2,789	9	-1	-24
Abduction	605	2	559	2	637	2	579	2	535	2	-9	-50
Robbery—total	26,662	85	28,437	90	27,495	86	28,798	89	30,707	94	6	-12
Firearms	3,483	11	3,856	12	3,645	11	3,508	11	3,671	11	4	-51
Other weapons	10,104	32	10,057	32	8,362	26	8,566	27	8,775	27	1	-24
No weapons	13,075	42	14,524	46	15,488	48	16,724	52	18,261	56	8	14
Violent crime—total	303,946	969	305,667	965	302,147	945	306,687	950	310,307	951	0	-5
Breaking and entering—total	275,573	878	284,925	899	275,869	862	261,362	809	250,467	768	-5	-43

	2002		2003		2004		2005		2006		Percent Change 1996 to 2006	
	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Rate	Rate
Residential	163,156	520	161,494	510	153,223	479	150,500	466	147,002	451	-3	-45
Business	81,162	259	86,842	274	86,226	270	80,317	249	79,042	242	-3	-35
Other	31,255	100	36,589	116	36,420	114	30,545	95	24,423	75	-21	-50
Motor vehicle theft	161,912	516	174,208	550	169,977	531	160,014	495	158,944	487	-2	-20
Theft over \$5,000	19,816	63	19,416	61	16,968	53	17,201	53	17,060	52	-2	-43
Theft \$5,000 and under	667,312	2,127	700,605	2,212	673,999	2,107	638,684	1,977	616,194	1,889	-4	-32
Possession of stolen goods	30,056	96	33,151	105	35,743	112	34,466	107	35,134	108	1	0
Fraud	91,812	293	92,924	293	97,443	305	95,377	295	92,599	284	-4	-18
Total Property crime	1,246,481	3,973	1,305,229	4,121	1,269,999	3,970	1,207,104	3,737	1,170,398	3,588	-4	-32

(Continued)

Table 4.3 (Continued)

	2002		2003		2004		2005 ^r		2006		Percent Change 2005 to 2006		Percent Change 1996 to 2006	
	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Rate	Rate		
Mischief	333,334	1,063	357,568	1,129	353,518	1,105	354,651	1,098	378,311	1,160	6	6	-6	
Counterfeiting currency	79,970	255	139,267	440	201,108	629	165,014	511	117,987	362	-29	-29	426	
Bail violations	96,206	307	101,095	319	106,664	333	101,773	315	106,699	327	4	4	40	
Disturbing the peace ³	89,354	285	102,909	325	117,389	367	122,095	378	117,023	359	-5	-5	95	
Offensive weapons	15,930	51	17,621	56	18,202	57	19,907	62	19,234	59	-4	-4	6	
Prostitution	5,770	18	5,688	18	6,452	20	5,787	18	5,701	17	-2	-2	-19	
Arson	13,131	42	13,875	44	13,150	41	13,356	41	13,504	41	0	0	-4	
Kidnapping/ forcible confinement	3,095	10	3,250	10	3,483	11	3,918	12	4,449	14	12	12	108	
Other	230,227	734	227,003	717	218,859	684	210,169	651	209,174	641	-1	-1	-21	

	2002		2003		2004		2005 ¹		2006		Percent Change 1996 to 2006	
	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Rate	Rate
<i>Other Criminal Code offences—total</i>	867,017	2,764	968,276	3,057	1,038,825	3,247	996,670	3,086	972,082	2,980		-12
<i>Criminal Code—total (excluding traffic)—crime rate</i>	2,417,444	7,706	2,579,172	8,142	2,610,971	8,162	2,510,461	7,772	2,452,787	7,518		-16
Impaired driving ⁴	80,045	255	77,645	245	80,339	251	78,370	243	74,331	228		-30
Fail to stop/remain	22,040	70	23,336	74	24,022	75	26,974	84	29,078	89		-47
Dangerous operation of a motor vehicle/boat/aircraft	9,194	29	9,795	31	9,887	31	10,286	32	10,197	31		39
Driving motor vehicle while prohibited	6,292	20	6,389	20	5,882	18	5,958	18	6,357	19		-40

(Continued)

Table 4.3 (Continued)

	2002		2003		2004		2005 ⁵		2006		Percent Change 2005 to 2006	Percent Change 1996 to 2006
	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Rate	Rate
Criminal Code traffic—total	117,571	375	117,119	370	120,637	377	121,588	376	119,963	368	-2	-33
Criminal Code—total (incl. traffic)	2,535,015	8,080	2,696,291	8,512	2,731,608	8,539	2,632,049	8,149	2,572,750	7,886	-3	-17
Drugs—total	92,781	296	86,791	370	97,630	305	93,664	290	96,164	295	2	33
Cannabis possession	49,647	158	41,295	130	47,957	150	43,208	134	43,634	134	0	19
Other cannabis ⁵	20,040	64	19,792	62	19,938	62	17,284	54	15,244	47	-13	-1
Cocaine	12,737	41	14,225	45	16,974	53	19,270	60	22,074	68	13	75
Other drugs ⁶	10,357	41	11,479	36	12,761	40	13,902	43	15,212	47	8	97

	2002		2003		2004		2005 ¹		2006		Percent Change 2005 to 2006		Percent Change 1996 to 2006	
	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Rate	Rate		
Other federal statutes	40,122	128	36,264	114	34,017	106	31,167	96	28,733	88	-9	-24		
Total federal statutes (incl. C.C.)	2,667,918	8,504	2,819,346	8,901	2,863,255	8,951	2,756,880	8,535	2,697,647	8,269	-3	-16		

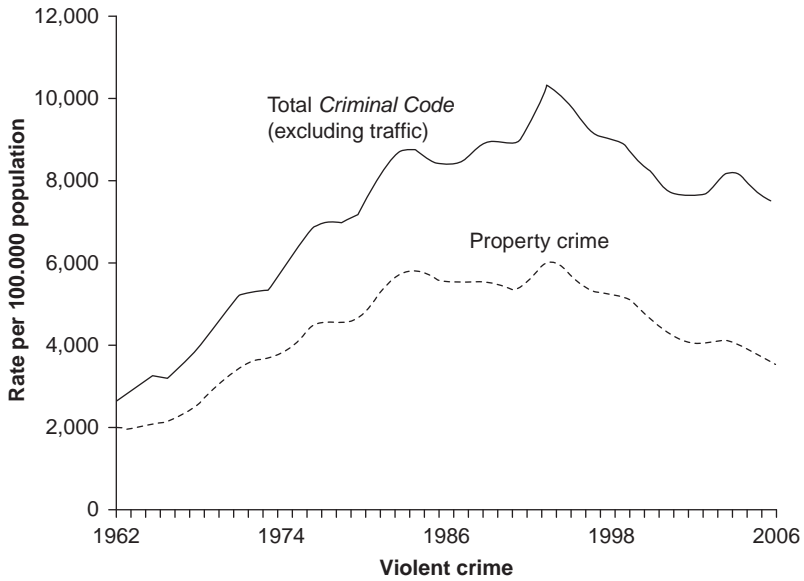
SOURCE: Statistics Canada. Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Uniform Crime Reporting Survey.

NOTES: Rates are calculated on the basis of 100,000 population. The population estimates come from Statistics Canada. Demography Division. Populations as of July 1st final postcensal estimates for 2002 and 2003; updated postcensal estimates for 2004 and 2005; and preliminary postcensal estimates for 2006.

