HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA: STREET CHECKS REPORT

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PART A: INTRODUCTION

On April 12th, 1998, Kirk Johnson, a well-known professional boxer and Olympian from North Preston, Nova Scotia, was pursued in his vehicle, on a local highway, by a Constable from the Halifax Regional Police Service. Mr. Johnson was eventually pulled over at a shopping plaza in Dartmouth. The constable asked for proof of insurance and vehicle registration for Johnson's Ford Mustang and was not satisfied with the documents offered. The officer then ticketed the driver, and ordered the car towed. In fact, Mr. Johnson's documentation was valid under Texas law. The next day an unidentified police official determined that the seizure and towing of Mr. Johnson's vehicle had been erroneous and ordered the car released. This case ultimately resulted in Mr. Johnson filing a compliant with the Nova Scotia Human Right's Commission alleging racial bias and/or racial profiling by the Halifax Regional Police Service (HRP). A Human Rights Tribunal was eventually conducted, and the case was decided in December 2003 (Girard 2003).

One of the remedies suggested in the Tribunal's decision was that the Halifax Regional Police consider a study of the impact of race on traffic stops:

> What I would like is a proposal for how information could be provided on the role of race in traffic stops by the Halifax Regional Police. This may be a proposal for a study to be conducted by an academic and funded by the police, for example. Counsel for the Commission may submit a different or a more detailed proposal if he wishes, but is not required to do so….I envisage that the study would be made public and the results would be given to the consultants conducting the needs assessment (Girard 2003: 41).

It seems that this "traffic stop" study was never conducted. However, following inquiries by the CBC, the HRP eventually released a report on race and police "street checks" (Giacomontonio 2017). The release of this report produced considerable media coverage and public debate. In the midst of this controversy, I was commissioned by the Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission to conduct an inquiry into the relationship between race and police street checks in the Halifax region, through and analysis of the 12 years worth of statistical data collected. This report reveals the findings of that inquiry.

The report is divided into four major findings sections:

- Section B reviews the results of a series of consultations with members of Nova Scotia's Black community;
- Section C reviews findings from an internet-based community survey;
- Section D reviews results from focus groups and consultations with police officials; and
- Part E provides an analysis of official "street check" data provided by the Halifax Regional Police;

The report ends by providing recommendations with respect to the regulation and/or suspension of police street check practices and policy suggestions for improving the fractured relationship that exists between the police and the Black community. A detailed literature review on racial profiling, police surveillance practices and police-community relations are provided in Appendix

A. This literature review, in combination with the results of the inquiry, provide the theoretical and empirical foundations for the recommendations that were developed.

Kirk Johnson was not the first, nor the last, African Nova Scotian to make serious allegations concerning racially biased policing in Halifax. Indeed, allegations of police bias have circulated for more than a hundred years (see Boudreau 2012; Clairmont and Magill 1987). I hope that the research findings produced by this inquiry shed light on the complexity of the issue of police-race relations and contribute to policies that can bring about meaningful change.

PART B: COMMUNITY CONSULTATIONS

An important aspect of the research strategy associated with this inquiry was community consultation. It was strongly felt that, as lead investigator, I needed to hear directly from members of the Black Nova Scotian community. It was important for me to learn about their personal experiences with the local police and their ideas with respect to policing reform. The opportunity to hear about the "lived experiences" of community members – in their own words – would ultimately help me understand and put into context the quantitative data on street checks provided by the Halifax Regional Police Service (HRPS) and RCMP.

The Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission eventually organized eleven community consultative meetings. All meetings were held in the evening and lasted between two to three hours. Six of these meetings were open to the general public. Five were restricted to Black youth. A list of these eleven meeting dates and locations are provided below:

Public Meetings

1. November 6th, 2017: Cornwallis Baptist Church;
2. November 7th, 2017: Black Cultural Centre (Cherry Brook);
3. November 9th, 2017: Black Cultural Centre (Cherry Brook);
4. November 9th, 2017: North Preston Community Centre;
5. February 21st, 2018: Lucasville (Wallace Lucas Community Centre);
6. February 22nd, 2018: Beechville Baptist Church;

Youth Meetings

7. July 23rd, 2018: Uniacke Square (IMOVE/Centreline Studios);
8. July 23rd, 2018: Halifax North Branch Memorial Library with, "902 Man Up";
9. July 24th, 2018: East Preston Family Resource Centre;
10. July 25th, 2018: North Preston Community Centre;
11. July 26th, 2018: Mulgrave Park Caring and Learning Centre;

In addition to these community-based meetings, I also conducted a serious of informal interviews with fifty-two members of the Halifax region's Black community. These individuals included academics, community leaders, business leaders, university students, athletes and church officials. In sum, more than 250 people were included in the community consultative process. Extensive field notes were collected during both community meetings and private consultations. In order to

increase the comfort-level of participants and ensure honesty, all respondents were promised confidentiality. Individuals respondents are thus not identified in the results section (see below).

Both the community meetings and one-on-one interviews focussed on four major themes: a) Defining street checks; b) Community experiences with the police; c) The state of the relationship between the police and the Black community; and d) Recommendations for reducing racial bias in policing and improving police-community relationships.

RESULTS

At the beginning of each community session, the purpose of the street check inquiry was described, and members of the project team were introduced. Participants were then informed that the discussion was completely confidential and that they would not be identified in any forthcoming reports or presentations. Participants were also asked to be respectful and truthful while discussing the issues. It was stressed repeatedly that we wanted to give voice to members of the Black community and have an honest conversation about policing issues in the Halifax region. In general, participants were very eager to discuss their experiences and express their opinions. In other words, it was not difficult to get participants to talk and the sessions often ran longer than expected. After each session, individuals lingered to discuss the issues further with members of the project team.

Defining Street Checks

At the beginning of each community meeting, and the start of the one-on-one interviews, participants were asked to provide their own definition of a "street check." The findings reveal that most community members believe that street checks refer to all incidents in which civilians are stopped and questioned by the police. These incidents include traffic stops, pedestrian stops (i.e., being stopped by the police while walking in a public place) and other incidents in which civilians are approached by the police and asked questions (i.e., approached by the police while hanging out in a park, mall, cafe or in another public setting). The following quotes are typical of community understandings of the street check concept:

> *Street checks are just about getting stopped randomly by the police. Random stops where they ask you questions for no reason.*
>
> *A street check is like when you get stopped by the police in your car or when you're just out walking with your friends.*
>
> *A street check is a police stop. All police stops are street checks. It's the same thing as carding.*
>
> *A street check is getting stopped by the police and asked where you're going.*

Street checks are the police doing random checks on people. They stop you and question you and stuff like that.

It is being stopped and questioned by the police for no reason. Here in East Preston it is usually a road block. The police will be parked, blocking the road, checking stickers and ID.

Street checks are just the same old thing of being stopped by the police and interrogated for no reason. Just because you're Black or in a bad area.

It is important to note that several respondents maintained that street checks can be distinguished from routine traffic stops by the types of questions asked by the police or the commands issued during police interactions. For example, some participants claim that street checks involve demands for formal identification – not only for drivers (as expected) but for passengers as well. Furthermore, several community members stated that pedestrian street checks almost always involve a police command to produce formal ID. According to some community members, street checks also involve intrusive police questions including queries about where the person lives, what they are doing, where they are going, their employment situation and whether they have ever been arrested. In some cases, participants stated that they have been explicitly asked by the police whether they are carrying drugs or weapons or if they have been recently involved in criminal activity. Others claim that, during a street check, the police will ask them if they have any court conditions or outstanding warrants. Finally, some participants claim that street checks involve "consent search" requests. These include police requests to search vehicles, empty pockets or knapsacks or consent to a frisk or "pat-down" search. Several respondents stated that such police treatment is evidence that the police consider Black people criminals even when there is no cause or reasonable suspicion.

You can always tell if it is a street check or just a traffic stop. If it's just a traffic stop they just ask for your licence, registration and insurance. They also tell you why they stopped you – like for speeding or something. Then they go check you out and come back with your ticket. But if it's a street check the vibe is very different. They want to know where you are going and what you are up to. They ask the passengers questions and want to see their IDs. They shine the flashlight in your face and in the car. One time they asked me to pop my trunk so they can clear me of being a suspect in a robbery. That's a street check.

In a street check the police ask you things like 'Do you live around her? Where are you going? Where are you coming from?' They asked me to pop my trunk so they can clear me? Is that legal?

I was driving and the police stopped me. They took my ID and then they asked for the passenger's ID? I was like why? Why did they need her ID too? Can they do that? Then I figured it was a street check.

A street check is when they (the police) think you a criminal. Like I was walking with three friends and the police pulled up and jumped out of their car. They told us to stop. Then they asked us for ID. Then they asked us if we had drugs and told us to empty our pockets. We were so pissed off.

In one street check I was followed by the police for five minutes and then they pulled me over for no reason. Two officers pulled me over and asked me when I had my last drink. They asked for my ID and my passenger's ID and asked me what I was getting into tonight. They shone the flashlight into the back of the car. There's no reason for this! I felt angry. I wished I had said more at the time.

It is important to note that relatively few community participants identified street checks as the formal documentation of (non-criminal) police-civilian encounters for police intelligence purposes. Most focussed on the actual police stop – or the nature of the encounter between the civilian and the police -- rather than the existence of a "street check" dataset. However, a few participants did express that they were aware of this dataset and expressed concern about how it could impact members of the Black community. One prominent member of the academic community eloquently expressed these concerns in the following manner:

It deeply concerns me that the police are keeping a street check dataset. This is basically a non-conviction dataset that indirectly criminalizes members of the Black community. Even if you have never been charged or convicted of a crime you are now 'known to the police.' Even if you have never been charged with a crime you can now be deemed 'guilty by association.' In other words, the police can document you as 'suspicious' or a potential criminal because you are observed talking to a family member or a neighbour or a co-worker who has a criminal record. Is that fair? Is that justice? It seems like when it comes to the accuracy of the street check dataset – the police are both judge and jury. How exactly is this street check data used? If you apply for a job with the police can past street checks be used against you? Are street checks used in other types of outside security or employment checks? Are they used for the purposes of vulnerable sector checks? Can officers on the street view a civilian's street check record during traffic stops or other police interactions? Are people who have a street check record treated differently or more harshly by patrol officers than people who have not been street checked? Are street checks used to justify harsher treatment? These are extremely important questions that demand answers. Black people are grossly over-represented in the street check dataset, so logically we are going to be disproportionately impacted by its potential misuses.

Experiences with the Police

All participants were asked to think about and describe their own experiences with police street checks. A major theme that emerged was the high frequency of unwanted, involuntary police

contacts experienced by members of the Black community and the corresponding belief that Black people were subjected to many more street checks than Whites. Many participants complained that they themselves had been subject to multiple police stops. Others discussed the experiences of family members and friends. These stops – or street checks – were often viewed as random, arbitrary and unfair. Participants often complained that officers did not properly explain the reason for the street check or why they were being detained. Many directly accused the police of racial bias or racial profiling.

In addition to the frequency of police stops, community members also complained about the quality of police treatment. Many felt that the police had treated them rudely or with disrespect. Others felt that their civil rights had been violated or that they had been subject to unfair, unlawful searches. Importantly, many participants felt that that they had to comply with police requests – even when they felt that their rights were being violated. Participants stated that when they did question police authority they were usually met with overt hostility and threats of arrest. Respondents often expressed that they felt intimidated or frightened during these police encounters. They also worried about the consequences of not complying with police requests and therefore (reluctantly) followed police orders.

It is also clear that the types of police encounters described by the participants caused considerable stress and undermined police legitimacy. Many participants reported that they felt powerless, angry, frustrated, embarrassed or humiliated both during and after police street checks. Furthermore, it is quite apparent that "war stories" about negative police encounters are widely shared within the Black community. It is more than apparent that these vicarious experiences further erode trust in local law enforcement.

On the pages below, I present a number of direct quotes – drawn from both community meetings and one-on-one interviews -- that document the lived experience of Halifax's Black community. I feel that it is important to present these stories verbatim, as it is the only way to pay homage to the concerned individuals who volunteered their valuable time and contributed to this inquiry. The presentation of these experiences, in the words of community members, is also the only way to truly capture how policing is experienced and interpreted by Black Haligonians. It is the only way to capture the pain and frustration police stops or street checks can cause. The following are a sample of the experiences relayed to the inquiry by members the Black community:

> *I have a son. He's twenty years old. He gets stopped by the police all the time. At least three or four times a month. He gets stopped because of his window tint, to check to see if the car is stolen, for his vehicle registration and for no reason at all. Interesting thing is, he has never been asked to change the tint because it ain't illegal. Once, when he questioned why the cop stopped him, he became a victim of police brutality. He's scared now. Now when the cops stop him, he immediately calls me, and I will stay on the phone and drive to where he is so I can protect him.*
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> *When I first got my new car, I was pulled over by the police on five different times in the first month. Once I got pulled over near the Mic Mac Mall. I was with my friend. The cop told us that the car was stolen. I gave the police my*

documents and the ownership. They came back after checking them and told me that they still needed to search the car cause they still thought it was stolen. I called my mom and she rushed over. When she came the cops said everything was fine and let us go. It was embarrassing to be stopped at the side of the road like that and be treated like a criminal. We were scared we were gunna get arrested for nothing. Young guys get stopped by the cops and don't know what their rights are. Their rights get abused, and the police try to escalate the situation (Male, early twenties).[1]

Listen, when you're a Black man in Halifax, you're gunna get stopped by the police. I've been stopped all over. I've been stopped in Black communities and in White communities. In poor areas, in nice areas. In the city and out in the country. When I'm walking, when I'm driving. It don't matter. If you're Black, you're automatically suspicious and you're gunna get stopped, you're gunna get questioned (Male, thirties).

I am very critical of the Chief of Police for making racist statements. The Chief demonized Black people with the statement: 'We only stop people we think are engaged in suspicious behaviour.' I am a professional male in my forties. I am educated and successful. Am I still suspicious because I'm Black? Last year I was walking home after skating at the Oval. I was dressed nicely and carrying skates. I look like a professional person. A police vehicle left the street and jumped the curb to cut me off on the grass. I was detained and asked questions about who I was, where I was going and where I had been. No explanation given. Another time I was walking along Gottingen Street around Christmas time. I was handing out money to people on the street in need. I was followed by the police, stopped and questioned. I have recently been followed and stopped while walking home with groceries. It seems that the police have a licence to harass innocent people because of their colour. They use their power to intimidate people and violate their rights. As a result, I now have hate for the police. Bad officers taint the actions of them all and that is from the top down.

My son gets stopped all the time. He does not feel safe, so he calls me, and I stay on the phone until the cops leave. It's so frustrating. It's so unfair. It's racial profiling.

I drive a Ford Fusion with tinted windows. Every time my brother drives my car he gets stopped. It's happened so many times. Once they told him he was stopped because the car fit the description of a car used in a robbery. That was a stone-cold lie. Nobody believes the cops when they say shit like that.

Why is it that the way you dress makes you a target? I was coming home from work wearing a hoody with a skull on it. A police officer stopped me and

[1] The age and gender of participants are provided when information was available in the field notes and could not be used to identify specific individuals.

showed me his badge. In a very angry way, he asked for my name and my ID. I refused to give him my name. He said 'if you don't give me your name, I'm gunna arrest you. We can do this easy or we can do this hard.' I felt intimidated. I didn't want to get arrested, so I gave him my info. He checked me out and let me go. I felt like I had no power. I was really mad (Male, 25 years).

We have kids who are only eleven and twelve years old who have been stopped since they were 8 years old. The reason? The cops think they're up to no good. They start to treat us like criminals young. Maybe they want us to be criminals. I worry how it will impact the kids. How it makes them think about themselves and their worth (Female, 25-30 years).

I've been stopped and checked by the cops many times. Once I was stopped with my friends. The cop told me I shouldn't hang out with criminals. He said one of my friends was a bad dude. How am I supposed to know that? I didn't know. He was just a guy from the neighbourhood that went to my school. A guy I played basketball ball with. Now I'm linked to him and the cops think I'm a criminal too? That shits messed up (Male, early twenties).

My son is twenty-nine years old. He was stopped while driving my new car after he left the library downtown. He has dreds. He was stopped in the middle of the day and he didn't do anything. He was not given a ticket or a warning. The cops didn't tell him why he was stopped. They just asked him a bunch of questions and checked his documents. This was all based on the colour of his skin. The Commission needs to be more proactive when it comes to this type of anti-Black racism.

I have driven big cars all my life. When I lived in Toronto, I got stopped by the cops all the time. After moving back to Nova Scotia, it's gotten worse. I was stopped and ticketed so many times my licence got taken away. They target me cause I'm Black and I drive a nice car. Tickets added up to a point where I couldn't pay them. But the police watch all the Black community all the time. Like if anyone in the community has a party, there is party surveillance. All the Black party goers will get stopped and checked. The police set up on the main road going in and out of North Preston stopping everyone going in and out. They have two cars set up. If the first one misses you the second one will get you. Whenever Black people gather anywhere in the city the police come around. There's no way to congregate because they break it up (Male, fifties).

I once watched the police pull over a carload of youth. They searched the car and put all the dark-skinned Black males and one girl in the back of the paddy wagon and didn't arrest them and didn't read them their rights. Another time two youth were just smoking weed and two paddy wagons showed up. The police jumped out with their rifles drawn. They jumped over the fence and

tackled the youth and arrested them. Little kids, ages 4 to 10, were in the backyard and got really upset. This was a Sunday afternoon in broad daylight. Those kinds of things happen here (in Mulgrave Park) on a regular basis" (Female, early twenties).

I was leaving a party close to the university. It was night and very quiet on the street near Point Pleasant Park. I did jaywalk, but anybody would at that time of night on a residential street with no traffic. Then a police car approached and stopped me. The officer started to ask me questions and asked for my ID. I know my rights and I refused. I know my rights. Then I was grabbed by the cop and thrown to the ground and handcuffed. I asked what I did wrong and the officer would not tell me. I found out later that I was charged with obstruction. The officer told me that 'we run this community.' I filed a complaint. Lucky my Dad knows the Police Chief and the charges were dropped. But I was so angry. I don't trust the police anymore. They don't have my back. I still get stopped. As a Black male you are judged by the type of car you drive or if you have a White girlfriend. The cops don't like that either (Male, early twenties).

In Uniacke you get stopped all the time if you're Black. They just step to you and tell you to stop and ask you for ID and where you're going and stuff like that. If you don't answer them, they arrest you. I got stopped just walking with a Donair and a pop. Where would I be coming from? I tried to walk by, so they arrested me. Why am I under arrest? You can't arrest me! They arrested me, take me down to the station, find out I have no criminal record, then they drop me back up the street. That's what I went through a lot growing up. Others in this room got the same thing (Male, late twenties). Others in the room nod in agreement. Another participant states: *"Yeah, that happened to me too."*

Cop cars swarm into our community all the time. They make people feel crazy on edge. One time I had a seven-year-old old on my lap. The police busted into the community centre. Apparently, some youth had breached his parole by crossing the street to get a slushie. Twelve officers came down to the community. In fifteen minutes, six cop cars were speeding into the neighborhood because a dumb kid breached parole by going across the street to get a slushie. That's overkill. Do you think that kid is that dangerous? You all (police) make people in this neighbourhood feel crazy on edge. You want to know how to build a better relationship with this community? Care about the community and how you make us feel! Care about the structure…" (Female, 25-30 years old).

My son – in his twenties – gets stopped by the police all the time. He calls me for his own safety. I keep him on the phone during the police stop to make sure he's going to be ok. I just don't trust that they will treat him properly. I don't trust that he'll be safe.

I'm a transit driver. I was driving home after work at 1:00 am and I was in my uniform. I was on the Number 7 highway in the North Preston/Cherry Brook area. I saw the police coming from the other direction and we made eye contact. They then did a U-turn and followed me. I turned off the highway onto my street and they still followed me and then they pulled me over. I gave the officers my information. They came back to the car and asked me questions like where I was coming from and where I was going at this time of night. I told them I was coming from work and showed them my uniform. Then they asked me why I was wearing gloves, like that was suspicious or something. I told them I was wearing gloves cause its Winter. It makes sense to wear gloves in the Winter. Everybody wears gloves in the Winter. I asked the officers why I was stopped, and they said cause I was speeding. It was an excuse. I told them I wasn't speeding. They just smirked and let me go without a ticket or anything. They were so cocky about it. I felt humiliated and harassed.

The cops sit for hours watching in front of the Uniacke Development Centre – knowing that it's an intimidation tactic. Cops walk up to you as if they're coming to attack you, then they swerve just as they get right up close to you. That happened to me at the library. The police walked up to me as if they were going to attack me, then swerved. It's very intimidating. The police always follow you or stop and question you or ask you to empty your pockets or your bag. The other day the police started following me at the police station on Gottingen Street and I started cutting through streets, they would just look at me and do the thumbs up and smile. So that's life in this community. That's one of the reasons people don't come out to these kinds of meetings. They don't know who's in here taking photos. They don't trust what the police will do. The police may see them coming in here (to the meeting). The community is under siege every day, not just street checks but police bullying in the community. Since I was eleven years old it has been happening. As soon as we hear the cops coming our way, we just run and hide. You never know what they're gunna do" (Male, 25-30 years).

Once I was driving my husband's truck in the Clayton Park area. The truck is a full-size Silverado. It was 1:00 am and the road was totally empty. All of a sudden, I see the police lights behind me. I pull over and the cops come to the car with their hands on their guns. I was mad and asked the officer why I was stopped. He told me because I did not stop at a stop sign. I challenged him and said I did stop. Then he called for back-up and kept me there for another fifteen minutes or so before letting me go with no ticket. What were they looking for? I took the officer's Badge number to make a complaint. My husband is White, and he never gets pulled over in that truck. If you are a Black person living in a White area you will get stopped by the cops all the time.

I have been pulled over by the police so many times I've lost count. When I was just seventeen, I was pulled over and the police approached me with their guns drawn and ordered me out of the car and onto the ground. I was searched and then let go. Guess I was the wrong guy. This happened again when I was in my mid-twenties. This time they laid us out on the pavement and searched us and the car. The police then said that they thought I was someone else. They let me go and drove away. No apology. No explanation. I was scared shitless. What community you are from in Nova Scotia makes a difference. If you're a Black male from North Preston you're always gunna get jacked up. They think we're all gangstas round here. I'm in my thirties and I still get stopped all the time (Male, mid-thirties).

I was driving in the south end of Halifax at night not doing anything. But I felt I was going to be pulled over when I saw this police car drive by. I was stopped and told to exit the vehicle. I was made to place my hands on the roof of my car while I was searched. When I tried to ask why I was being stopped and detained I was told to shut up or I would be arrested. They did not find anything. No charges were laid, and I was let go without an explanation. Another time I was just standing on Gottingen Street and I was stopped and searched by the police for no reason. I got no ticket or arrest. This harassment in public view is humiliating. After buying a new car I was stopped almost immediately. Reason provided was the car fit the description of one involved in a robbery an hour previous. I checked with the police the next day and there was no such report of them looking for a 1996 blue Grand Am. This kinda stuff makes your heart cold towards the police. You can't trust them anymore (Male, thirties).

My husband is a Black professional. He's from the Caribbean and new to Nova Scotia. I was doing training for work and he had to drive from Dartmouth to Tantallon to pick me up at the church. When he arrived to pick me up, I was still inside working so he remained in the car and put down the seat to rest. He was woken by banging on the car window and flashlights in his face. The police asked him for ID, where he was from and what he was doing there. He told them he was waiting for his wife. I had to come out and verify his story. They had two police cars blocking him and it startled him. He was upset and really didn't know what to think. I wonder if they would have treated a White man waiting in his car for his wife the same way? I told him that life in Nova Scotia would be better, but now I'm not so sure (Black female, mid-thirties).

My nephew was stopped a hundred times in the past few years. The police are just doing random checks on Black people, especially young Black men (Male, 60-65 years).

The youth feel that we don't know what's allowed with the cops. What are they allowed to do? When is it okay to say no, that's not allowed, or you can't ask me that? One of my friends had pulled over to check his engine. A police drove by and stopped. You could just tell that they suspected him of being up to no good. They asked all kinds of stupid, annoying questions. Did he have to answer? They can be so aggressive. They shout at you. Its scary sometimes" (Female, late teens).

I'd be driving in Halifax late at night – as a university student. There's a spot on Gottingen Street where the paddy wagon would be parked and you would be pulled over all the time and questioned. I was told several times that they were looking for a suspected car that looks similar to mine. That doesn't happen here in East Preston. It happens in the City. Here in East Preston it's usually a road block. They will block up the road to make you stop and then ask you questions. Once I was stopped at a roadblock and they asked if they can check my trunk to see if there's anybody in there. Can they do that? Is that right? I said yes, cause I felt intimidated. I knew I did nothing wrong. Why would I have somebody in my trunk? It was ridiculous, but I felt kinda scared and upset (Female, early twenties).

It saddens and infuriates me when I hear that Black professionals are being abused and oppressed by the police because of the colour of our skin. Many highly educated, professional people from Halifax's Black community are stopped and harassed by the police on a daily basis. When we are stopped, we are given bogus reasons for being stopped and then mistreated and disrespected. I am a school principle and I have not called the police into my school because I know what will happen…all the Black kids would be arrested. The administrators after me did call the police…and guess what…all the Black kids got arrested. These illegal stops escalate to criminal charges and then many Black men end up with a criminal record.

I'm a professional with a very good income. I live in the Ravines development in Bedford. I drive a nice car. A Mercedes. One morning, during rush hour, a police car followed me from Bedford to Windsor Street before pulling me over. I saw him notice me and watched him follow me for miles. I knew he was targeting me. There were so many other cars on the road, but his focus was on me. When he pulled me over, I asked why I was being stopped. I was told they were just doing a routine check. He asked me to exit the car, but I refused to get out of the car or answer his questions. A police supervisor was eventually called to the scene. The supervisor reinforced what the officer had stated. He told me that they were just doing routine checks. I knew it was racial profiling. I was a Black man in an expensive car in a nice area. This experience was a public humiliation. People were driving by wondering what

crime I had committed. They could have been my neighbours (Male, 40-50 years).

My son is Black. His girlfriend is White. They got pulled over by the police. Only the police did not ask for her ID. They just asked him. They asked him for ID even though he wasn't the driver. Makes you wonder why? They asked him a lot of questions. They asked her if she was okay or if she needed help. They felt insulted and disrespected. If that's not racial profiling, what is? (Women, forties)

When you get stopped the police ask you, 'Do you live around here? Where are you going? Where are you coming from?' Is that right? They ask me to pop the trunk? Is that legal – asking me to pop the trunk? I was driving once and we was stopped by the police and the officer asks for the passenger's ID. Is that legal? It just seems wrong. It leaves a bad taste in your mouth. I feel uncomfortable, but I do what they say, because they are in a higher authority (Female, 20-35 years).

We get tired of it. First from being Black in Nova Scotia. You're at the mall, at the fair, or on the street and you constantly get stopped by the cops or by security. Then they record you. Before you were just a Black kid. Now they know who you are" (Male, early thirties).

I think the whole North Preston community has been stopped at one point or another -- unnecessarily! Roadblocks are common. They ask for your license. Even though your address is printed on it, they still ask for your address. They check your safety sticker. If you question them, it becomes confrontational (Male, 30-35 years).

One day at lunch time, when I was in Grade Eight, a fight happened on the playground. I wasn't involved, but I saw it. But me and my friend were walking back to school when a White cop and a Black cop asked us what happened. They took their batons out. I said I saw nothin and put my ear plugs in my ears. The Black cop got upset and told me that if he saw me again, he would deal with me how they did it back in the old days. They made us sit on the lawn in front of our school with our hands behind our backs like criminals. All my teachers and other students saw us and thought we was arrested. It was kinda embarrassing to be out in front of the school like that (Male, 16 years).

We were down at my aunt's house. We were smoking in the parked car. My little brother saw the cops driving up with their lights off. Then they approached us and started asking questions and asking guys to lift their shirts in the back of the car. They was looking for anything to arrest us (Male, late teens).

Everybody in the Black community is under surveillance. I believe every vehicle has a street check file. I have a car with Ontario plates. I was pulled over and the police said they have consistent records about my car. There was a police stop last week. The police had their assault rifles out. I asked why. I was told that someone was driving an unregistered vehicle. Why the rifles for that? They have the community under siege. I feel like they're just flexing their authority (Male, late twenties).

The cops do roadblocks once or twice per month sometimes. They happen out by Lovett Lake, because they can catch people from North or East Preston there. Between Colley's Hill and the highway is the most common spot. The police look at certain makes of specific cars – tinted front and back. In Cole Harbour, I got pulled me over. I was in my brother's car. They asked me for my license and registration. I asked them why they stopped me, and they said, 'Because I can.' Another time I was in my sister's car. They shined their flashlights in our face and in the backseat like they were looking for something. When they do that late at night I don't want to stop. They make you feel nervous, like you did something wrong even when you haven't. You feel uncomfortable" (Female, early twenties).

I have a son who's twenty-three years old. He was stopped by the police on Young St. in Halifax. The police blocked his car off and the officer drew his gun and pointed it. My son was then asked to leave his vehicle. He was terrified. When he asked what was happening and why he was being stopped and arrested he was told that there had been a robbery in Sackville involving a vehicle that looked like his. That robbery was committed less than an hour earlier, and the suspect could not have been my son. Just looking for excuses. This incident had a huge impact on my son and my family. It changed how we see police. It confirmed our worst fears (Male, forties).

I got in an incident on the street downtown by the Cheers and Boomer nightclubs. I was hanging out with some White friends of mine and I yelled over to one of them across the street. The police stopped and grabbed me while I was standing at a bank machine. They said I was drunk, and they arrested me. I was taken to booking. When they went to release me there was money missing. I came in with $385 and they gave me back only $78. I got mad and told them I wanted my cash back. They took me back to the cells. The incident escalated. The male officer punched me and said, 'Don't look at me you fucking nigger.' The female officer said 'Who you gunna call? Barack Obama?' They didn't give me a breath test or take blood so I could prove I was not drunk. I had to fake a heart attack to get to the hospital. While I was at the hospital, I asked the Dr. to take a blood and hair sample to prove I wasn't drinking. I had no criminal charges going into this incident. But eleven charges were laid as a result of it. I had to hire a lawyer and

spend thousands to get out of this situation and clear my record (Male, thirties).

I was unfairly stopped by the police numerous times when I was a younger man. Always for bogus reasons. Now, over the past decade, my son has been stopped by the police many times for the same bogus reasons. Its like déjà vu. Police seem to have preconceived ideas about Black people and just stop us on fishing expeditions (Male, fifties).

Listen, this police harassment is not new to Black Nova Scotians. It has happened for generations. When I was a teenager, being stopped and harassed by the police used to happen to my boyfriend and my cousins. When I got older, I saw it happen to my husband and then my own sons. Now I worry about my grandkids being street checked or arrested or worse. It's a fear that has always been there for me and the community. It never ends (Female, seventies).

Police-Community Relations

After discussing both personal and vicarious experiences with police street checks, participants were asked to provide their impression of the general relationship between the Black community the police in the Halifax region. Consistent with a growing body of Canadian, American and European research (see Appendix A), the majority of participants described the relationship between the police and the Black community as "poor." Many stated that members of the Black community have much less trust in the police than members of the White community. As one woman, in her sixties, expressed: "*White people trust the police. They see the police as their protectors. They think of the police as their heroes. Most of us don't feel that way. We have a different experience. We see the cops as out to get us. They want to see us mess up and go to jail. They don't care about our safety and wellbeing. They just want to see us fail*."

Participants also recognized that the contentious relationship between the Black community and the police is not a new development. Several stated that this is a problem with deep historical roots. As one community leader expressed:

Black people in Nova Scotia have always suffered from inequality and discrimination and the police are a major part of that oppression. We have always been under a high level of police surveillance. We have always suffered from criminalization, false arrests and brutality. The justice system has not protected us the way it does the White community. The police have been there to help destroy our communities – like they did in Africville. They are still part of a system that keeps us down and maintains the status quo.

Another participant stated:

> *The reason we don't trust the police is much more than how the police treat us now. It's about history. It's about the role the police have played in maintaining a society that is fundamentally unequal and racist. It's not just the police in Nova Scotia that are racist. It's the economy, it's a problem in the schools, it's a problem in housing and health care. The negative, distrustful relationship you see today is a product of multi-generational trauma.*

A number of participants complained that the police have a racial double-standard. As discussed above, many feel that members of the Black community are much more likely to be subjected to street checks and other forms of police surveillance. Others argued that White youth are treated much more leniently by the police when it comes to minor crimes including illegal drug use, drinking in public and low-level violence (i.e., schoolyard fights). They maintain that while the illegal behaviour of White youth is often ignored or dismissed with a warning, Black youth are often arrested and criminalized for engaging in the same activities. As one youth stated: "*I can't believe the shit the White kids in my school get away with. They use so much drugs. The cops don't care. But a Black youth smokes some weed, and three cop cars pull up and put him in handcuffs. A White kid gets in a fight with another White kid and they go to the office for counseling. A Black kid gets in a fight and they call the cops.*" A young mother expressed a similar sentiment when she stated that: "*Our kids don't get a second chance with the police like White kids. You mess up once and it is going to impact you for the rest of your life. You'll get a record and then the police will always track you.*" Another participant claimed: "*The police have two sets of rules, one for White people and one for Black people. Black people get treated worse. We get the short end of the stick.*"

A potential consequence of low levels of trust in the police is an apparent reluctance to report crime to the police or cooperate with police investigations. Several participants claimed that they would not call the police for assistance because they believed that the police did not care about members of the Black community. Other participants expressed that they would no longer call the police for help because of past negative experiences. One female (early twenties) stated: *"I seen what happens when you call the police for help. They ask too many questions about you, not about what happened or who did it. They make you feel like the criminal. Like they don't care what happened to you."* Another young man (late teens) stated that he had witnessed a group of White men jump out of a van and attack a group of Black youth. He stated that: "*When we called the cops they came and went after the Black guys…like they were the attackers. They arrested them. I'll never forget that. They got arrested for fighting back. I'd never trust the cops again."*

During the consultation process, a few participants noted that the strained relationship between the police and the community was not totally the fault of the police. These respondents noted that, within their community, distrust of the police is so entrenched that police efforts to establish relationships are often resisted and even "good officers" are treated with cynicism. This situation was captured by one female youth, in her early twenties, who described her involvement with a police outreach program. During this program she had developed a friendship with a female officer who had taught her that police officers are "*just people*" and encouraged her to consider a career

in law enforcement. According to the youth, several months after completing the program, she and her friends were stopped at a police roadblock. She claimed that an officer was giving them a hard time: "*At a road block, a White male officer stopped us and asked me for my license and registration. He then tried to say that my sticker was outdated – it wasn't. But then I saw the female officer that I knew from the program just across the street. She recognized me and told the male officer, 'she's good.' He backed off. I talked to her for a minute and left with my friends. But then my friends gave me a hard time. They wondered how I knew the officer and why I was so friendly with her. One of my friends wondered if I was a snitch. I like had to defend myself and explain why I knew the officer. The whole situation made me uncomfortable."* This incident highlights the many challenges associated with improving the relationship between the police and community members.