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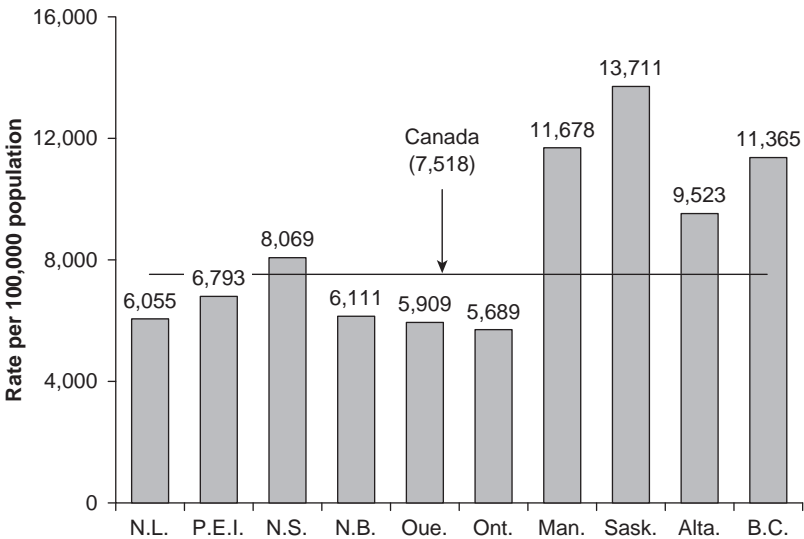
1. Percent change based on unrounded rates.
2. As a result of ongoing investigations in Port Coquitlam, B.C. there were 15 homicides in 2002, 7 homicides in 2003 and 5 homicides in 2004 that occurred in previous years. Homicide are counted according to the year in which police file the report.
3. Note that for minor offences such as disturb the peace, some police services choose to clear these offences under a municipal by-law or provincial statute offence rather than under the *Criminal Code*.
4. Includes impaired operation of a vehicle causing death, causing bodily harm, alcohol rate over 80mg, failure/refusal to provide a breath/blood sample. Previous to 2004, Vancouver Police only reported incidents of impaired driving when a charge had been laid. As of 2004, their data also include incidents where the driver was tested to be over .08 and received a road-side suspension. This resulted in 1,900 more impaired driving incidents being reported in 2004 than 2003.
5. Other cannabis includes trafficking, importation, and production.
6. Other drugs include the categories heroin, "restricted drugs," "controlled drugs" and "other" drugs.

Figure 4.2 Crime Rates, Canada, 1962 to 2006



SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Uniform Crime Reporting Survey.

Figure 4.3 Crime Rates by Province, 2006



SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Uniform Crime Reporting Survey.

Table 4.4 Homicide Rates for Selected Countries, 2006

<i>Country</i>	<i>Rate per 100,000 population</i>
Turkey ¹	6.23
United States	5.69
Germany ¹	2.90
Switzerland ¹	2.73
Sweden ¹	2.64
New Zealand	2.37
Finland	2.12
Canada	1.85
Scotland ²	1.83
Hungary ¹	1.64
England and Wales ³	1.41
France	1.39
Northern Ireland ³	1.32
Australia	1.06
Denmark	0.90
Japan ¹	0.64
Hong Kong	0.51
Singapore	0.38

SOURCE: National Central Bureau, Interpol Ottawa and National Statistical Office websites.

NOTES:

1. Figures reflect 2005 data.
2. Figures reflect 2005/2006 data.
3. Figures reflect 2006/2007 data.

Table 4.5 Methods Used to Commit Homicide, Canada, 1996 to 2006

Year	Shooting		Stabbing		Beating		Strangulation/ Suffocation		Shaken Baby Syndrome ¹		Fire (Smoke Inhalation, Burns)	
	Number of Victims	Percent	Number of Victims	Percent	Number of Victims	Percent	Number of Victims	Percent	Number of Victims	Percent	Number of Victims	Percent
1996	212	33.4	195	30.7	132	20.8	59	9.3	8	1.3
1997	193	32.9	168	28.7	115	19.6	53	9.0	6	1.0	30	5.1
1998	151	27.1	186	33.3	125	22.4	61	10.9	6	1.1	12	2.2
1999	165	30.7	143	26.6	125	23.2	55	10.2	7	1.3	11	2.0
2000	184	33.7	149	27.3	128	23.4	40	7.3	13	2.4	5	0.9
2001	171	30.9	171	30.9	122	22.1	47	8.5	8	1.4	8	1.4
2002	152	26.1	182	31.3	126	21.6	67	11.5	8	1.4	9	1.5
2003	161	29.3	142	25.9	121	22.0	64	11.7	8	1.5	12	2.2
2004	173	27.7	205	32.9	136	21.8	63	10.1	6	1.0	13	2.1
2005 ^r	223	33.6	197	29.7	144	21.7	47	7.1	12	1.8	10	1.5
2006	190	31.4	210	34.7	117	19.3	48	7.9	3	0.5	12	2.0

	Poisoning		Vehicle ¹		Other ²		Unknown		Total	
	Number of Victims	Percent	Number of Victims	Percent	Number of Victims	Percent	Number of Victims	Percent	Number of Victims	Percent
1996	6	0.9	12	1.9	11	1.7	635	100.0
1997	8	1.4	6	1.0	2	0.3	5	0.9	586	100.0
1998	6	1.1	3	0.5	2	0.4	6	1.1	558	100.0
1999	5	0.9	13	2.4	4	0.7	10	1.9	538	100.0
2000	4	0.7	14	2.6	1	0.2	8	1.5	546	100.0
2001	8	1.4	5	0.9	5	0.9	8	1.4	553	100.0
2002	3	0.5	7	1.2	6	1.0	22	3.8	582	100.0
2003	6	1.1	6	1.1	7	1.3	22	4.0	549	100.0
2004	8	1.3	6	1.0	1	0.2	13	2.1	624	100.0

(Continued)

Table 4.5 (Continued)

	<i>Poisoning</i>		<i>Vehicle¹</i>		<i>Other²</i>		<i>Unknown</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Number of Victims</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number of Victims</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number of Victims</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number of Victims</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number of Victims</i>	<i>Percent</i>
2005 ^r	7	1.1	4	0.6	3	0.5	16	2.4	663	100.0
2006	1	0.2	9	1.5	1	0.2	14	2.3	605	100.0

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. Homicide Survey.

NOTE: Percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

1. Data became available in 1997.

2. Other includes exposure/hypothermia, starvation/dehydration and, prior to 1997, Shaken Baby Syndrome and deaths caused by vehicles.

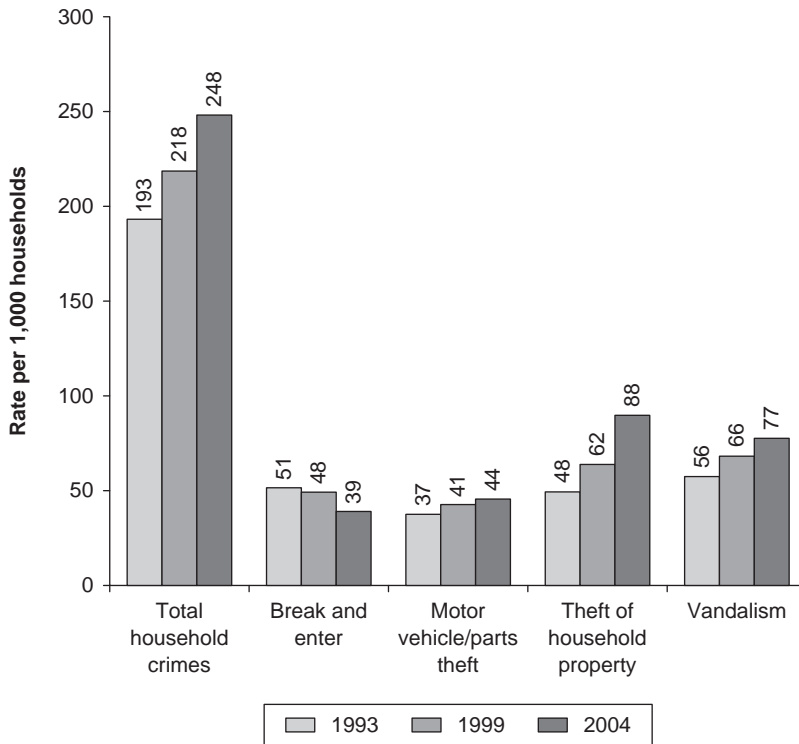
The general characteristics of homicides revealed nothing new to students of homicide. For example, the rates of homicide were highest for young adult males (ages 18 to 24). Among youths younger than 18, there were 84 homicides, the highest figure since 1961 and an increase of 19 homicides over 2005. Here it was also noted that a higher percentage of youth homicides involved victims who were strangers (30% compared to 16% for adults) (Li, 2007, p. 6). Finally, other “precipitating factors” identified as being related to homicides in Canada included drug and alcohol consumption and the fact that the homicide occurred during the commission of another offense. As for other offenses, robberies rose slightly in 2006, sexual assaults slightly declined, while general assaults rose (Silver, 2007, p. 14). Property crimes decreased in 2006, with 1.17 million property crimes reported that year. Below we review some victimization data.