While others acknowledged community distrust of the police, and that this could be an obstacle with respect to developing new relationships, they were quick to note that community distrust was "valid" and based on decades of police abuse and mistreatment. These participants stressed that community perceptions of the police will not improve until there is concrete evidence of improved police treatment of citizens from the Black community. As one participant argued: "*You can't put this on us. The police made this problem and the solution needs to start with the police. It is their responsibility.*"

It should be stressed that community perceptions of the police were not all negative. Many participants described positive interactions with the police, or situations in which the police had helped them deal with a specific problem or issue. Others recognized that, like people from all backgrounds, Black Haligonians depend on the police to protect them from crime and ensure public safety. Many understood that policing is a difficult, challenging and sometimes dangerous occupation. They appreciated the demands of the profession and the stress that individual officers must go through. Other stressed that they knew of "good" police officers who were respectful and cared about the Black community. However, participants were quick to acknowledge that the actions of "good" officers were often overshadowed by the actions of "bad" or "aggressive" officers. Others stated that the problem was not with individual police officers, but with police leadership and the broader police "subculture." As one participant stated: *"There are some good ones. Good officers that I respect and that I know respect the community. But there are more bad ones than good ones and lots of them just don't really care. They have a bigger impact on the community than the good ones. A few bad cops can spoil things for the entire community."*

Finally, all respondents were asked whether they thought the relationship between the police and the Black community had improved significantly over the past few decades. The overwhelming majority of participants claimed that, despite police initiatives and public declarations, nothing had changed. As one community elder (Male, late sixties) stated: *"I've been around a long time. Nothin's changed. Things ain't any better. It's the same old, same old. They don't like us, and we don't trust them."* Another stated that: *"It's sad to think we have been talking about improving the relationship between the police and the community for so long. There has been so little meaningful progress. It's like we are stuck in the mud. When is it going to change? Can it change? I want it to change, but I'm getting very pessimistic."*

Community Recommendations

After discussing the state of police-community relations, participants were asked to provide ideas for reducing racial bias and improving the relationship between the police and the Black community. The following list captures the major recommendations provided during the community consultations:

- **Minority Recruitment:** Several participants stated that the Halifax Regional Police Service and RCMP need to hire more Black and racial minority police officers. They stated that the local police need to better reflect the diversity of the communities they serve. If possible, it was argued that Black police officers should be assigned to the communities in which they were raised – where they both know and understand the community members they will be working with. It was expressed that Black and minority officers would know better how to interact with the Black community and deal with their problems in a fair and respectful manner. It should be noted, however, that other participants were skeptical that minority hiring would make a major difference. They maintained, in fact, that Black police officers were sometimes harder on community members than White officers. Some youth expressed that Black police officers were sometimes viewed as sell-outs, had been coopted by the police subculture, and often engaged in aggressive policing to gain the favour of their White colleagues. Others suggested that Black police officers were under great stress because they needed to balance the demands of their profession with community expectations.

- **Minority Promotion:** A number of participants argued that minority recruitment is not enough. They maintained that Black and other minority officers need to be promoted to upper management before they can have a positive impact on police culture and police practices. Several stated a desire for a Black Police Chief or Deputy Chief. It was suggested that such an appointment would have great symbolic value and open discussions on how to heal the relationship between the police and Black community.

- **Recruit Screening:** Several participants stated that new police recruits should be screened for racial bias and cultural capital. These individuals argued that the traditional police recruitment process involves intensive psychological testing and thorough background checks -- but does not screen for racism or past experiences with ethnic diversity. It was felt that an improved screening process could eliminate biased officers and reduce the negative impact they have on police-community relations.

- **Training:** Several participants stated that there was a great need for improved anti-bias or cultural sensitivity training. It was stressed that such training should be required for new recruits and that officers should receive additional (periodic) training throughout their careers. It was often stressed that training needs to be mandatory and that officers should be evaluated or assessed on their knowledge of bias and race relations issues. During consultations, several participants stated that police training needs to be provided by members of the Halifax community and not outside experts: *"I mean no disrespect Dr. Wortley, but we don't need outsiders with a fancy degree to come in here and tell officers how to act. They need to learn from us. They need to come into our community and hear*

from our experiences. We know our history, we know our issues, we know what would make a difference in the Black community. We should be getting paid to provide that training. That would help us feel like we're part of the solution."

While some participants endorsed the idea of training, others were convinced that it wouldn't make a difference. As one participant noted: "*I have actually done diversity training with the HRP for new officers. I will no longer do it. Never again. I was disrespected. The officers had such poor attitudes towards me and the training. They didn't take it seriously. It was a joke to them."* Others noted that increased training is good public relations. It is popular with police leadership and police associations because it gives the public the impression that action is being taken, without changing the current power structure or increasing police accountability. As one community leader put it: *"Training is popular because it's just another box to be ticked. You take a short course and say you're trained. Then you go back to business. How can you train away racism and increase sensitivity in a few hours? How can you undo all the racial stereotypes and baggage you have accumulated over the course of your life and your career? Training has no teeth and it won't make any real difference. It won't change the good officers because they don't need it, and it won't change the racist officers because they won't hear it."*

- **Community Policing:** A number of participants stated that there should be an increased focus on community policing. These individuals usually stressed that local police should get to know the people they are policing – and there needs – and that the community should get the chance to know the police. It was assumed that this could be accomplished if officers were stationed in the same communities for sustained periods of time (i.e., several years). It was argued that, in many cases, officers are reassigned before relationships can be developed and that this needs to change. Many argued that there needs to be more social opportunities in which community members and police officers can interact and learn about each other. Individual police officers were encouraged to participate, off duty, in community activities (i.e., church, sports events, festivals, etc.) so that they could develop relationships. It was felt that such participation would send a positive message to community members and "humanize" the police profession. Others stated that there was a need to establish more community-level detachments like the one recently developed in North Preston. Furthermore, it was argued that such local detachments needed to be operated seven days a week, twenty-four hours a day. Several respondents, for example, argued that policing in North Preston was far less community-friendly when the community detachment officers were off duty and policing was "imported" from Cole Harbour.[2]

- **The Police Subculture**: Several community members argued that police-community relations would not improve unless there was a major change to the police subculture. These individuals argued that there needs to be less informal focus on law enforcement and

[2] It should be noted that support for the North Preston detachment was not unanimous among community residents. Some felt that policing had become more aggressive after the opening of the detachment and that local crime had increased. Others maintained that the detachment should not have been connected to the community centre. They argued that, because of the increased police presence, the use of the centre by young people had declined and that this had reduced programming opportunities.

more of a focus on problem-solving and community development. Furthermore, when evaluating officer performance, there should be less focus on arrest numbers and more focus on communication skills and relationship-building. A few participants also commented that the police "code of silence" needs to be challenged and that officers must be encouraged to report the unprofessional or corrupt activities of their colleagues. One participant stated: *"They always accuse us of no snitching, but they do the same thing. That's gotta change if things are gunna get better."* While respondents argued that the police subculture needs to be changed, participants did not provide concrete ideas for how that might be accomplished.

- **Civil Rights Training:** As discussed above**,** during the consultation process, many participants complained that the police often violate the civil rights of Black civilians (i.e., engage in psychological detention, make unwarranted demands for ID, conduct illegal searches, etc.). It was subsequently expressed that police officers need better training on citizen rights. Officers need to know what these rights are and ensure that they respect the rights of all civilians. It was stated by several participants that the legitimacy of the police is seriously undermined when officers either don't know or don't respect civil rights: *"If they don't follow the rules, how can the police expect to earn our trust and respect."* Others stated that the police should train or educate community members – especially Black youth – about their civil rights and what powers they have during police encounters. In one community session, a number of Black youth came up with the creative idea that the Police Chief, and other police leaders, should deliver civil rights training to Black youth. As one youth stated: *"Maybe if they had to teach us about our rights, they would be reminded about what those rights are. Maybe that would make them more accountable. Maybe that would make them watch what their officers did on the street and reduce the number of times our rights are violated. They can't tell us to our face what our rights are and then forget about it."*

- **Improve Police Communication Skills**: As noted above, participants often argued that it was the nature of police treatment, not just the frequency of police contact, that eroded trust in police services. It was expressed that officers need to learn how to better communicate with or talk to the people they interact with in public. They need to treat people with respect. Several participants also expressed that the police need to do a better job explaining their actions – including why they conducted a stop and why they are asking particular questions. As one participant noted: *"Some officers are nice. They know how to talk to you. But others show no respect at all. They order you around or yell at you. When you ask them why you're being stopped, they say shut up and don't ask questions. How can we respect that?"*

- **Youth Engagement Programs**: A number of participants argued that it was important for the police to learn about the Black youth in the communities they patrol. It was also important for the youth to get to know the police outside of their law enforcement role. It was felt that positive interactions could break down mutual stereotypes, foster relationships and increase trust. Several participants advocated for the establishment of programs that would promote engagement between youth and the police – including sports programs, school programs and programs that would provide paid employment opportunities for

Black youth within police services. It was often stressed that, to be effective, these programs would have to be long standing and permanent: *"I've seen a lot of things like police barbecues and tournaments. I've seen where the police come and give a talk at the school. These are nice gestures, but they are not going to change things. Programs need to be deeper and more involved than that."*

- **Body Cameras**: The issue of body cameras was brought up by four participants in the community consultation process. All four felt that body cameras were needed in the Halifax region. All four felt that footage taken by body cameras should be fully available to civilians who are engaged by the police. It was felt that body cameras would make the police more accountable and improve how officers interact with minority citizens. One participant also noted that body cameras could protect police officers from false allegations.

- **Ban Street Checks**: A number of participants maintained that the Police Commission or the government of Nova Scotia should ban street checks. They argued that this is the only way to truly curb the practice and reduce racial profiling: *"Street checks need to stop. They need to be made illegal. The random stopping of Black citizens for no reason is a racist practice and we must end it."*

- **Civilian Oversight and Accountability**: During the consultation process, it became clear that participants were either unclear about how to file a complaint against the police or felt that the current police complaints process was unfair and biased in favour of the police. As one participant noted: *"Why file a complaint against the police. It's your word against the word of the police. Who investigates complaints? The police that's who. They investigate themselves and they get to judge if the complaint is real or not. Who they gunna believe? Who they gunna believe when its just your word against another cops?"* Another participant noted that: *"Racial profiling and trust in the police will never improve if the police still get to police themselves. The community does not trust the current system. They know that complaints are not taken seriously and that the police will always win. The current system is not empowering, it's not fair, and it does not promote change."* As a result, several participants called for the establishment of an independent, civilian controlled police complaints commission. It was maintained that this commission should receive complaints against the police, investigate complaints against the police and adjudicate complaints against the police. It was also argued that the complaints process should be completely transparent, and that decisions regarding complaints must be fully articulated and explained to both police officers and members of the public. However, several participants expressed the opinion that a truly independent police oversight system would never be established in Nova Scotia. As one skeptical participant stated: *"It's a nice idea, but it's never gunna happen. The police won't let it happen. The government always backs the police. It won't back us."*

- **Data, Transparency and Evaluation**: A number of participants indicated that the police should continue to collect and release street check statistics to the public. It was argued that data serves to highlight race-relations issues and can be used to gauge whether progress is being made. As one individual stated: *"If the CBC had not forced the police to release*

these statistics we would not even be here, in this room, having this discussion. Without the data White people would not care. There would be no inquiry. The stats made this an issue. Without the stats this would just be swept under the rug again." Another stated that: "*The public have a right to this data. It can help hold the police accountable."* Another participant stated that data is needed to prove that the police are transparent and have nothing to hide: *"Releasing the data is a good faith gesture. The police can't say they own our information and we can't see it. They can't turn back now. If they now say that they won't release more data, the community will be even more suspicious and distrustful."* Other participants stated that data on street checks and other police activity is required to evaluate whether anti-bias efforts are working or not. This sentiment was captured by a community elder who stated that: "*If we don't collect data, how will we know if the recommendations are working or not. We know now that there are great racial disparities with respect to street checks. We need more data to see if these disparities are shrinking or getting worse.*"

Community Cynicism

It would be remiss not to mention the high level of community cynicism that permeated our community consultations. Even though the community meetings were well attended, and participants openly discussed their experiences and opinions, community skepticism with respect to the inquiry was very high. Many expressed that they were quite certain that the inquiry would make little difference in reducing bias and improving police-community relations. Many dismissed the inquiry as a "public relations" initiative and that any meaningful recommendations stemming from the final report would be ignored. Many of the older community members stated that they had witnessed this type of inquiry in the past and were therefore pessimistic about the prospects for meaningful reform. The following statements are typical of the sentiments expressed by community members during the consultation process:

I am so frustrated with this charade. Time and time again, members of the Black community come to these events and share their pain with outside people. Then there is no progress to change police behavior.

You are not hearing a new story. This is not a new story. It's very old. There has been no improvement or better engagement. We get no respect. Nothing is ever done with police. The police and media only highlight their involvement in the community when something goes wrong. How is this time going to be any different? How is this inquiry going to be different?

I am tired of telling our stories and nothing being done. I am resentful that you, as a White man from Toronto, need to come here to validate our stories. I have been involved in these things, in these inquiries, for approximately 30 years. I've heard lots of painful stories and I've heard members of my community, the Black Nova Scotian community, pour their hearts out time and time again. Not a whole lot is ever done about it. I am a lawyer and I know these problems are real. I have seen it with my clients for decades.

I can not believe we are asking community members to come here and speak about these issues yet again. Why is it important that you hear these victims scream over and over again? The Commission and Dr. Wortley are getting paid to study us, then nothing is going to happen. It's a waste of hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Didn't we just go through this with the United Nations? In contextualizing historical pieces, the UN came here before you did, and did a report with recommendations. Nothing was ever done by the province or police. The Black community has been going through this process forever. I don't think this will be any different.

I am very disturbed by these types of meetings. I have been at so many meetings where my people have told their stories about racism and how it effects their lives. This to me is trauma. These inquiries just re-traumatize the community. Especially because nothing is ever done.

I have been here before. I did research on this issue in the 1980s for the government and nothing came of it. Convince me that this is different. Convince me.

This is kinda funny. Things move so slow around here. When the Kirk Johnson decision came down in 2003, the police were supposed to collect data on police stops to see if there was racial profiling. The police never released their data on street checks until 2016. That's thirteen years after the decision. Thirteen years!! And they only gave out the data cause of the CBC. They just wanted the problem to go away so they didn't have to do anything. So I'm not overly optimistic with this project. What's going to happen? Is it going to take another thirteen years before the recommendations are implemented?

Our young people are not going to put up with this. We are done hearing that we should just get over it. None of this is new information being heard today. The hate and distrust and pain is real. The frustration is real. We are tired of talking. We need action.

Summary

The results of eleven different community consultations, and over fifty one-on-one discussions, yielded several major results:

1. The majority of participants from the Black community believe that street checks involve being stopped and questioned by the police. Few defined street checks as the police collection of personal information for intelligence purposes;
2. Participants believe that Black Haligonians are much more likely to be stopped, questioned and searched by the police than White people;
3. Many participants claimed that they had been unfairly stopped, questioned and searched by the police on multiple occasions. Others discussed the negative experiences of their

family members and friends. Many believe that the HRP and RCMP engage in racial profiling;
4. Participants allege that they are often treated poorly by the police during stops and that their civil rights are often violated;
5. Participants claim that the Black community has little trust or confidence in the police. They claim that street checks undermine the perceived legitimacy of local law enforcement;
6. Participants provided numerous recommendations for reducing racial bias in policing and improving police-community relations. Recommendations ranged from improved recruitment and training to increased community policing to improved civilian oversight and accountability;
7. Many participants were highly cynical about the entire consultation process and felt that the NSHRC inquiry would have little impact.

In conclusion, it is important to note that community opinions with respect to the street check issue are often very different than the opinions of local police officials. There are, however, some commonalities. These facts will be discussed at length in Part C of this report. In the next section we discuss the results of an on-line survey of Halifax residents: a survey that produced findings very similar to those documented by the community consultations.

PART C: COMMUNITY SURVEY

In order to supplement the data gathered from community consultations and access the views of Halifax residents who were unable, or perhaps unwilling, to attend community meetings, the inquiry decided to conduct an internet-based community survey. The survey instrument was developed by the lead investigator (Dr. Scot Wortley) and officials from the Nova Scotia Human Rights Association (NSHRC). Survey questions were designed to capture experiences with the police in the Halifax region, attitudes and opinions towards law enforcement, recommendations for improving policing and a variety of respondent demographic characteristics. A copy of the final survey instrument can be found in Appendix C.

Administration of the survey was delegated to Select Survey – an organization within the Nova Scotia government. This organization developed the internet survey platform and were responsible for all data collection activities. Public awareness of the survey, and subsequent respondent recruitment, were promoted through various social media forums – including the NSHRC's Facebook and Twitter accounts. The survey went into the field on September 4th, 2018. Data collection ended on November 29th, 2018.

The final survey dataset was given to the research team as a Microsoft Excel file. This file was subsequently converted into an SPSS dataset (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) for analysis. The conversion of the data from Excel to SPSS formats produced a few challenges. Some questions (see questions A1a to A1j, A5a to A5g, and C11a to C11k in Appendix C) had been originally entered as data matrices, as opposed to responses to individual questions. As a result, responses to these specific questions had to be re-entered by the research team before analysis could commence.

Sample Description

Survey responses were ultimately collected from a sample of 506 Halifax residents. A demographic overview of the sample is provided in Table 3.1. It should be noted that a relatively high percentage of respondents -- about one hundred individuals or 20 percent of the sample -- failed to complete the demographic section of the online questionnaire. As demographic questions were allocated to the very end of the survey, it is quite possible that some respondents had simply experienced response "fatigue" and thus decided to skip this section of the questionnaire. It is also possible that some respondents were uncomfortable answering questions about their personal characteristics. Some might have felt that answering such questions would have disclosed their personal identity. Indeed, when asked questions about their racial background, education and employment, a few respondents claimed that this information was "irrelevant" and that the Commission was engaged in its own form of "profiling." Nonetheless, because of the large number of missing cases, the demographic information provided in Table 3.1 must be interpreted with caution.

The results suggest that almost half the respondents self-identified as male (47.2%). By contrast, less than one-third identified as female (31.6%). One out of five respondents (19.8%) failed to disclose their gender. The results further suggest that most respondents (53.4%) are less than fifty years of age. However, few respondents (only 4.5%) are less than twenty-five years and only 11.9% are over sixty. In other words, it appears that the sample is composed primarily of young and middle-aged adults. Once again, a high proportion of respondents (20.7%) failed to report their age.

An important goal of the survey was to compare the experiences and opinions of White, Black and "other" racial minority residents of the Halifax region. Over half the sample (56.3%) self-identified as White and 15.3% identified as Black. However, only 26 respondents (5.1% of the sample) identified as the member of another racial minority group (i.e., Indigenous, Asian, South Asian, West Asian, etc.). The number of respondents from other (non-Black) racial backgrounds is too small to enable meaningful statistical comparisons. Thus, for the purposes of this report, these respondents have been put into a category that captures all other (non-Black) racial minorities. Importantly, 118 respondents (23.3% of the sample) failed to report their racial identity.[3]

Three out of four respondents (74.5%) were born in Canada. Only 19 respondents (3.7% of the sample) claim that they were born in another country. However, 21.8% of respondents failed to report their country of birth.

The results suggest that the sample is highly educated. Indeed, over sixty percent of respondents report that they have a post-secondary degree: 15.3% have a degree from a community college, 25.3% have a BA and 20.1% have a graduate or professional degree (MA, PhD, law degree, medical degree, etc.). By contrast, only 5.7% of the sample has a high school diploma or less. Once again, about one-fifth of respondents (21.5%) failed to report their educational background.

[3] In my opinion, based on response patterns, the majority of "missing-race" respondents are White. However, a few are certainly Black or "other" racial minority. However, for the purpose of the following analysis, I have decided to analyze "missing" respondents as a distinct category.

Finally, the results suggest that over sixty percent of respondents are employed either full-time (55.7%) or part-time (4.5%). An additional 6.8% report that they are full-time students and 8.1% report that they are retired.[4] By contrast, only 2.6% of the sample reports that they are unemployed or on disability. A fifth of the sample (21.1%), however, failed to report their current employment status.

In sum, it appears that the current sample is somewhat older and more educated than Census portraits of the general Halifax population. It is also ethnically diverse and more male. In other words, the survey may under-estimate the experiences and opinions of disadvantaged Halifax residents (i.e., those with lower levels of education, the unemployed, younger people, women, etc.). This limitation should be taken into consideration when reviewing the findings below.

[4] It should be noted that several respondents who identified as "employed" also stressed that they are full or part-time students at a post-secondary institution.

TABLE 3.1:
Sample Description (Sample Size=506)

Demographic Characteristic	Number	Percent
Gender:		
Female	160	31.6
Male	239	47.2
Transgendered	7	1.4
Missing (not provided)	100	19.8
Age Group:		
14-24 Years	23	4.5
25-29 Years	52	10.3
30-39 Years	111	21.9
40-49 Years	84	16.7
50-59 Years	71	14.0
60 Years or Older	60	11.9
Missing (not provided)	105	20.7
Racial Identity:		
White	285	56.3
Black	77	15.2
Other Racial Minority	26	5.1
Missing (not provided)	118	23.3
Place of Birth:		
Canada	377	74.5
Other Nation	19	3.7
Missing (nor provided)	110	21.8
Level of Education:		
High School Diploma or Less	29	5.7
Some University or College	61	12.1
College Degree	77	15.3
Undergraduate Degree	128	25.3
Graduate/Professional Degree	102	20.1
Missing (not provided)	109	21.5
Employment Status:		
Unemployed/Disability	13	2.6
Homemaker	6	1.2
Student	34	6.8
Retired	41	8.1
Employed Part-time	23	4.5
Employed Full-time	282	55.7
Missing (not provided)	107	21.1

RESULTS

Attitudes Towards the Police

The survey began by asking respondents whether they agreed or disagreed with ten different statements about the police in Halifax and the broader Halifax region (see Appendix C: questions A1a to A1j). The results suggest that respondents are quite divided with respect to their views about local police services. For example, while almost half of respondents (45.1%) agree that they "trust the police," a third (32.8%) claim that they do not trust the police and an additional 22.1% are unsure whether they trust the police or not. Similarly, while 38.4% of respondents agree that the police "treat people with respect," 36.1% disagree with this statement and 25.5% are unsure whether the police treat people with respect or not (see Table 3.2).

The survey results clearly suggest that, while overall confidence in law enforcement is relatively high, many Haligonians believe that policing in Halifax could be improved. For example, while 48.0% of the sample believe that some people unfairly criticize the police, 44.6% believe that the Halifax police often abuse their power and 60.5% believe that the police treat wealthy people better than poor people (see Table 3.2).

Further analysis of the survey data reveals that attitudes towards the police are highly racialized (see Table 3.3). In general, Black respondents express far more negative views about the police than White respondents. For example, 50.2% of White respondents agree that they trust the police, compared to only 28.6% of Black respondents. Similarly, 55.9% of White respondents believe that the police are doing a good job keeping their community safe, compared to only 29.9% of Black respondents. Compared to their White counterparts, Black respondents are also:

- Less confident that the police are doing their best to serve their community;
- More likely to believe that the police often abuse their power;
- More likely to believe that the police treat poor people worse than wealthy people;
- Less likely to believe that the police treat all people fairly; and
- Less likely to believe that the police treat all people with respect;

Perhaps because of these negative perceptions, Black respondents are also less likely than White respondents to report that they feel safe around the police and are less likely to state that they would go to the police if they had a problem. These racial differences in perceptions of the police are statistically significant (see Table 3.3).

To better summarize the findings from these general attitudinal questions, responses to the ten items were recoded and collapsed into a single *Police Confidence Sca*le (Cronbach's Alpha=.951). This scale ranges from 10 to 50 (mean score=31.17). The higher the score on this measure the higher the respondent's confidence in the Halifax police (see Figure 3.1). The results suggest that White respondents score significantly higher on the *Police Confidence Scale* (mean=32.42) than Black respondents (26.01). This difference is statistically significant ($F=7.235$; $df=3$; $p > .001$).

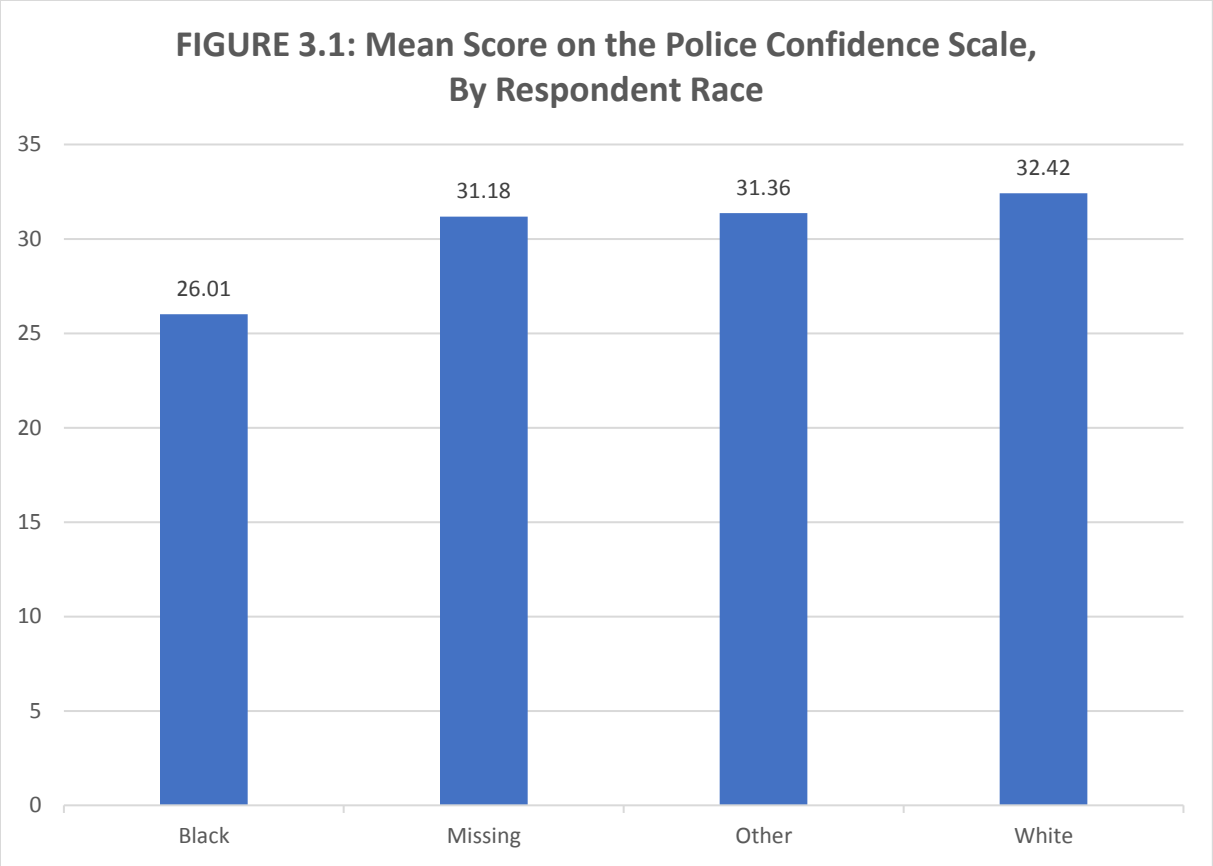
TABLE 3.2:
Percent of Respondents Who Agree or Disagree with Various Statements About the Police

Statement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	Agree	Strongly Agree
I trust the police.	13.0	19.8	22.1	28.1	17.0
I am confident that the police are doing their best to serve my community.	11.1	20.6	21.0	27.1	20.2
If I had a problem I would go to the police for help.	7.1	8.3	20.8	32.7	31.0
The police often abuse their power.	14.1	20.2	21.4	24.8	19.8
The police do a good job keeping my community safe.	7.9	14.1	28.0	34.5	15.5
The police treat wealthy people better than poor people.	11.7	11.9	16.0	20.4	40.1
The police treat people fairly.	19.0	24.0	22.0	24.2	10.9
The police treat people with respect.	11.1	25.0	25.5	25.9	12.5
I feel safe when the police are around.	14.3	17.0	17.8	27.1	23.8
Some people unfairly criticize or complain about the police.	11.6	21.8	18.6	23.0	25.0

TABLE 3.3:
Percent of Respondents Who *Agree* or *Strongly Agr*ee with Various Statements About the Police, by Respondent Race

Statement	*Respondent Race*				*Sig.*
	Black	White	Other	Missing	
I trust the police.	28.6	50.2	50.0	43.2	***
I am confident that the police are doing their best to serve my community.	31.6	52.0	53.9	44.9	***
If I had a problem I would go to the police for help.	42.9	71.8	61.6	58.5	***
The police often abuse their power.	55.9	39.0	42.3	50.0	NS
The police do a good job keeping my community safe.	29.9	55.9	60.0	46.6	***
The police treat wealthy people better than poor people.	76.7	56.5	50.0	61.9	*
The police treat people fairly.	18.2	38.4	34.6	38.2	**
The police treat people with respect.	28.6	40.5	46.2	38.2	*
I feel safe when the police are around.	29.9	56.7	53.9	50.0	**
Some people unfairly criticize or complain about the police.	40.0	49.7	38.4	51.3	NS
Sample Size	**77**	**285**	**26**	**118**	

*** p >.001; ** p >.01; * p >.05; NS = racial difference not statistically significant;



Perceived Treatment of Black People Compared to White People

All respondents were asked: "*In your opinion, do you think the police treat Black people better, worse or the same as White people*?" It is important to note that, regardless of their racial background, the majority of respondents believe the police treat Black people *worse* or *much worse* than White people. By contrast, less than a third of the sample believe that Black people are treated *the same* as White people. Very few respondents think Black people are treated *better* (see Table 3.4). However, it is important to note that Black respondents are significantly more likely to perceive police discrimination than respondents from the other racial categories. For example, 76.7% of Black respondents feel that the police treat Black people worse than White people, compared to 57.4% of Whites. This difference is statistically significant.

TABLE 3.4:
Percent of Respondents Who Believe that the Police Treat Black People Better, Worse or the Same as White People, by Respondent Race

Police Treatment	Respondent Race			
	Black	**White**	**Other**	**Missing**
Much Better	2.6	0.7	3.8	3.4
Better	1.3	3.5	3.8	7.7
The Same	11.7	26.1	30.8	23.9
Depends	7.8	12.3	7.7	6.0
Worse	31.2	34.5	15.4	29.9
Much Worse	45.5	22.9	38.5	29.1
Sample Size	**77**	**285**	**26**	**117**

x^2=34.473; df=15; p >.003

Perceived Treatment of Black People Compared to Other Racial Minorites

All respondents were asked: "*In your opinion, do you think the police treat Black people better, worse or the same as people from other racial minority groups?*" The results suggest that a significant proportion of the sample believes that Black people are treated worse than people from other racial minority backgrounds. In other words, these respondents believe that anti-Black bias within policing is a bigger problem than bias against other racial groups. This view is particularly entrenched among Black respondents. For example, 71.7% of Black respondents believe that the police treat Black people worse than other minorities, compared to 35.6% of White respondents and 42.3% of respondents from other racial backgrounds. By contrast, both White and "other" minority respondents are more likely to believe that the police treat Black people *the same* as people from other racial minority groups (see Table 3.5). These racial differences are statistically significant.

TABLE 3.5:
Percent of Respondents Who Believe that the Police Treat Black People Better, Worse or the Same as People from Other Racial Minority Groups, by Respondent Race

Police Treatment	Respondent Race			
	Black	**White**	**Other**	**Missing**
Much Better	3.9	0.0	3.8	1.7
Better	1.3	5.3	3.8	6.0
The Same	15.6	40.8	42.3	40.2
Depends	7.8	18.3	7.7	11.1
Worse	44.2	31.7	34.6	35.0
Much Worse	27.3	3.9	7.7	6.0
Sample Size	**77**	**285**	**26**	**117**

x^2=75.073; df=15; p >.001

Perceptions of Racial Profiling by the Police

All respondents were asked: "*In your opinion, is racial profiling by the police a problem in the Halifax Region?*" Regardless of race, most respondents believe that police racial profiling is a problem in Halifax. However, Black respondents are more likely to report that it is a major problem. For example, 74.0% of Black respondents believe that racial profiling by the police is a *big problem* in the Halifax region, compared to 36.2% of White respondents and 42.3% of those from other racial groups (see Table 3.6). By contrast, 22.8% of Whites and 34.6% of "other" minority respondents believe that racial profiling is *not a problem at all*, compared to only 9.1% of Black respondents. These racial differences are statistically significant.

TABLE 3.6:
Percent of Respondents Who Believe that Police Racial Profiling is a Problem in the Halifax Region, by Respondent Race

Perception of Racial Profiling	Respondent Race			
	Black	**White**	**Other**	**Missing**
Not a Problem at All	9.1	22.8	34.6	25.9
A Small Problem	9.1	15.8	7.7	12.9
A Problem	6.5	18.9	11.5	19.8
A Big Problem	74.0	36.2	42.3	37.1
Don't Know	1.3	6.3	3.8	4.3
Sample Size	**77**	**285**	**26**	**117**

x^2=42.944; df=12; p >.001

Personal Experience with Police Stops

All respondents were asked the following question: "*Over the past five years have you ever been stopped by the police while riding in a vehicle, walking or hanging out in a public space?"* Consistent with the official street check data (discussed below), the survey results suggest that Black respondents experience a higher rate of police stops than respondents from other racial backgrounds. For example, 50.7% of White respondents indicate that they were not stopped by the police over the past five years, compared to only 23.7% of Black respondents. On the other hand, 51.3% of Black respondents report that they were stopped by the police on multiple occasions over the past five years, compared to only 21.8% of White respondents. In fact, more than a third of Black the respondents (34.2%) report being stopped by the police on three or more occasions, compared to only 12.0% of White respondents (see Table 3.7; Figure 3.1). These racial differences are statistically significant.