Victimization Data

Following other nations, in 1988 Canada began conducting victimization surveys as a way to grasp the so-called “dark figure of crime” or unreported crime. The last one was conducted in 2004 and included “about 24,000 people, aged 15 years and older living in the 10 provinces” (Gannon & Mihorean, 2005, p. 2). Based on the replies from participants, the survey found “that 28% of Canadians aged 15 years and over reported that they were victimized one or more times in the 12 months preceding the survey. This represents a slight increase from 1999 (26%)” (Gannon & Mihorean, 2005, p. 4). The most frequent type of victimization was that occurring in the household (34%). In addition, nearly 30% of the respondents reported that they were victims of violent crime, with 25% stating they had been victims of thefts of personal property (p. 4).

Considering that violent crime remained stable over the 5-year period, the residents reported feeling safer in 2004 than they did in 1999. This was despite the fact that both household victimization (14%) and personal property theft (24%) increased (see Figure 4.4). Additional findings regarding violent victimization as noted by Gannon and Mihorean (2005) include:

- Men and women have similar violent victimization levels.
- Young people have higher victimization levels.
- Participating in evening activities elevates one’s risk for victimization.
- Marital status was linked to violent victimization (single people are at greater risk for victimization).
- Unemployed and students have higher rates of victimization.
- Poor and urban residents have higher rates of victimization.
- Being gay or lesbian elevates one’s risk of violent victimization.

Figure 4.4 Rates of Household Property Theft and Vandalism Continue to Increase

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1993, 1999, and 2004.

Another important aspect of crime and justice statistics is correctional data. The next section examines data on both the youth and adult correctional systems in Canada.

Adult and Youth Corrections in Canada

In Canada, those sentenced to 2 years or less and to community-based sanctions are handled in the provinces and territories. Those offenders sentenced to more than 2 years head to the federal penitentiary system, which is administered by the Correction Service of Canada (CSC) (Landry & Sinha, 2008 p. 2). In 2005/2006, “adult correctional services in Canada processed 232,810 admissions to custody and 109,539 intakes into community supervision” (Landry & Sinha, 2008, p. 2). Table 4.6 reveals some

Table 4.6 Composition of the Adult Correctional Admissions

	1996/1997			2001/2002			2005/2006			From 2001/2002 to 2005/2006	From 1996/1997 to 2005/2006
	Admissions	Adjusted Admissions ¹	% of Total ¹	Admissions	Adjusted Admissions ¹	% of Total ¹	Admissions	Adjusted Admissions ¹	% of Total ¹	From 2001/2002 to 2005/2006	From 1996/1997 to 2005/2006
<i>Correctional Services</i>			%			%			%		
<i>Custodial supervision</i>											
Provincial/territorial custody, sentenced	108,003	107,136	32.0	83,155	81,726	24.6	78,081	77,394	22.8	-5.3	-27.8
Remand ²	107,911	107,783	32.2	120,512	119,843	36.1	131,620	131,095	38.6	9.4	21.6
Other temporary detention, provincial/territorial	12,468	12,468	3.7	26,197	12,822	3.9	15,521	15,520	4.6	21.0	24.5
Total provincial/territorial custody	228,382	227,387	68.0	229,864	214,391	64.6	225,222	224,009	66.0	4.5	-1.5
Federal custody, sentenced	7,422	7,422	2.2	7,381	7,381	2.2	8,285	8,285	2.4	12.2	11.6

(Continued)

Table 4.6 (Continued)

Correcional Services	1996/1997			2001/2002			2005/2006			From 2001/2002 to 2005/2006	From 1996/1997 to 2005/2006
	Admissions	Adjusted Admissions ¹	% of Total ¹	Admissions	Adjusted Admissions ¹	% of Total ¹	Admissions	Adjusted Admissions ¹	% of Total ¹		
	Number			Number			Number			% Change in Adjusted Admissions	
Total custodial supervision	235,804	234,809	70.2	237,245	221,772	66.8	233,507	232,294	68.5	4.7	-1.1
<i>Community Supervision</i>											
Probation	80,599	79,908	23.9	84,549	83,185	25.1	81,430	80,330	23.7	-3.4	0.5
Provincial parole	4,847	4,847	1.4	2,301	2,301	0.7	1,875	1,875	0.6	-18.5	-61.3
Conditional sentences	7,673	7,669	...	18,604	17,600	5.3	18,580	17,133	5.0	-2.7	...
Total provincial community supervision	93,119	92,424	27.6	105,454	103,086	31.0	101,885	99,338	29.3	-3.6	7.5
Community releases (CSC ³)	6,987	7,389	2.2	7,162	7,162	2.2	7,654	7,654	2.3	6.9	3.6

	1996/1997			2001/2002			2005/2006			From 2001/2002 to 2005/2006	From 1996/1997 to 2005/2006
	Admissions	Adjusted Admissions ¹	% of Total ¹	Admissions	Adjusted Admissions ¹	% of Total ¹	Admissions	Adjusted Admissions ¹	% of Total ¹	% Change in Adjusted Admissions	
	Number			Number			Number				
Total community supervision	100,106	99,813	29.8	112,616	110,248	33.2	109,539	106,992	31.5	-3.0	7.2
Total correctional services	335,910	334,622	100.0	349,861	332,020	100.0	343,046	339,286	100.0	2.2	1.4

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Adult Correctional Services Survey.

NOTE: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

1. Because of missing data for some years, all data from Prince Edward Island, Northwest Territories and Nunavut, and other temporary detention data from British Columbia and conditional sentences from Manitoba, have been excluded from "Adjusted admissions" in order to make comparisons between years. The percentages of total statistics are based upon adjusted admissions.
2. Figures for remand may include admissions for other temporary detention.
3. This category represents movement from custody to federal conditional release and includes provincial/territorial and federal offenders on day parole and full parole and federal offenders on statutory release. Offenders released on warrant expiry and other release types are excluded. CSC denotes the Correctional Service of Canada.

minor fluctuations in custodial and community supervision. For example, from 1996/1997 to 2005/2006 custodial supervision decreased 1.1%, while from 2001/2002 to 2005/2006 there was an increase of 4.7%. For community supervision, in the short-term comparison (2001/2002 to 2005/2006), the number of persons decreased by 3.0%, but the longer term comparison (1996/1997 to 2005/2006) produced a 7.2% increase. The increase in custodial supervision is believed to be tied to legislation that approved the increasing use of detention prior to cases to ensure justice, but in other legislative enactments the increased discretion to detain people was done to protect victims and witnesses. It is believed that the increase in community supervision can likely be attributed to the adjustment in the Canadian criminal codes in the late 1990s, which approved the use of conditional sentences (Landry & Sinha, 2008, p. 4).

The handling and institutionalization of Canadian youth also has been a national concern. During the past 100 years, Canadian youth have been dealt with under the guise of three different policies. First, in 1906, the Juvenile Delinquents Act (JDA) guided their treatment. Imitating the approach used by the American juvenile court, the act “promoted the child welfare of young offenders. This perspective required judges to treat children not as criminals, but as misdirected and misguided youth . . . The aim of the JDA was to permit social intervention in order to ‘save’ misdirected children” (Calverley, 2006, p. 4). By the 1960s, many officials were expressing concern about the need for a balance between child welfare and juvenile rights. Their concern culminated with the passage of the Youth Offenders Act (YOA) in 1984, which provided juveniles with more legal rights and again mirrored American policies: “It brought regulations into force for every stage of the judicial process. Moreover, the YOA placed greater emphasis on the protection of society and accountability, resulting in an increase in the punitive nature of sentences” (Calverley, 2006, p. 4). Finally in 2003, the Youth Criminal Justice Act (YCJA) was passed, which moved away from some the practices of the YOA and called for more thoughtful sentencing approaches and the increased use of diversion.

So what has been the result of the latest change in the philosophy of the Canadian juvenile justice system? Simply put, the reductions to the custodial admissions of Canadian youth have been dramatic. Table 4.7 shows that the overall reduction was 25% between 2002/2003 to 2003/2004, with some

classifications of custody dropping as much as 46% (Calverley, 2006, p. 4). In addition to being entangled in the system less for those who are formally processed, the sentences for youth have been considerably shortened, with most being for 6 months or less (Calverley, 2006, p. 5). The reductions, though less dramatic, continued from 2003/2004 to 2004/2005, with an overall decline of 11.8% for both custodial and community supervision (Calverley, 2007; see Table 4.8).

Though many of the figures reviewed in this section on crime and justice appear positive, we now turn to crime and justice figures related to the Aboriginal population and to the limited sources that mention visible minorities. This is followed by a review of some of the early and more current scholarship on race, crime, and justice in Canada.