TABLE 3.7:
Percent of Respondents Who Report Being Stopped by the Police, in the Halifax Region, over the Past Five Years, by Respondent Race

# of Police Stops	Respondent Race			
	Black	**White**	**Other**	**Missing**
Not Stopped	23.7	50.7	34.6	34.5
Stopped Once	25.0	27.5	34.6	26.7
Stopped Twice	17.1	9.9	7.7	25.0
Stopped Three or More Times	34.2	12.0	23.1	13.8
Sample Size	**77**	**285**	**26**	**117**

x^2=47.487; df=9; p >.001

Further analysis reveals that Black males are particularly vulnerable to police stops. For example, two thirds of Black male respondents (65.7%) report that they were stopped by the police on two or more occasions in the past five years, compared to only 27.5% of White males. It is also interesting to note that Black female respondents (35.9%) were more likely to report multiple police stops than White males. White females (13.3%) are the least likely to report multiple police stops (see Figure 3.3). This race-gender pattern is also observed in the official street check data (see Part E of this report).

FIGURE 3.2: Percent of Respondents Who Report Being Stopped by the Police on Two or More Occassions in the Past Five Years, By Respondent Race

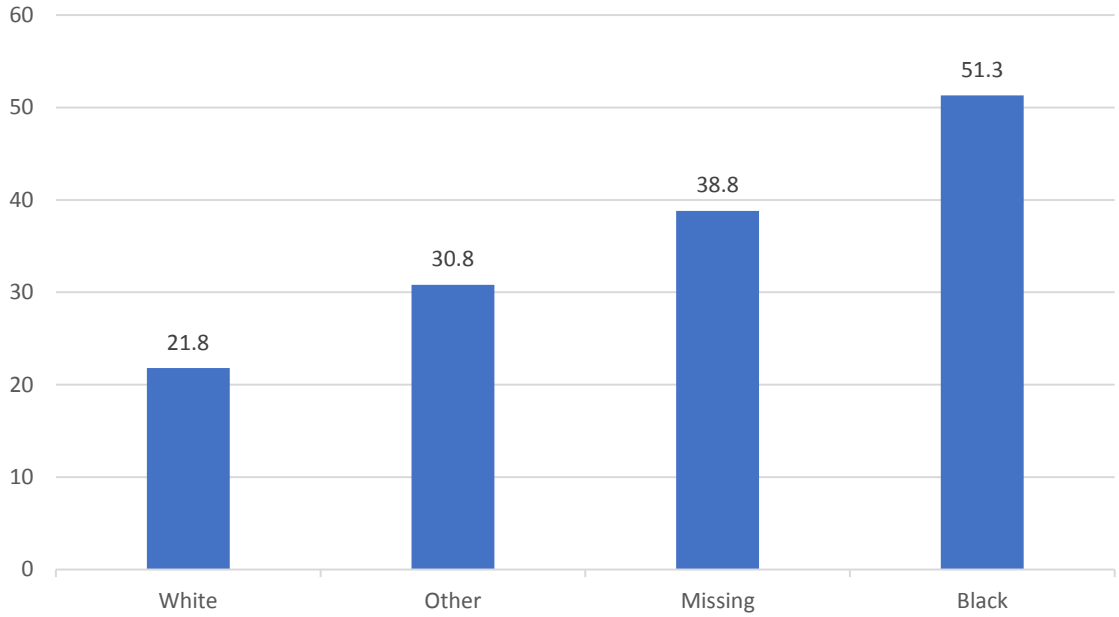
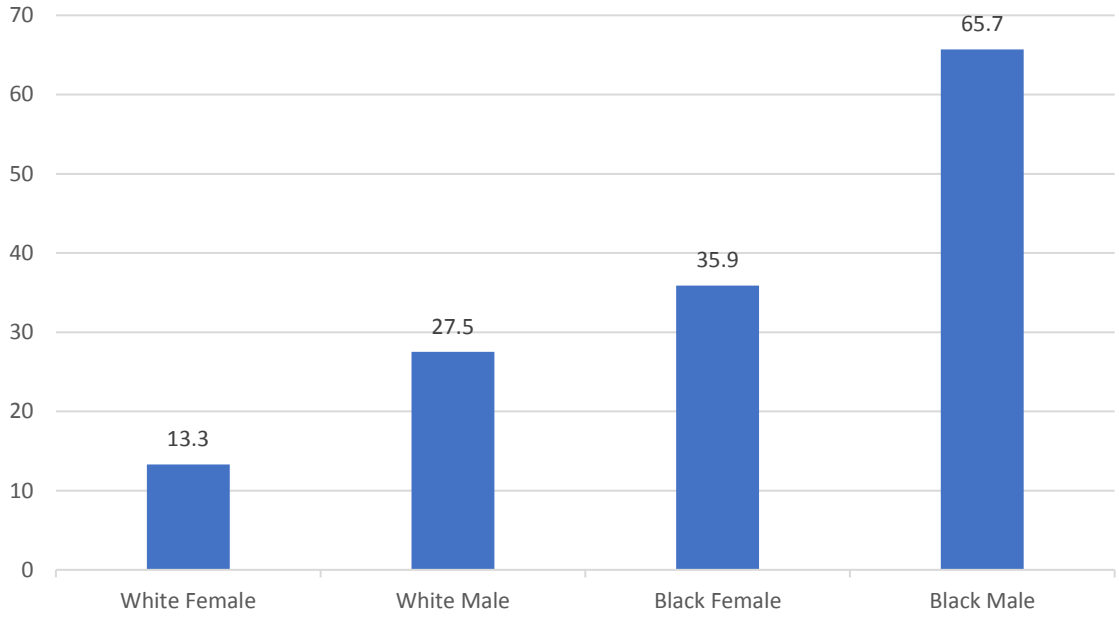


FIGURE 3.3: Percent of Respondents Who Have been Stopped by the Police Two or More Times in the Past Five Years, By Respondent Race and Gender



The Impact of Police Stops

All respondents who indicated that they had been stopped by the police over, the past five years, were subsequently asked whether these stops had caused them concern (see questions A5a to A5g, Appendix C). The results clearly indicate that Black respondents were more negatively impacted by police stops than their White counterparts (see Table 3.8). For example, 74.1% of Black respondents expressed concern that they had been subjected to unfair police treatment, compared to only 33.1% of White respondents. Similarly, 75.9% of Black respondents expressed concern that recent police stops were an invasion of their privacy, compared to only 31.3% of White respondents. Black respondents were also more likely than White respondents to express:

- Concerns that police stops were an inconvenience or a waste of time;
- Concerns that police stops had produced feelings of anxiety or fear;
- Concerns that they had been subjected to disrespectful treatment during a stop; and
- Concerns that a stop could have escalated into a serious conflict with the police;

Importantly, Black respondents were also much more likely to express concern that a recent police stop was motivated by racial bias. For example, two-thirds of Black respondents (65.5%) expressed concern that recent police stops had been caused by racism, compared to 33% of respondents from other racial minority backgrounds and only 11.7% of White respondents (see Table 3.8). In sum, these results strongly suggest that Black respondents are not only concerned about the frequency of involuntary police contact. They are also concerned with how they are treated by the police during those interactions.

TABLE 3.8:
Percent of Respondents Who Were *Concerned* or *Very Concerned* about the Police Stops they had Experienced over the Past Five Years, by Respondent Race

Type of Concern about Police Stops	***Respondent Race***				***Sig.***
	Black	**White**	**Other**	**Missing**	
Concerned that the stop was an invasion of privacy.	71.7	31.3	41.1	50.0	***
Concerned that the stop was an unnecessary inconvenience or a waste of time.	74.5	43.4	35.2	60.6	***
Concerned that the stop made them feel anxious or afraid.	75.9	60.0	52.9	53.9	**
Concerned that police treatment was unfair.	74.1	33.1	35.3	53.3	***
Concerned that the police were disrespectful during the stop.	69.5	40.0	35.3	56.0	***
Concerned that the stop could have escalated into a serious conflict with the police.	59.3	31.8	35.2	44.0	**
Concerned that the stop was caused by racism or racial bias.	65.5	11.7	33.3	34.2	***
Sample Size	**60**	**144**	**17**	**76**	

*** p >.001;
** p >.01;

Vicarious Contact with the Police

The survey also explored the respondents' indirect or vicarious experiences with the police. All respondents were first asked: "*To the best of your knowledge, how many of your close friends and family members have been stopped and questioned by the police in the past five years?*" (see question A7, Appendix C). For the purposes of this analysis, responses were collapsed into three distinct categories: 1) None; 2) A Few; and 3) More than a Few. The results suggest that, not only are Black respondents more likely to report their own experiences with police stops, they are also more likely to be aware of the experiences of close friends and family members. For example, half of the Black respondents (49.4%) report that "more than a few" of their friends and family members have been stopped by the police over the past five years, compared to only 12.0% of White respondents. By contrast, 31.7% of White respondents report that "none" of their friends or family have been stopped by the police in the past five years, compared to just 2.6% of White respondents (see Table 3.9). These racial differences are statistically significant.

TABLE 3.9:
Percent of Respondents Who Report that Their Close Friends or Family Members Have Been Stopped by the Police in the Halifax Region, over the Past Five Years, by Respondent's Race

# of Friends/Family Stopped by the Police	Respondent Race			
	Black	**White**	**Other**	**Missing**
None	2.6	31.7	19.2	19.0
A few	33.8	46.1	50.0	43.1
More than a few	49.4	12.0	19.3	23.3
Don't Know	14.3	10.2	11.5	14.7
Sample Size	**77**	**285**	**26**	**117**

x^2=69.061; df=9; p >.001

All respondents were then asked: "*To the best of your knowledge, how many of your close friends or relatives have stated that they have been treated unfairly by the police over the past five years?*" Once again, significant racial differences emerge (see Table 3.10). For example, 44.2% of Black respondents report that they have "more than a few" friends or family who have been treated unfairly by the police over the past five years, compared to only 11.1% of White respondents. On the other hand, 57.0% of White respondents report that "none" of their family members or friends have been treated unfairly by the police in the past five years, compared to only 13.0% of Black respondents. These findings raise the possibility that Black perceptions of the police are influenced not only by their own personal experiences with the police, but by the experiences of their close friends and family members as well.

TABLE 3.10:
Percent of Respondents Who Report that Their Close Friends or Family Members Have Been Treated Unfairly by the Police over the Past Five Years, by Respondent Race

# of Friends/Family Treated Unfairly by the Police	Respondent Race			
	Black	**White**	**Other**	**Missing**
None	13.0	57.0	42.3	38.8
A few	32.5	26.4	30.8	33.6
More than a few	44.2	11.3	23.1	18.1
Don't Know	10.4	5.3	3.8	9.5
Sample Size	**77**	**285**	**26**	**117**

x^2=68.973; df=9; p >.001

Victim of Racial Profiling

All respondents were asked: "*In your opinion, have you ever been a victim of racial profiling by the police?*" (see question A9, Appendix C). Consistent with the findings presented above, Black respondents (66.2%) were much more likely to perceive that they had been a victim of racial profiling than White respondents (2.8%) or respondents from other racial minority groups (23.1%). This difference is statistically significant (see Table 3.11).

TABLE 3.11:
Percent of Respondents Who Believe that they have Been a Victim of Racial Profiling by the Police, by Respondent Race

Ever a Victim of Racial Profiling	**Respondent Race**			
	Black	**White**	**Other**	**Missing**
Never	33.8	97.2	76.9	81.9
YES -- One or More Times	66.2	2.8	23.1	18.1
Sample Size	**77**	**285**	**26**	**117**

x^2=172.759; df=3; p >.001

Respondents were also asked: "*Have any of your close friends or family members been a victim of racial profiling?"* (see question A10, Appendix C). Three out of four Black respondents (75.3%) reported that they have at least one friend or family member who has been a victim of racial profiling, compared to 30.3% of White respondents and 42.3% of respondents from other racial groups. These racial differences are statistically significant (see Table 3.12). It should be noted that, when talking about victims of police racial profiling, White respondents are often referring to non-White people within their social networks (see discussion in the following sections).

TABLE 3.12:
Percent of Respondents Who Report that they have Family Members or Close Friends Who Have been Racially Profiled by the Police, by Respondent Race

Family/Friends Ever a Victim of Racial Profiling	**Respondent Race**			
	Black	**White**	**Other**	**Missing**
None	24.7	69.7	57.7	56.0
YES -- One or More	75.3	30.3	42.3	44.0
Sample Size	**77**	**285**	**26**	**117**

x^2=51.448; df=3; p >.001

Types of Police Stops

The survey also explored the extent to which, over the past five years, respondents had experienced three specific types of police stop: 1) Pedestrian stops; 2) Driving stops (i.e., being stopped by the police while the driver of a motor vehicle); and 3) Passenger stops (being stopped and questioned by the police while a passenger in a motor vehicle). The data reveal that Black respondents were more likely to experience all three types of police contact (see Table 3.13 through Table 315).

With respect to pedestrian stops, all respondents were asked: "*Over the past five years, have you been stopped and questioned by the police, in the Halifax region, while you were walking or standing on the street or just hanging out in some other public space?"* (see question B1, Appendix C). The results indicate that 44.2% of Black respondents had experienced at least one pedestrian stop in the past five years, compared to only 16.8% of White respondents. In fact, 28.6% of Black respondents had experienced multiple pedestrian stops, compared to only 7.0% of White respondents. These differences are statistically significant (Table 3.13).

With respect to driver stops, all respondents were asked: *"Over the past five years, have you been stopped and questioned by the police, in the Halifax region, when you were the driver of a car, truck, motorcycle or other motor vehicle?"* (see question B2, Appendix C). The results indicate that 70.1% of Black respondents experienced at least one driver stop in the past five years, compared to 43.9% of White respondents. Furthermore, 40.3% of Black respondents reported that they had experienced two or more driver stops, compared to only 17.5% of White respondents. These differences are statistically significant (see Table 3.14).

Finally, with respect to passenger stops, all respondents were asked: *"Over the past five years, have you been stopped and questioned by the police, in the Halifax region, when you were the passenger in a car, truck, motorcycle or other motor vehicle?"* (see question B3, Appendix C). The results suggest that a third of the Black respondents (32.5%) have been subjected to a passenger stop in the past five years, compared to only 17.1% of White respondents. Similarly, 18.2% of Black respondents have been subjected to multiple passenger stops, compared to only 5.6% of White respondents. These racial differences are statistically significant (see Table 3.15).

TABLE 3.13:
Percent of Respondents Who Report that, during the past Five Years, they have Been Stopped and Questioned by the Police While Walking or Standing in a Public Place, by Respondent Race

Number of Pedestrian Stops	**Respondent Race**			
	Black	**White**	**Other**	**Missing**
None	55.8	83.2	61.5	87.3
One	15.6	9.8	23.1	6.8
Two or More	28.6	7.0	15.4	5.9
Sample Size	**77**	**285**	**26**	**117**

x^2=45.500; df=6; p >.001

TABLE 3.14:
Percent of Respondents Who Report that, during the past Five Years, they have Been Stopped and Questioned by the Police While Driving a Car, Truck or Other Motor Vehicle, by Respondent Race

Number of Traffic Stops	Respondent Race			
	Black	**White**	**Other**	**Missing**
None	29.9	56.1	34.6	77.1
One	29.9	26.3	23.1	11.0
Two or More	40.3	17.5	42.2	11.9
Sample Size	**77**	**285**	**26**	**117**

x^2=56.783; df=6; p >.001

TABLE 3.15:
Percent of Respondents Who Report that, during the past Five Years, they have Been Stopped and Questioned by the Police when they were a Passenger in a Car or Other Motor Vehicle, by Respondent Race

Number of Passenger Stops	Respondent Race			
	Black	**White**	**Other**	**Missing**
None	67.5	82.9	76.9	87.3
One	14.3	11.6	7.7	5.9
Two or More	18.2	5.6	15.4	6.8
Sample Size	**77**	**285**	**26**	**117**

x^2=19.811; df=6; p >.001

Details of Most Impactful Police Stop

All respondents who reported that they had been stopped by the police in the past five years were asked to provide information on the on the encounter that had the greatest impact on them. This section of the survey began with the following question: *"Please think about all the times you have been stopped by the police in the past five years. Now think about the police stop that you remember the most or the stop that had the biggest impact on you. When did that stop take place?"* (see question B4, Appendix C). The results suggest that about half of these "most impactful" or "most remembered" stops (49.4%) occurred within the past two years, while the other half (45.5%) occurred within the past two to five years. In 5.1% of these cases, the respondent could not recall exactly when the stop had taken place.

Most of these police stops (74.8%) were "driver" stops (i.e., the respondent was driving a vehicle at the time they were stopped by the police). By contrast, only 13.2% were "pedestrian" stops and only 12.0% were classified as passenger stops (see definitions above). Most of these stops occurred outside of the respondent's own community (68.9%). In about half the cases the respondents reported that they were alone at the time of the stop (54.7%). Racial differences did not emerge with respect to the timeframe of the stop, type of stop, location of the stop or the

number of civilians involved in the stop. However, Black respondents (86.8%) were more likely to report that they had been stopped by HRP officers than their White counterparts (66.4%). By contrast, White respondents were more likely to report that they had been stopped by RCMP officers (33.6%) than Black respondents (13.2%). This difference is statistically significant.

All respondents were asked whether, during their most impactful police stop, the officers had provided a reason or justification for conducting the stop. Black respondents (21.1%) were more likely to state that the officers *had not* provided a reason than White respondents (8.1%). A similar proportion of Black and White respondents stated that they had been stopped for a traffic violation. White respondents were slightly more likely to report that they were stopped as part of a random check, while Black and other minority respondents were slightly more likely to state that they had been stopped for "suspicious activity." These racial differences do not reach statistical significance (see Table 3.16).

TABLE 3.16:
Reason for Most Recent Stop, as Provided by the Police Officer, by Respondent Race

Reason for Police Stop	Respondent Race			
	Black	White	Other	Missing
No Reason Provided	21.1	8.1	5.9	11.5
Traffic Infraction	43.9	46.7	35.3	34.6
Random Check	22.8	34.8	35.3	46.2
Crime Suspect/Suspicious Behaviour	12.3	10.4	23.5	7.7
Sample Size	**56**	**135**	**17**	**26**

x^2=13.296; df=9; p >.150

Respondents were then asked whether they believed the reason for the stop that had been provided by the officers (see Table 3.17). Black respondents (70.9%) were much more likely to report that they *did not believe* the reason provided by the police than White respondents (29.5%). This difference is statistically significant.

TABLE 3.17:
Percent of Respondents Who Did and Did Not Believe the Reason for the Stop Provided by the Police Officer, by Respondent Race

Belief in Police Reason for Stop	Respondent Race			
	Black	White	Other	Missing
Believed the Reason	29.1	70.5	66.7	69.2
Did not Believe the Reason	70.9	29.5	33.3	30.8
Sample Size	**56**	**135**	**17**	**26**

x^2=29.127; df=3; p >.001

All respondents who did not believe the officer's explanation for the stop were asked why they think they were stopped. Twenty-three of the thirty-nine Black respondents (58.9%) who were asked this question explicitly stated that, in their opinion, they were stopped because of their race or because of racial bias. The following responses are typical.

> *Because I and my passengers, who were my kids, are non-White and they wanted to see who was in the vehicle, maybe see what we were up to and if they could possibly catch us doing something.*
>
> *Because I was Black driving an expensive car.*
>
> *Because I was driving a high-end car and was a Black woman.*
>
> *Because I'm Black and I was not where they expect Black people to be (i.e. North End Halifax).*
>
> *Because of race.*
>
> *Black women driving a black car.*
>
> *I believe I was stopped because I am Black.*
>
> *I think they stopped us because we were Black and coming from a public housing area.*
>
> *I was a Black woman driving my car in an area of the city where sex workers often work.*
>
> *I was Black driving nice car.*
>
> *I was driving a newer car and I was a young Black man. He asked me what the speed limit was to which I answered correctly. I asked him if I was speeding and he replied I wasn't. Didn't give me any other reason for pulling me over.*
>
> *Nice car, young Black me. Said it was for speeding, but gave me a ticket for a lesser violation.*
>
> *The police use bias to help with policing. Sometimes a racial bias is used, other times it's not related to race, but maybe location, or type of vehicle, or age, and skin-colour. These are all common factors that law enforcement officers will use.*
>
> *Race and age.*
>
> *Racial bias. Class bias. Police hate poor Black people.*
>
> *Racial profiling.*
>
> *The police stopped me because I am a Black man. The police hate Black men.*
>
> *The police stopped us because a Black man was driving an expensive truck in a White neighbourhood.*

White police officers only stopped me because of my visible ethnicity.

Because they were told I was involved with crime by an officer that was so wrong. He assumed. Most times it's the Black officers that are causing this problem. They are racist to their own kind.

They are afraid of Black people and this is a way of showing some form of power over a Black person.

Other respondents stated that they were stopped because of the car they were driving, the neighbourhood they were in or the clothes they were wearing. These respondents suggest that they were stopped by the police who were looking for evidence of criminal activity. Although these respondents did not directly identify their race as a factor, their comments allude to the fact that race, in combination with other factors, may have contributed to the police decision to stop them. The following quotes illustrate this theme.

As I was coming home from class the police stopped me and questioned me about where I was going and if the laptop in my bag was in fact mine and if I had a receipt.

Because I drove a black car with tinted windows and the officer wanted to know who I was. Thankfully my wife was with me. He accused me of driving through a crosswalk with people in it. This was not true. He did not give me a ticket or identify himself. My wife confirmed my disagreement with him. He didn't expect to pull over a son of a police officer and a strong community member.

Because of the neighbourhood I was in. And looking to see who I may have picked up and asking questions regarding that neighbourhood.

I had my ID on my lap when the officer approached the car. The officer rudely said, "I didn't ask to see that (my ID)," so I put it away. He circles the exterior of my car very slowly twice as if he was looking for something and did the same to the interior of my car. Not much was spoken, except that we took a turn too quickly and he asked us where we were going. I felt this was intimidation, as this was one of the first times I had driven out to East Preston. As if my vehicle was spotted for being new. I was simply picking up my boyfriend's nieces and nephew for Halloween. He let us go, but I felt very uncomfortable, as if I committed a serious crime. I didn't do anything wrong.

I think they stopped us because the car was a candy-red Saab.

They asked me how I could afford such nice clothes, 'How's a boy like you have such nice clothing.'

I was stopped because of my last name and where I'm from when he ran my plates. My rear windows are tinted and that's where the tint excuse came from.

It was at night and the vehicle behind me and the oncoming car had their high beam lights on. I was in in a residential area. The light was bright, so I slowed down and neared the right shoulder white line and proceeded cautiously. Immediate afterwards the police red/blue lights appeared, and I pulled over. I did not know it was a RCMP vehicle following me for several kilometers to my surprise. She and he both approached the vehicle with hand on their hip belts. They said they thought I had gone over the line. They looked into my vehicle with flashlights and into my face, then asked for my ID. I was so nervous and scared. She and he said they thought I had went over the line.

The police, without proof are just fishing, just like on the internet.

By contrast, White respondents, who did not believe the police explanation for the stop, rarely mentioned race. There were two exceptions. One White female believed she was stopped because she was in the company of a Black male. Another believed she was stopped because she lives in a mainly Black community.

I am a White female, and I was riding as a passenger with a Black male colleague. The interaction with the police was almost entirely with me (the passenger), so I believe the police thought I was being victimized by the driver.

I am a White person that lives in a predominantly Black community. I believe that the police thought that I was someone else or just saw me driving past them and decided to stop me.

While Black respondents often focussed on racial bias, White respondents reported that they think were stopped because the police were actively looking for criminal behaviour, for evidence of driving while intoxicated, or to meet traffic ticket quotas. Some thought this was an abuse of police power. Others though it was acceptable law enforcement behaviour and evidence that the police were trying to ensure public safety. These results suggest that, although Black respondents tend to report many more police stops than White respondents, not all White respondents view their police encounters as legitimate. Interestingly, two White respondents noted that if they, as White people, were treated badly by the police, the treatment of racial minorities is likely to be even worse.

Because rather than fighting the crime that is going on, they search for clues from innocent people.

Boredom. No idea. I just drove to the grocery store to buy food. I was stopped in parking lot and accused of buying drugs. No probable cause. No other interaction than just driving into the parking lot and being boxed in by two rude, plain clothes officers in an unmarked Jeep whom did not even identify themselves as such.

I felt I was stopped because the police man was attempting to hit on me and make me feel uncomfortable.

I think it was just really to do a check. As I feel that he was really trying to hit his target tickets. He was rude and there was no need to have a second car come and box me in. I was stopped in a safe spot. At sixty-three years of age, what did he think I was going to do?

I think that the police like to know what people are up to, so they may have actually been looking for suspects, but they were also taking the pulse of what was going on.

I think they may have thought I was drunk or high because I wasn't wearing shoes. Really, I was trying to prevent my shoes from being ruined. I was young and walking in a student-dense area, though.

I was driving to work at 4:30 am and was the only vehicle on the street. I was told by the officer that he stopped me because they had a call that there was an impaired driver in the area. The officer never looked at my eyes with a flash light, never tried to smell in my vehicle and only asked me why I was up so early. It was different from every other interaction I've had with law enforcement.

Just to abuse their power and to intimidate.

Overzealous, power trippy.

Police officer had an aggressive and negative attitude. Macho.

Police revenue/tax grab.

Routine check. Just doing their job.

They believed that I did not come to a complete stop. Given the area of the incident and the speed of traffic they were more concerned about my safety.

They were called by someone else at the scene of a minor fender bender. We didn't require their help and the two drivers were content to exchange information. But the police still inserted themselves into the situation and were so on edge that I... a citizen with no training, had to de-escalate them. I trusted police before that incident. No more. Their power is disproportionate. I can only imagine how racialized Nova Scotians feel.

They were fishing. Searched me and the car for an hour (suspected drugs) and then let me go with no charges and no apology.

Trying to impress a ride along

Unclear, no rationale explained. It felt like a violation of rights as if the officer was trying to meet a quota for traffic stops.

We were teens hanging out. They don't trust us when we spend time in groups in residential areas.

Because, over all, police here are angry little boys who don't seem to realize their job is to help citizens, not harass them. I'm a White lady, living in a very White city. And yet I've experienced two specific incidents now where officers have sided with drivers who have made traffic offences and threatened me because I was cycling/walking in a lawful way. I cannot even begin to image how badly you officers treat visible minorities.

After being questioned about the perceived reason or justification for the police stop, respondents were asked whether they think they were treated respectfully by the officers involved in the incident (see question B25, Appendix C). The results suggest that Black respondents were less likely to believe they were treated with respect (32.1%) than White respondents (50.7%) or respondents form other racial backgrounds (58.8%). This difference is statistically significant (see Table 3.18).[5]

Respondents were then asked whether they were treated fairly or unfairly by the police during their "most impactful" stop (see question B26, Appendix C). Consistent with other results, Black respondents were much more likely than White respondents to believe that they had been treated unfairly (see Table 3.19). For example, almost six out of ten Black respondents (58.1%) reported that they had been treated unfairly or very unfairly by the police, compared to only 30.6% of White respondents. This racial difference is statistically significant.

Respondents were next asked about how upset they were as a result of the police stop (see question B27, Appendix C). The data indicate that Black respondents were much more likely to be upset by their police encounter than White respondents. For example, over half of the Black respondents (55.4%) indicated that they were *very upset* by the incident, compared to only 25.4% of White respondents. By contrast, 40.3% of White respondents indicated that they *were not upset at all* by the police stop in question, compared to only 21.4% of Black respondents. These differences are statistically significant (see Table 3.20).

[5] The survey also asked about actions taken by the police during the police stop. Few racial differences emerged. For example, regardless of racial background, almost all respondents indicated that the police had requested ID. However, the results do suggest that Black respondents were somewhat more likely to report being searched by the police (21.4%) than White respondents (14.4%). However, this racial differences does not reach statistical significance.

TABLE 3.18:
Percent of Respondents Who Feel that the Police Treated them With Respect During their Last Police Stop, by Respondent Race

Level of Respect	Respondent Race			
	Black	White	Other	Missing
Not Treated with Respect	67.9	49.3	41.2	34.6
Treated with Respect	32.1	50.7	58.8	65.4
Sample Size	**56**	**135**	**17**	**26**

x^2=9.962; df=3; p >.019

TABLE 3.19:
Percent of Respondents Who Feel that they Were Treated Fairly by the Police During their Last Police Stop, by Respondent Race

Perceived Police Treatment	Respondent Race			
	Black	White	Other	Missing
Treated Very Unfairly	34.5	16.4	17.6	15.4
Treated Unfairly	23.6	14.2	11.8	7.7
Neither Fairly or Unfairly	9.2	10.5	5.9	11.5
Treated Fairly	14.5	11.9	5.9	7.7
Treated Very Fairly	18.2	47.0	58.8	57.7
Sample Size	**56**	**135**	**17**	**26**

x^2=22.888; df=12; p >.029

TABLE 3.20:
Percent of Respondents Who Felt *Upset* or *Very Upset* After their Last Police Stop, by Respondent Race

Impact of Last Stop	Respondent Race			
	Black	White	Other	Missing
Not Upset at All	21.4	40.3	29.4	61.5
A Little Upset	23.2	34.3	47.1	15.4
Very Upset	55.4	25.4	23.5	23.1
Sample Size	**56**	**135**	**17**	**26**

x^2=25.913; df=6; p >.001

Finally, respondents were asked about the outcome of their most impactful police stop (see question B24, Appendix C). Regardless of racial background, about half of all respondents indicated that *no action* had been taken by the police. Similarly, equal proportions of Black, White

and other minority respondents were either given a ticket or a warning. Regardless of race, very few respondents report that they had been arrested. In sum, racial differences with respect to stop outcomes did not reach statistical significance (see Table 3.21). In sum, consistent with legitimacy and compliance theory, respondents seem to be more impacted by the frequency of police stops, and their treatment during these police encounters, than legal outcomes.

TABLE 3.21:
Outcome of Last Stop, by Respondent Race

Stop Outcome	**Respondent Race**			
	Black	**White**	**Other**	**Missing**
No Action Taken by Police	50.0	51.9	50.0	57.7
Police Issued a Warning	19.6	18.8	18.8	15.4
Ticket Issued	26.8	26.3	31.3	19.2
Arrest	3.6	3.0	0.0	7.7
Sample Size	**56**	**135**	**17**	**26**

x^2=3.023; df=9; p >.963

Negative Experiences with the Police

In order to further explore respondent experiences with the police, the survey asked about other negative – and positive – experiences. Positive police experiences are discussed in the next section. All respondents were asked: *"Have you ever had a bad or negative experience with the police? Can you describe some of these bad or negative experiences?"* Forty-nine of the seventy-seven Black respondents (63.6%) provided details of at least one negative police experience, compared to only 31.9% of the two hundred and eighty-five White respondents.
Many of the Black respondents simply stated that, over their lifetime, they have had too many negative police experiences to describe:

> *I have had countless negative interactions with the police, as has every Black person in Halifax.*
>
> *Too many to count. I'd need to write a book on the subject.*
>
> *There are several experiences that are too many to detail.*
>
> *I've had too many negative experiences to count.*
>
> *Too many to remember. Each time I was roughed up and abused.*
>
> *Two many to write about. Too much to write.*

Other Black respondents provided more detailed descriptions of the negative encounters they have had with the police in the Halifax region. These negative experiences range from rude or disrespectful treatment, to police stops, to under-policing to police brutality. The following quotes illustrate the range of responses:

> *I've been stopped in a vehicle on numerous times. I've been called a dog and had my paperwork thrown back at me. Been pulled over when I was younger by police, when I was with my brother (who was driving), and called drug dealers and threatened that they were going to arrest us. I had a gun pointed at my face when the police were called about a possible weapon and assumed that it was the Black young adults who had it.*
>
> *I have been told by police, while standing outside my own house, that the people who lived in this neighborhood would not like someone like me hanging around, as the neighborhood was too nice for the Black person to live in. I have been harassed for walking down the street doing nothing and told someone broke into a building and I fit the description.*
>
> *My bad experiences are too numerous to count. Since I was a child, the police have stopped me and my friends more than they stopped groups of White kids. Now, as an adult, I get pulled over more than my White coworkers. I get asked where I'm going. How I know people. I've been asked how I can afford my car. I've been asked if I know any of 'those guys' in North Preston.*
>
> *A few years ago, when myself and a few friends would go downtown, some police were disrespectful and belittling, as if they were handling a conflict and you were in the same area.*
>
> *A guy named (name of police of officer) walked into my house with his gun and threatened me. I was told I would go to jail if I tried to remain silent. Told repeatedly that a ' boy like you doesn't fit the profile of a professional' by a White female constable in Bedford in 2013. When I threatened to complain she said, 'I dare you. You don't want to cross me.'*
>
> *A Halifax police officer told me that basketball leagues for Black youth and Indigenous hockey tournaments were reverse racism and racism against White people. They were creating more divide in society and more racism against Blacks and Natives.*
>
> *Being constantly stopped by police for no reason.*
>
> *Police stopping me, cursing at me and really, badly yelling and screaming.*
>
> *My friend was pulled from the car beaten and myself and my sister and cousin had guns held to our heads.*

I have observed how some young Black men were treated negatively by the police.

I've had bad experiences downtown in the bar district with some of the beat cops who assumed I was more intoxicated than I was, which resulted in a verbal argument that ended with me in the drunk tank.

I've had a police officer tell me that a man being beat up by six cops deserved it because he was a supposed woman beater. I've had cops tell me to write statements as a witness to a crime without any options of not writing. I waited three hours for the cops to show up after an ex-partner violated a restraining order, only to have them ask me if I wanted to wait and resolve the issue the next day because they were busy. I've been followed on foot by police in my own neighbourhood on numerous occasions and tailed behind my car long enough to run my plate, but then they realize I don't have any reason to be stopped.

Many bad experiences over that last 20 years. Very poor police services. Bad training techniques taught to new officers to decrease time involvement. Caught a few officers in outright lies in order to by pass a certain step, such as saying something is a ticket-able offence when it isn't. Could keep the examples coming. The history is not good. I could go on for days here with my bad experiences.

I was stopped on my way to my grandfather's funeral. I was a passenger in the back seat. The officer asked my name as well. I refused. The driver and the passenger were afraid to ask why they were being stopped. From the back seat I asked point blank why we were being stopped. He didn't have an answer. I asked him for his name, badge number and licence plate. Then he backed off. And told me to go get the license plate myself.

The police attacked my friends with pepper spray and attack dogs without warning and arrested one person -- which was later put to summary court and the charges were dropped. The police also attacked my friends during a protest, when the police threatened to arrest us and then pushed and shoved adults and children off the road.

Yes, in calling for an immediate end to street checks, the current Chief refused to end them and police oversight bodies have not held the HRP or RCMP accountable. There is no legal justification for engaging in street checks and they should be prohibited.

They are quick to give our Black male youth a hard time and sometimes for nothing, my son is always getting pulled over for driving a nice car.

Yes, my son was robbed at knife point and we went to police station, after hours, to report the incident. The officer said: 'since when do White men rob Black

men?' He was very dismissive of us, yet my young son was traumatized by the event and dehumanized by that officer.

Police asking questions about where I'm going and why I am where I am? What business do I have around this area? They make you feel intimidated.

I've found its mostly just rudeness.

I was pulled over with my girlfriend at the time and the officer kept asking her if she was fine and if she was in the car by choice. We were both very offended and traumatized by this treatment. He assumed that I was holding my girlfriend hostage with the intent of doing something. I was just driving her home.[6]

As discussed above, White respondents were much less likely to report negative experiences with the police than their Black counterparts. Several White respondents wanted to stress that they had never in their life had a negative experience with the police. No Black respondent gave this type of answer:

I've never had a negative experience with the police.

No. I am a first responder and respect all the police do.

No. I respect the HRP and the RCMP and the work they do.

No. I've always found the HRP and RCMP professional.

No. They are just doing their job. If we are nice to them, they are nice back. They are nice until they can't be nice anymore and have to do their job.

Not personally. I have seen negativity directed towards police, but not the other way around.

All positive! The police patiently and professionally dispersed an angry drunk mob of students that took over my neighborhood last fall.

Other White respondents communicated that, in their opinion, they had not had negative encounters with the police because they are protected by their racial background. These

[6] As discussed above, several inquiry participants believed that they had been stopped by the police because they were part of an inter-racial couple. In each case, the respondents reported that the police inquired about the well-being of the White female passenger and asked her whether she needed help. In all cases, the respondents felt insulted or angered by the exchange. In such cases, it is quite possible that the police were looking for evidence of human trafficking. As another survey respondent explained: "*I was Pulled over for a traffic violation in Toronto. When he (the officer) saw a pretty White female in the backseat (a co-worker and good friend) he started asking her if she was with me of her own free will. I'm Black and from Nova Scotia so I must be pimp right? When I objected, I was told to shut up and watched as he unsnapped his holstered gun."*

respondents acknowledge the existence of White privilege and racial bias within the Halifax region. The following quotes illustrate this perspective:

> *I believe the reason I have not been stopped by police the way that many of my neighbours, friends and colleagues have is because I am White and middle-class.*
>
> *No, because I'm White.*
>
> *No, I've just heard about other people's extremely negative experiences. I tend not to have to interact with police because I'm White and don't get racially profiled.*
>
> *I have not had negative experiences and likely I will not have them, given my race and status in this community.*
>
> *Through my work I regularly see minority people treated in a negative way by the police, largely due to race-based assumptions. As a middle-class White person, I am never treated this way or stopped.*
>
> *I have not personally had a negative experience with the police, most likely because I am White. I feel I would have a lot more to say if I was Black. When I hear Black people talk about their experiences with the police it is much different than mine, which leads me to believe there is a big problem.*

Other White respondents reported that their most negative experiences with the police involved the treatment of Black friends or family members:

> *I am White, but I have witnessed negative police interactions. My partner, who is a visible minority, was pulled over by the police and I was the passenger. The police took me away from the car and tried to encourage me to make claims of domestic violence. I told them he hadn't done anything wrong and that he was not violent. They questioned him separately and ended up letting us go after detaining us for some time. In a separate incident, his parent's home was robbed and the robbers had spent time mutilating and destroying all of the religious icons in the home. I felt it might have been a hate crime. The police came and spent a few minutes walking around before declaring that it was probably my partner who had robbed his own family's home and they would not be investigating. He has never been involved with the police in any way. He has a Master's degree. He is not a criminal, but he has always been treated as one by the HRP.*
>
> *Yes. My boyfriend is Black, and we used to get pulled over by the police all the time. Driving while being Black is a common trend in Nova Scotia. This hasn't happened in about 6 years, but ten years ago it was really bad.*
>
> *I have watched several young Black male friends stopped and street checked by HRP. I am a White male and walk the same streets and have never been street*

checked. As a White person who, other than the colour of my skin, is exactly the same as these men, it makes me feel powerless that they are consistently subjected to something I am not. When I watch it happen, it makes me feel awful about my community.

I'm White and my fifteen-year-old son is Black. We have been questioned by the police about our relationship in an offensive way. I worry about when he starts driving.

I have witnessed interactions that were negative. In one instance a Black male youth was fundraising door to door in my predominantly White neighborhood. The police were called, responded, and questioned the youth extensively about his activities in the neighborhood. The youth then came to my door. We spoke about his experience. It was not good, but he seemed more resigned to the situation than angry. He was not as angry as I was. The second incident involved three Black male youths who were friends of my daughter. They had come to our home after receiving a text from my daughter that concerned them. They had come to my door to show me the text. Unsure of what to do and unwilling to leave until they were sure she was okay, they waited for me to get home and let them know that she was okay. In the meantime, someone in the neighbourhood called the police. I then had to intervene and explain that they were where friends of my daughter and that they were in our community out of an abundance of concern for my daughter. Had I not been a White middle-aged woman, I'm not sure how that would have concluded.

Although White respondents are less likely to complain about negative police experiences, when they do complain they tend to highlight many of the same types of behaviour as their Black counterparts: unfair or arbitrary police stops, illegitimate requests for personal ID, illegal searches, the dismissal or downplaying of criminal victimization, threats of arrest for non-compliance with police commands and other rude or aggressive police treatment. The following quotes are typical of the sentiments expressed by some White respondents:

A police officer in uniform questioned my kid, in Grade Two, alone in a room, about another classmate having stolen a toy. I was not told about this or asked to come to the location where this was happening. A six-year-old shouldn't be made to feel like a criminal, or that they have to be bullied by an adult in a scary uniform to tell the truth (which they had already done, and there was very clear evidence of that).

About seven years ago an officer came to my front door. A neighbour's house had been broken into a few nights prior. A tv was stolen. He was further investigating this theft. I explained I had been away at my cottage the night this happened. I felt the officer seemed to doubt what I was saying. He asked for my name, which I gave, then asked for my SIN number. I felt uncomfortable giving this and asked if it was necessary. He said no it wasn't, so I didn't give it. The interaction felt uncomfortable and I felt as if the officer thought I was lying. A

few weeks later I heard from my neighbour a teenage boy had been arrested for possession of the tv.

Approximately eight years ago my friends and I were targeted because we we're Gay. One of our group was arrested for public intoxication, even though he had only had one drink. The officer used slurs such as homo and faggots when dealing with our group. When we went to headquarters to make a complaint and find out what was happening to our friend, the Duty Sargent said this can go two ways, you can leave and pick him up in the morning, or I'll take your complaint, but you'll join him downstairs.

Bullies all of them. Too much testosterone. They're habitual liars. They intimidate to justify heavy handed actions. They are abusive with their powers, they act above the law. I look at them as tax collecting thugs with guns.

I have experienced aggressive or confrontational policing during nonviolent political protests. At other times have experienced respectful policing during similar events.

I couldn't believe what happened, an officer made very suggestive comments. I am older, but was concerned that had I been a younger woman and alone I would have been very uncomfortable.

I have been attacked and beaten with my nose broken in a random attack by a stranger. This happened in front of a police officer who did nothing to intervene. The police officer said that the way I was dressed meant I was asking for trouble.

I have heard accounts of police using excessive and unwarranted force on friends legally attending demonstrations. I hear allegations of systemic rape, bullying and dysfunctional behaviour codified within the ranks of the RCMP against their own members. I have heard stories of experiences leaning from sexual harassment up to attempted murder from my Indigenous friends. All members of the police idle in their vehicles and sometimes have blocked my driveway, for an unnecessarily long period of time trying to intimidate people receiving speeding tickets. I have zero confidence that they are subject to any laws themselves and certainly believe they are above the law.

I once had a police officer tell me they did not believe that the allegation I was making against a man was true and refuse to take my statement because of it.

I was the victim of an assault and I had a police officer tell me it wasn't something he was meant to deal with because another officer was on file. He essentially tried to convince me NOT to press charges because he didn't want to do the paperwork. It wasn't his job.

I was wrongfully arrested and accused of drug trafficking because of my husband's legal weed license, which ruined my career as a counselling therapist for 5 years plus.

I've witnessed police using excessive violence against members of the public that the police felt were not doing as they were told. The people often aren't doing as they were told. But slamming non-violent, non-compliant people against the ground is completely unacceptable.

If they stop you downtown and you refuse to answer their questions, they automatically threaten to send you to the tank. Regardless if you're impaired or not.

They showed a lack of empathy after my house was broken into. Also, I felt slighted to see police on pedal bikes issuing parking tickets at the beach when home in my neighborhood were being broken into.

I work with street-involved people in a shelter and have had many interactions in that context. My experiences range from very good to very bad. On rare occasions, I felt the police were disrespectful to me as the shelter worker. More frequently, I felt they were disrespectful to the shelter guests. But on many occasions, they also were extremely good at dealing with the shelter guests respectfully.

One time I was at a party where my friend's boyfriend was being arrested and she was crying and screaming, and a cop came over and tackled her to the ground. We reported him to the Tantallon RCM, but nothing ever happened.

Once I was stopped at a road check by RCMP's and my MVI was past due by a month and the officer gave me a hard time about it. He was just being an asshole. Other then that I never had any problems.

I've been randomly pulled over for no apparent reason. That would be a bad experience.

Several. Very rude, arrogant individuals. Complete us against the world mentality. Seems they have their minds already made up before initiating any actions. The just act like assholes and build up the circumstances around their actions to justify their own misdeeds. No one, and I mean no one I know, trusts the HRP and I am not a racial minority.

The main negative experiences I have had have been being stopped on the streets and questioned about where I am going and why. I generally like to ask the cops why they want to know that when they stop me. Most of the time they are friendly, and answer my questions, but occasionally they do not like it, and treat me with

rudeness. Police officers in their cars seem far more confrontational than those on foot.

The police have been threatening at peaceful protests I have attended.

Twice I've had stolen property and the police seem to just not care at all. One of those instances included a broken window and theft of a GPS unit from a vehicle.

When I was a teen I was illegally searched, but otherwise no major contacts.

When trying to report non-emergency crime, was asked so much personal information that it made us feel like we were the criminals instead of victims/witnesses to a crime. In addition, we had the feeling that we weren't being taken very seriously. I think that this is why people don't report incidents to the police.

Yes. A police officer questioned me about drugs and alcohol in the middle of the afternoon. I found it invasive as there were no signs at all of this. Police officers drive around all day entering people's license plates and typing into their computer and it is dangerous.

Yes, when they had threatened to arrest me at school when I did nothing wrong and had been just walking up to my car. Or when the cop had randomly come up to my car window and banged on it with the baton, very rudely, and was ignorant to me and failed to tell me that he had flagged my car that night for NO REASON.

Yes, every time. I have never been treated respectfully by a police officer. I have been stopped and harassed many times, without ever being charged for a crime.

Yes, while volunteering with an ex-offender he was arrested. He was arrested for violating parole while in a green space, despite the fact that his parole officer gave explicit consent for this offender to be there. The officers never acknowledged us volunteers, which made it feel as though they weren't seeking the truth of the circumstances.

Yes. I was crossing the street alone from my home to my neighbour's home and had one bottle of beer in my hand. I was completely sober. A paddy wagon pulled up with two White male cops in it. The driver put down his window and began immediately screaming at me. The entire situation was extremely aggressive and a clear use of intimidation tactics that I can't imagine would ever be used on a respected citizen. Ultimately, they threatened and screamed at me to pour out the beer or get a ticket and they drove on.

Under surveillance for community activism, including being followed and phone line tapped.

Yes. I was given a date rape drug and was fortunate enough to have friends recognize something was wrong. They helped me. I reported to police next day. The officer who was assigned treated me like garbage, accusing me of being a drunk party girl. I was forty-eight years old and out in a local pub with friends listening to a band and had two glasses of wine. I rarely drink and have stable life and career. Dealing with him was just as bad as the experience of being drugged. I would never report this again if I could go back.

Was attending a protest when an officer shoved a protester to the ground and arrested another on spurious charges which were dismissed.

Positive Experiences with the Police

All respondents were asked *"Have you ever had a positive experience with the police? Can you describe some of these good or positive experiences?"* (see question B30, Appendix C). The results reveal that Black respondents were twice as likely to describe negative experiences with the police (63.6%) as they were to describe positive experiences (35.1%). However, it is important to note that half (48.9%) of the Black respondents who reported a negative experience with the police, also reported a positive experience. Nonetheless, in response to this question, several respondents stressed that they have *never* had a positive interaction with the police. As one individual noted: "*I am waiting, but I have not been fortunate enough to experience a positive one as of yet*." As the following quotes reveal, other respondents stressed that they have had many positive experiences with the police:

Positive interactions every time. Never a problem.

Police are generally respectful and polite during interactions on the street.

Lots of positive experiences. At community days, on traffic stops. Most police officers are good at their jobs.

Many good experiences with officers.

Policing is difficult. I have positive experiences with officers I know personally, particularly Black officers who have challenges themselves working within the system.

Positive experiences with a Black officer I met once at a Tim Hortons. He seemed like a nice guy.

Yes, I have had both good and bad experiences with the police.

My experiences are positive. But I believe, because I am a female, I don't get stopped as much as my brother would.

Other respondents described specific incidents in which the police helped them with a problem or treated them with respect:

> *After phoning HRM police about my neighbour (who I hadn't seen in a few days), the female officers (one Black and one White) arrived and did a wellness check on my neighbour. They were superb. And it was not lost of me that they were both female.*
>
> *A police officer saved my life.*
>
> *I was once pulled over because my permit had expired a few days beforehand. The officer pulled my over and gave me a ticket, but said that if I got the permit renewed within the week and showed him, he would reverse the ticket and he did.*
>
> *They came to my home and removed an abusive partner.*
>
> *Yes. At community events. Also, after being stopped for speeding, they were polite. They told me why they stopped me and issued a ticket I deserved.*
>
> *Yes. When I needed help for a domestic situation.*
>
> *Of course I have had good experiences! Not all police are prejudiced. I've met some really great police officers. When my home was broken into they were extremely helpful. One officer actually left and returned with tools and fixed my window. He gave me his card in case I felt unsafe. They came back to check on me the next night.*
>
> *I've had an officer respond quickly and empathetically to a domestic violence issue. I've had an officer carve pumpkins with my daughter at a school event.*
>
> *I've had positive experiences during our community's Canada Day celebrations.*
>
> *I called the police at the North Preston detachment and was given proper advice.*

Two respondents described positive interactions they have had with a specific police officer, but alluded to the fact that they don't trust other law enforcement officials:

> *I have only had positive experiences with (name of officer). He's the only one I would trust or contact.*
>
> *I've had numerous positive experiences with (name of the officer) of the Halifax Regional Police. He was my school liaison officer and was easily the best cop on the force. He was the type of officer who made the job look good. I had issues growing up, but he was the first one to be there for me, to help me deal with them. If it wasn't for him, I wouldn't have graduated high school.*

Finally, a few respondents noted that, although they have had some good experiences with the police, their negative experiences have had a greater impact on their perceptions of the law enforcement community:

> *There are many good officers but, it only takes one to tarnish the reputation of the rest.*

> *All cops aren't bad. There are some good ones out there, but most cops are bigots and show disrespect when it comes to us Black folks. We're treated totally different and it's totally unfair and you wonder why we don't like you guys. Now treat us with some respect and maybe we could get somewhere.*

As described above, Black respondents were twice as likely to describe a negative experience with the police (63.6%) as a positive experience (35.1%). By contrast, White respondents were twice as likely to report a positive experience with the police (68.4%) than a negative experience (31.9%). This finding may go a long way towards explaining racial differences in police confidence.

Many White respondents did not provide descriptions of specific police encounters, but simply stated that all of their police interactions have been positive:

> *All my interactions with the HRP have been very positive and informative.*

> *Most of my experiences with the police are positive. Most police are very good at their jobs.*

> *Yes, I have. Any encounters with the Police over my years has been positive. Never had a bad experience, mostly because I do not break the law, I do not give bad attitude and I answer any questions they have honestly. You see to get respect you have to give respect. Simple!*

> *I have had many, many positive experiences with police - in particular, community liaison officers, as I work with vulnerable populations.*

> *I am always treated fairly and with RESPECT.*

> *Generally, my personal experiences with police have been positive.*

> *Always a very good experience. They are very professional.*

Other respondents provided specific examples of positive interactions with the police. These examples include support following criminal victimization incidents, fair or lenient treatment during traffic stops, interactions at community events or help with family members during mental health crises. The following illustrate the responses of the majority of White respondents:

A couple of police officers spent time with my brother who was having mental health issues. I was amazed at the lengths that the officers went to.

Yes, they were helpful and kind when I was a victim of an armed robbery.

Yes, I was once stopped by the police and informed that I had a taillight out, but was not given a ticket. I had been unaware of the taillight so that was helpful.

Yes. When working the night shift at a Halifax drugstore, I found police who were customers to be consistently polite and friendly. I have also needed police assistance during emergencies and I have appreciated their help.

Yes. They were pleasant and professional when my house was broken into and when my husband died.

Yes, for one interaction, in particular, the police helped me recover a piece of stolen electronic equipment and they were very helpful and professional. Another time my young daughter seemed to have gone missing and they were extremely attentive and ready to spring into action.

I called the police when I had some issues with my son's behaviour. The officers were very professional and gave good advice to my husband and I and my son.

As a law-abiding home owner in the neighbourhood that was taken over by an angry drunk mob of students last fall, I can only marvel at the professionalism our police force displayed in peacefully dispersing that mob.

Our home was burglarized. We called the police, they investigated and later caught the criminal. Great work.

When my wife and I were away on our honeymoon, someone broke into my car and used a reloadable Tim card, so I got the notification it was used in my email. We called from Hawaii and received prompt service. They called us back while they were there and did a thorough check of the house and locked my car for me.

When I was stopped by the officer, he was very polite and apologized for his mistake.

They respond very quickly in emergencies.

I worked with community liaison officers at the school where I was principal. They were always responsive, honest and fair.

The police helped me with my daughter's mental health crisis in a fair and kind manner.

Someone broke into our house. We reported it and the RCMP actually caught the guy while he was trying to break into another place. We saw him in court and he was found guilty. Yay!

I went off the road when I worked for a Cable company and the RCMP officer (woman) was very helpful and she looked like she really cared.

Have experienced professional behaviour when reporting minor crimes or issues (graffiti, thefts, etc.).

I talked a ticket into a warning once.

Recently the Halifax police took the time to ensure my sibling, who was depressed and suicidal, was kept safe.

Yes, through volunteering with restorative justice, I have met many friendly police officers who seem to care about the community. The police on the street are always friendly.

I drive a lot between 12:00 am and 5:00 am. Delivering newspapers. Get pulled over a lot as a suspicious vehicle in residential areas. Officers just doing their jobs. Always polite and efficient.

Someone walked into my house looking for someone who didn't live there. They were acting strange, so I called emergency and an officer came to talk to me. He found the man and gave him a DUI. They came back a few days later to see if I was okay and let me know what happened. They were very nice and loved my boxer dog!

I have been let off of speeding tickets because I was apologetic and kind.

I've had countless great experiences! RCMP have helped me with roadside assistance (dead battery in a snowstorm) and are always polite and respectful when we cross paths (such as when they're patrolling the neighbourhood or at a social event). HRP has always taken any safety concerns of mine seriously. I've called them on numerous occasions to report reckless driving, and on one occasion suspected gunshots in the area. They call me back and follow up with my reports.

It should be stressed that, in response to this question, a few White respondents reiterated that they have never had positive interactions with the police. One such individual stated: *"Never. Period. They are all caustic people."* Nonetheless, this type of response was much less common among White respondents than Black respondents.

Black Respondent Recommendations for Improving Police-Community Relations

The survey concluded by asking respondents about their ideas for police reform. All survey participants were asked: "*In your opinion, what can be done to improve policing in Halifax? What can be done to improve the relationship the police have with your community?*" (see question B31, Appendix C).

Forty-eight of the seventy-seven Black survey respondents (63.3%) answered this question. Only three of these individuals explicitly stated that, in their opinion, street checks must be banned:

> *Stop police checks and other forms of racial profiling African Nova Scotians and African Nova Scotian communities. Relationships cannot improve if police are not held accountable for their abuses.*
>
> *Stop the checks.*
>
> *Curtail the powers of police by stopping street checks.*

Other respondents provided an array of policy recommendations that ranged from abolishing the police altogether to improved screening of police recruits, anti-bias training, the promotion of Black police leaders, the removal of racist officers, community policing, improved data collection and transparency and improved police accountability. The range of recommendations parallel the recommendations documented through the community consultation process (see Part B). The following examples illustrate the range of opinions on this matter:

> *Abolish the police and invest in community self-governance.*
>
> *Support the community more by funding low income neighbourhoods and providing free/affordable education and training programs. Cut the police budget by 90% to fund community initiatives. Police are only needed in extreme violent scenarios.*
>
> *All police can be more active in the community. The screening process can include stronger questions, background and interrogation on racial bias and prejudice. Bad officers should be dealt with appropriately as any non-performing employee should. Accusations and complaints about unfair treatment should be taken seriously. This will help gain the respect and repair the relationship with the police. Also, some police are very vocal on their social media about police brutality protesters. As public servants, they should be much more careful about what they are posting and sharing publicly.*
>
> *Better communication and actually listening to each other. That goes for both sides. Understand what police can and can't do and don't be so quick to throw down the race card when it doesn't have to be played.*

Connecting and visiting the Black communities more so they can see not all Black people are bad and are into illegal activities.

Screen out officers who are racist and don't want to serve the whole Halifax area the same.

Stop protecting racist police as part of 'a blue line' paradigm!! Good police officers are only harming their community by protecting bad police.

Cultural competency training. Understanding the Black community. Visiting the Clack community more often and engaging with residents.

Diversity training and drug testing officers.

I believe the bias that the officers seem to have need to be combatted with education. Education about the community and the history etc.

Hire more Black policemen and train them to be fair.

Get to know the community members don't go by hearsay. Treat people how you would want to be treated with or without the badge. Stop worrying about petty tickets and solve all these murders.

HRP police need to check their attitudes regrading people of colour. Their bias is clear. Also, a person of colour police chief would be great. LONG OVERDUE in a province in which Black folk have been here since the 1600s.
We need a community kiosk in the mall and other public places to know they are there to serve and protect. So I can ask them questions when inclined.

Increased diversity. Training on racism and its historical underpinnings.

Knowledge sharing, cultural competency training, mandatory psych assessments and therapy for officers on an ongoing basis.

Make it mandatory that officers have to do community policing. Ensure that cultural and bias training is renewed every two years or so. Properly investigate complaints of police profiling and document it even if unfounded to maintain history. Stop with the profiling and carding our communities. It makes folks uncomfortable to feel shaken down by the police. This is why there is no trust and respect. Stop the bad behaviour and get information without bullying folks in the communities they serve. There is no accountability.

More community engagement. Police, like other members of the community, need to recognize and understand that you can t judge a book by its cover. All races have good seeds and bad.

More transparency, more training, more accountability when they do wrong. Should be less about quantity and more quality. More community-based policing and more honesty.

More transparency. A lot of civilians don't know the law and their rights when dealing with the police. Some have easier access to this info than others, and the police bully and intimidate the ones who don't. Public education on your rights when dealing with the police.

More understanding needs to happen, and the realization needs to take place that what always appears bad isn't. For example, a diabetic person who is having a low sugar reaction may appear to be intoxicated or on drugs. Where the person is located and what the person looks like is sometimes used to determine a person's motive. Another example, I am a young Black woman who lives in the hood and resembles a known hooker in my area. I cannot walk anywhere without the police following me thinking I am her even though I'm me. You have a government job and you need to abide by the rules of the law.

Need to Black officers in leadership and decision-making positions. We need for police to have cultural proficiency training. There is a need for a greater understanding of African Nova Scotian Communities. Bring back the youth police program that focused on African Nova Scotian and Inner-city youth to build relationships.

Require that all police have a degree in Criminology prior to acceptance for basic training. Require an officer to either ticket or issue a written warring for all offenses witnessed, no more judge and jury. If an officer witnesses a crime and does not react, that should be strike one of a three-strike program. No more favours or letting the nice people go. They shouldn't get to choose who gets the ticket and who doesn't! Do your job! You lack the knowledge to decide who is guilty and innocent, hence the need for a court system. Now use it!

There needs to be diversity in leadership - not just one or two people in high-profile roles, but an environment where people of colour have a real seat at the table and feel free to speak truth, even if it makes others uncomfortable. There also needs to be more reporting and accountability. The street check stats came out because of a news report, and the police have never given a great justification for why the numbers are the way they are, or why they even need street checks. Public transparency and clear follow-through are necessary for building trust.

It's a challenge for any industry. From my experience as a paramedic, I think giving police officers the opportunity to 'mix things up' at work might work. Different roles, different assignments, working with different people on different communities. This would hopefully alleviate some 'burn out' which I think contributes more to ignorance and rudeness than any other factor. When people

are burnt out from their job its hard to show empathy, respect and compassion to strangers. Talk to similar professions about burn out and how it affects someone's job performance

Diversify the police. The percentage of officers and managers from minority groups should equal of close to equal the percentage of these minority groups in the population. Accountability. Transparency. With crime rate at the lowest in three decades, we need a police service able to respond to issues caused by mental illness, homelessness and addiction. Not a police service aimed at repression or spending its budget on unnecessary military-type equipment. Invest in the training of a more representative police service and training on mental illness/addiction.

More punishments for racial discrimination. Bad cops, they need to be fired and charged.

Police are above the law. They get paid leaves when the get in trouble and two-day sensitivity training when they are caught being racist. They been practicing racial discrimination their whole life. Therefore, two-day training isn't enough. Racism shouldn't be tolerated at all. If cops are caught doing racist things, they should be let go immediately.

A common theme that emerged from the responses of Black respondents was the need to eliminate racism and ensure equality of treatment across race and class categories. As one respondent stated: "*The police just need to treat everyone the same*." Another stated that: "*The police culture has to change. I do believe thing's can be done. Black men should be treated as individuals and respected as so not lumped into one feared category.*" It should also be noted that, similar with the results of the community consultations, several respondents expressed significant cynicism with respect to the prospects of meaningful reform. As one respondent put it: "*Honestly, the relationship has already been damaged, and I'm not sure if it could be repaired. Once the Black community loses trust in someone, it is very difficult to get it back. This is a question I can not answer because many people experience trauma due to their encounters with police racial profiling.*"

Finally, it should be noted that three Black respondents (3.9% of the Black sample) argued that it was crime, not police racism, that should be the focus of police reform efforts.

Stop painting the police to be the enemy and hold the criminals responsible for their actions.

Put more police in high crime areas of the HRM.

They may want to interact more often and investigate further when one of ours get killed. Keep the people off the street that are doing the shooting. I feel that the shooters are being let back into the community on house artist. But they are still out enjoying themselves and are continuing their shooting sprees. That's what I see.

White Respondent Recommendations for Improving Police-Community Relations

One hundred and ninety of the two hundred and eighty-five White respondents (66.7%) responded to the question about police reform. This response rate is about equal to the response rate for Black respondents (63.3%). However, White respondents appear more divided in their opinions than their Black counterparts.

Forty-one of the 190 White respondents that answered the police reform question (21.6%) either stated that changes to policing are not necessary or that the police need more resources to fight crime. Several of these respondents explicitly defended the police against allegations of racial bias and endorsed police street checks:

> *Give them a break. They are already doing a great job.*
>
> *Explain to the public that the police focus on the people who are the most likely to commit crimes. That type of profiling is their job.*
>
> *Explain to the public the rights that police officers have and not focus so much on the rights of non-police.*
>
> *I agree that police are just doing their job when they do random street checks. Unless you have something to hide, it shouldn't be an issue. However, I do not think it is necessary in all circumstances for an officer to take an assertive or aggressive stance. I believe they would create less intimidation and anxiety and thus receive more cooperation and respect if they did not act that way.*
>
> *I don't believe there is an issue with the police in Halifax. But there is a problem with the way the street check statistics are being interpreted.*
>
> *I don't think the police need to improve on anything. They are out there everyday doing their job to the best of their ability. People who cause problems tend to think that the police are bad people and spread negative views of the police force around.*
>
> *I think that if you re in an area where a crime takes place you should expect to be stopped. If they do not question people, then that actual criminal might get away. If you have nothing to fear and done nothing wrong, why is it a big deal if they ask you a few questions.*
>
> *I think the police are fine the way they are.*
>
> *I think the police do a great job in general. I'm sure there are some bad apples, but overall people need to calm down. Being a police officer is a stressful job and they are human beings. They're not going to be perfect all the time. I'm sure they lose their cool every once in awhile, the same as the rest of us. And honestly, if you're not doing anything illegal, the street checks shouldn't be a bad thing,*

as long as the officers go about it in a polite manner and don't treat everyone as criminals.

If street checks work, then keep doing them. Law abiding citizens do not have an issue with interacting with police.

Keep doing what they are doing. Don't change a thing. Keep up the good work.

Keep the police doing their jobs and stopping those that need to be stopped. Don't limit who gets stopped by how they look!

We need more officers. I think having less public input on how police do the job of protecting us all would be a good thing.

More police with more leeway to do their job. Let them police.

No suggestions. In my opinion policing is done well in Halifax.

Police public relations staff must do more to show the positive things the department does. How many officers volunteer for cubs/scouts/big brothers? They often take a leading role in these organizations during their off time. All we ever hear reported is the negative, and it is usually CBC. They will never print a good word for the police or the military in HRM.

Shouldn't the stats be studied to compare which race does the most crimes? If a certain race does the most crimes, then doesn't it make sense for the police to focus on that race? This is not racial profiling, it is about going to the source of the crime problem and trying to fix it before it gets worse or a crime is in action.

The police are NOT the usual suspects. The usual suspects are the usual suspects.

You will never get law breakers to give anything but criticism to police. Law abiding citizens need to stand up for the police force.

We need to careful police aren't handcuffed by not being able to use intelligence to focus resources…The public also need to draw back a bit as well.

We need more officers on patrol. To better promote relationships with any community the community itself has to become better educated with the role of police. Stop being so negative against the police. They have a job to do and we are removing the tools needed to do that job better by crying unfair treatment etc. Treat them respectfully, obey the laws, cut out the thug attitude regardless of race, gender or otherwise. Be an adult!!

The police have a tough job to do, if police officers are doing investigations in high crime areas and those high crime areas happen to be filled with a certain group of people, then it would make sense that those people would be stopped and checked more than other groups of people. I think that this is a socio-economic problem and not a racial profiling problem. I am perfectly fine with the policing in my area.

Stop political correctness. Stop looking at street checks in isolation. They should be viewed as part of the larger picture. If most crimes are committed in a particular area(s), then if that area is predominantly a particular ethnic group you are going to get stopped. So, why is it that the stats on street checks are published but the stats (ethic breakdowns) on all crimes committed are not published? I can only assume that they support the reason for the checks and politically that is unacceptable information to release. In today's society it is easier to blame everybody else that accept responsibility.

Although one out of five White respondents felt that police reform was unnecessary, the other eighty percent recognized problems within policing and provided recommendations for improving police-community relationships. Most of these respondents acknowledged that racial bias within law enforcement is an important social issue. Indeed, forty-two of the one hundred and ninety White respondents (22.1%) who completed the recommendation question explicitly called for police street checks to be either banned or heavily regulated:

There should be zero tolerance for police racism and an end of race-based street checks and police stops.

End all carding, street checks and random stops.

Ban random street checks: they have been proven time and again to be racially biased.

Discontinue street checks, or at minimum allow citizens access to the information contained in the street checks conducted on them. The record of street checks should be expunged after a set period of years for those with no criminal history.

I do not support street checks. They are an infringement of our right to go about our legal business without interference from the state. I know police believe the practice is important for law enforcement, but I have never heard them explain why.

I strongly disagree with the practice of carding. It should be stopped. I feel it is unconstitutional.

I think the police need to stop profiling/carding/street checking African Nova Scotian and other people who are not White. I think the police are making

inroads in terms of interacting with people in their communities and should continue and build on those programs.

I'm a White woman. I'm least likely to be negatively affected by police random stops. I have family who work in a lower income area of Halifax who have witnessed the difference in how police interact with White and Black people. It's unacceptable. Police need to be better educated on cultural differences and nonviolent de-escalation. They also should not have carte blanche to stop people in the street without a warrant.

Immediate cessation of street checks for everyone.

Not everyone in the communities you serve are the bad guys. I have a friend who is biracial and is stopped by the police over nothing. And it breaks my heart that this happens to him. Unless you have a valid reason for pulling someone over, don't be racist and pull someone over just because their skin colour is different from your own. It's racist police officers who discredit and sully the name of Halifax Regional Police.

The Police Commission should assume a greater role in establishing priorities and allocating resources. Core principles should be embraced throughout organizations and the culture of supporting those who violate rights, laws and policies should be replaced by one where peers hold peers to account. Nobody should tolerate racial discrimination in any form. Random checks, with the exception of programs to combat impaired driving, violate the Charter, which provides that everyone has a right to be free from arbitrary detention, however brief. Ontario got this aspect of the matter right.

Police departments must stop using street checks immediately.

Police need to meaningfully engage with their position as part of a system that supports White supremacy. Individual officers may do much good, but until the police confront the truths of systemic racism, they will not as a whole serve all citizens. This would include, as a first step, stopping street checks.

Regulate police behaviour on street checks.

Stop random street checks.

We must change the attitude of the police and ensure they respect people's human rights. I have experienced officers stopping individuals to ask for ID (providing no reason) and when individuals express their rights, the officers get more suspicious and investigate further, or threaten to take them into custody for a completely different reason. From my experience, a typical response from a Halifax Police Officer when you refuse to answer their questions is: are you

trying to hide something? This is not acceptable. It is not our duty as citizens to assist the officers in their investigations. Stop street checks.

Street checks that disproportionately target minorities are contrary to the Charter and need to be stopped.

We need to acknowledge that our police force is racist, and that even people who are otherwise good people can be racist. We need to ban carding.

The police should listen to the Black community and STOP STREET CHECKS.

Like their Black counterparts, White respondents gave a wide variety of other recommendations for improving policing in the Halifax region. These recommendations included calls for better recruit screening, minority hiring and promotion, enhanced race relations (anti-bias) training, improved training in civil rights, body cameras, improved communication skills, improved accountability, community policing, civilian oversight, improved transparency and the elimination of racism. The following quotes provide an illustration of the recommendations for police reform that were provided by White respondents:

A very through vetting and hiring process for police. Some police get into the profession for the wrong reason. They like to have power over people and enjoy using that power in inappropriate ways. Ensuring you hire a diverse multicultural force who have ties to problematic areas in Halifax. Continue to contact and engage children, families and community leaders to help repair damaged relationships in communities that have higher incidence of crime.