Table 4.7 Number of Young Persons Admitted to Custodial Services, 2002/2003 to 2003/2004

	2002/2003		2003/2004		% Change From 2002/03 to 2003/04
	Total Admissions	% of Total Custodial Admissions	Total Admissions	% of Total Custodial Admissions	
Total custodial admissions	22,743	100	17,113	100	-25
Remand	14,387	63	12,462	73	-13
Sentenced custody	8,356	37	4,651	27	-44
Secure custody	4,335	19	2,483	15	-43
Open custody	4,021	18	2,168	13	-46

SOURCE: Youth Custody and Community Services Survey. Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. Statistics Canada.

NOTE: Excludes New Brunswick, Ontario 12 to 15 year olds, and Saskatchewan.

Table 4.8 Composition of Admissions to Youth Correctional Services, 2003/2004 and 2004/2005

	2003/2004		2004/2005		Percentage Change from 2003/2004
	Number	Percentage of Total	Number	Percentage of Total	
<i>Custodial supervision</i>					
Sentenced custody	4,771	13.3	4,439	14.0	-7.0
Secure custody	2,548	7.1	2,245	7.1	-11.9
Open custody	2,223	6.2	2,194	6.9	-1.3
Remand	12,303	34.2	11,505	36.2	-6.5
Total custodial supervision	17,074	47.4	15,944	50.2	-6.6
<i>Community supervision</i>					
Probation	16,146	44.9	12,877	40.6	-20.2
YCJA sentences ¹	2,767	7.7	2,925	9.2	5.7
Total community supervision	18,913	52.6	15,802	49.8	-16.4
Total correctional services	35,987	100	31,746	100	-11.8

SOURCES: Statistics Canada. Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Youth Custody and Community Services Survey, Integrated Correctional Services Survey.

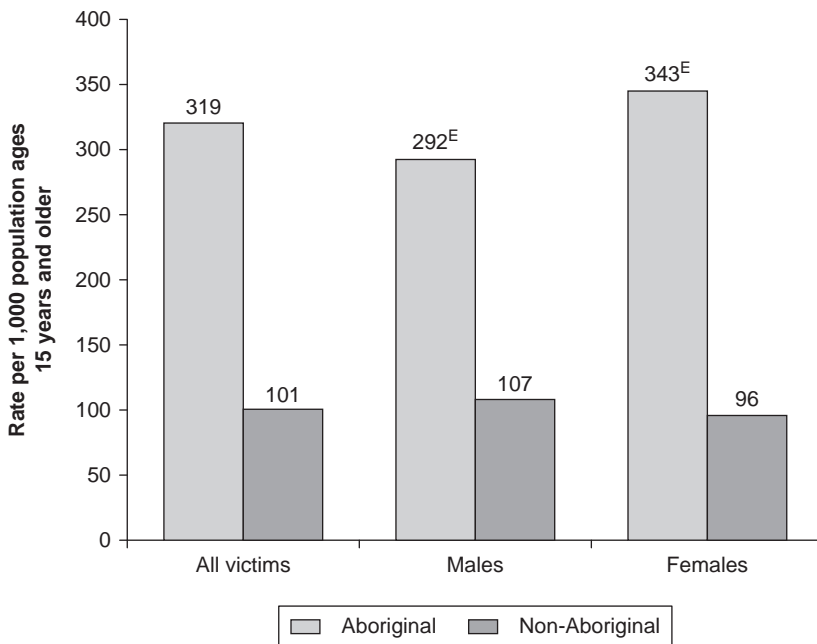
NOTE: Excludes Prince Edward Island, Ontario 12 to 15 year olds, Saskatchewan, Yukon, the Northwest Territories and Nunavut.

1. YCJA sentences include the community portion of a custody and supervision order and deferred custody and supervision.

CRIME AND JUSTICE ISSUES AMONG THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION AND VISIBLE MINORITIES

In general, the news has not been good for Aboriginals and visible minorities in Canada in terms of criminal justice. In 2004, 40% of Aboriginals (age 15 and up) reported being crime victims (Brzozowski, Taylor-Butts, & Johnson, 2006, p. 4). This was in contrast to the 28% figure for the general Canadian population. In terms of violent victimization against Aboriginal people, Figure 4.5 shows that their rates for such victimization far exceed those of non-Aboriginals. Moreover, those most likely to be victimized were females and young people. As with the general victimization data, the Aboriginal

Figure 4.5 Aboriginal People More Likely to Be Victims of Violent Crime, 2004^{1,2}



SOURCE: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2004.

NOTES:

E. Use with caution

1. Includes incidents of spousal physical and sexual assault.
2. Includes sexual assault, assault and robbery.

victims knew their perpetrators. Other findings from the data suggest that many violent incidents among Aboriginal people go unreported; many of the incidents occur in the homes of Aboriginals; weapons use and injuries were not common in violent incidents; and alcohol or drug use was related to the violence (Brzozowski et al., 2006, p. 6).

Spousal abuse data showed that while the level of spousal violence remained unchanged from 1999 to 2004, incidents involving Aboriginals were more severe than those involving non-Aboriginal people. Of this situation, Brzozowski et al., (2006) wrote:

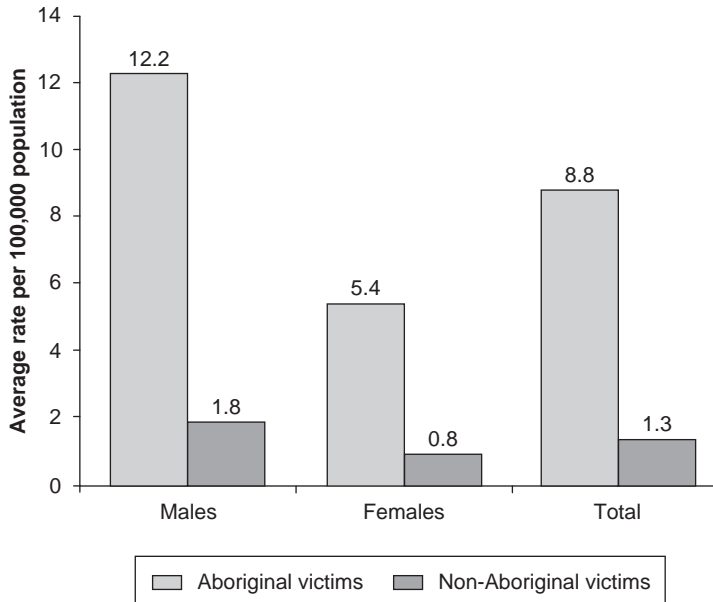
Aboriginal victims of spousal violence were much more likely than non-Aboriginal victims to suffer the most severe forms of spousal violence, such as being beaten, choked, threatened with or had a gun or knife used against them, or sexually assaulted (41% versus 27%). (p. 6)

As a consequence of this more severe spousal abuse, Aboriginal people were more likely to sustain injuries during such encounters (43% versus 31%).

Homicide victimization was another area where the news was bad. Representing 3% of the Canadian population, Aboriginal people accounted for 17% of the victims of homicide (Brzozowski et al., 2006, p. 7). Figure 4.6 shows the high rate of homicide victimization for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal males and females. In line with these figures, Figure 4.7 shows that from 1997 to 2000 Aboriginal people were overrepresented as the persons likely to be accused of homicide.

Crime on reserves represents another place where Aboriginal crime can be examined. Nearly 90% of those living on reserved lands are Aboriginal people. And on these lands there were 93,000 Criminal Code violations. Figure 4.8 reveals the different patterns that emerge when one compares on-reserve offenses to those committed by the general Canadian population off the reserves. For example, there tends to be more violent crime among adults and youth who live on reserves. In addition, there are fewer property crimes, but more "Other Criminal Code offenses" such as mischief and disturbing the peace (Brzozowski et al., 2006, p. 10). In general, though, "the rate of youth crime on reserves was three times higher than the rate of youth crime throughout the rest of Canada" (Brzozowski et al., 2006, p. 11).

Aboriginal people also tend to have contact with the police for more serious reasons than other Canadians. For instance, "Aboriginal people were more likely to come into contact with police as victims (13% compared to 7%),

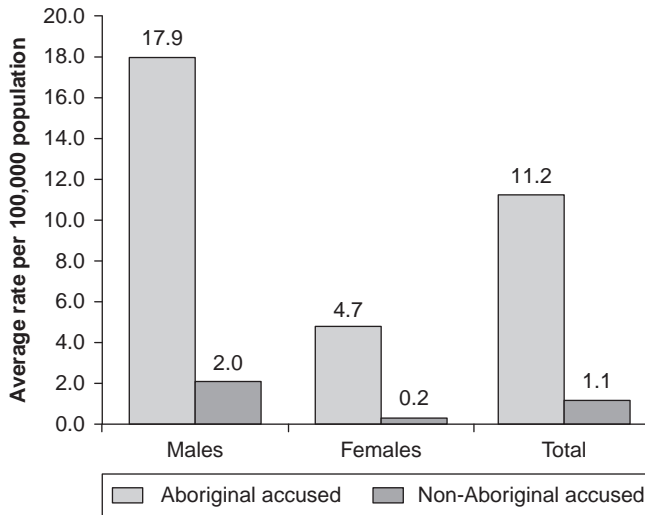
Figure 4.6 Rates of Homicide Much Higher for Aboriginal Victims, 1997–2000^{1,2,3}

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. Homicide Survey.