Absolute power corrupts absolutely. Police have too much power in certain situations and feel as though they are above the law. Have you ever tried to cut off a police officer from drinking and driving? I have. They don't like it because their buddies would back them up. Same with children whose parents are cops. Police officers should be held accountable for the same things we all are.

Police officers need to report fellow officers who are policing in racist, misogynist, or inappropriate ways. I don't feel I can trust police because they do a terrible job policing each other.

Stop dressing them like commandos. Hire more officers to reduce shifts and stress. Training in Indigenous and Black history. Anti-oppression training. Better public communications.

As a White middle-class male, I have very little interaction with police -- and I'd like to keep it that way. However, hearing about street checks indicates that there's some serious public education required, and also the education of police officers about the rights of citizens. People need to learn their rights to refuse to interact with police if they don't want to. They need to understand that police don't have authority to do whatever they want.

Mandatory racial sensitivity training for all cops.

The culture around policing has to change. Stop treating people like criminals or with suspicion when they aren't doing anything criminal. I find police very aggressive even in normal, non-confrontational situations, and that automatic aggression makes situations worse when they don't need to be escalated at all. I feel like police don't let people (especially non White - people) just live their lives. On the one hand, I understand that policing is very dangerous as a job. But on the other, I feel like police really don't do enough in terms of non-violent de-escalation, having sensitivity and compassion for other people - especially those who might be in crisis or struggling with mental health - or understanding that people who have been systemically unprivileged struggle harder and have different needs. I think they need a lot of re-training in anti-oppression, anti-racism, understanding the history of colonialism, and just straight up kindness.

Sensitivity training and cultural awareness training. More mental health training. I think Black people have difficulty with police but indigenous people and those with mental health issues have equal difficulties.

Better community outreach and better training on minority communities, mental health issues, and how to handle
sexual assault cases.

Stronger civilian oversight; more transparency.

The police should not be above the law or stop anyone for 'suspicion' of anything. They should enforce the law and if no crime is being committed, or about to be committed, they should not speak with anyone. Suspicious activity is not a crime and is too subjective to have someone stopped or to give grounds to identify. People have a right to privacy and personal freedom. Police are there to serve the public, not harass or intrude on anyone's personal business unless there is a crime. Police should also be aware they must abide by the laws just like anyone else. The public employ the police and they should respect their employer.

The police need to stop hiring macho power-hungry men. There needs to be attitude screening because I believe racism and sexism presently have a significant impact on how police do their job and it makes them less likely to fairly serve and protect marginalized portions of the population.

The police must treat everyone with respect, and that includes Mi'kmaq people, African Nova Scotians, protesters, poor people, etc., or face severe repercussions. They must be held accountable for their actions. An independent body should investigate all accusations against the police.

We need a better community policing model. Out of the car, and foot or petal/motorized bike patrol. Increased presence in high schools for presentations, playing sports with kids and role modelling, especially in marginalized communities.

Body cameras should be mandatory.

Change the leadership to include people from all backgrounds and areas of HRM. Respect data that shows many interactions between minoritized groups and police are affected by negative police attitudes about the origins/neighbourhoods/ethnic backgrounds of those interacting with police. Identify officers with racist attitudes and remove/retrain them in ways that are meaningful and effective (i.e., not just lip service or a slap on the wrist). Communicate with communities about how best to serve their needs.

Clean up corruption and don't hire racist douche bags.

Constant education and discussions about racial profiling.

Demilitarize the police. Perfectly reasonable people get caught up in a power trip when they're equipped with this ex-military hardware. There are definitely some bad people who go into the service seeking power, but even well-intentioned people seem to be corrupted by the macho culture of the police. I think there's a need for additional training for the officers as well.

Diversity and inclusion training. More community engagements like the hockey tournament in Preston.

Efforts towards open dialogue and transparency needs to be more than quadrupled. Start talking to minority communities, in safe spaces, where both parties can express grievances, fears, and hopes for the future. Change policies to reflect a commitment to the safety and needs of those communities.

Elimination of random police checks. Better training in cultural competence. Better oversight and complaint investigation. Higher success rates investigating murders and serious crimes, especially when the victims are members of disadvantaged communities (racially or economically).

First of all, they could admit that there's a problem. They could actually listen and take in what the Black community is telling them instead of reflexively denying any issues.

For true relationship improvement, there has to be an effective accountability mechanism. NOT run by cops or former cops. The process has to be open, timely and accountable. I'm tired of cop cover-ups and unfounded complaints being the norm.

It has taken more than 16 years to have a properly amalgamated police force with a single electronic management system. The HRM police force has insufficient training, does not meet the standards of the RCMP. I would suggest that the starting point is remembering the nine tenants of a good police force, as stated over 100 years ago, in the U.K. This should be reinforced every day to every police officer. However, primarily the police need to get out of their cars and interact with people without then carding them. Understand those who you are committed to serve.

Work with community leaders in the areas of HRM where police are feared and less trusted/ respected to try to give people more human, one-on-one exposure to police officers off-duty. It is very difficult to build trust when one party has a gun in their holster and is legally bound to follow up on any concerning activity or statement that may have been made. Perhaps things like classroom visits, community BBQs, town halls, sports games, musical performances, etc.

I think it's important for police to have the resources to be seen and heard in all neighborhoods with equal enforcement of laws no matter the location or people involved. Most times, police are seen only in cars passing by. Being part of the community would mean being at pedestrian level, interacting with the community, being known by those in the area, and building that trust. There's less chance of 'racially profiling' someone if you know them, after all.

I'm not concerned about my community. I'm concerned about racialized and low-income folks being harassed and abused by a few power tripping officers. If you are honestly asking yourself about the impact of the police on the public, you know full well that certain communities - predominantly Black ones generally - face much higher levels of police scrutiny on a day to day basis. I know from experience that there are things that I can do as I walk past a police officer with no issue, that would get a young Black person arrested. That's grossly unacceptable. Arrest us both or leave us both alone. Don't apply different standards to people based on their skin colour. You know that's what happens.

Listen to the communities who feel the most pressure from police, including folks in North Preston and the North end of Halifax. People living in poverty appear to have less of a voice. People of colour are unfairly carded. I often wonder whether the act of putting on the officer's uniform, including gun, makes an officer feel more powerful, which can be a corrupting influence. I know it is a fine line between self protection and a power play.

More community events where youth, community persons and police can come together to meet each other so that youth can see police in a positive atmosphere and the police can get to know our communities and hopefully help them not always make assumptions about people that live there.

More open communication with the community, and not just those who praise the police. More education requirements for officers, they need to be educated about bias and be aware that it can be implicit as well as explicit. The insular culture of policing also needs to change, the focus needs to be on helping the community and doing what's best, not protecting each other. Focus on making speaking out and whistleblowing accepted and praised.

People who become police are often poorly educated, arrogant bullies and there is little in their training to address these characteristics, which would be detrimental on any industry, but which are especially dangerous for those given the power police have. Also, the culture of protecting their own at all costs means that bad cops are not disciplined or removed from their jobs. This makes all police look bad and makes it difficult to trust any of them. Create a workplace in which caring police are emboldened to report racist and otherwise problematic co-workers. Make the police force an unappealing environment for racists instead of protecting them.

Police need to listen to the Black community as they are the experts in their own experiences. It is beyond more diversity training. At this point things need to be done in a whole new way as many people are not feeling safe. Listen to the words of those from the communities you are supposed to protect. Black people are the experts not the professors. There also needs to be more measures in place to hold police accountable when they misuse their power.

Police officers and unions need to stop organizing themselves around the officers who clearly and repeatedly target young Black men in particular. The statistics are clear, they're confirmed elsewhere, and it tarnishes the reputation of the many great cops who generally put great experiences out in the world. Solidarity is important but not at all costs.

As with members of the Black community, several White respondents also expressed cynicism with respect to current reform efforts. It was expressed that police-community relations will not improve significantly without government commitment to meaningful reform. As one White respondent put it: "*I'm not sure. There are people more impacted than I am who know far more. How do you correct a lack of empathy and a system designed to serve White privilege? And not just White privilege, but rich White privilege? A radical change in the system is the only thing that comes to mind. A change to a system that still sees people as people and tries to address the root causes of crime. A system that looks nothing like what we have now. That will require a huge change in our society and government. I don't know that we have the will to do that. But until we address that and attempt to decolonize and address our colonial and racist past, the problems we are seeing in our White supremacist patriarchal systems will continue to show up and harm everyone who is not a rich, White, able-bodied man.*"

SUMMARY

A 2018 internet survey, conducted by the Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission, produced results that are highly consistent with the inquiry's community consultations. Survey findings reveal that:

- In general, Black respondents have less trust and confidence in the local police than White respondents;
- Almost all Black respondents – and the majority of White respondents – believe that the police treat Black people worse than White people;
- The majority of Black respondents – and a third of White respondents – believe that the police treat Black people worse than people from other racial minority groups;
- Almost all Black respondents – and the majority of White respondents – believe that police racial profiling is a problem in the Halifax region. However, Black respondents are much more likely to believe that profiling is a "big problem" than White respondents;
- Black respondents are much more likely to report that they have recently been stopped and questioned by the police than White respondents. Black males are particularly vulnerable to multiple police stops;
- Black respondents are more likely than White respondents to report that they have been subject to police stops as a driver, passenger and pedestrian;
- Black respondents are more likely than White respondents to report that friends and family have been recently stopped and questioned by the police;
- Black respondents are much more likely than White respondents to report that they themselves – and their family members and friends – have been victims of racial profiling by the police;
- Black respondents are more likely than White respondents to report that, during their most recent police stop, the officers did not tell them the reason or justification for being pulled over;
- Compared to White respondents, Black respondents are much more likely to believe that they were stopped by the police because of their racial background;
- During their most recent police stop, Black respondents are more likely than White respondents to report that they were treated with disrespect by the police;
- During their most recent police stop, Black respondents were more likely than White respondents to report that they were treated unfairly by the police;
- Black respondents are more likely than White respondents to report that they were upset by their most recent police stop;
- Two-thirds of Black respondents report that they have had at least one negative experience with the police, compared to only one-third of White respondents;
- Two-thirds of White respondents report that they have had at least one positive experience with the police, compared to only one-third of Black respondents;
- The vast majority of both Black and White respondents believe that policing in the Halifax region can be improved;
- However, White respondents are more likely to defend the police against allegations of racial bias and suggest that police reform is unnecessary;

- Regardless of racial background, common recommendations for improving police-community relations include the prohibition of street checks, higher recruitment standards, anti-bias training, minority hiring and promotion, body cameras, community policing, civil rights education (for both police officers and civilians), the identification and removal of racist officers, increased transparency, civilian oversight and improved police accountability mechanisms;
- As with the community consultations, some respondents expressed doubt that meaningful reform would take place in the near future;

Clearly, the results of the internet survey further supplement the results of the community consultation process and validate the original community concerns that led to the establishment of this inquiry. It should be noted, however, that this survey has methodological limitations. Internet surveys are not general population surveys. As a result, caution should be taken when generalizing results to the entire Halifax population. In order to participate in an internet survey, three factors must converge: 1) The person has to become aware of the survey opportunity; 2) The person must have internet access; and 3) the person has to be motivated to participate. In this case, both those who are concerned about the street check issue, and those who may want to protect the police against allegations of racism, may have been more motivated to participate than "regular" civilians. Nonetheless, the survey did broaden the scope of the investigation, added the voices of 506 individuals to the discussion, and underscored that both street checks and police-race relations are important issues in Nova Scotia. Sampling limitations can, perhaps, be addressed in future studies. At this time, it is important to note that, with respect to the street check issue, the inquiry was interested in hearing the opinions and experiences of police officials as well as the opinions and experiences of civilians. It is to the police perspective that we now turn.

PART D: POLICE CONSULTATIONS

Parts B and C of this report reviewed community perspectives on street checks and police-community relations in the Halifax region. In this section, we examine the perspectives of police leaders, frontline officers, investigators and crime analysts. The Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission, with assistance from both he HRP and RCMP, eventually organized a series of consultative meetings and focus groups with officials from both the Halifax Regional Police Service (HRP) and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP). I also conducted a series of interviews – both in person and through email exchanges – with individual police officials from various ranks and professional assignments. All meetings, focus groups and interviews lasted between forty-five and ninety minutes. A total of 117 police officials took part in the inquiry's investigation. A schedule of meeting dates and consultations is provided below:

12. February 20th, 2018: Focus group with HRP crime analysts (Dartmouth);
13. February 21st, 2018: Walking tour of Uniacke Square -- Community Liaison Officer;
14. February 21st, 2018: HRP executive leadership meetings (HRP Headquarters);
15. February 22nd, 2018: Meeting with HRP Chief Blais and Deputy Chief McNeil (HRP Headquarters);
16. February 23rd, 2018: Meeting with RCMP officials (HRP Headquarters);
17. May 22nd, 2018: Focus group with frontline HRP officers (HRP Headquarters);

18. May 22nd, 2018: Focus group with frontline RCMP officers (Tantallon);
19. May 22nd, 2018: Focus group with frontline RCMP officers (Sackville);
20. May 23rd, 2018: Focus group with HRP sergeants (HRP Headquarters);
21. May 23rd, 2018: Focus group with RCMP inspectors (HRP Headquarters);
22. May 24th, 2018: Focus group with frontline RCMP officers (Cole Harbour);
23. May 24th, 2018: Focus group with frontline RCMP officers (North Preston);
24. May 24th, 2018: Focus group with HRP investigators (Dartmouth);
25. July 22rd to July 28th, 2018: Individual interviews/conversations with both HRP and RCMP officers of various ranks;

Police consultative meetings, focus groups and one-on-one interviews examined six major themes: a) Defining street checks; b) The uses of street checks; c) The quality of street checks; d) Reasons for Black over-representation in street check statistics; e) The current state of police-community relations; and f) Recommendations for reducing racial bias in policing and improving police-community relationships.

Extensive field notes were collected during meetings, focus groups and one-one-one consultations. In order to increase the comfort-level of participants and ensure honesty, all respondents were promised confidentiality. Individual police officials are thus not identified in the results section (see below).

Defining Street Checks

Meetings with police officials, police focus group sessions and interviews began by asking police participants to define street checks. While community members generally defined street checks as being stopped, questioned and sometimes searched by the police, all police participants defined street checks as a specific intelligence tool. Police participants were quick to note that most traffic stops, and other police interactions, do not result in a street check. Technically, street checks are only supposed to be filled out if an officer believes that the information gathered during an interaction with a civilian, or observed by officers on patrol, could have some intelligence value. As one official explained:

> *There are several types of interaction that the police can have with a civilian. They may conduct a traffic stop and give the civilian a ticket or give them a warning. They can stop someone, discover a crime, and make an arrest. Other times they can interact with someone and uncover information that they think might be useful in future investigations or crime prevention efforts. This is where they might fill out a street check on an individual. Finally, at times the police may stop and question someone and decide that there's nothing of interest. In that case there would be no street check and no record of the interaction.*

The type of information gathered during street checks, according to police participants, varies from case to case. Street checks, for example, might record the presence of a known criminal offender in a particular location, document suspicious or unusual behaviour, or it might document an

association between two or more people. Street checks might also document the presence of a homeless person, a person with mental health issues, a victim of human trafficking or the member of another vulnerable population. Often street checks record the name, criminal history, address, age, gender, clothing and physical description of the civilian.

Officers also noted that, contrary to public perception, street checks often do not involve a direct interaction with a civilian. Many street checks, they note, involve visual observation only:

> *A street check doesn't necessarily mean officers had direct contact with that person. Some street checks are added just out of visual contact. Officers driving by or patrolling an area and see a person with a history of crimes may enter a street check. That person was never stopped, detained, or even questioned. But his name, location and time was entered in the event a crime was reported the following date. It would give police a potential suspect and/or witness to such crimes.*

> *Sometimes you complete a street check on a person after you have stopped and talked to them and perhaps asked them questions. But a lot of street checks are just visual. You see an offender out in a place they don't usually hang out, you think that's unusual, so you decide to take a note of it in case it turns out to be important. At other times you might even do a street check on a situation rather than a person. Like you might observe needles at a playground and want to note that maybe there is an increase in drug activity on the area.*

The Uses of Street Checks

Most of the police participants maintained that street checks can help with criminal investigations and thus, when used correctly, contribute to public safety. Several officers stated that street checks can be used to identify persons who were present, in a specific location, at the approximate time of a criminal incident (i.e., a burglary, robbery, shooting, etc.). This information, in turn, could be used to identify potential suspects, victims or witnesses. Such information, in other words, could provide valuable leads to investigators. It was also noted that street checks can serve to clear individuals of suspicion. For example, a street check could document that a known offender was no where near the scene of the crime, and thus remove them from a potential suspects list. Others noted that street checks can be used to establish associations between known offenders, between offenders and persons previously unknown to the police, and between offenders and victims. A few officers stated that street checks have been used to solve Amber alerts, missing persons cases and identify the whereabouts of vulnerable persons (i.e., homeless persons, addicts, prostitutes, etc.). A number of officers mentioned that street checks are sometimes used to let officers know that a civilian has already been given a warning for some infraction (i.e., a traffic violation) and should perhaps not be treated leniently during their next police interaction. A small number of officers suggested that street checks can be used to warn officers that a particular civilian is hostile or belligerent and may represent a threat to officer safety. Finally, police leaders that we interviewed admitted that street checks can be used in police employment-related security checks.

In other words, information from security checks can be used during the officer recruitment process (i.e., to check for possible criminal associations, etc.). The following are examples of how police officials, in their own words, explained the potential utility of street checks:

> *How are street checks used? Street checks are used simply as a way to monitor people who are out and about at various times of the day. For the most part a street check is entered without the person ever being detained or even spoken to by the police. It's usually visual contact only and then logged into Versadex. I feel the department has done a poor job of explaining that the vast majority of entered street checks are visual contact only with no police interaction.*
>
> *Street checks have been used, (particularly by Detectives in CID), to strengthen grounds for arrest, show associations between people and in ITO for warrants.*
>
> *Street checks are an intelligence tool for gathering observations around suspicious behaviour or things out of the norm. This information could become useful in future investigations.*
>
> *From my own experiences. I had been working a night shift, I observed an individual who I knew to be involved in criminal activity just out and around on foot which wasn't usual for him, I spoke to him. I made a note of it as a street check. Later that evening I was called to a break, enter and theft of a car wash in which hundreds of dollars in change was taken. I was able to go back over the night, remember who I had seen and street checked. That served as the basis of my investigation, I checked with the local banks and corner store about who might have come in with a large amount of change that day and as a result I solved this crime and it was the individual I street checked earlier that night. That is how I view street checks being beneficial to police work.*
>
> *How street checks are used and how they may be effective? Street checks are supposed to be used as intelligence gathering tools to prevent and investigate possible crimes. Often, they can be used as a stat instead. Capturing the correct information of a clothing description, location can lead to an arrest in the future. Or assisting members in determining if a person has been cautioned from a previous encounter.*
>
> *Street checks are used for some police employment security practices. However, they would not disqualify a person from employment. They could, however, flag potential issues and the types of questions we might ask the candidate.*
>
> *Street checks are sometimes used to let fellow officers know that someone has already been warned, that they have been given a warning rather than a*

ticket, for a traffic violation. This lets officers who deal with the individual in the future know that they have already been given a break and next time should be given that ticket. Street checks are really the only way we can communicate this type of information to other officers.

I think of street checks as a way of spying on the criminal element. We can monitor their activities and this information can help us solve crimes and bring offenders to justice.

I can advise that based on my personal professional experience we have used historical street check data to assist in many investigations in the following manner: 1) Drafting of warrants and or affidavits to "link" two or more persons of interest to each other and or a vehicle or residence and corroborate confidential source information; 2) Corroborate confidential sources and or potential agents in historical investigations when the source is cultivated often years after the incident. This has been more prevalent in recent years partly due to the provincial award program regarding unsolved homicides; 3) Proceeds of crime investigations. I can remember a specific example in which numerous historical street checks were used to link a CDSA trafficker to a seized "conveyance" vehicle under the authority of the CDSA. The data was used during a forfeiture hearing to attempt to keep the vehicle that had been purposely registered to a female acquaintance to insulate the trafficker from forfeiture; 4) General Linkages: Linking two suspects by way of historical street check data is an easy way to identify a potential second suspect when only one or two is known.

Another potential use of street checks is that they can help the police identify vulnerable people who may require our assistance in the future. I'm talking about people with mental health problems, drug addicted people, homeless people and the victims of human trafficking. This is particularly important when you consider the fact that the RCMP and other Canadian police services have recently been attacked for not taking the issue of missing and murdered Indigenous people seriously. Street checks may help us find people when they go missing or help us know when something may have gone wrong.

Some street checks are a necessary part of police work in that it can help identify who is travelling on the streets at either odd locations or times which may signal an officer to deem it out of ordinary or requiring further enquiry.

Street checks can let you know about a civilian's general demeanour or their attitude towards the police. It can help us know if someone is a 'cop hater' and should be approached with caution. It's a safety thing.

Patrol officers generally know what is "normal" in a given neighbourhood and community and therefore, may notice subtle changes (a door to a

business is closed when it is normally open, a business is open when it's not usually, activity some place different or unusual, suspicious activity and reports of suspicious people such as a lone male attempting to open car doors or known criminals wandering the streets when no one else is etc. The list could go on. It is important to know who is around as they may be a witness to something or may be a suspect in something ongoing. Perhaps their clothing description may match a sexual assault that gets reported the following day (or some other crime). There are so many variables to a street check that it is difficult to capture them all. You may prevent a crime or prevent a suicide - you just don't know. You may offer support to someone who is desperate or just lost a family member. Someone just may need some help.

Garbage in, Garbage Out: The Quality of Street Checks

Police participants were all asked about the general quality of street checks and what factors distinguish a "high quality" street check form a "low quality" street check. The majority of the police officials who took part in the consultation process admitted that many street checks are of poor quality and contribute little to public safety. At almost every police meeting and focus group, the phrase "garbage in, garbage out" was used to describe this situation.

Frontline officers cited two major factors that, in their opinion, contribute to low quality street checks: 1) Inadequate training and supervision; and 2) Internal pressure to increase street check numbers. Participants noted that officers receive little training on when and how to complete a street check and that there is no internal street check policy to guide officers. It was also maintained that police supervisors rarely review street checks for quality assurance purposes. Others maintained that the performance evaluations of frontline officers are often predicated on the number of street checks they complete during a given period. Some expressed that there was a perceived quota for street checks, much like there is a perceived quota for traffic tickets. There is, these officers contend, an emphasis on quantity over quality.[7] This sentiment is similar to findings from New York City which suggest that, until recently, patrol officers were pressured by their supervisors to complete large numbers of stop, search and frisks (SQF), often within largely Black and Hispanic neighbourhoods, as part of officer performance evaluation methods (see White and Fradella 2016).

Officers identified high-quality street checks as those that provided new information about an offender (i.e., changes to their location, dress, vehicle, address, behaviour, etc.), new information about a previously undocumented civilian engaged in suspicious activity, or new information about possible criminal associations. Low-quality street checks were defined as those that provided no new information about an offender or documented a civilian's presence without clear justification. Several officers stated that documenting known criminals, in their own

[7] Most of the comments about perceived internal pressure to increase street check numbers came from members of the HRP.

neighbourhood or engaged in their usual routines, has little intelligence value. The following statements illustrate officer opinions on this matter:

> *I am sure there are in fact street checks entered just because officers are expected to enter them as part of their duties. The old saying is garbage in is garbage out. But that is pressure that is placed on officers from supervisors and management. So instead of quality checks you are getting quantity. As a former detective in the Drug Unit, however, high quality street checks were extremely valuable. From obtaining warrants for drug searches, to making connections with groups, gangs, etc. I think it is a valuable tool and like anything else needs to be managed properly.*
>
> *I am a Constable with HRP, and have been here since November, but I previously worked for the RCMP in another province. One of my roles there was to review Street Checks, and I spent a lot of my time shaking my head in disbelief at some of the things I was reading. The feedback I got then was that supervisors were giving street check quotas and constables were reprimanded when those weren't met. As a result, SC's fell into a quantity over quality category, and they were of no use.*
>
> *Unfortunately, we do not submit as many high quality (detailed) street checks as we should. This comes from a lack of training, lack of understanding what they are used for and a lack of supervisory review. Detail and the reason for the street check, particularly if it was personal contact or just observation, is very important. Without that detail, we appear to be stopping and "carding" people as opposed to merely observing them.*
>
> *In my opinion, a high-quality street check is one where you believe, based on your experience or for ongoing call for service, there is a benefit to conducting a street check. Quite often criminals on conditions are out and about contrary to their probation, parole or release conditions. This too would be a great check. A low-quality check would be the civilian that walks his dog every day at the same time and same route. A low-quality check is also something that is done for the wrong reason: conducting a check because you have to obtain a certain number of street checks (quota), based on a discriminating factor such as gender, religions, race, etc.*
>
> *I would like to address Intelligence Led Policing. It was introduced here in Halifax a few years ago, I believe just prior to Chief Blais' arrival. Part of its implementation is monthly documenting of officers' performance statistics, not new to policing. Included among those statistics are foot patrols and street checks. Foot patrols are to be in the designated "Hot Spot" as determined by a crime analyst. The "Hot Spots" are where crime and or quality of life issues are trending. The "Hot Spots" are regularly around the Uniacke Square area of Halifax and the surrounding side streets. There is a*

large Black population in this area and the socioeconomic factors come into play. Foot patrols and street checks are two categories measured monthly in officer performance statistics. With the intelligence-based model came an expectation for front line officers to submit street checks. Quantity was measured, not quality. It would be very easy for one person to have had three or four street checks submitted on them in a week if they were seen by or had personal contact with the police. Street checking the same people who are poverty stricken and addicted to drugs/alcohol and suffering from mental health issues could easily inflate the statistics but serve no real purpose unless the belief was that they were committing crimes to feed their habits.

There was minimal and inconsistent training provided to front line officers and their electronically submitted street checks were not reviewed by a supervisor. I am very curious to know how many people have had multiple street checks submitted on them, the reason and quality of the street check as well as if the check was personal contact or visual only.

Some officers feel pressured to do street checks to get their number up. So they just conduct visual checks on the usual suspects in the same usual suspect neighbourhoods. This is just targeting the low hanging fruit. There is no real value in these types of street check. I think we need a clearer street check policy and supervisors need to review street checks for their quality.

High quality/low quality? A high-quality street check provides intelligence that could be useful to an investigator or analyst reading it e.g.: 2018/07/23 at 1600 hours observed Professor Wortley walking in the rear of 123 Main Street. Prof. Wortley was wearing a grey sport coat, purple shirt, navy pants, brown shoes, and carrying a black leather bag. Prof. Wortley is known for break and enter offences and has previous convictions for same.[8] He was hanging around a silver BMW 3 series with Ontario marker BBHV234. Low Qual: 2018/07/23- Prof. Wortley observed at 123 Main Street standing by a silver BMW.

I often get the chance to review the street checks in the community where I'm assigned. A lot of them are just garbage. Garbage in, garbage out. Right? They just document a known offender standing at the doorway of his residence or hanging out at the corner or the basketball courts where he usually hangs out. This has little intelligence value. We already know where this guy lives. Everybody knows. At other times I am worried that innocent, hard-working people get stigmatized by street checks. For example, I know one Black male in this community who does a lot of counselling work with addicts and ex-offenders who are trying to start again after being released from prison. He

[8] I can assure readers that I do not have a criminal record and have never been arrested for a break and enter offence.

is always getting street checked because he is seen in the company of ex-offenders and the officer wants to make a criminal association. But this civilian is not a criminal – he is just doing his job!! Of course, he is going to be seen with these guys. To me, this type of street check is of little usefulness and can actually stigmatize law-abiding residents. If you actually knew the people in the community, you would know that this type of street check isn't necessary.

What is the difference between a high quality and low-quality street check? Low quality is the same person standing on the same corner wearing the same clothing day in day out. This is nothing more that a stat when a supervisor checks a member's numbers at the end of the month. A high quality is the same person somewhere where he or she isn't normally located. Clothing has changed, maybe darker clothes when they normally have brighter colours. Acting out of the normal routine.

In my opinion, a low-quality street check would be writing that a known prostitute was observed standing on a corner known for prostitution, the same spot she stands daily. This SC is information that is known and is of no benefit. A high-quality check would be something along the lines of: At approximately 03:20 hours on 2018-07-23, Cst. JONES observed a male wearing a back pack, walking East on Main Street towards First Ave, coming from an area where there have been several residential B&Es. Cst. JONES spoke with the male, who identified himself as John SMITH. SMITH has a history of B&E and theft, though following a consent search of the bag, he did not have anything in it. SMITH was wearing white running shoes, black pants, a blue and white striped t-shirt, a black ball cap with a white Nike logo on the front and was carrying a dark green Jansport backpack. This SC puts a known criminal in an area where there has been an increase of crime. The description is provided to assist other officers and crime analysts in linking people to crimes where the description is known. In addition, the officer didn't necessarily know SMITH before speaking with him, SMITH could have been anyone out, but the totality of the situation made it a worthy stop.

It should be noted that a small number of police officers maintained that there is no such thing as a "bad" street check. These officers maintained that you can never really tell when a street check is going to provide valuable information and when it is not going to prove useful. For example, one participant addressed the issue of always checking known offenders in their usual haunts: "*I disagree that street checking known offenders is sometimes a bad thing. For example, you may check Joe (a known offender) at his usual corner, several times a month. On the surface that check may seem to have little value. But then there's a shooting or a stabbing. You are going to want to know if Joe was there at that time. It might clear him of suspicion, or it might tell you he was involved in the incident or witnessed it. This information can help you establish leads in the case.*

You just never know what is going to be valuable and what is not." Another officer noted that although it is sometimes difficult to demonstrate the utility of street checks, this does not take away from the fact that they can help solve crime: "*It's hard to quantify the success rate of street checks. We could take thousands of street checks, but only one could be relevant. But without streets checks we would not have that one success, we would not solve that one crime. I think that one success is worth it.*"

Explaining Black Over-representation

All officers involved in the police consultation process were aware that Black civilians are significantly over-represented in street checks statistics. Participants were subsequently asked to explain this over-representation. Two explanations dominated: 1) Street checks target criminal offenders; and 2) Proactive police patrols are more prevalent in poor, high crime communities.

The first argument maintains that Black over-representation in official street check statistics simply reflects the "reality" that Black people in the Halifax region are also over-represented in serious criminal behaviour – including gang activity, drug trafficking, human trafficking, homicide, and firearms offences – as both victims and offenders. This explanation was provided by both police leaders and frontline officers. For example, at a February 2019 meeting with police executives, I was given a one-page document outlining the likelihood of being a victim of violent crime, in the HRM, between 2006-2016. The document highlighted that during this time period:

- Black residents were more than twice as likely to be the victim of a violent crime than their White counterparts;
- The homicide rate for Black residents (16.86 per 100,000) was six times greater than the White homicide rate (2.76 per 100,000);
- Black residents were twenty times more likely to be the victim of a firearm-related homicide;
- Black people were twenty-one times more likely to be the target of an attempted homicide involving a firearm;

After I had examined these statistics, one police leader commented that: "*These crime data are all you really need to know to understand why Black people are over-represented in street check stats. Officers are out there fighting crime in the Black community. In many ways we are trying to protect the Black community from the violence that takes place there.*"

The second major explanation for Black over-representation in street check statistics involved police deployment practices. It was maintained that there is a greater police presence, and more proactive patrol activity, in poor, high-crime communities than in wealthy, low-crime communities. It was argued that many of these high crime communities – including several public housing projects – have large Black populations. In other words, residence in high crime communities renders Black people more vulnerable to police stops and street check activity than White people. It is about place, not race. The following quotes illustrate the two major police explanations for Black over-representation in street checks:

Racial disparities? I believe that there is certain crime in various communities that necessitate high quality street checks in both White and Black communities. I believe that the police should check some vehicles late at night going into North Preston as there have been numerous stolen vehicles and they are later lit on fire on a dirt road in North Preston. We are very seldom dispatched to a have a vehicle on fire elsewhere.

Our Black Communities are wonderful places and have great people. In every community there is always your minority committing the majority of crimes. This is no different in North Preston. A small number of people causing the crime and disturbances. The ones not following social norms for the area. Although there have been several shootings in the Cole Harbour area, there is a disproportional number in North Preston. Everyone in the community wants to be safe and all police officers want to go home at the end of their shift. It is our job to keep everyone safe and to keep the guns and violence to a minimum. Street checks help in every community! It helps keep them safer and at the same time, allows friendly contact between the two.

Crime stats tend to be higher in some areas of Halifax prompting the police to place more manpower and times into those areas. More manpower and time would increase the potential for more street checks. For example, the community of Uniacke Square (mostly a visible minority community) has two officers that walk the beat 24 hours a day. This area also has two community officers assigned full time. Not to mention three zone cars that regularly police this area. Now compare this community to the South end of Halifax which has no beat officers, one community officer and one zone car. So the Uniacke Square area will have up to seven officers entering street checks, compared to two officers in the South End of Halifax.

If you have an area known for drug dealing for example you may see known drug dealers standing outside on the corner or street for long periods of time selling their product. Officers passing by this dealer may enter a street check and not aware that three other officers entered a street check on the same individual in the same shift as they drove by. Another factor to consider is the HRP Headquarters is located on Gottingen Street. This location contains our Prisoner Care Facility. Members who arrest persons from all areas of HRM (East, West, Central, Sackville, Tantallon, Cole Harbour) including RCMP areas, take their prisoners to this location and drive down the main street of Gottingen Street passing through this largely visible minority community. This increases the chance of entering a street check. Our entire CID Division (plain clothes) until recently was located just behind our Headquarters as well. So our plain clothes detectives would drive through this location frequently.

Sometimes we conduct a large number of street checks and road blocks after there has been a shooting or a murder. This often happens in Black communities like North Preston. We are trying to collect information on possible witnesses and suspects. But we are also trying to have a high police presence to protect the community and prevent reprisals. This might, from time to time, drive up the number of street checks involving Black people.

There are multiple communities in HRM that get extra police officers, community officers, and beat officer such as Mulgrave Park, Bayers Lake Westwood, North End Dartmouth, and Scotia Court to name a few. These are all communities of public housing. The all get more street checking.

Factors causing racial disparity? We have a program called CompStat that targets habitual/chronic offenders. If you have a person on this list, every time a copper sees them, they are likely to be street checked. So if that person is of colour and they are street checked five times in a day, that will show in Versadex as five black people being checked as opposed to one problem offender being checked 5 times.