NOTES:

1. Rates are calculated per 100,000 population and are based on the average number of homicides per year, between 1997 and 2000.
2. Excludes homicides where the Aboriginal status of the victim was unknown.
3. Population estimates were derived from 2001 postcensal estimates and 1996 Census counts, provided by Statistics Canada, Census and Demographic Statistics, Demography Division.

witness to a crime (11% compared to 6%) and by being arrested (5% compared to 1%)” (Brzozowski et al., 2006, p. 12). Predictably then, when Aboriginal and non-Aboriginals were surveyed regarding their satisfaction with the performance of the police, the responses from Aboriginal people were lower in every category (e.g., treating people fairly, enforcing the laws, responding promptly). It is also likely that the satisfaction levels were lower because Aboriginal people were twice (31% versus 14%) as likely as non-Aboriginals to report that they were the victims of racial discrimination. And on the streets where they were most likely to encounter the police, they were also more likely to report experiencing discrimination (14% compared to 4%) (Brzozowski et al., 2006, p. 11).

Figure 4.7 Aboriginal People More Likely to Be Accused of Homicide, 1997–2000^{1,2,3}

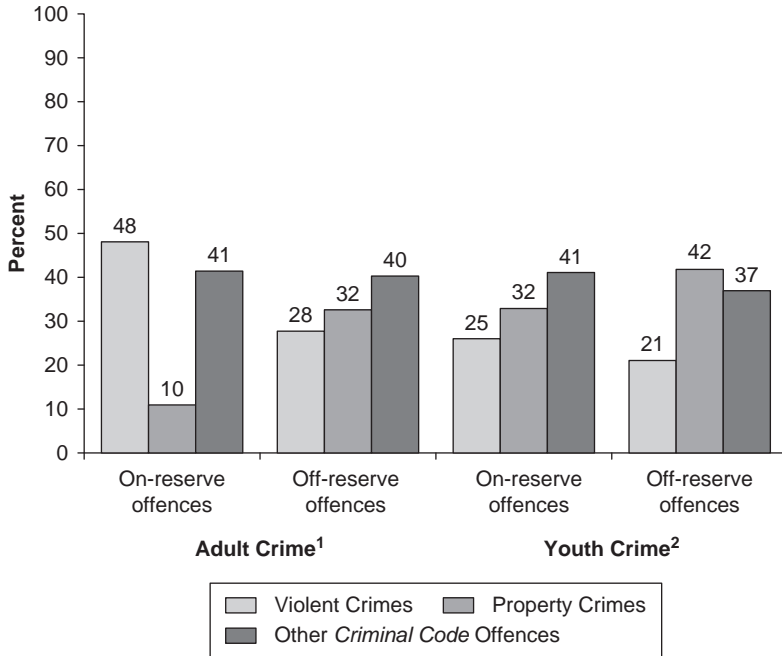
SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Statistics Canada. Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Homicide Survey.

NOTES:

1. Rates are calculated per 100,000 population and are based on the average number of homicides per year, between 1997 and 2000.
2. Excludes homicides where the Aboriginal status of the accused was unknown.
3. Population estimates were derived from 2001 postcensal estimates and 1996 Census counts, provided by Statistics Canada, Census and Demographic Statistics. Demography Division.

Canada also maintains information on Aboriginal people and corrections. As in other areas of criminal justice, there are serious concerns about their representation. Thus, while they represent a small part of the Canadian populous, in 2003/2004 they “accounted for 21% of admissions to provincial/territorial sentenced custody, 19% to conditional sentence, 18% to remand and 16% to probation . . . They also represented 18% of all admissions to federal custody” (Brzozowski et al., 2006, p. 12). Gender appears to also be a salient variable when examining figures related to admissions. Aboriginal females actually have higher levels of proportional representation in admissions than males. That is, Aboriginal females represented 25% to 29% of female admissions to sentenced custody between 1994/1995 to 2003/2004, while during the same period Aboriginal males represented 15% to 18%. This trend held true for remand situations as well. Other important findings showed that Aboriginal

Figure 4.8 Violent Crimes Most Common for Adults Charged On-Reserve, Least Common for Youth, 2004



SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. On-reserve and off-reserve police-reported crime database.

1. Includes adults aged 18 and over charged with a *Criminal Code* offense.
2. Includes youth aged 12 to 17 accused of a *Criminal Code* offense.

adults in correctional facilities are “younger, less educated, [and] more likely to be unemployed” (Brzozowski et al., 2006, p. 13). Aboriginal youth represented 1 in 5 of those who were admitted to sentenced custody. Figure 4.9 shows the diversity of admissions for Aboriginal youth in custody.

Collectively, these figures show the long reach of the justice system into the lives of Aboriginal people. However, the figures do not provide any insight into how visible minorities are faring in the Canadian justice system. This is where the available official data falls short. Very few reports have been solely devoted to the plight of visible minorities and crime and justice. However in 2001, Statistics Canada released the report, *Visible Minorities in Canada*,

Figure 4.9 Aboriginal Youth Highly Represented in Admissions to All Types of Correctional Services, 2002/2004¹



SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Youth Custody and Community Services Survey, Demography Division, Census and Demographic Statistics.

NOTE:

1. Due to data unavailability, data for Prince Edward Island, Quebec, Saskatchewan, British Columbia, Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut are excluded.

which provided some insight on the topic. Using data from the 1999 General Social Survey, the report was able to document some crime and justice information on visible minorities because “for the first time . . . respondents were asked to self-identify their cultural or racial background” (*Visible Minorities*, 2001, p. 6).

The report found that 26% of visible minorities “were victims of household or personal crime one or more times in the previous year” (p. 6). Moreover, it was noted that males and females experienced victimization at similar rates. In general, the victimization rates of visible minorities were in line with those of non-visible minorities. But when Canadians were queried about their belief that their victimization was a result of their racial or ethnic status, the findings illustrated that visible minorities perceived themselves to be at an elevated risk for such victimization (19 per 1,000 versus 7 per 1,000).

Questions related to perceived crime trends in one's neighborhood found that visible and non-visible minorities alike held the view that crime in their neighborhood was lower than in other areas in Canada (*Visible Minorities*, 2001, p. 7). And in terms of one's feelings of safety, as illustrated in Table 4.9, there were slight differences between visible and non-visible minorities. Finally, the general satisfaction with the police and the courts were about the same, with visible minorities actually being less critical of the courts than non-visible minorities (*Visible Minorities*, 2001, p. 8). Both visible and non-visible minorities were rather critical of the prison and parole systems (p. 8).

Following this initial report, more recent reports highlighted the plight of visible minorities, crime, and justice. In 2004, a pilot survey on hate crimes revealed that "twelve major Canadian police forces reported a total of 928 hate crime incidents during 2001 and 2002" ("Pilot survey of hate crime," 2004, p. 1). Figure 4.9 reveals Jews were the most likely targets of hate crimes, while Blacks and Muslims were the second and third most likely targets, respectively. In general, racial/ethnic hate crimes comprised the largest share of the incidents. These encounters most often involved threats (49%) and physical violence (34%), with the other encounters involving knives/cutting weapons, other weapons, unknown weapons, and firearm-like weapons ("Pilot survey of hate crime," 2004, p. 3). It was also reported that the accused was located in only half of the incidents.

The 2004 General Social Science Survey also provides additional data on the topic, being one of the few places where racial/ethnic comparisons can be made. For example, in the area of victimization rates for violence, Highlight Box 4.1 illustrates the various rates among several racial/ethnic groups. These figures again illuminate the concerns related to Aboriginal people. As for visible minorities, their rate of victimization was slightly lower than non-visible minorities (98 versus 107 per 1,000 population) (Gannon & Mihorean, 2005, p. 8). Regarding the lower rate of immigrant victimization, the authors surmise that "the immigrant population tends to be older, a factor that reduces risk of victimization" (p. 8).

Though these figures provide some idea of the trend in victimization, they still do not disaggregate the figures by racial/ethnic group. Thus, it is likely misleading to believe that all of those groups collapsed into the visible minority category have the same victimization rates. Just by returning to the hate crime data in Figure 4.9 leads one to believe that they do have different experiences, which would likely lead to different outcomes as they relate to crime

Table 4.9 Feelings of Safety From Crime by Visible Minority Status,¹ 1999

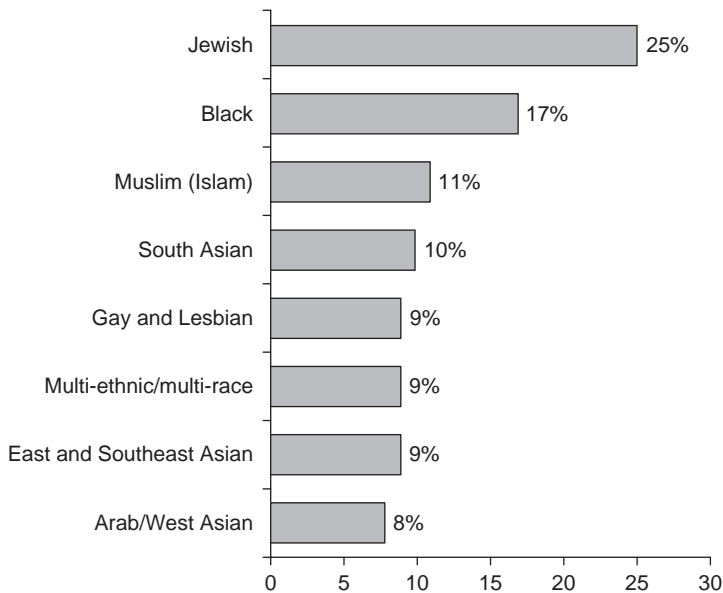
	<i>% of Population</i>	
	<i>Visible Minority Population</i>	<i>Non-Visible Minority Population</i>
While waiting for/using public transportation alone after dark, how do you feel about your safety from crime?		
Not at all worried	51	54
Somewhat worried	39	39
Very worried	9	7
Don't know/Not stated	—	—
How safe do you feel from crime when walking alone in your area after dark?		
Very safe	33	45
Reasonably safe	50	45
Somewhat or very unsafe	16	10
Don't know/Not stated	—	—
While alone in your home in the evening or at night, how do you feel about your safety from crime?		
Not at all worried	74	80
Somewhat worried	22	18
Very worried	3	2
Don't know/Not stated	—	—
In general, how do you feel about your safety from crime?		
Very satisfied	33	46
Somewhat satisfied	56	46
Somewhat dissatisfied	5	4
Very dissatisfied	2	2
Don't know/Not stated	—	—

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1999.

NOTE: Figures may not add to 100% due to rounding.

1. Includes only respondents who engaged in these activities.

— Amount too small to be expressed.

Figure 4.10 Targets of Hate Crimes in Canada**HIGHLIGHT BOX 4.1****Violence Among Diverse Populations**

Through the 2004 General Social Survey (GSS), it is possible to examine rates of violent victimization experienced by visible minorities, immigrants, including recent immigrants, and Aboriginal people, and to assess whether these segments of the population are at increased risk of being victimized.

Overall, Aboriginal people reported the highest rates of violent victimization compared to other minority populations and the non-Aboriginal population. Those who self-identified as being Aboriginal were three times more likely than the non-Aboriginal population to be the victim of a violent incident (319 people per 1,000 versus 101 per 1,000). Even when controlling for other factors such as age, sex, and income, Aboriginal people remained at greater risk of violent victimization.

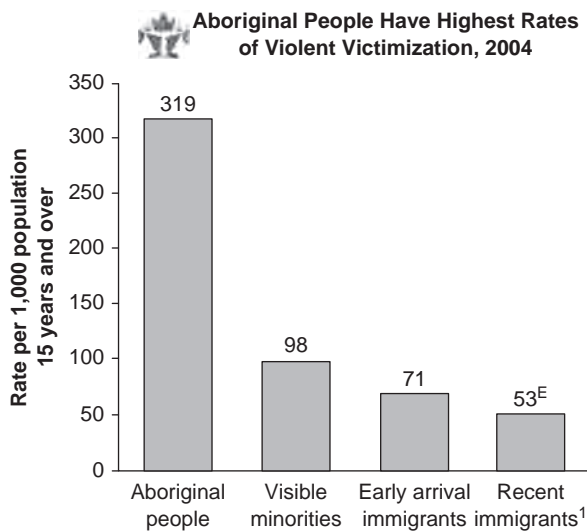
Aboriginal women appeared particularly at risk of victimization. Rates for Aboriginal women were 3.5 times higher than the rates recorded for non-Aboriginal women, while rates for Aboriginal men were 2.7 times higher than those for non-Aboriginal men.

(Continued)

(Continued)

In the case of visible minorities, it was found that the risk of violent victimization did not differ significantly from their non-visible minority counterparts (98 versus 107 per 1,000 population). This was true for both men and women. However, in the case of immigrants, overall rates were lower than that of non-immigrants (68 versus 116 per 1,000 population). The reduced likelihood of victimization was even more pronounced when only those who had immigrated to Canada since 1999 were included. For example, 71 per 1,000 population of those who immigrated prior to 1999 were the victims of a violent crime, compared to 53 per 1,000 of those who had immigrated in the past 5 year period. Again, these patterns were similar for immigrant women and men.

One possible explanation for lower rates within the immigrant population may be due to the fact that the immigrant population tends to be older, a factor which reduces risk of victimization. According to the Census of the Population, compared to immigrants, a higher proportion of non-immigrants were under the age of 25 years, the most at-risk age group for violent victimization.



SOURCE: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2004.

NOTE: Includes incidents of spousal sexual and physical assault. E = use with caution
1. Included are immigrants arriving between 1999 and 2004.

and justice. Further, Figure 4.9 suggests that, as in other countries, Blacks clearly have a different experience than other visible minorities. This trend is discussed further in the next section which highlights scholarship that has sought to contextualize racial/ethnic disparities in the Canadian criminal justice system.

EMERGING CRIME AND JUSTICE SCHOLARSHIP ON ABORIGINAL AND VISIBLE MINORITIES

As evidenced by the above literature, the scholarship on the experiences of Aboriginals in the Canadian criminal justice system is more plentiful than what is available on other racial/ethnic groups. Roberts and Doob (1997) discuss this predicament by reviewing the long and arduous history of the debate surrounding the recording of race–crime statistics. The debate is believed to extend back at least to the late 1920s (Johnston, 1994). Over an extended period of time, Canadian citizens have resisted the movement to delineate crime statistics by race. Roberts and Doob (1997) write that: “Statistics Canada does not collect data on the racial or ethnic origin of suspects, accuseds, or convicted persons, though it does publish correctional statistics on Aboriginal people” (p. 483). In the early 1990s, Statistics Canada requested that police departments record such information, but Roberts and Doob note that few departments were willing or able to do so. In addition, they write that: “There was a negative response from Black community groups and many academics, all of whom had reservations about the utility of collecting such data” (Roberts & Doob, 1997, p. 483).

As a result of these collective factors, Statistics Canada stopped collecting the data; however, it did not stop the debate. Scholars across Canada began to debate the utility of the practice, with some arguing for the collection of data (Gabor, 1994) while others remained adamantly opposed to the practice (Doob, 1991; Roberts, 1994). Scot Wortley’s (1999) review of the issue noted the three common arguments for and against the collection of race–crime statistics. In brief, he notes that those against the collection of such data point to: “(1) The poor quality of crime statistics; (2) the difficulty of measuring race; and (3) the possibility of race–crime statistics will be used to support racist theories of crime and subsequently justify discrimination against racial minorities” (p. 263). On the other side, he notes the following arguments in favor of recording

race–crime statistics: “(1) This type of information is needed to identify whether or not minorities receive differential treatment within the justice system; (2) to challenge biological explanations of crime; and (3) because a ban will not prevent the spread of racist ideas” (p. 265). While good points were noted on each side, Wortley (1999) argued for a middle ground that might involve the production of special studies that would look at these issues. Such studies would explain in detail the limitations of the statistics presented. In recent years, Roberts (2002) has shown some support for this approach.