I think the street check statistics for Black people are inflated by the presence of a few Black criminals. These highly visible and well-known offenders are street checked on multiple occasions and drive the stats up. Law-abiding Black people don't really have to worry about being street checked.

I know that over the last few years, 24% of homicide victims have been African Nova Scotian, even though they are only 3.8% of the general Halifax population. There had been a rash of shootings involving Black males over the past decade. I think this helps explain why there are so many Black males in the street check dataset. We are out trying to solve crime and look for criminals. We don't make the crimes, we just have to deal with them.

Racial disparities are related to socioeconomic factors and police presence in those neighbourhoods. We have assigned foot beats in many of those communities and the increased police presence would explain a percentage of the increased submission of street checks in these neighbourhoods. Most of the time people do not know a street check has been done on them. The street checks are submitted after the interaction and I suggest most (but not all) of the interactions are related to police observations or encounters during police carrying out their lawful duties

I can only speak to the RCMP numbers and in review the spike(s) that were present in our report coincided with heightened gun activity and violence in the North Preston community. In these cases, there were increased checks being conducted in order to investigate, possibly identify and arrest those involved in the offences.

Police follow crime. If Black people are in street checks in higher numbers it's because we are following crime, not because of racism or racial profiling.

This is not only about race. Its about the concentrated demographics in the Gottingen area, the high poverty rates in that area. The disparities in street check statistics are not necessarily about race. It could be poverty, unemployment, mental health issues and crime. The police go to where they are called.

What factors may explain racial disparities in street checks (i.e., why Black people are more likely to appear in street checks than White people)? Several factors come into play. Police are very crime-driven in our response. If there is a higher rate of crime in a particular area, then we spend more time there. We also add more police to that location above and beyond the normal numbers. Certain areas also have higher numbers of police assign to it on daily basis. We call it CompStat. This CompStat or crime area is not set by police, but by the crimes that are reported or occur in a particular area. If an area is more prone to crime, we respond to that area with higher numbers to try and control or curb future crime. We try to be proactive when we can. The area can get better over a month or so and police move on to the next area. More time than enough we will return to a particular area which increases our presence and efforts. While in these areas we try to record who is present, who is active and look for people we feel could be responsible for the crimes. Each police officer is now recording a street check when they observe or interact with someone. I don't have the stats in front of me but would say a high number of street checks are visual and no contact was ever made. This is because we know the person and there is no need to speak to them. The Halifax core has three main CompStats: Downtown Halifax (the bars), Spring Garden Road and Gottingen Street (typically lower income and home to racial communities). If you add all the above police numbers and place the officers in a higher crime area, you are more likely to increase street checks for racially diverse persons.

While most police participants rejected the idea that overt racism, or racial profiling, could explain the over-representation of Black people in street check statistics, a minority suggested that both racial stereotyping and unconscious bias could be contributing factors. These officers put the blame on isolated individuals, or bad apples, rather than highlight systemic police practices or the broader police culture:

Listen, I can't deny that there might be people with racist attitudes on the police service. We recruit from society and there is racism in the general population. I know it's not widespread. Most officers are good intentioned people and they are either not racist or keep their biases in check. But there are some that abuse their power and I worry that these few could sway street

check numbers. These officers can ultimately have a very negative impact on community.

The Police Relationship with the Black Community

Consistent with the results of the community consultations and the community survey, the vast majority of police participants acknowledged that, in general, trust and confidence in the police is significantly lower among Black civilians than White Halifax residents. While many highlighted the existence of strong relationships between individual police officers and individual community members, most described the overall relationship between the police and Black community as "strained." Others stated that they are aware that many Black Nova Scotians perceive that racism and racial bias are major problems within the law enforcement community. Although they may not agree with this assessment, several participants stated that perceived police racism is an issue that must be addressed. As one officer noted, "*At the very least we have a serious public relations problem*."

While most officers are aware of the problematic relationship between the police and Nova Scotia's Black community, several stated that, in their opinion, this relationship was improving and not as bad as it had once been:

> *This is still a work in progress, but things are better. I think the relationship has gotten better. Things were much worse when I first started my career twenty-five years ago. I think police treatment of the Black community has improved. We are much more sensitive to issues of racism and cultural competence than when I started. There are now many more Black and minority officers. The police are more diverse. We talk about the issue now. Twenty-five years ago, I would not be having this conversation with you. Twenty-five years ago, there would not have been this inquiry. We just would have denied the problem and walked away. Now we are talking. We now have good anti-bias training and community outreach strategies. This is progress, but we se still have a long way to go.*[9]

A few police participants communicated their frustration with respect to allegations of racial bias. These officers denied that racism is a problem within their service and expressed that officers are often hurt by false claims: "*I get so frustrated when I hear members of the community cry racism. I know that myself and my fellow officers are professionals and that we take out duties very seriously. We put our lives on the line every day to keep our communities safe. It is demeaning to be accused of racism and racial profiling. I am not a racist and race does not impact how I do my job."*

Other police participants expressed that, because of false allegations, they are reluctant to work with members of the Black community: "*Truthfully, I am sometimes scared of interacting with*

[9] It is important to note that the perception that the relationship between the police and the Black community had improved was much more common among police officers than the members of the Black community who participated in the consultation process (see Part B of this report).

Black people. Anything you do they might accuse you of being racist – even if they have broken the law. I don't know how many times I have stopped someone, at night, for speeding. Then, when I approach the car, the civilian will accuse me of racial profiling. I didn't even know their race when I decided to stop them. How do you deal with that? How do you convince the person that you are fair? It's so stressful. Sometimes I just wished I could work in an all-White community, so I could avoid this racism crap."

Police participants were then asked why they thought members of the Black community, in general, had less trust or faith in law enforcement than members of the White community. In response to this question, several officers simply stated that they "*don't know*" why the relationship between the police and the community is so tenuous: "*I really don't understand why they don't like is. We're just doing our jobs, trying to prevent crime and trying to keep all people safe, regardless of their ethnic background. That is why I find this situation so difficult.*"

Other respondents stated the relationship between the police and the Black community has been compromised by negative media coverage of policing issues. Others maintain that race-relations have been inflamed by the actions of certain Black leaders and activists. The tone of these responses suggests that the police-race relations problem has been exaggerated by public discussion of the issues:

> *I think there's a Ferguson effect on the community. I think that all the recent news coverage of police shootings in the United States, like in Ferguson and Baton Rouge, impacts people up here. People in the Black community think that the problem is the same up here as down there. We watch too much American television and internet. But it just doesn't happen up here. We don't police that way.*
>
> *I don't think all the negative news coverage helps. I think the way the CBC and local media covered the release of the street check data was too sensationalistic. They were looking to get that 'gotcha moment' and prove the police are racist. I think they needed to cover the story more honestly and in context. The media need to be more responsible, because what they say impacts how the community sees us.*
>
> *I think the media are very proud of themselves for finding this inequity (in street check statistics). What would be an acceptable ratio? The media gave those with perceived legitimate concerns the evidence and they can say 'we got them.' But eighty-eight percent of street checks are White people.*
>
> *I think that one of the reasons the police don't trust us is the media. They promote the idea that the police are racist and don't really explain the issues properly. It always sells to beat up on the police, but that type of coverage just reinforces negative beliefs about us. No only the media, but music and videos. Have you listened to any rap music lately? Hate the police is a major theme. This has an impact on how youth see the police.*

I think the radical element in the community stirs the pot and makes things worse. The media listens to them and they do their stories and then the general population thinks it must be true. There is also a popular Minister here. He is from the States and he talks about the police in Nova Scotia like it is the States. The problem here is not close to as bad as it is down south. But his words have influence.

A couple of police participants argued that community trust in the police has been compromised by the influence of Black criminals. They feel that some Black offenders and gang members, because of their wealth, have become influential in their local communities. They argue that, rather than taking responsibility for their illegal behaviour, they will often "play the race card" when subject to police surveillance, investigation or arrest:

I think some Black criminals have an impact on community views. They get a lot of legitimate attention from us, but they're quick to call racism when they're arrested or draw police attention. It seems that sometimes, the community will believe their word, not ours.

I think a lot of false claims are made by Black criminals. A criminal will do anything to win their case and get off their charges. Some of these mothers don't even know what their sons are up to. They think their kids are angels, when they're really out there sells drugs, pimping and carrying guns. But when they're arrested, they blame us for racism. These guys even hustle their own mothers. The moms then tell all the people in the community that their kid was a victim of racism. This has an impact.

There is history, personal beliefs, cultural biases, experience, the news media, etc., that all play a role in how we view the world. I have experienced traffic stops where I have been told that I am only stopping them because they are Black. This is of course not true, as I point out the motor vehicle infraction that they have committed. Normal traffic stops of young men in and around Preston often lead to a large gathering of similar aged Black men showing their support for their friend who has been stopped. I believe this to be an attempt at intimidation.

A few police respondents felt that police leadership should do a better job communicating the nature and purpose of police street checks. They felt that the police brass had not done a good job protecting them against allegations of racism and that the public would better accept street checks if they knew their purpose and how they were used to enhance public safety: "*I don't understand why police leaders have not done more to explain to the public what street checks are used for. I don't think the public understands that most street checks are visual and don't involve a stop or interaction. I don't think the public understands that most police checks are conducted on known criminals and not law-abiding people. The public doesn't know how street checks help us fight crime. Some people just think street checks are the same thing as racial profiling. That has*

contributed to the current controversy about street checks. We need to do a better job at public education."

However, other police officials acknowledged that street checks, and other forms of proactive policing, could have a negative impact on how the Black community views the police. This is consistent with the research literature (see Appendix A):

> *I think there is a greater police presence in poor, high crime areas. Many of these areas have higher than average Black populations. In these areas, there is a very good chance that a young person, regardless of their criminal history, will eventually be stopped and questioned by the police or experience a street check. It is perfectly understandable that this is going to have a negative effect on people and result in more negative attitudes.*
>
> *Undoubtedly, the appearance of members of the Black community being street checked at a much higher frequency than White citizen leads to mistrust and a feeling of resentment toward the police within that community. Although things are better now than they were between the police and the black community 20 years ago, there is still room for improvement on both sides. Both sides must look objectively at the concerns, point of view, motives and personal bias in each situation.*
>
> *If any group of people are feeling like they are being checked or interacted with in a disproportionate amount of times, they are going to feel over policed. That really goes without saying. Given that, it can have a negative impact of relations.*
>
> *The fact is, we do police poor, predominantly Black communities differently. Because of higher rates of crime and violence, we do engage in more aggressive practices in these areas. Its like we just expect all people in these areas to accept this type of policing. Don't blame us, blame the bad guys in your community. But that's not how it plays out. Sometimes aggressive policing gets criminals off the street, but it can also damage relationships and undermine community faith in the police.*

Several police officials noted that it was not just the frequency of involuntary police interactions that impact how members of the Black community perceive the police. A focus, they maintained, also has to be put on the quality of these interactions. Police leaders noted that the communication skills vary significantly from officer to officer. Some officers know how to talk to civilians politely and with respect. They know how to explain the reason behind police actions and are willing to answer civilian questions. Others are more abrupt or aggressive in their demeanour, do not like to answer questions and, as result, are more likely to have a negative impact on the civilians they encounter on the street:

> *Some officers just have a mean face. They don't smile or communicate well. I think that all civilians may view them as unfriendly, but Black civilians may*

view them as racist as well. These types of officer, those with inadequate communication skills, may have a disproportionate impact on the views of the Black community.

One RCMP officer, with experience in other police services, argued that context can often explain how officers communicate with civilians. As he sates:

In urban settings there are lots of officers who spit fire. There are more fire-starters. The aggressive way they talk to civilians can cause extra conflict and an encounter with a civilian can get out of control. But urban officers can do this because they work in teams and they know that back-up is always just a few minutes away. Back-up makes them tough guys. But out here, we work alone and patrol huge areas. Back-up maybe half an hour away. As a result, you learn how to talk to folks better. You learn how to be more diplomatic. You learn how to resolve conflicts, not escalate them. Your safety depends on it.

A few officers, however, stated that it is more than just communication skills. These officers stated that some officers, in order to extract information from civilians, may violate their civil rights. It is this type of interaction, they argue, that can have a devastating impact on police race-relations:

Straight up. I know officers who break the rules. I know officers who use intimidation tactics to try and gain civilian compliance. I have seen officers threaten arrest if someone does not provide their ID or consent to a search. I have seen officers detain youth who claim their rights and don't want to answer questions. I have seen police officers confiscate the phones of youth who were trying to video the incident. These types of encounters must end before things will get better. These officers may be well intentioned. They may think this is what they have to do to get an arrest and prevent crime. But these types of cases leave a mark. Youth will remember these incidents and it will impact their views of the police for their lifetime. No amount of community policing will change the impact of that one incident.

I think most interactions between the police and civilians are normal. But other incidents escalate beyond what they should. I think a lot of negative attitudes towards the police are the result of one-off experiences. But one bad experience can have a greater impact on attitudes towards the police than a dozen good experiences. The actions of well-intentioned officers can have very negative impacts. For example, there was a recent case of an African Nova Scotian teenager walking home. An officer thought he was suspicious and approached the youth. He asked for the youth's ID and asked him where he was going. This is a high crime area and the officer was trying to prevent crime. The youth refused to comply with the officer's request – as was his right. The officer then called for backup asking if any other officers knew the youth. Seven other officers showed up to deal with this one youth who had not complied with the officer's initial request. The teen's mom went to the

media and now there's a crisis. This was overkill. The officer needed to see this from the teenager's view and respect his rights. You can see why people get so angry. This anger stems from embarrassment. People watching as someone gets street checked can cause embarrassment.

I think part of the problem is the police culture and how we deal with situations on the street. Part of the problem is how we are taught to interact with people who don't comply with our requests. I've seen many cases where an officer has asked people for their ID. I've seen many cases where officers have asked people to consent to a vehicle search or a frisk. What concerns me is when people say no. In those cases, the officer will start to think of the person as guilty. What are they hiding? Do they have warrants? Do they have court conditions? Do they have drugs or firearms? So the officer will then press and threaten and try to get the person to cave to their commands. Often the civilian will eventually give in and provide their info or let a search happen. But they aren't happy about it. Sometimes the cop is right, and they uncover something that leads to an arrest. But most times you just have a very pissed off person with a bad story about the cops to tell.

Some police participants stressed, once again, the negative impact of a few, dishonourable police officers. According to this "bad apple" theory, the vast majority of officers conduct themselves with professionalism and dignity. However, the actions of a few racist, unethical or incompetent officers can ruin the reputation of the entire service:

I believe, despite HRP's non-biased policing training, that there is still some racism within the force. I have heard co-workers say, "I know this sounds racist but...". I want to just stop them there. If a sentence has a disclaimer before it, I probably don't want to hear it. I am not sure how to change this.

I do believe that there are some racist officers on the job. I don't know if they started that way or became that way because of policing. But I know that one or two bad officers can really have a huge impact on how the community sees us.

The reality is that some officers are greatly flawed. Some of these officers are not necessarily racist, they are just unprofessional and abuse their power on everybody no matter what their race. But White people might just dismiss them as rude or arrogant cops that don't represent all police. Their effect on the Black community could be greater because Black people might interpret interactions with these cops as racism.

All supervisors know the good officers and the bad officers in our ranks. Most officers are good. But we know and worry about the impact bad officers have on the street. But these officers are very hard to get rid of. I have stayed at work late writing reports to get incompetent officers dismissed or reassigned.

> *The reports are just sent back to me and I am told to work with them. It's frustrating because you know these officers can ruin our reputation with the public.*

In discussing the impact of "bad apples," a few respondents maintained that informal rules about whistleblowing make it difficult to identify and minimize the impact of unprofessional police officers. It was argued that breaking the "code of silence" could have career consequences or compromise officer safety:

> *Early on in your career you are taught to turn the other cheek and not rat out other officers. Mind your own business. If you do report the misconduct of another officer, you better be prepared to pay the consequences. You will be ostracized. You will be labelled as someone who is not a team player.*

> *I once confronted fellow officers about how they had treated a group of minority youth. They responded by saying, "I thought you were one of us?" After that nobody would talk to me for weeks. I did not even report the incident to my superiors. I had just confronted the officers involved. Can you imagine what would have happened if I made a formal complaint? It sent a chill.*

Finally, some police respondents had a more complex, nuanced analysis of the reasons behind the negative relationship between the police and the Black community. A few respondents noted that the negative relationship has deep historical roots. They maintained that the police were once a much more oppressive force in the lives of Black Nova Scotians, and that this legacy is not forgotten by members of the Black community:

> *In my opinion, policing today is much less racially biased than it was a hundred years ago. It is less biased than it was twenty years ago. But people have long memories. Stories about police brutality and mistreatment are passed down from generation to generation. That historical pain results in distrust today, especially if the Black community still sees evidence that they may still be policed differently.*

> *The beef between Black Nova Scotians and the police has very deep roots. The problem is hundreds of years old. Its about how Black people were treated when they first arrived here. Its about the roll the police played in dismantling Africville. Its about policing in the sixties and seventies and eighties. Its about the street checks issue today. This distrust took a long time to develop and its going to take a long time to reverse.*

Some police participants argued that Black distrust of the police is about more than just policing. It is, they argued, about the racism and racial inequalities that have marked Nova Scotia's history. As one Black officer stated:

> *This is more than just police. Black people have been second class citizens in Nova Scotia for hundreds of years. They still suffer from higher levels of*

poverty and discrimination in the work force. They still suffer from inequality in the education system. They're still more likely to have inadequate housing. If society is racist, and the cops represent that society, how can you trust the police? That history is not going to be reversed by any race relations training. Police are part of the problem, but only one part. If things are going to get better, Nova Scotians are going to have to get better, and deal with racism in all aspects of society.

Recommendations

At the conclusion of the police consultation meetings, focus groups and interviews, participants were asked about how the relationship between the police and the Black community might be improved. Many of the recommendations provided by the police were quite similar to the recommendations offered by community members (see Parts B and C of this report). There were, however, two major exceptions. First of all, while many members of the public recommended a total ban on street checks, not a single police participant made this suggestion. Secondly, while several members of the public recommended improved civilian oversight, including the establishment of an independent police complaints system, this recommendation was not offered by police officials.

While police participants did not recommend the elimination of street checks, most felt that the quality of street checks could be greatly improved. It was expressed that a reduction of "low-quality" street checks could be achieved by:

- The cessation of the practice of evaluating officer performance by the number of street checks completed. It was argued that the focus should be placed on the quality of street checks, not the quantity;
- The establishment of a formal street check policy that clearly describes when street checks should be conducted and what information should be included in street check documentation.
- Improved officer street check training. After the establishment of the formal street check policy, officers should be better trained on when to conduct a street check and the type of information that should be included in street check documentation. It was argued that this would reduce the number of "unnecessary" street checks and improve the quality of the information collected;
- Supervisory review. Supervisors should periodically review or audit street check data for quality and potential utility. Low quality street checks should be immediately purged from the system;
- Improvements to the street check dataset. Many officers felt that the system should be changed to better reflect the various reasons for completing street checks and the type of information collected.

As mentioned above, other officers felt that police leadership should mount a public education campaign that would better explain the nature and purpose of street checks and explain how they contribute to crime prevention and public safety. Officers stressed that this education campaign

should explain why street checks are not just a form of racial profiling. The following quotes highlight the range of recommendations with respect to improving street check quality:

> *I think if people were provided with a much clearer picture of what an actual street check looks like, they would have less of an issue with it. Again, for the most part, there is no contact between the police and the person being checked. Improvements? I think if all street checks entered were high quality ones, it is easier to reinforce our position that they are an intelligence gathering tool. Low quality checks make it look like a check was entered for no real reason.*
>
> *I believe that street check could be improved by documenting the rationale for conducting the street check. The police do need to be held accountable for their actions or inactions. The checks should be lawful and conducted in all of our communities when and where needed. Police need to be reminded that we don't always have the authority to obtain someone's personal information. If they (a civilian) chose not to provide it, they are not in violation of the law.*
>
> *We need a clear street check policy. Officers need to be trained on this policy and supervisors need to review street checks to ensure policy compliance. Those strategies would lower the number of street checks, increase street check quality and minimize the impact of street checks on the community. They would also ensure that the police can still use street checks in their investigative efforts.*
>
> *Remove the want for stat driven street checks. Use it for its intended purpose: intelligence gathering. Re-educate members on how and why to use a street check.*
>
> *If SCs (street checks) were conducted on more people out walking around at odd hours, and the stop was explained professionally, I believe the general public would appreciate knowing that the police are out there keeping their community safe. The problem comes when the general public doesn't know why they are being stopped and are just asked for their name or ID. I have witnessed the lack of police providing people with "why" turn situations into one with far more hostility than necessary, and it makes me understand why there can be a negative attitude towards police.*
>
> *Officers need to buy-in to the usefulness of SC's and to do that they need to understand what they are used for and know that someone above is reading them.*

Other recommendations provided by the police participants focussed less on street checks and more on improving the overall relationship between the police and minority communities. Many of these recommendations were similar to those provided by civilians during the community consultation process and the internet survey:

- Screen police recruits for evidence of racial bias and cultural competency;
- Increase racial, ethnic and gender diversity within policing;
- Maintain and improve upon anti-bias training regimes;
- Promote minority officers to executive management positions;
- Promote adherence to the principles of procedural justice and ensure respect for civil rights during civilian encounters;
- Improve police communication skills through additional training;
- Develop policies to address the police code of silence and empower officers who challenge the illegal or unprofessional activities of their colleagues;
- Identify and target racist and otherwise unprofessional officers for discipline, retraining, re-assignment or possible dismissal;
- Improve efforts at community policing and outreach;

Community policing was particularly popular among those who participated in focus group discussions. Many officers felt that the police relationship with the Black community could be significantly improved with additional community outreach efforts (i.e., educational sessions in schools, youth sports and recreational programs, barbecues, officer involvement in local churches, social events, etc.). Others felt that it was important to establish more community liaison committees so that civilians can have a say in the police services they receive, and officers can learn about the communities they work in. It was argued that the police need to get to know the public they serve, and community members need to get to know the police who serve them. There needs to be an emphasis on building personal relationships rather than just crime detection and law enforcement.

Other police participants argued for the establishment of special community detachments within the Black community. The existing RCMP detachment in North Preston was used as an example. It was argued that these detachments need dedicated officers who remain in the community for long periods of time (i.e., five years or longer). It was maintained that a significant time commitment is required before relationships can be developed and trust established. Several officers stated that such detachments must be operated twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. These officers felt that trust established by community detachment officers can be easily undermined by officers from outside detachments who are brought in to police during nights and weekends.

Finally, a number of officers stated that the evaluation and reward system within policing needs to change. Currently, these officers maintained, there is still too much emphasis on crime fighting and arrests. If community outreach is going to work, it was argued, officers must be rewarded and promoted for their community policing efforts, their ability to work effectively with minorities and other vulnerable sectors, and their ability to develop relationships of trust with community members. As one officer noted: "*I have been told by senior officers that, if I am going to be promoted, I have to get off community outreach assignments and back to real law enforcement. What message does that send? It means that young officers will not make community policing and community outreach a priority. It means they will still focus on catching bad guys. This orientation hurts community policing efforts.*"

Many officers also stressed that, if the police are going to improve their relationship with minority communities, buy-in from the community is also required. Many stated that relationships are a two-way street and that community members must also be willing to work with the police in community-building efforts. The focus on community policing can be illustrated by the following quotes:

> *In my opinion, relationship difficulties arise when we don't know a community or the persons within any group. If we all took the time to form partnerships, attend and partake in community events (social or sporting), then police and racial minority communities may learn that we are all human. More positive, inclusive interaction and education needs to occur. Events that encourage small group activities and interaction would be beneficial. I am not sure how that would look, but it could help in learning about different cultures, language, beliefs, religions, etc. I also believe that the police culture reinforces the idea of police versus the public. Generalizations and judgements are made based on the concept that you can't trust anyone, and you just never know who they really are. I too believe that the public does the same by painting all police with the same brush.*
>
> *There are a number of ways to build a lasting relationship. First being an organization that reflects the diversity in its membership at all levels, is one aspect. Creating the opportunity for meaningful dialogue and interaction, either through community engagement sessions throughout the year or by having an advisory committee that is comprised of individuals from the communities you wish to establish and sustain relationships with. Lastly, by taking the opportunity to attend events or just be present within those communities, get to know the people and the culture. People of colour are relationship based, so the starting point is establishing a relationship.*
>
> *Police officers need to open their hearts and minds to the community if we are going to make a change. But community members also need to trust the process. So many community members, especially youth, are so cynical and have just given up on us. I fear that they won't make an honest effort to build relationships. I hope that this can change. We need to work together.*

SUMMARY

Consultations and focus group discussions with HRP and RCMP officers produced several major results:

- While community members tended to define street checks as being stopped, questioned and sometimes searched by the police, police representatives are aware that street checks only capture a minority of civilian-police encounters. Street checks, according to their insider knowledge, capture non-arrest situations in which officers decide to record

information about a person or situation for intelligence purposes. Many street checks, they argue, are visual checks of known offenders that do not involve a direct interaction;

- Police participant maintain that police checks assist in criminal investigations and can be used to identify possible offenders, victims and witnesses. Street checks can also be used to track vulnerable persons and locate missing persons;
- A less common use of street checks involves communicating with other officers that a person has already received a warning for a traffic violation and should be ticketed for subsequent infractions;
- Street checks can also serve to warn officers that a civilian is hostile, belligerent or anti-police. This use, it is argued, may help promote officer safety;
- Officers were able to distinguish between low and high-quality street checks. It was argued that low quality street checks are a problem and result from both inadequate training and internal pressure to complete street checks for performance evaluation purposes;
- Most police participants are aware that Black residents of the Halifax region are significantly over-represented in official street check statistics;
- The majority of officers believe that Black over-representation in street checks can be explained by both the targeting of known criminal offenders and a higher police presence in poor, high crime communities;
- A minority of officers maintained that both conscious and unconscious bias – along with a small number of biased officers – may also contribute to observed racial disparities;
- All officers expressed awareness that Black residents have less trust and confidence in the police than members of the White majority;
- When asked why there is a relatively poor relationship between the police and the Black community, officers gave a wide variety of explanations. Some argued that it was the impact of negative media coverage – including the impact of news stories from the United States. Others argued that police-community relations have been negatively impacted by community activists and the influence of criminals entrenched within certain neighbourhoods;
- Other officers cited street check practices that disproportionately impact the Black community, the actions of racist or otherwise unprofessional officers (the bad apple effect), and the inability of police services to explain the true nature and uses of street check information;
- Others identified that the tenuous relationship between the police and the Black community has a long history and that it is intertwined with issues of poverty and limited social opportunity. Officers noted that racism is not only a problem with the police – it is a problem in all sectors of Nova Scotia society;
- Importantly, unlike Black community members, many officers expressed the belief that there is less racial bias in policing than twenty years ago and that the relationship between the police and minority residents has recently improved;
- Unlike community members, no police participant called for the elimination of street checks;
- Unlike community members, no police participant recommended greater civilian oversight of the police or the establishment of an independent police complaints commission;
- However, similar to community members, police participants expressed support for improved screening of new recruits, enhanced anti-bias/cultural competency training, the hiring and promotion of minority officers and increased community policing efforts;

- Some participants also supported efforts to ensure the respect of civilian civil rights and strategies that would target racist or incompetent officers for discipline, retraining, re-assignment or dismissal;
- Rather than eliminate street checks, officers recommended strategies for improving the overall quality of street checks and minimizing their negative impact;
- A large number of frontline officers suggested that the quality of street checks would increase if officers were no longer evaluated on the number of street checks they complete per month. They stressed that the focus should be on quality, not quantity;
- Others expressed the need for improved street check training and the establishment of a formal street check policy;
- Most officers expressed hope that the relationship between the police and racialized communities could be improved. However, they also stressed that the police need the support and cooperation of the community to build a more trusting relationship;

To this point the report has focussed on capturing the views and experiences of both community members and police officials. In the next section, attention turns to an analysis of official police data.

PART E: AN ANALYSIS OF OFFICIAL STREET CHECK DATA

INTRODUCTION

The first three sections of this report focussed on findings from a series of community consultations, an internet-based community survey, and consultations with police officials. In this section, the report provides an examination of official police street check data. This data was collected by both the Halifax Regional Police Service and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police from January 1st, 2006 to December 31st, 2017.

Before reviewing the findings, it is important to provide a clear definition of police "street checks." To begin with, a street check *DOES NOT* capture all police traffic stops, pedestrian stops or other types of investigative police-civilian encounters. This is an important point because many community members believe that a street check and a police stop are the same thing. It must be stressed, however, that street checks capture only a *small fraction* of all police stops. Street checks also do not capture civilian calls for service, criminal incidents, arrests and many other types of police-civilian encounter. These types of events are typically captured on General Occurrence Reports (GOs). Finally, street checks do not capture casual conversations between police officers and members of the public.

According the police policy manual, and extensive consultations with police officials, street checks are to be completed by police officials when they believe that they have observed or collected information about a civilian or civilians that could be of intelligence value. This might include the recording of unusual or suspicious behaviour, the presence of a known offender in a particular location at a specific time, associations between offenders, or the movements of a transient person. According to police officials, street checks are supposed to be collected and compiled based on their potential to assist with future police investigations. Street checks can evolve out of a police decision to stop and question a civilian or civilians. For example, an officer might conduct a

normal traffic stop and, during the interaction, discover that the driver has an extensive criminal record. The officer may then decide to complete a street check to note that this offender was seen in a certain area of Halifax. However, a street check does not have to involve direct contact with a civilian. Street checks often consist of nothing more than a visual observation (a visual check). For example, an officer on patrol may observe a known criminal hanging out at a local bar. The officer could potentially fill out a street check on this individual, for intelligence purposes, without ever speaking a word to the target of their attention. In sum, it is important to remember that: 1) Hypothetically, street checks are only to be completed if police officers perceive some intelligence value in recording an encounter or observation; and 2) The majority of police interactions – including police stops – are not captured in the current Halifax street check dataset.

The 2006-2017 street check dataset, provided to the inquiry, enables three levels of analysis: 1) The street check event; 2) The street check entity; and 3) The unique individual. Data were provided on 96,302 street check "events" involving 142,456 different individuals or entities. This works out to be an average of 1.48 civilians per street check event. However, it should be noted that seven out of every ten street check events (69.7%) involve only one person. An additional 19.9% involve only two people, 6.3% involve three people and only 4.9% involve four or more persons. It should also be stressed that – because the same person may be subjected to numerous street checks -- the 142,456 street check entities included in the dataset involve only 55,198 unique individuals. This represents an average of 2.58 street checks for every unique individual in the street check dataset.

The analysis presented below attempts to address four major research questions:

1. To what extent are Black and other minority civilians represented in Halifax police street checks;
2. To what extent are racial disparities in street check statistics impacted by gender, age, individuals subject to multiple street checks, criminal history and community characteristics?
3. What evidence is there to suggest that street checks prevent or reduce crime?

The chapter concludes with a discussion about whether the observed racial disparities in street check statistics constitutes evidence of racial bias or racial profiling. For purposes of clarity and readability, bullet points will be used, from this point onward, to highlight both research methods and findings.