Taking a deep, historical view of the problem as it relates to Asians and Blacks in Canada, Clayton Mosher (1998, 1999) provides clear evidence that, at least in Ontario, there have been long-standing issues with these groups securing justice in the legal and criminal justice systems. Examining both jail records and newspaper accounts, Mosher found that Asians and Blacks were the targets of considerable legislation to restrict their full participation in Canadian society. Moreover, impetuous newspaper accounts of crime incidents involving these groups served as a way to racialize crime or associate crime with a particular racial or ethnic group (Mosher, 1998). However, these exaggerated concerns were really an affront to economic competition concerns. Nevertheless, the tactic was effective in making persons believe that the chief criminal justice concerns in Canada in the late 1800s to the early 1900s involved Asians and Blacks. Table 4.10, though, clearly shows that the real crime problem involved *White* Canadians.

Prior to the early 1990s, except for the unfounded biological assertions regarding the innate criminality of Blacks asserted by the Canadian scholar J. Phillippe Rushton (see generally, Rushton, 1988, 1990, 1995; and more recently, Rushton & Whitney, 2002) and countered by Canadian scholars who were skeptical and alarmed by Rushton’s thesis (Roberts & Gabor, 1990), there was very little serious scholarship related to race and crime concerns in Canada. Mosher (1998) surmised that this was a product of two key reasons. The first reason:

[There was] an underlying belief that Canada is a kinder and gentler nation [than the United States] with respect to a number of issues; this notion includes the country’s social welfare system and extends to the idea that Canada has historically not been overly severe in its treatment of minority groups in society in general, or in its criminal justice system in particular. (p. 42)

Notably, a large portion of Mosher’s work debunks this falsehood. And second, Mosher (1998) also felt the lack of attention was the result of a lack

Table 4.10 Convicts in Federal Penitentiaries, by Race, 1896–1938

<i>Year</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Chinese</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Total</i>
1896	56 (4.1)	14 (1.0)	1,306 (92.9)	1,376
1897	55 (4.0)	10 (0.7)	1,287 (93.6)	1,375
1898–1899	NOT AVAILABLE			
1900	75 (5.3)	12 (0.8)	1,306 (92.2)	1,415
1901	54 (3.9)	10 (0.7)	1,281 (93.3)	1,372
1902	49 (4.1)	8 (0.7)	1,106 (92.5)	1,195
1903	53 (4.2)	7 (0.6)	1,131 (90.4)	1,250
1904	54 (4.1)	11 (0.8)	1,207 (90.8)	1,328
1905	55 (4.0)	14 (1.0)	1,244 (91.0)	1,367
1906	51 (3.5)	16 (1.1)	1,325 (92.1)	1,439
1907	51 (3.6)	17 (1.2)	1,298 (91.2)	1,423
1908	54 (3.7)	20 (1.4)	1,357 (91.9)	1,476
1909	62 (3.5)	22 (1.2)	1,635 (92.6)	1,765
1910	53 (2.9)	20 (1.1)	1,738 (93.5)	1,859
1911	52 (2.8)	21 (1.1)	1,747 (93.7)	1,864
1912	52 (2.7)	27 (1.4)	1,777 (93.8)	1,895
1913	62 (3.2)	29 (1.5)	1,831 (93.0)	1,968
1914	57 (2.8)	41 (2.0)	1,867 (93.2)	2,003
1915	62 (3.0)	39 (1.9)	1,929 (93.5)	2,064
1916	63 (3.0)	47 (2.2)	1,970 (93.0)	2,118
1917	56 (3.3)	38 (2.3)	1,553 (92.0)	1,688
1918	64 (4.4)	29 (2.0)	1,333 (91.1)	1,462
1919	52 (3.1)	24 (1.4)	1,585 (94.0)	1,686
1920	57 (3.0)	22 (1.1)	1,820 (94.3)	1,931

(Continued)

Table 4.10 (Continued)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Chinese</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Total</i>
1921	67 (1.1)	25 (1.2)	2,019 (93.9)	2,150
1922	83 (3.1)	30 (1.1)	2,489 (94.3)	2,640
1923	87 (3.5)	49 (2.0)	2,303 (92.8)	2,483
1924	63 (2.8)	51 (2.3)	2,065 (92.9)	2,224
1925	54 (2.3)	40 (1.7)	2,198 (93.8)	2,343
1926	48 (1.9)	44 (1.8)	2,327 (94.1)	2,473
1927	42 (1.7)	41 (1.7)	2,354 (94.9)	2,480
1928	43 (1.7)	58 (2.3)	2,409 (94.1)	2,560
1929	60 (2.2)	71 (2.6)	2,589 (93.5)	2,769
1930	60 (1.9)	80 (2.5)	2,995 (94.0)	3,187
1931	75 (2.0)	81 (2.2)	3,499 (94.2)	3,714
1932	79 (1.9)	81 (1.9)	3,923 (94.2)	4,164
1933	66 (1.4)	78 (1.7)	4,376 (95.4)	4,587
1934	50 (1.2)	51 (1.3)	4,068 (96.4)	4,220
1935	51 (1.4)	36 (1.0)	3,417 (96.2)	3,552
1936	45 (1.5)	24 (0.8)	2,972 (95.9)	3,098
1937	43 (1.3)	29 (0.9)	3,130 (95.9)	3,264
1938	58 (1.6)	30 (0.8)	3,426 (95.7)	3,580

SOURCE: *Canada Year Book, Report on Penitentiaries, 1896–1938*

NOTE: Figures in parentheses represent percentages of the totals and may not add up to 100 per cent because of unincluded groups and rounding error. Figures broken down by race are unavailable after 1938. Figures in 'Total' column may not equal sum of 3 columns because of missing data.

of data. Here, he seems to agree that, as a result of limited data, there were a limited number of studies on the topic. But, even from the limited studies available, Mosher concluded that “racism in the administration of justice in Canada is widespread and has existed throughout Canada’s history” (p. 43).

Mosher's pioneering work was preceded 3 years earlier by the publication of reports by the *Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System* (1995). Many of these reports revealed that race was clearly a factor in criminal justice outcomes. Public opinion research revealed that residents felt that Blacks and Asians were not treated fairly by judges. But when defense attorneys and judges were surveyed, the results revealed mixed feelings on the topic. For example, 50% of defense attorneys felt Blacks and other minorities were treated the same as Whites. And the majority of the judges felt the same way (64% to 72% depending on the type of judge). Some judges felt that discrimination was an excuse for criminality, and if there was any discrimination it was economic (*Commission on Systemic Racism*, 1995). But these views were in stark contrast to the research studies in the report that showed a "race effect" was present and was a strong predictor of who did or did not get imprisoned (*Commission on Systemic Racism*, 1995).

The finding in the report regarding the drug trade and the treatment of Blacks sounded eerily familiar to the American context. The report indicated that "in 1992/93 the black pre-trial admissions rate for drug trafficking/importing charges was 27 times higher than the white rate" (*Commission on Systemic Racism*, 1995, p. iii). Moreover, Blacks convicted of drug charges were imprisoned at a higher rate than Whites (55% versus 36%). The report also highlighted the dramatic increase in imprisonment from 1986/87 to 1992/93. For example, while the increase in prison admissions of Whites to various Ontario institutions ranged from 25% to 667%, the increase in Black prison admissions over the same period ranged from 2,914% to 3,890% (pp. 78–79). These increases, which were a product of the Canadian "war on drugs," led to the phenomena where in the mid-1980s Whites had predominated correctional populations, to the 1990s when Blacks began to become considerably overrepresented in Ontario institutions. The report also dispelled the common argument concerning the potential role of prior records explaining this difference in sentencing outcomes.

The period leading up to the report and following its publication produced some heated debates regarding race and crime in Canada. Some research turned to interviews of Canadian citizens or police officers. In Vancouver, a survey of the police found that only 35.6% of them felt that discrimination against non-Whites was a problem. Given that when the same question was posed to the general Canadian population it resulted in 66% agreeing with the statement, it was obvious that Vancouver police officers saw things very differently. Most of the officers also suggested that race was used an excuse for wrongdoing (Ungerleider, 1994). These ideas were believed to be a possible

indicator of the lack of empathy on the part of the officers. In the absence of such empathy, it is surmised that there might be more conflict between the police and non-Whites.