Measuring Racial Difference

- The findings presented below compare the representation of major racial groups in the general Halifax population with their representation in the Halifax street check dataset;

- General population estimates were derived from the 2006 Census, the 2011 General Household Survey and 2016 Canadian Census (Statistics Canada 2016);

- Estimates for the White population of Halifax were calculated by taking the total population estimate for Halifax and deducting the estimates for both visible minority and Indigenous populations;

- The race of persons subjected to a street check was recorded by police officers at the time of the street check incident and entered into the Versadex data management system. To the best of my knowledge, the race of a person subjected to a street check only has to be entered once. If a person is subjected to an additional street check, the racial identity field is automatically filled out once the person's name is re-entered. Thus, I could not locate a single case where a person was listed as one race during their first street check incident and another race during their next street. At the individual level, the racial identity information in the Versadex data is remarkably consistent;

- Odds ratios and street check rates were calculated to determine the representation of specific racial groups in street check occurrences. Odds ratios are a measure of disproportionality. Street check rates are a measure of disparity;

- Odds ratios were calculated by dividing the percent of all street checks involving a particular racial group by their percent representation in the general population. An odds ratio approaching 1.00 indicates that a racial group is neither over or under-represented in street checks. An odds ratio less than 1.00 indicates that the group is under-represented in street checks. Finally, an odds ratio greater than 1.00 indicates that the group is over-represented. For example, an odds ratio of 2.00 indicates that a group is twice as prevalent in street check incidents as they are in the general population. By contrast, an odds ratio of 0.50 indicates that a group is 50% less represented in street checks than their proportion in the general population would predict;

- There is no set standard for determining when racial disproportionality (i.e., the over or under-representation of a particular racial group with respect to a specific social outcome) is cause for concern. For example, in the Ottawa Traffic Stop study, the authors used the 20% rule (or an Odds Ratio of 1.20 or higher) to determine when a group was significantly over-represented with respect to involuntary police contact (Foster et al, 2016). For the purposes of this study we have used a higher threshold of 50%. In other words, for the purposes of the present analysis, an Odds Ratio of 1.50 or higher will be used to determine whether a specific group is over-represented in street check statistics or not;

- The street check case rate (per 100,000) was calculated by dividing the total number of street checks per racial group by their population estimate and multiplying that figure by 1,000. The rate indicates the number of people, per 1,000 population, that were involved in street check activity. This street check rate allows us to directly compare the experiences of racial groups of varying size. For example, if Group A has a street check rate of 10 per 100,000 and Group B has a rate of 5 per 100,000, we can accurately state that members of Group A are twice as likely to become involved in a street check as the members of Group B;

- It must be stressed that the figures presented in the following tables are based on Census projections and the *total population* of police street checks recorded in the Halifax region from 2006 to 2017. These are not figures based on a random sample and therefore are not subject to the rules of probability theory. In other words, the observed racial differences do not have to be tested for statistical significance. All the racial differences documented in these tables should therefore be interpreted as "real" differences. Furthermore, due to the extremely large sample size, it is likely that even small racial differences would emerge as statistically significant. Thus, the focus should be put on the magnitude of racial differences rather than the whether they would be deemed statistically significant;

FINDINGS

- The first set of analyses focus on all street checks. For the purposes of this analysis, a street check refers to each entity that was involved in a street check event. For example, if a street check event involved only one person, then that would be recorded as one street check. However, if a street check event involved five persons, then that event would be recorded as five distinct street checks (one for each person involved). As discussed above, there were 142,456 street checks or street check entities recorded by the police in Halifax between 2006 and 2017;

- The results suggest that, compared to other Canadian jurisdictions, the Halifax region has a relatively high street check rate (see Table 5.1 and Figure 5.1). Between 2006 and 2017, for example, Halifax averaged 29.4 street checks per 1,000 population. This rate is higher than many other jurisdictions including Montreal (13.3), Vancouver (16.1) and Ottawa (6.3), but comparable to cities like Edmonton (29.1) and Calgary (21.9). Importantly, Halifax's street check rate is far lower than Toronto's street check rate (125.6 per 1,000) recorded between 2008 and 2013 (i.e., during the peak period of that city's aggressive "carding" policy);

- Table 5.2 provides details of Halifax street check practices using the 2016 Census as a benchmark. The results suggest that between 2006 and 2012, Black civilians were five times more likely to be subject to a street check than their proportion of the population would predict. Although Black people make-up only 3.7% of the population, the were involved in 18.4% of street checks conducted during this twelve-year period. By contrast, all other racial groups have Odds Ratios of less than 1.00 and are thus under-represented in street check statistics;[10]

- The results suggest that, over this twelve-year period, the Black street check rate (1,739.1 per 1,000) was 5.7 times greater than the White rate (304.2 per 1,000). These data suggest that there was the equivalent of almost two street checks for every one Black person residing in the Halifax region. By contrast, there was only one street check for every three White people;

[10] The race of persons subject to a street check was present in over 95% of all cases. Only 4.2% of all street checks had missing racial data;

- It could be argued, however, that by using 2016 Census estimates, the analysis presented in Table 5.2 serves to under-estimate the representation of racial minorities in street check statistics. The reason – the size of Halifax's minority population grew significantly between 2006 and 2016, while the size of the White population declined (see Table 5.3). For example, the size of Halifax's Asian, South Asian and Arab/West Asian population more than doubled during that ten-year period. By contrast, White people dropped from 91.1% of the population to 84.9%;

- In order to correct for population growth and racial diversification over time, street check figures were recalculated using an adjusted census benchmark (see Table 5.4). Population estimates from the 2006 Census, 2011 Household Survey and 2016 Census were first summed and divided by three to produce average population estimates for each racial group over the 12-year study period. Using these new population estimates, Black Halifax residents are now 5.33 times more likely to experience a street check than their presence in the general population would predict. Similarly, the Black street check rate rose from 1,739.1 per 1,000 to 1,868.2 per 1,000. The Black street check rate is now 6.1 times greater than the White rate. Interestingly, using this adjusted benchmark, people of Arab/West Asian background went from being under-represented in street check statistics (Odds Ratio=0.91) to being slightly over-represented (Odds Ratio=1.23). White people and people from all other racial minority groups remain under-represented;

- Figure 5.2 presents the average annual street check rates for each racial group. The results suggest that each year, from 2006 to 2017, the equivalent to 15.6% of the Black population was street checked by police in the Halifax region, compared to 2.5% of the White population. The data also reveal that Arab/West Asian residents have a slightly higher annual street check rate (36.4 per 1,000) than their White counterparts (25.5 per 1,000). However, all other racial groups – including Indigenous Canadians – have a street check rate that is significantly lower than the White rate;

TABLE 5.1:
Street Check Numbers and Street Check Rates (per 1,000),
Across Selected Canadian Urban Centres

Urban Centre	Population Size	Street Check Data Collection Period	# of Street Checks Completed	Average # of Street Checks Completed Per Year	Average Annual Street Check Rate (per 1,000)
Toronto	2,688,742	2008-2013	2,2026,258	337,710	125.6
Toronto[11]	2,688,724	2014	23,160	23,160	8.6
Calgary	1,230,915	2015	27,000	27,000	21.9
Edmonton	899,447	2009-2014	105,306	17,551	19.5
Edmonton[12]	932,546	2017	27,125	27,125	29.1
Peel Region	1,381,739	2009-2014	159,303	26,551	19.2
London	494,069	2014	8,400	26,550	17.0
Halifax	403,390	2006-2017	142,456	8,400	29.4
Montreal	1,753,034	2001-2007	163,630	11,871	13.3
Ottawa	934,243	2011-2014	23,403	23,376	6.3
Hamilton	747,545	2010-2015	18,500	5,850	4.1
Vancouver	603,502	2008-2017	97,281	3,083	16.1

Sources: Griffiths et al. 2018; Vancouver Police Department 2018; OHRC 2016; Legal Aid Ontario 2016; Hoffman et al. 2015; Yogaretham 2015; CBC 2015; O'Brien 2016; Grewel 2015;

[11] Due to both public controversy and the subsequent development of a new street check policy, the number of street checks completed by the Toronto Police Service dropped by more than 300,000 between 2013 and 2014.
[12] According to newly released statistics, the Edmonton Police Service completed 27,125 street checks in 2017. According to the 2016 Census, the population of Edmonton had grown to 932,546. These figures produce an Edmonton police street check rate of 29.1 per 1,000 for 2017 (see Griffiths et al. 2018). This rate is significantly higher than the rate recorded from 2009 to 2014. It also equals Halifax's annual yearly street check rate from 2006 to 2017.

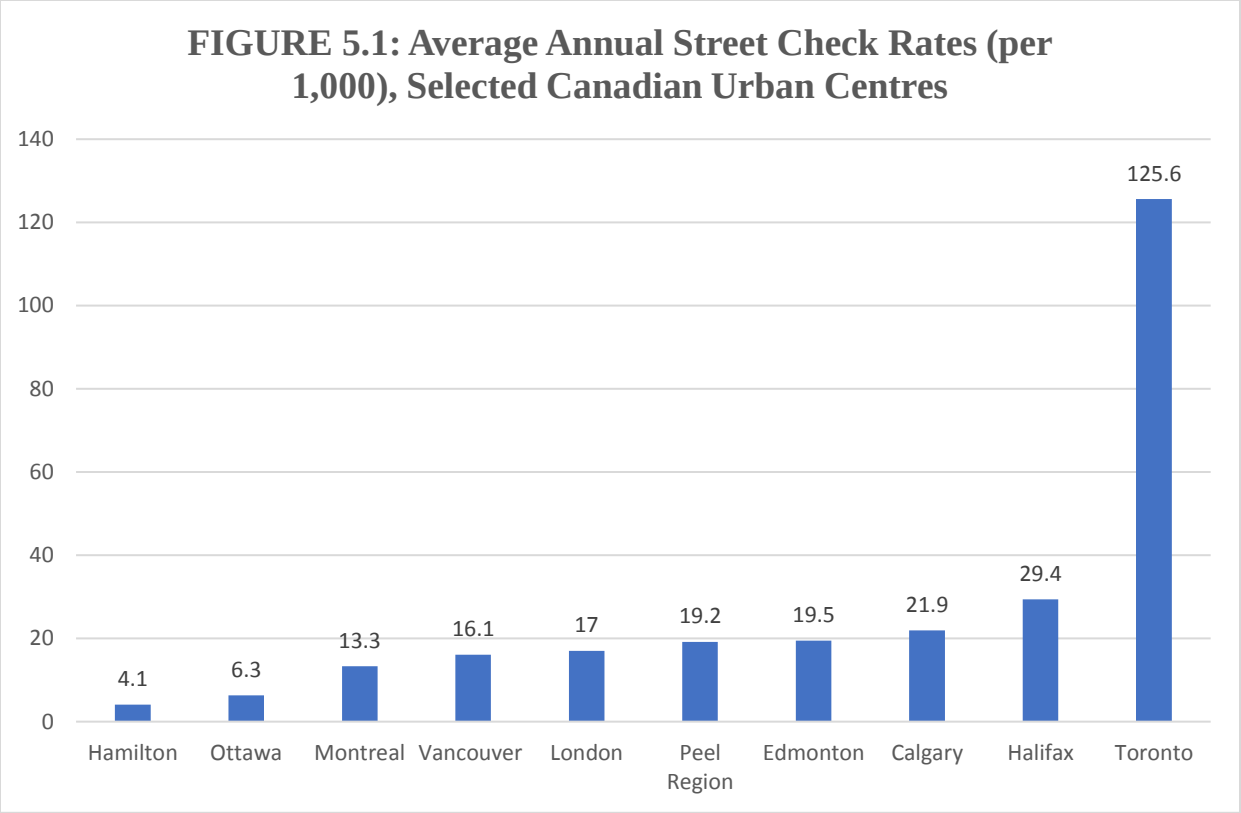


TABLE 5.2:
Total Street Checks (Entities), Halifax CMA, 2006-2017, by Race
(Population Estimates from the 2016 Canadian Census)

Racial Group	Population Estimate (2016 Census)	Percent of Population (2016 Census)	Number of Street Checks	Percent of Street Checks	Odds Ratio	Street Check Rate (per 1,000)
Missing/Other	2,795	0.7	5,980	4.2	----	----
White	342,285	84.9	104,120	73.1	0.86	304.2
Black	15,090	3.7	26,243	18.4	4.97	1,739.1
Asian	12,130	3.0	566	0.4	0.13	46.7
South Asian	6,550	1.6	276	0.2	0.12	42.1
Arab/West Asian	8,725	2.2	2,913	2.0	0.91	333.9
Indigenous	15,815	3.9	2,358	1.7	0.43	149.1
TOTAL	403,390	100.0	142,456	100.0	1.00	353.1

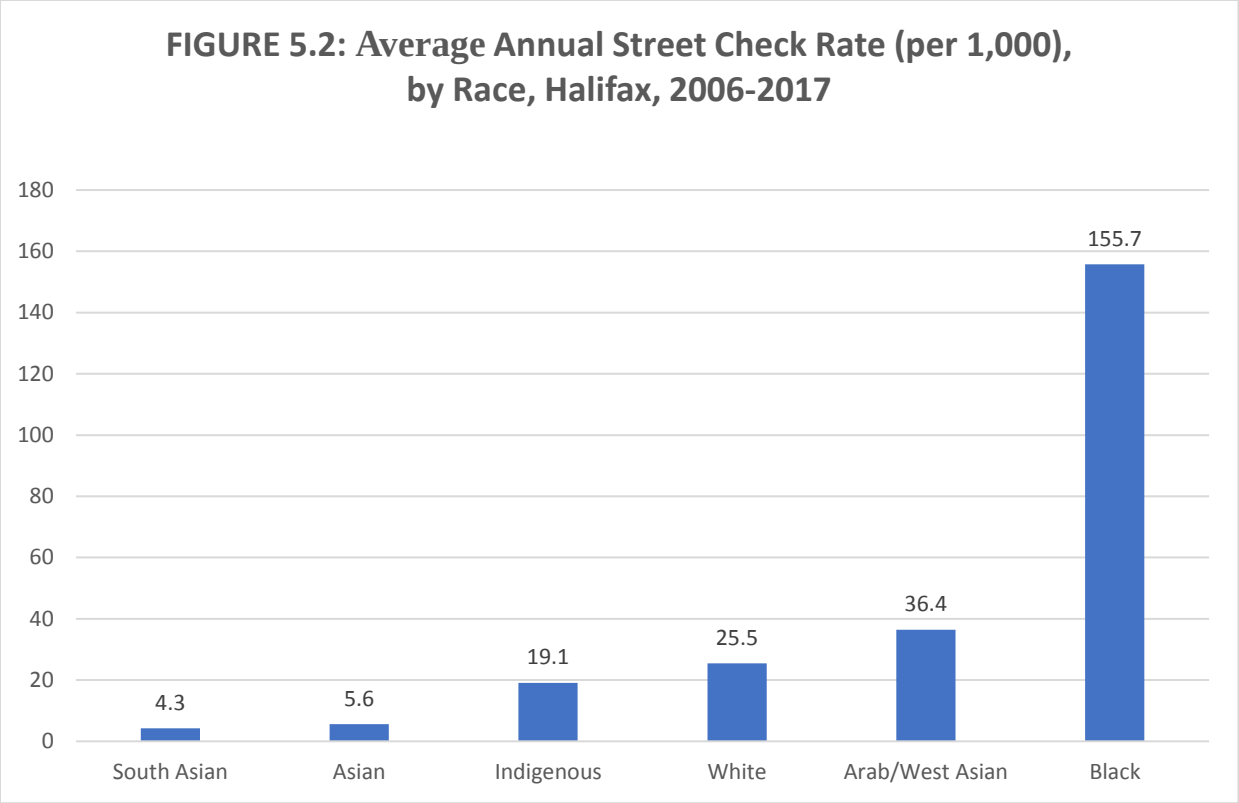
TABLE 5.3: Racial Composition of Halifax CMA, By Census Year

Racial Group	2006		2011		2016	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
White	339,890	91.1	339,850	88.4	342,285	84.9
Indigenous	5,320	1.4	9,650	2.5	15,815	3.9
Asian	5,320	1.4	7,970	2.1	12,130	3.0
South Asian	2,895	0.8	3,995	1.0	6,550	1.6
Black	13,270	3.6	13,780	3.6	15,090	3.7
Latin	690	0.2	1,025	0.3	1,210	0.3
Arab	4,510	1.2	6,735	1.7	8,725	2.2
Other	960	0.3	1,535	0.4	1,585	0.4
TOTAL	372,855	100.0	384,540	100.0	403,390	100.0

TABLE 5.4:
Total Street Checks (Entities), Halifax CMA, 2006-2017, by Race
Average Census Estimates Based on 2006, 2011 and 2016 Canadian Census
(excludes cases with missing racial information)

Racial Group	Average Population Count	Average Percent of Population	Number of Street Checks	Percent of Street Checks	Odds Ratio	Street Check Rate (per 1,000)
White	340,675	88.6	104,120	76.3	0.86	305.6
Black	14,047	3.6	26,243	19.2	5.33	1,868.2
Asian	8,473	2.2	566	0.4	0.18	66.8
South Asian	4,480	1.2	276	0.2	0.17	61.6
Arab/West Asian	6,657	1.7	2,913	2.1	1.23	437.6
Indigenous	10,262	2.7	2,358	1.7	0.63	229.8
TOTAL[13]	384,594	100.0	136,476	100.0	1.00	354.6

[13] The final population estimates presented in Table 5.4 exclude persons who self-identified as "Latin/Hispanic" or "Other visible minority." For all three Census periods, 2006, 2011 and 2016, these groups combined represented less than one percent of the Halifax population (see Table 5.3). Furthermore, these racial groups are not identified in HRP/RCMP street check statistics and are thus excluded from the analysis.



Trends

- The results further suggest, however, that the annual number of street checks conducted by the HRP and RCMP, in the Halifax region, has varied widely between 2006 and 2018 (see Figure 5.3). For example, a high of 15,858 street checks was reached 2007. This figure dropped to 10,577 in 2010, then rose again to 13,641 in 2012. The number of street checks has dropped each year since 2012 to a low of only 6,504 street checks in 2018;

- Overall, the Halifax region street check rate has dropped from a high of 42.5 per 1,000 in 2007 to a low of 16.1 per 1,000 in 2018 (a sixty-two percent decline);

- Although the number of street checks has varied from year, and numbers have recently declined, the over-representation of Black people in street check statistics is remarkably consistent (see Figures 5.4 and 5.5). Every year from 2006 to 2017, Black people have been five to six times more likely to appear in street check statistics than their representation in the general population would predict;

FIGURE 5.3: Number of Street Checks (Entities) Per Year, Halifax, 2006-2017

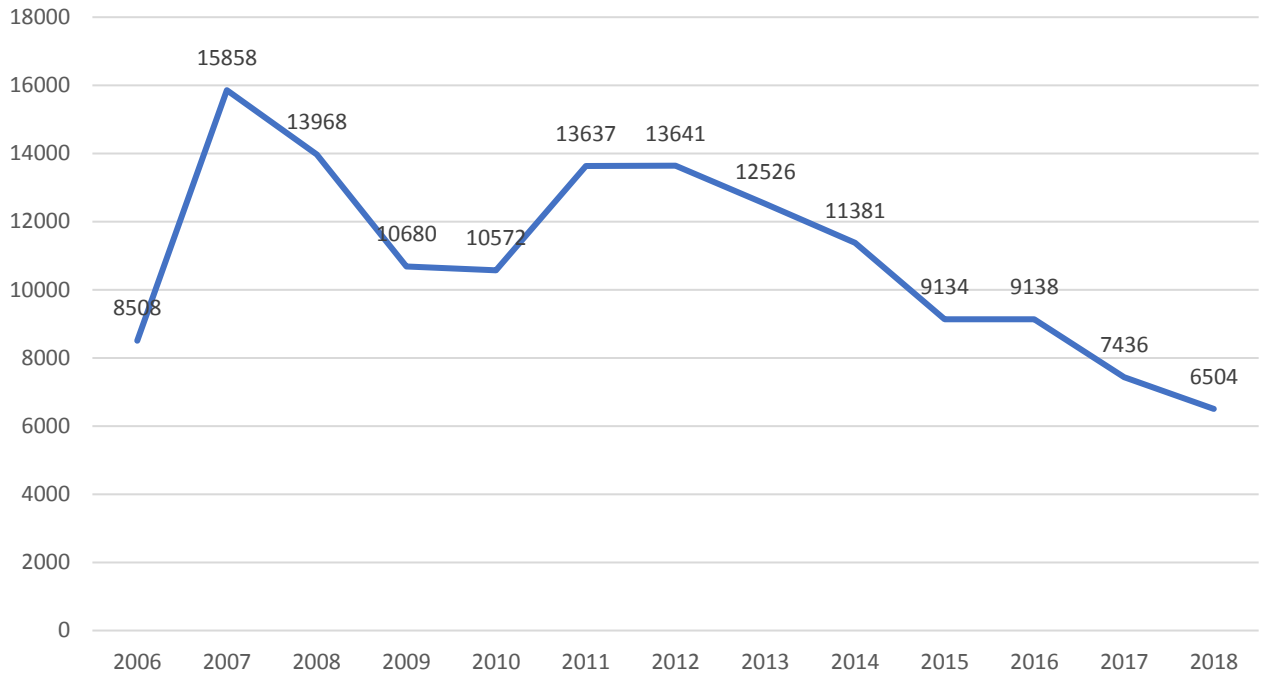


FIGURE 5.4: Percent of Street Checks, by Race, per Year, Halifax, 2006-2017

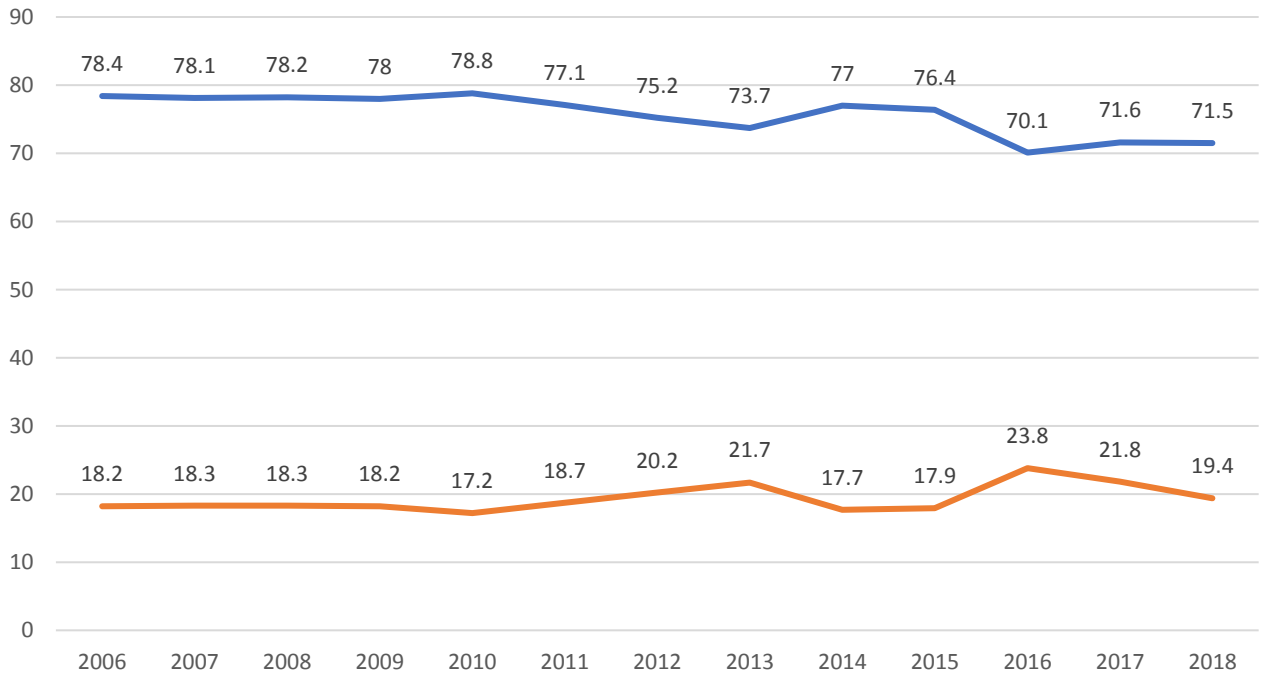
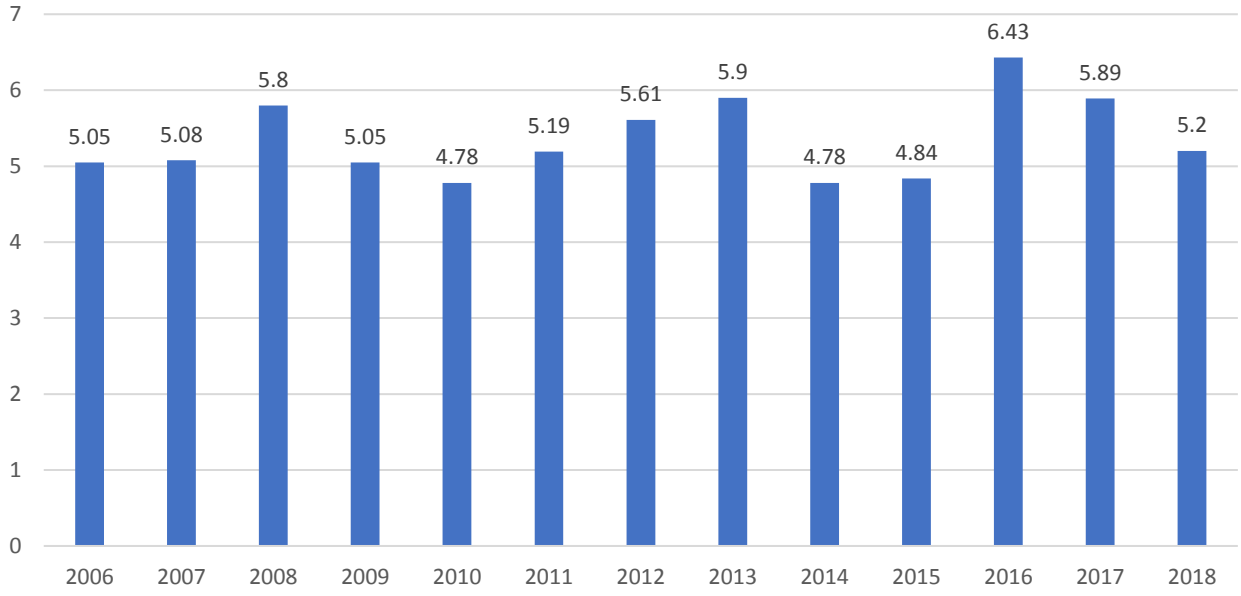


FIGURE 5.5: Degree of Black Over-Representation in Halifax Region Street Checks, by Year (Odds Ratios)



The Intersection of Race and Gender

- Street checks are a highly gendered phenomenon. Indeed, 77.9% of all street checks involve male entities. Only 22.1% involve females;

- The results, however, clearly demonstrate that Black males are particularly vulnerable to police street checks (see Table 5.6, 5.7 and 5.8). Although Black males represented only 1.8% of Halifax's population between 2006 and 2017, they were the subject of 18.4% of all street checks conducted during this time period. In other words, Black men are 9.2 times more likely to appear in Halifax street check statistics than their presence in the general population would predict;

- During the study period, the Black male street check rate (3,309 per 1,000) was 9.2 times greater than the street check rate for the general population. The Black rate is also seven times greater than the rate for White males (481 per 1,000) and twenty-three times greater than the rate for White females (143 per 1,000);

- These results suggest that, between 2006 and 2017, there was the equivalent of 3.3 street checks for every Black male in the Halifax population. By contrast, there was only one street check for every two White males;

- The results also suggest that Black females are also significantly over-represented in street check statistics. For example, Black females are three times more likely to appear in female street checks (12.5%) than their presence in the female population would predict (see Table 5.6). Furthermore, the Black female street check rate (519 per 1,000) is 3.6 times greater than the rate for White females (143 per 1,000);

- In fact, the Black female street check rate (519 per 1,000) is actually greater than the rate for White males (481 per 1,000);

- Interestingly, Arab males are significantly over-represented in street check statistics and, next to Black males, have the second highest street check rate (729 per 1,000). However, Arab women are significantly under-represented in street check statistics and have a street check rate (79 per 1,000) that is much lower than the rate for White females (143 per 1,000);

- Figure 5.7 presents the average annual street check rate for each race and gender category. The results suggest that each year, from 2006 to 2017, the equivalent to 28% of the Black male population was street checked by police in the Halifax region, compared to only 4% of the White male population;

TABLE 5.5:
Total Male Street Checks (Entities), Halifax CMA, 2006-2017, by Race
Average Census Estimates Based on 2006, 2011 and 2016 Canadian Census
(excludes cases with missing racial information)

Racial Group	Average Male Population Count (2006-2017)	Percent Male Population	Number of Male Street Checks	Percent of Male Street Checks	Odds Ratio	Male Street Check Rate (per 1,000)
White	164,075	88.3	78,903	74.2	0.84	480.9
Black	6,790	3.7	22,470	21.1	5.70	3,309.3
Asian	3,983	2.1	443	0.4	0.19	111.2
South Asian	2,437	1.3	210	0.2	0.15	86.2
Arab/West Asian	3,668	2.0	2,673	2.5	1.25	728.7
Indigenous	4,790	2.6	1,589	1.5	0.58	331.7
TOTAL	185,743	100.0	106,288	100.0	1.00	572.23

TABLE 5.6:
Total Female Street Checks (Entities), Halifax CMA, 2006-2017, by Race
Average Census Estimates Based on 2006, 2011 and 2016 Canadian Census
(excludes cases with missing racial information)

Racial Group	Average Female Population Count (2006-2017)	Percent Female Population	Number of Female Street Checks	Percent of Female Street Checks	Odds Ratio	Male Street Check Rate (per 1,000)
White	176,600	88.8	25,173	83.5	0.94	142.5
Black	7,255	3.6	3,767	12.5	3.38	519.2
Asian	4,483	2.3	122	0.4	0.17	27.2
South Asian	2,043	1.0	66	0.2	0.20	32.3
Arab/West Asian	2,986	1.5	235	0.8	0.53	78.7
Indigenous	5,472	2.8	769	2.6	0.93	140.5
TOTAL	198,839	100.0	30,132	100.0	1.00	151.5

TABLE 5.7:
Total Street Checks (Entities), Halifax CMA, 2006-2017, by Race and Gender,
Average Census Estimates Based on 2006, 2011 and 2016 Canadian Census
(excludes cases with missing racial information)

Racial Group	Average Population Count (2006-2017)	Percent Total Population	Number of Street Checks	Percent of All Street Checks	Odds Ratio	Street Check Rate (per 1,000)
White Male	164,075	42.7	78,903	57.7	1.35	480.9
White Female	176,600	45.9	25,173	18.4	0.41	142.5
Black Male	6,790	1.8	22,470	16.5	9.20	3,309.3
Black Female	7,255	1.8	3,767	2.8	1.55	519.2
Asian Male	3,983	1.0	443	0.3	0.30	111.2
Asian Female	4.483	1.2	122	0.1	0.08	27.2
South Asian Male	2,437	0.6	210	0.2	0.33	86.2
South Asian Female	2.043	0.6	66	0.1	0.16	32.3
Arab Male	3,668	0.9	2,673	2.0	2.22	728.7
Arab Female	2,986	0.8	235	0.2	0.25	78.7
Indigenous Male	4,790	1.3	1,589	1.2	0.92	331.7
Indigenous Female	5,472	1.4	769	0.6	0.43	140.5
TOTAL POP	384,582	100.0	136,420	100.00	1.00	354.7

FIGURE 5.6: Level of Representation in Halifax Region Street Checks (Odds Ratios), by Race and Gender, 2006-2017

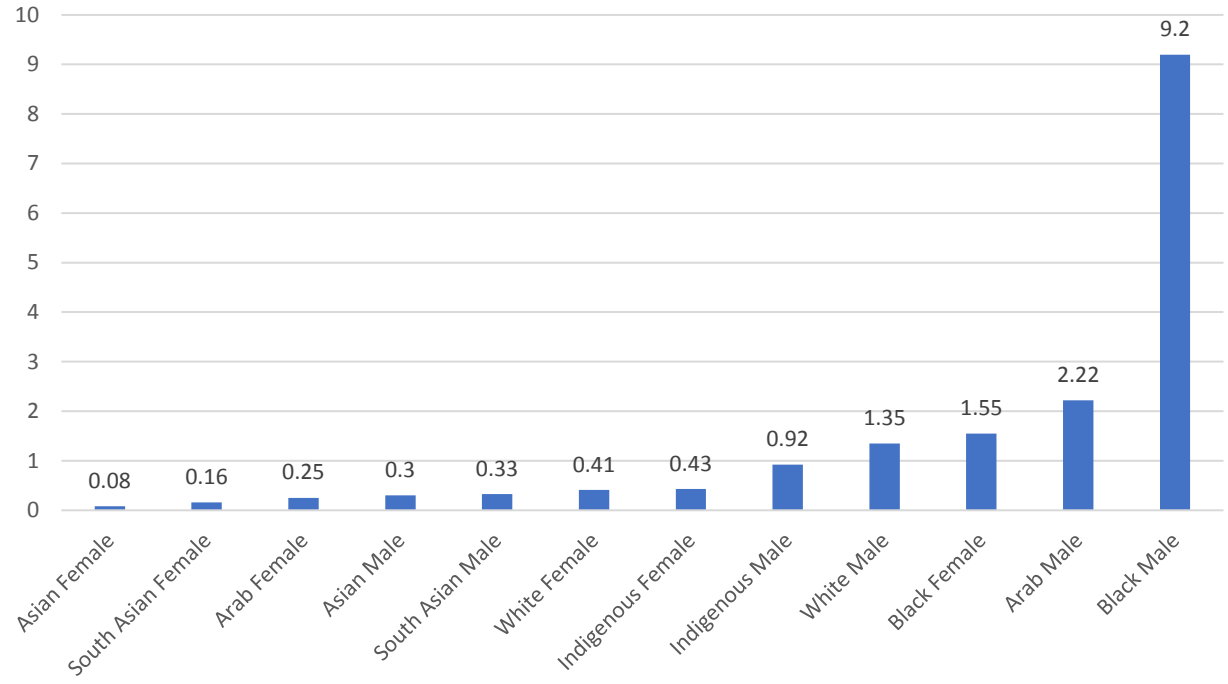
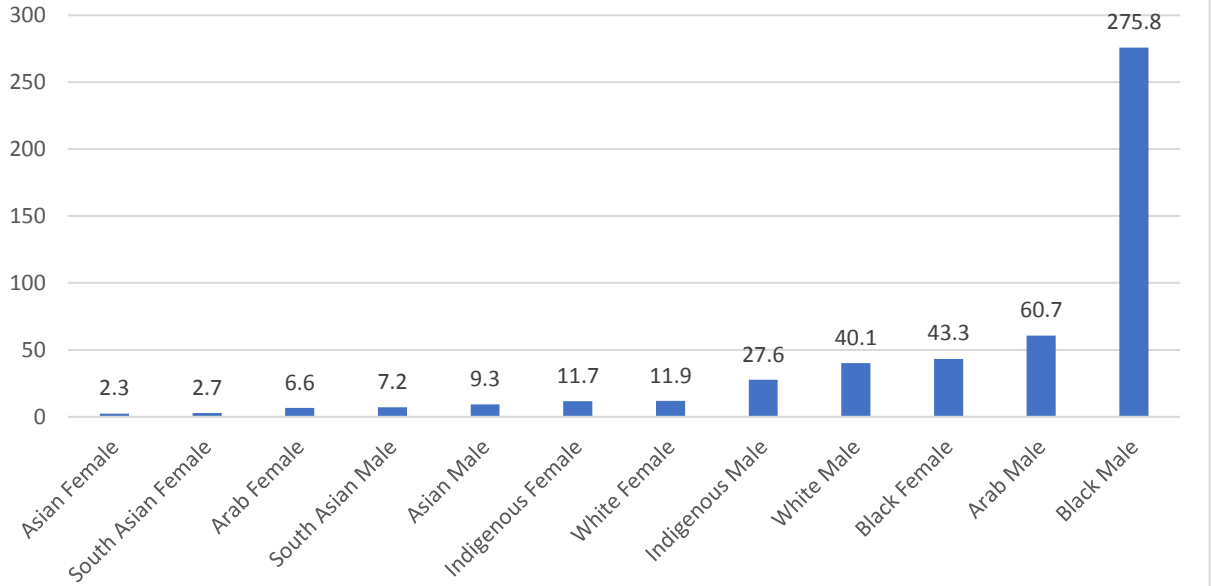


FIGURE 5.7: Average Annual Police Street Check Rate (per 1,000), by Race and Gender, Halifax Region, 2006-2017



The Impact of Age

- This section explores the relationship between age and street checks. In order to conduct this analysis, we examined street checks collected between 2013 and 2017 using the 2016 Canadian Census as a population benchmark;

- In addition to gender and race, the data reveal that street check practices are strongly associated with age. Throughout the study period, it appears that adolescents and young adults are much more likely to be street checked than children or older people (see Table 5.8). For example, between 2013 and 2017, six out ten street checks (60.2%) were issued to those between 15 and 34 years of age. By contrast, less than one percent of street checks were issued to youth under 15 years of age and only 6.7% were issued to adults 55 years of age or older.[14]

- Individuals 15-24 years of age have the highest street check rate (321 per 1,000), followed by those 25-34 years of age;

- An examination of 2016 Census data reveals an important fact: The Black population of the Halifax region is significantly younger than the White population (see Table 5.9). For example, 60.3% of Black residents are less than 35 years of age, compared to only 40.1% of the White population. Similarly, a third of the White population is 55 years of age or older, compared to only 18.0% of the Black population. This leads to the following question: Will racial disparities in street check rates diminish once we take age differences into account? Can younger age help explain why Black residents have a higher street check rate than Whites? The answer is an overwhelming no;

- Table 5.10 examines the representation of Black and White residents in street check statistics for different age groups. The results reveal that, regardless of age, Black people are much more likely to be subject to a street check than their White counterparts. For example, Black 15-24-year-olds are almost ten times more likely to appear in the street check data than their representation in the general population. Similarly, the street check rate for Black 15-24-year-olds (1,240.1 per 1,000) is 4.3 times greater than the rate for White people (288.1 per 1,000) in the same category;

- Similarly, the street check rate for Black 25-34-year-olds (1,304.6 per 1,000) is 7.4 times greater than the rate for White people in this age group (177.5 per 1,000);

- The data also suggest that aging seems to protect White people from street checks to a greater extent than it protects Black people (see Figure 5.8). To begin with, while the street check rate for whites declines by 39% between 15-24 years and 25-34 years, it increases for Black residents;

[14] Age was recorded at the time of the street check incident. Thus, the age of a specific individual may change if they were street checked on several occasions over the study period. For example, a twenty-year old street checked in 2013 would emerge as a 23-year-old if street checked again in 2017.