In the mid-1990s, the Angus Group conducted a poll of randomly selected Toronto area residents to determine if they felt that Blacks were prone to crime. The poll found that “nearly half (45%) believed that there was a relationship between a person’s ethnicity or racial background and the likelihood that he (she) will be involved in crime” (Henry, Hastings, & Freer, 1996, p. 471). Seeking additional detail, the survey also revealed:

Almost one half (46%) said that West Indians, such as Jamaicans Trinidadians, and others, were responsible. Another 19% thought that “blacks in general” were responsible and 18% mentioned Asians or Vietnamese. All told, 65% of the respondents who believed that there was a link between race and crime (45% of the total sample of respondents) thought that black people committed more crimes than other groups. The “culture, customs or background” of these groups was the most commonly asserted reason for their belief (54%). (p. 471)

The implications of such attitudes were clear. Many people viewed Blacks as the main criminal justice problem that would likely aggravate the problem of discrimination in their encounters with the police, courts, and during sentencing.

Besides this troubling situation regarding Blacks, as noted previously, Asians also were considered a problem in Toronto. To examine the specific views of Asians regarding crime and justice issues, Chow (1996) examined survey data from “189 randomly selected Chinese community organizations within Metro Toronto, of which 71 were returned” (p. 479). Even with the small sample size, the results provide some insight into the view of leaders within the Chinese community in Toronto. Some highlights of the findings presented by Chow (1996) include: 73% agreed or strongly agreed that “systemic racism is prevalent in the criminal justice system” (p. 479); 29% stated “that judges often treat Chinese people differently than whites” (p. 479); and 36.6% felt that “ethnic and racial minorities were more susceptible to discriminatory treatment in prisons” (p. 481). Thus, these Chinese residents of Toronto had some serious concerns about the Ontario justice system.

So, were similar concerns found in other Canadian cities? Yes. In Montreal, for example, Symons (1999, 2002) described the “racialization” of street gangs (for similar concerns regarding the racialization of crime in Canada, see Barnes, 2002; Chan & Mirchandani, 2002a; Dell, 2002; Doran,

2002; James, 2002; Jiwani, 2002; Wortley, 2002). To illustrate this, Symons notes how racial and ethnic gangs are referred to be their group of origin (e.g., Haitians, Jamaicans), while other gangs composed of Whites are referenced by their activities (e.g., Skinheads, Ku Klux Klan). While she readily acknowledges the challenges faced by the Montreal police, she also shows how racial and ethnic-based stereotypes have become too much of a focal point in dealing with the gang problem in Montreal.

In another study of Montreal, Ouimet (2000) illustrated how an integrated perspective using social disorganization and opportunity theory was useful for understanding the spatial distribution of juvenile delinquency in Montreal. More specifically, Ouimet's analysis of Montreal census tracts and neighborhoods, found:

The ethnic composition of the population is the best predictor of the offender at both levels of analysis. Areas with newer immigrant groups have low delinquency rates (from Asia or India). . . . However, areas with many new immigrants mostly from Haiti, Jamaica, and French Africa have the highest delinquency rates. (p. 148)

After making these statements, Ouimet cautioned readers against making individual generalizations based on his aggregate analyses (the so-called ecological fallacy). Another concern that has arisen in Canada is racial profiling.

RACIAL PROFILING IN CANADA

In recent years, while there has been an increasing emphasis on race and the Canadian justice system (Chan & Mirchandani, 2002b; Manzo & Bailey, 2005; Wortley, 2002, 2003), there also has been a heavy focus on the practice of racial profiling. In Toronto, the *Toronto Star* newspaper instigated the dialogue. The paper printed an article that examined more than 480,000 stops by the Toronto police that were the result of a crime or a traffic violation. Following their analysis of the data, the authors concluded that "black Torontonians are highly over-represented in certain charge categories—including drug possession" (Wortley & Tanner, 2003, p. 367). The paper also noted that the discrimination did not stop at the arrest stage—it was pervasive throughout the front-end of the system (e.g., pretrial release). To top it off, the paper alleged that the Toronto Police Department was engaging in racial profiling. The product of this allegation

was vociferous debate. The Toronto police not only denied the allegation, they hired their own expert to analyze the data, which as you can guess did not result in the same conclusions as the *Toronto Star* (see Harvey, 2003). Moreover, citizens and scholars alike weighed in on the controversy.

One of the first responses appearing in a scholarly journal was by Wortley and Tanner (2003). Their article actually challenged the reanalysis conducted by Edward Harvey, the expert brought in by the Toronto police. They point to five major errors in the reanalysis. These include: improperly defining racial profiling and ignoring the scholarly literature on the topic; making incorrect and misleading statements; using questionable data cleaning techniques, providing an incomplete reanalysis of the data, and most importantly, “providing no concrete evidence that can disprove the *Star’s* allegation of racial bias” (Wortley & Tanner, 2003, p. 369). It is also important to note that Wortley and Tanner (2003) actually believe that many of Harvey’s arguments “are completely consistent *with* [italics added] the racial-profiling argument” (p. 369).

The views of Wortley and Tanner were not, however, shared by Attorney Alan Gold (2003) and Gabor (2004). The primary focus here is on Gold’s critique. His critique dissects the methods and principle of racial profiling. He notes that “statistics on police stops must obviously exclude stops involving the police looking for a racially identified perpetrator” (Gold, 2003, p. 395). Moreover, Gold also points to the scenario:

[When] police activity is stepped-up in response to community concerns about local drug pushers or local speeders and that community (unsurprisingly) is economically disadvantaged and (equally unsurprising) is more heavily populated with visible minorities, the statistics will be skewed towards more police-minority interaction. (p. 395)

Put more succinctly, Gold argues that “good science” should “distinguish between situations in which the police are ‘using race’ and where they are ‘finding race’” (p. 395). Responding to survey data on minority experiences with the police, presented by Wortley and Tanner (2003), Gold (2003) simply dismisses them as “anecdotes in bulk” (p. 397).

Gold closes noting that the *Star’s* article lacked numerous aspects of serious scientific inquiry and represents “junk science.” Gabor’s (2004) critique follows a similar line of thinking, arguing that the allegations against the Toronto police were “baseless.” He added that since crime is unevenly distributed in most jurisdictions, police deployment will be different across communities. Gabor’s

critique resulted in another reply from Wortley and Tanner (2005), who used survey data to show that Black youth are being profiled and disproportionately stopped. Just recently, Tator and Henry (2006) have produced a comprehensive volume highlighting the problem of racial profiling in Canada.

FINAL THOUGHTS ABOUT CANADIAN RESEARCH ON RACE AND CRIME

Scholars in Canada continue in earnest to research the relationship between race and crime. As a result, there has been a notable increase in the scholarship on Aboriginal (Latimer & Casey-Foss, 2005; McCarthy & Hagan, 2003) and Black youth (Manzo & Bailey, 2005); in addition, the increasing concerns regarding Aboriginal and Black women has also garnered scholarly attention (see contributions in Chan & Mirchandani, 2002; Schissel & Brooks, 2002). It is also interesting to note that Canadian scholars are following the American trend of trying to determine whether music associated with racial minorities (Rap) is linked to deviant behavior (Miranda & Claes, 2004). Such research sadly illustrates that the criminalization of Black culture, as seen in the United States, is well underway in Canada.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter reviewed the beginnings of Canadian society. It showed the colonization practices that reduced the Aboriginal population from a majority to a minority. This colonization remains relevant to understanding the relationship, in numerous spheres including criminal justice, between the “new” owners of the country and the “old” ones. Further, the review showed that while Canada is largely a nation of immigrants, it has always welcomed some and spurned others. Fitting into the latter category are Blacks (particularly from the Caribbean) and, to a lesser extent, Asians who have been the long-standing targets of restrictive immigration legislation. The review of crime and justice information found that Aboriginal people and, based on the limited available research with race statistics, visible minorities are overrepresented in the Canadian justice system. This has resulted in a considerable increase in Canadian-based race and crime scholarship.

Even with the rise in the scholarship, Canada appears to be in a state of denial. Its resistance to collecting race–crime statistics obviously does nothing to solve the problem; but on the other hand, as seen in other countries, collecting them apparently does not either. Therefore, the sad fact is that crime in Canada has been already racialized—even without the widespread distribution of such statistics. And one must face the sobering reality that having studies on race and crime does not guarantee change will come. As David Cole (1999) so eloquently put it: “It is simply naïve on the part of those who press for change to assume that findings of differential outcome, however revelatory, will immediately galvanize politicians and powerful senior policy makers to redeploy scarce resources” (p. 431). In the end, irrespective whether there is a change to the Canadian race–crime statistics policy, it is clear that Canada is not “a kinder and gentler” nation to Aboriginals and visible minorities; especially in regard to crime and justice.

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Figure 5.1 Contemporary Map of Australia