- Furthermore, differences between Black and White street check rates actually become larger as we move up the age scale. For example, among those under fifteen, the Black street check is only 2.1 times higher than the White street check rate. However, the Black rate is 4.3 times higher among 15-24-year-olds, 7.4 times greater among 25-34-year-olds, 7.6 times greater among 35-44-year-olds, 8.6 times greater among 45-54-year-olds and 10.1 times greater among those 55 years of age or older;

- It is also rather startling to note that the street check rate for Black people over 55 years of age (232 per 1,000) is actually higher than the street check rate for Whites in the 25-34-year-old category (177 per 1,000);

- Table 5.11 and Figure 5.9 examine the relationship between race, gender, age and police street checks. The results suggest that, consistent with the research literature, young Black males are particularly vulnerable to street check activity. For example, although they represent only a third of a percent (0.3%) of the Halifax region's population, Black males, 15-24 years of age, represent 5.9% of all police street checks. In other words, Young Black males (25-24 years of age) are twenty times more likely to appear in the street check dataset than their proportion of the general population would suggest;

- Overall, the street check rate for Black, 15-24-year-old males (2,207 per 1000) is five times greater than the rate for White males in the same age category (443 per 1,000). Similarly, the street check rate for Black, 24-34-year-old males (2,341 per 1,000) is nine times greater than their similarly aged White male counterparts (260 per 1,000);

- It is important to note than young Black females are also significantly over-represented in police street checks (see Table 511; Figure 5.9). In general, young Black females are approximately three times more likely to appear in street check statistics than their representation in the general population would predict. Furthermore, young Black females experience much higher street check rates than young White females. For example, among those 25-34 years of age, the Black female street check rate (376 per 1,000) is 3.8 times greater than the rate for White females (99 per 1,000);

- In fact, the street check rates for both 15-24-year-old Black females (328 per 1,000) and 25-34-year-old Black females (376 per 1,000) are significantly higher than the street check rate for White males in the 25-34-year-old category (260 per 1,000);

TABLE 5.8:
Total Street Checks (Entities), Halifax CMA, 2013-2017,
by Age Group, 2016 Canadian Census
(excludes cases with missing age data)

Age Group	Population Count	Percent Population	Number of Street Checks	Percent Street Checks	Odds Ratio	Street Check Rate (per 1,000)
14 Years or Less	60,415	15.2	417	0.9	0.06	6.9
15-24 Years	52,075	13.1	16,707	34.6	2.64	320.8
25-34 Years	57,280	14.4	12,399	25.6	1.78	216.5
35-44 Years	52,040	13.1	8,602	17.8	1.36	165.3
44-54 Years	59,960	15.1	6,989	14.5	0.96	116.6
55 Years or Older	115,635	29.1	3,242	6.7	0.23	28.0
TOTAL	397,635	100.0	48,356	100.0	1.00	121.6

TABLE 5.9:
Age Distribution (%) of Black and White Residents,
2016 Canadian Census
(excludes cases with missing age data)

Age Group	Black Residents	White Residents
14 Years or Less	27.7	14.2
15-24 Years	17.5	12.2
25-34 Years	15.1	13.7
35-44 Years	11.0	13.1
44-54 Years	10.7	15.7
55 Years or Older	18.0	31.1
Population	15,095	352,340

TABLE 5.10: Total Street Checks (Entities), Halifax CMA, 2013-2017, by Age Group and Race, 2016 Canadian Census (excludes cases with missing age and race data)

Age Group	Population Count	Percent Total Population	Number of Street Checks	Percent Street Checks	Odds Ratio	Street Check Rate (per 1,000)
Black: 14 Years or Less	4,190	1.0	64	0.1	0.10	15.3
White: 14 Years or Less	50,045	12.6	338	0.7	0.05	6.7
Black: 15-24 Years	2,645	0.7	3,280	6.8	9.71	1,240.1
White: 15-24 Years	43,080	10.8	12,410	25.7	2.38	288.1
Black: 25-34 Years	2,275	0.6	2,968	6.1	10.17	1,304.6
White: 25-34 Years	48,065	12.1	8,531	17.6	1.45	177.5
Black: 35-44 Years	1,655	0.4	1,751	3.6	9.00	1,058.0
White: 35-44 Years	46,230	11.6	6,438	13.3	1.15	139.3
Black: 45-54 Years	1,620	0.4	1,356	2.8	7.00	837.0
White: 45-54 Years	55,285	13.9	5,371	11.1	0.79	97.1
Black: 55 or Older	2,710	0.7	628	1.3	1.86	231.7
White: 55 or Older	109,630	27.6	2,516	5.2	0.19	22.9

FIGURE 5.8: Police Street Check Rates (per 1,000), by Race, Halifax Region, 2013-2017

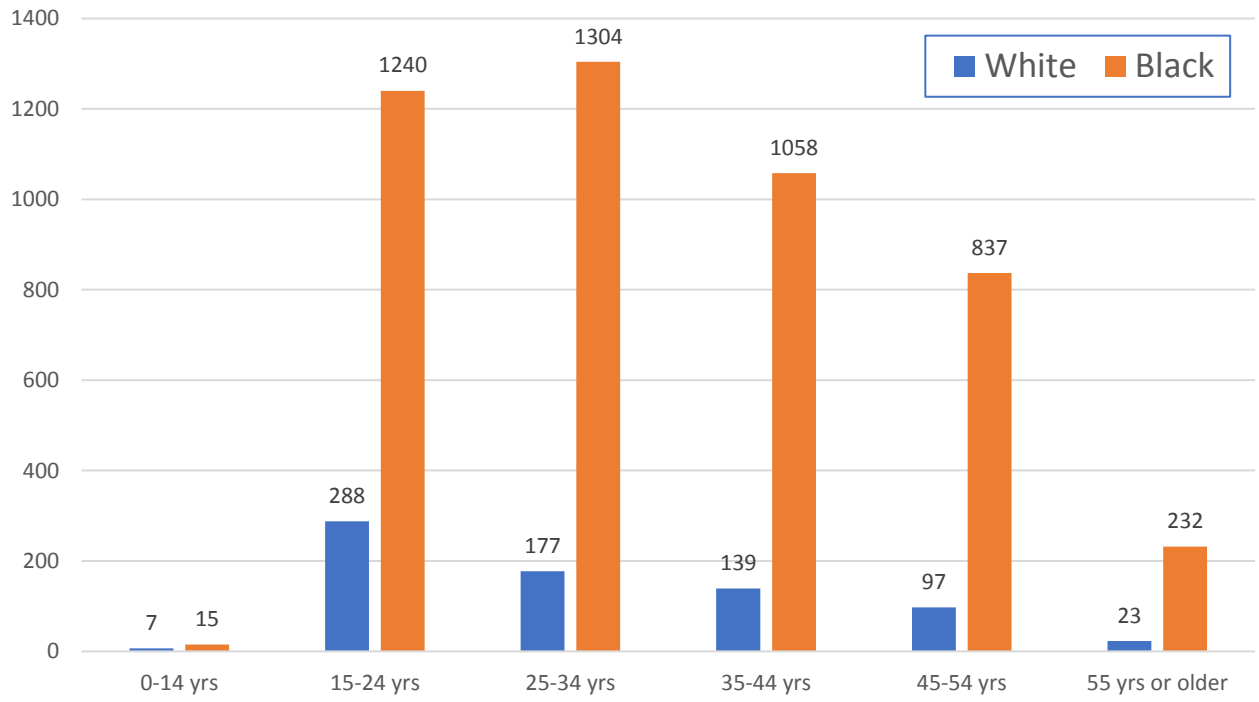
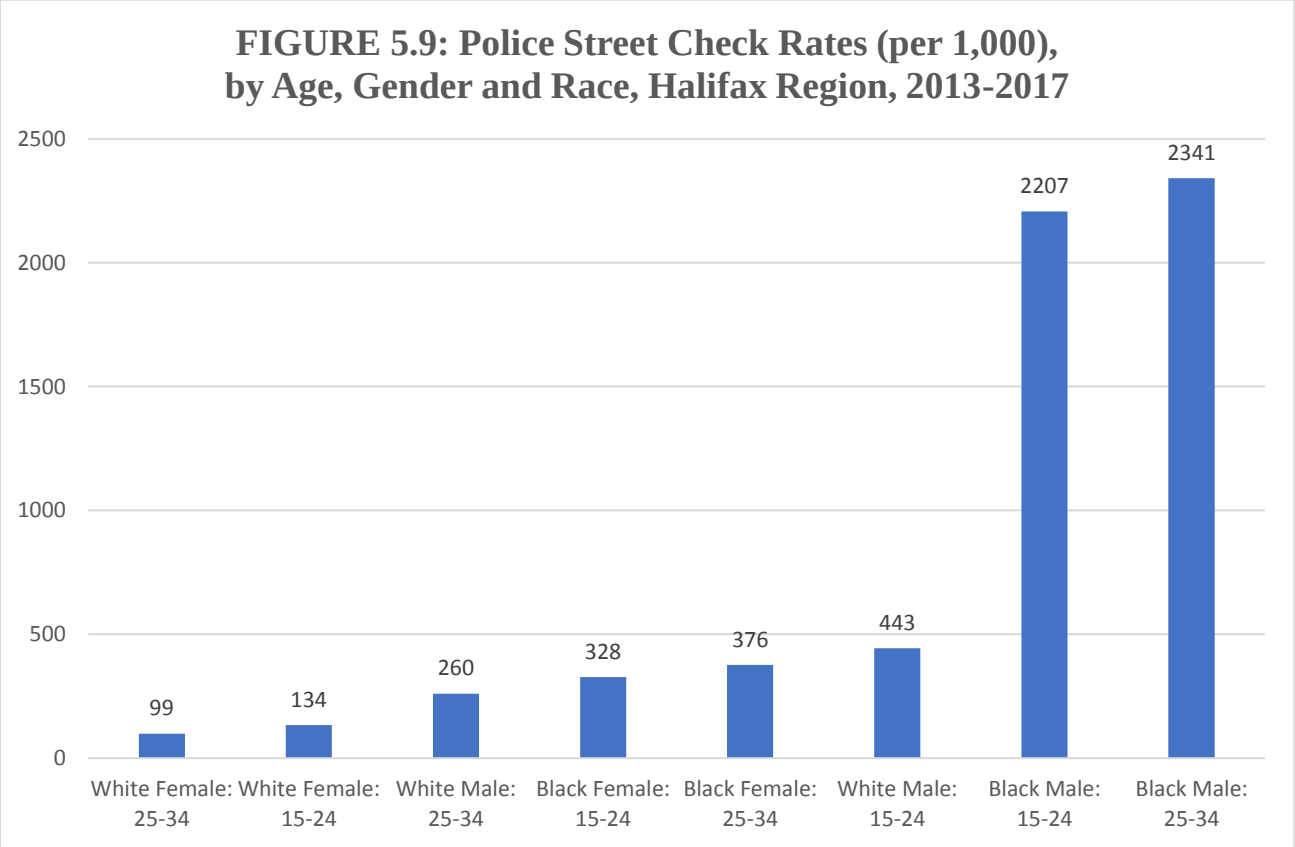


TABLE 5.11:
Total Street Checks (Entities), Halifax CMA, 2013-2017, by Age Group, Gender and Race, 2016 Canadian Census (excludes cases with missing age data)

Age Group	Population Count	Percent Total Population	Number of Street Checks	Percent Street Checks	Odds Ratio	Street Check Rate (per 1,000)
Black Male: 15-24 Yrs	1,285	0.3	2,836	5.9	19.7	2,207.0
Black Female: 15-24 Yrs	1,355	0.3	444	0.9	3.0	327.7
White Male: 15-24 Yrs	21,450	5.4	9,504	19.7	3.6	443.1
White Female: 15-24 Yrs	21,630	5.4	2,898	6.0	1.11	133.9
Black Male: 25-34 Yrs	1,075	0.3	2,517	5.2	17.3	2,341.4
Black Female: 25-34 Yrs	1,200	0.3	451	0.9	3.0	375.8
White Male: 25-34 Yrs	23,445	5.9	6,094	12.6	2.1	259.9
White Female: 25-34 Yrs	24,625	6.2	2,433	5.0	0.81	98.8



Reasons for Street Checks

- The Versadex street check dataset includes a field entitled "Reason Checked." Eight major categories were identified and coded (see Figure 5.10). However, the interpretation of these codes is somewhat challenging. For example, does a "parole/probation" check refer to a scheduled parole/probation inquiry, a person street checked who just happens to be on probation/parole, someone suspected of breaching conditions, etc.? Similarly, what is the difference between visual contact, intelligence and suspicious activity? Exploratory analysis seems to suggest that some visual checks involve direct contact with a person and that some "suspicious activity" checks were recorded for intelligence purposes. Is it possible that a visual check was also used to capture police intelligence or suspicious activity? Finally, is a traffic infraction the reason for first stopping and or/interacting with the civilian or the reason a street check was issued?

- Police officials often admitted frustration with the meaning of the "Reason Checked" field and recommended an improvement in both training and the number of response options available to document street check justifications (see recommendations in Section F).

- Nonetheless, despite interpretation issues, the analysis presented in this section is designed to determine whether street check reasons can help explain some of the racial disparity in street check statistics: Are the reasons for street checking Black people different than the reasons for street checking White people?

- The results suggest that the reason for 25% of all street checks was "suspicious activity" (see Figure 5.12). An additional 25% were conducted for "intelligence purposes." One fifth (20.4%) of all street checks involved a "visual check." However, the justification for the "visual check" is far from clear. This category seems to capture the type of street check more than the justification for the street check. Another fifth (19.5%) of all street checks involved a traffic infraction. Once again, the meaning of traffic infraction is difficult to interpret. Was the purpose of the street check to document a traffic infraction or did the encounter that led to the street check emerge because of a traffic infraction? Finally, very few street checks involved loitering (4.8%), a spot-check (2.5%), the Liquor Control Act (1.6%) or probation/parole issues (1.2%).

- The results suggest that Black people (31.9%) are more likely to be street checked for "intelligence purposes" than White people (22.7%). Black people are also more likely to be subject to "visual checks" (28.7%) than their White counterparts (18.5%). By contrast, White people are more likely to be street checked for both "suspicious behaviour" and "traffic infractions" (see Table 5.12)

- Importantly, further analysis suggests that Black people are over-represented in all "reason-checked" categories (see Figure 5.11). For example, compared to their representation in the general population, they are 7.3 times more likely to be subjected to a "visual check," 6.7 times more likely to be subject to an intelligence check, 6.2 times more likely to be

subjected to a "parole/probation" check, 4.1 times more likely to be subjected to a "spot check" and 3.4 times more likely to be checked as the result of a traffic violation. Clearly, Black civilians are highly over-represented in all street check justifications. In other words, the overall racial disparity in street check statistics cannot be explained by the over-representation of Black people in any particular street check justification;

FIGURE 5.10: Recorded Reason for Street Checks (%), Halifax Region, 2006-2017 (N=136,476)

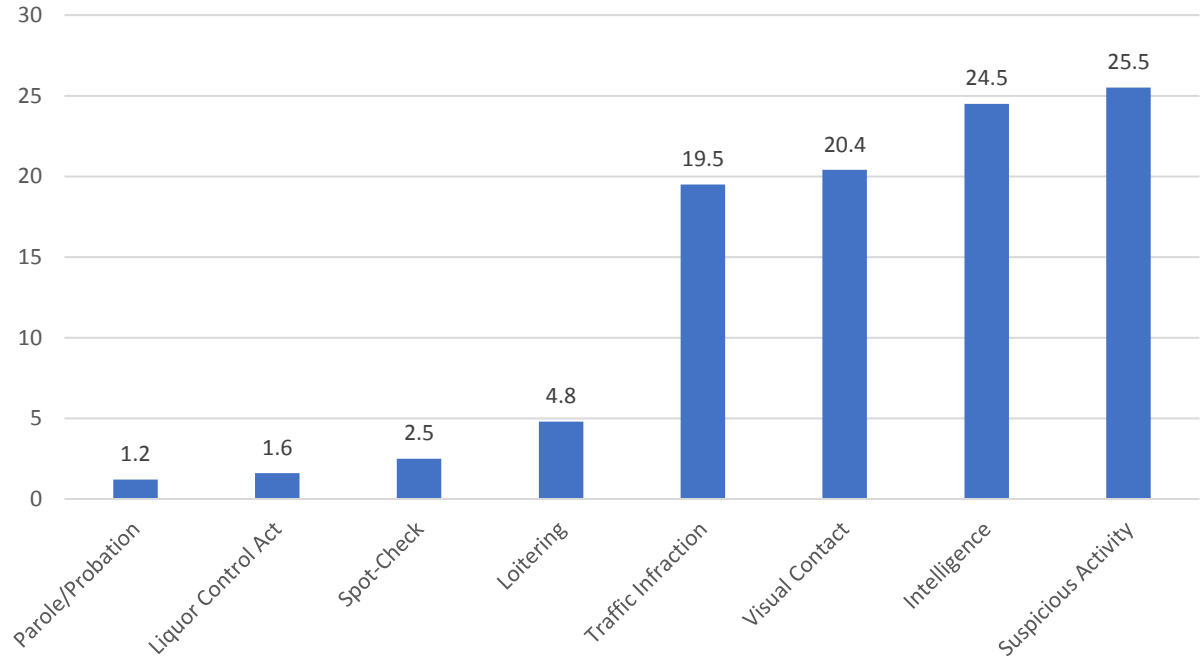
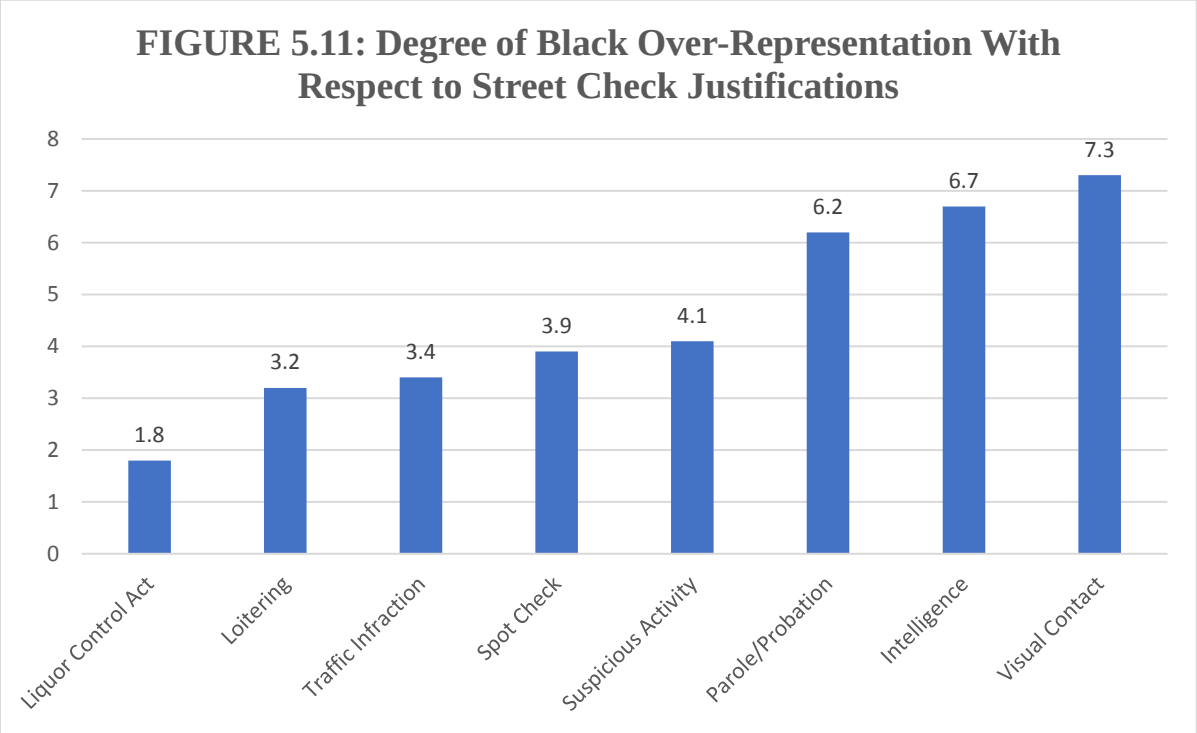


Table 5.12:
Percent of Civilian Entities Street Checked for Specific Reasons, By Race

Street Check Reason	White	Black
Visual Contact	18.5	28.7
Spot Check	2.6	1.9
Intelligence Purposes	22.7	31.9
Liquor Control Act	1.9	0.6
Loitering	5.3	2.9
Parole/Probation	1.1	1.4
Suspicious Activity	27.0	20.1
Vehicle Infraction	20.9	12.5
Sample Size	104,109	26,241



Type of Street Check

- Another variable or field within the Versadex street check dataset is "Street Check Type." Once again, the definition of "street check type" – and how it differs from "street check reason" -- is impossible to determine.

- Nonetheless, our analysis identified eight different street check types (see Figure 5.12). Half of all street checks (49.7%) were classified as "suspicious activity." An additional 23.4% were classified as "traffic-related." Only a quarter of all street check types reference a specific form of deviant or criminal activity: 9.8% are drug-related, 4.6% document a "transient" person, 4.1% refer to prostitution and 3.4% reference parole/probation. Interestingly, only 1.8% of all street checks explicitly reference gang-related activity;

- Few differences emerge with respect to race and street check type (see Table 5.13). About half of all street checks involving both White (49.3%) and Black entities (52.5%), for example, were related to "suspicious activity." However, Black entities (14.9%) were slightly more likely than White entities (8.7%) to be involved in drug-related street checks. On the other hand, White entities (24.7%) were slightly more likely to be involved in traffic-related street checks than Black entities (16.7%). Racial differences with respect to all other types of street check are small;

- As with street check justifications, further analysis suggests that Black people are over-represented in all types of street checks (see Figure 5.13). For example, compared to their representation in the general population, they are 7.9 times more likely to be involved in a "drug-related" street check, 7.4 times more likely to be subject to a "parole/probation" check, 5.5 times more likely to be subjected to a "suspicious activity" check, 4.7 times more likely to be subjected to a "gang-activity" and 4.5 times more likely to be involved in a "prostitution-related" check. In sum, Black civilians are highly over-represented in all street check categories. The findings suggest, once again, that overall racial disparities in street check statistics cannot be explained by the over-representation of Black people in any particular type of street check;

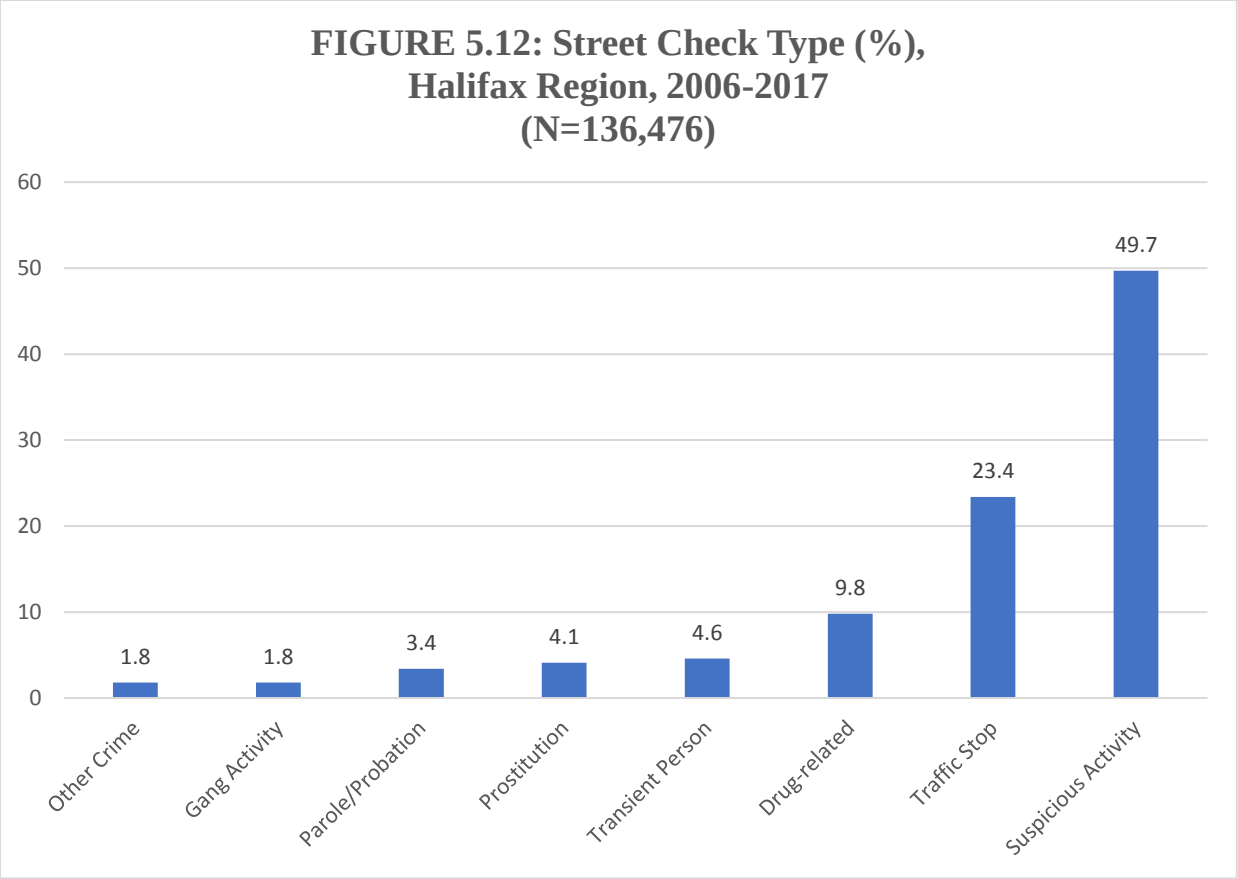
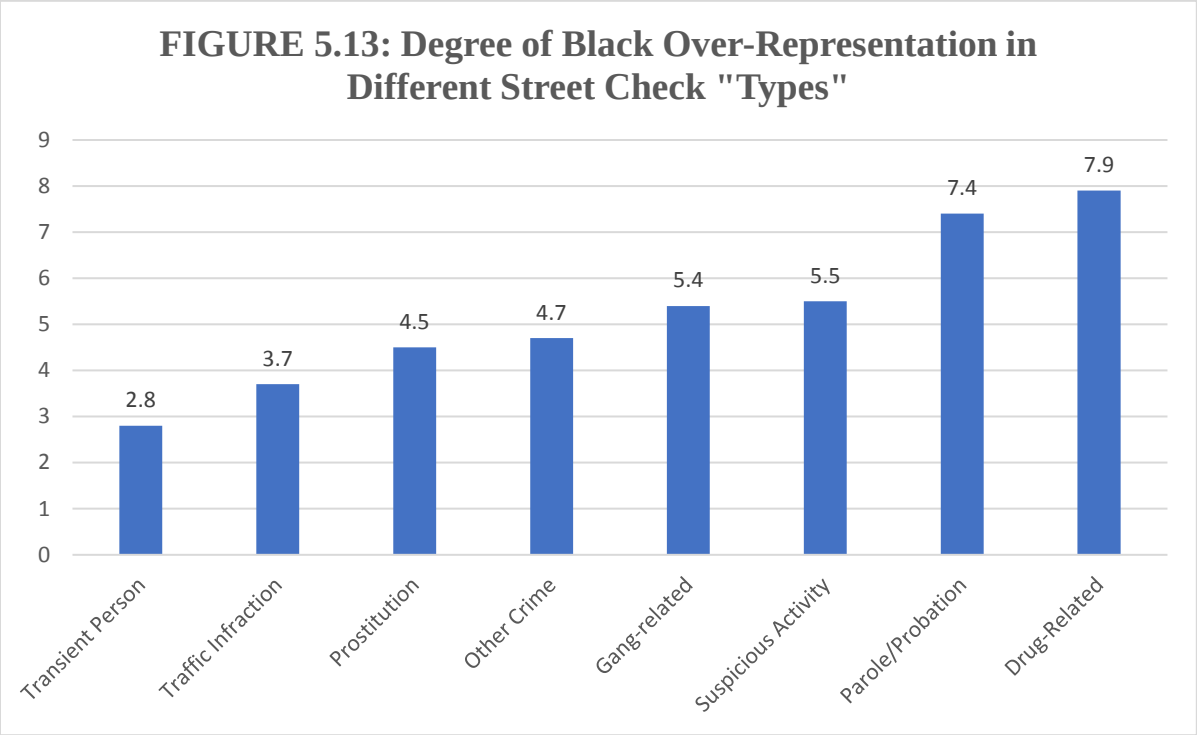


Table 5.13:
Percent of Civilian Entities Involved in Different "Types" of Street Check, By Race

Street Check Type	White	Black
Missing	1.5	1.7
Suspicious Activity	49.3	52.5
Traffic Stop	24.7	16.7
Drug-Related	8.7	14.9
Transient Person	5.1	2.5
Prostitution	4.2	3.5
Parole/Probation	3.0	4.8
Gang-related	1.8	1,8
Other Crime	1.8	1.6
Sample Size	104,120	26,243



The Impact of Unique Individuals

- An important issue, brought up during police consultations, was the impact of unique individuals on overall street check numbers. It was argued that certain notorious individuals, because of their long criminal histories or lifestyle choices, will get street checked on multiple occasions over a given time period. As a result of these individuals, the street check rates for specific racial groups may become inflated. To lend weight to this argument, the results suggest that one particular Black male in the dataset was responsible for 209 different street checks during the 2006-2017 study period. Similarly, one Arab male produced 196 street checks and a single White male was street checked 150 times. All three of these individuals had a long criminal record. Thus, in order to control for the effects of specific individuals, street check statistics were recalculated using a method that counted all unique individuals once (see Table 5.14).

- Table 5.14 depicts the race of all unique individuals subject to at least one street check in 2016. According to the 2016 Canadian Census, Black people account for 3.7% of the total population of the Halifax region. However, in 2016, 17.6% of unique individuals subject to at least one street check were Black. In other words, after controlling for the impact of unique individuals, Black people are still five times more likely to be street checked than their representation in the general population would predict. Overall, the 2016 Black street check rate for unique individuals (65.3 per 1,000) is still 5.2 times greater than the rate for White males (12.5 per 1,000).

- Further analysis demonstrates that, for each year during the entire 2006-2017 study period, unique Black individuals were significantly more likely to be street checked than their representation in the general population (see Figures 5.14 and 5.15). Odds ratios ranged from a high of 4.8 in 2016 to a low of 3.6 in both 2008 and 2010. In other words, during the study period, Black individuals were between 3.6 times and 4.8 times more likely to be street checked than their representation in the general population would predict (see Figure 5.15). Clearly, the annual over-representation of unique Black individuals in the street check dataset is a very stable phenomenon.

TABLE 5.14:
Unique Individuals Subject to a Street Check, Halifax CMA, 2016, by Race
(Population Estimates from the 2016 Canadian Census)

Racial Group	Population Estimate (2016 Census)	Percent of Population (2016 Census)	Number of Street Checks	Percent of Street Checks	Odds Ratio	Street Check Rate (per 1,000)
White	342,285	85.5	4,276	76.2	0.89	12.5
Black	15,090	3.7	986	17.6	4.76	65.3
Asian	12,130	3.0	48	0.9	0.30	4.0
South Asian	6,550	1.6	21	0.4	0.25	3.2
Arab/West Asian	8,725	2.2	204	3.6	1.64	23.4
Indigenous	15,815	3.9	77	1.4	0.36	4.9
TOTAL	400,595	100.0	5,612	100.0	1.00	14.0

FIGURE 5.14: Percent of Unique Individuals Identifed as Black in the Street Check Dataset, Halifax, 2006-2017

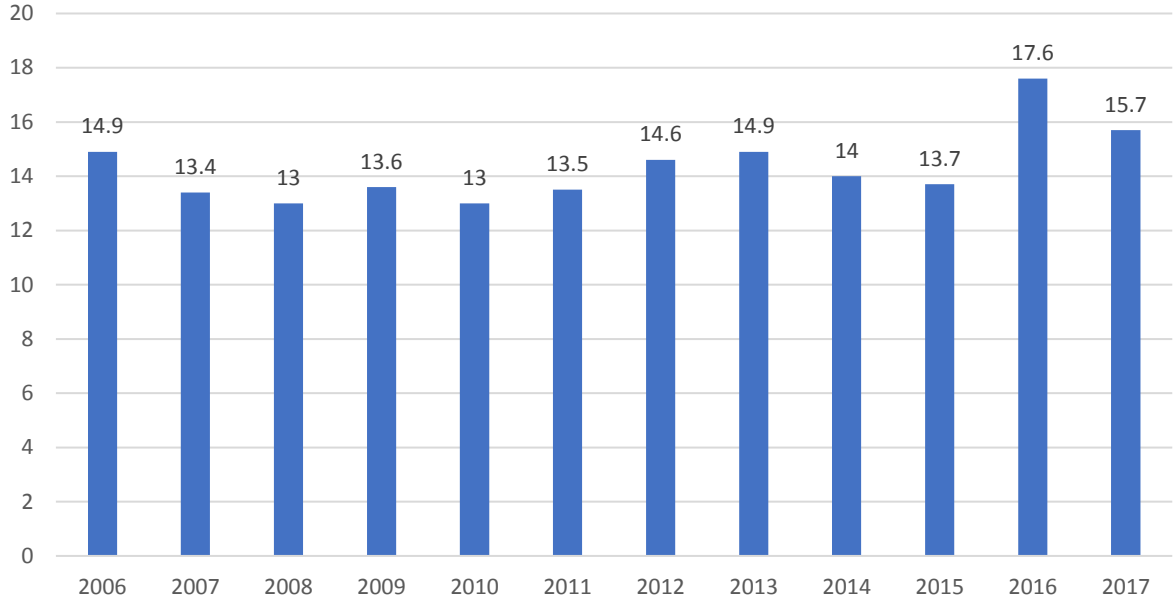
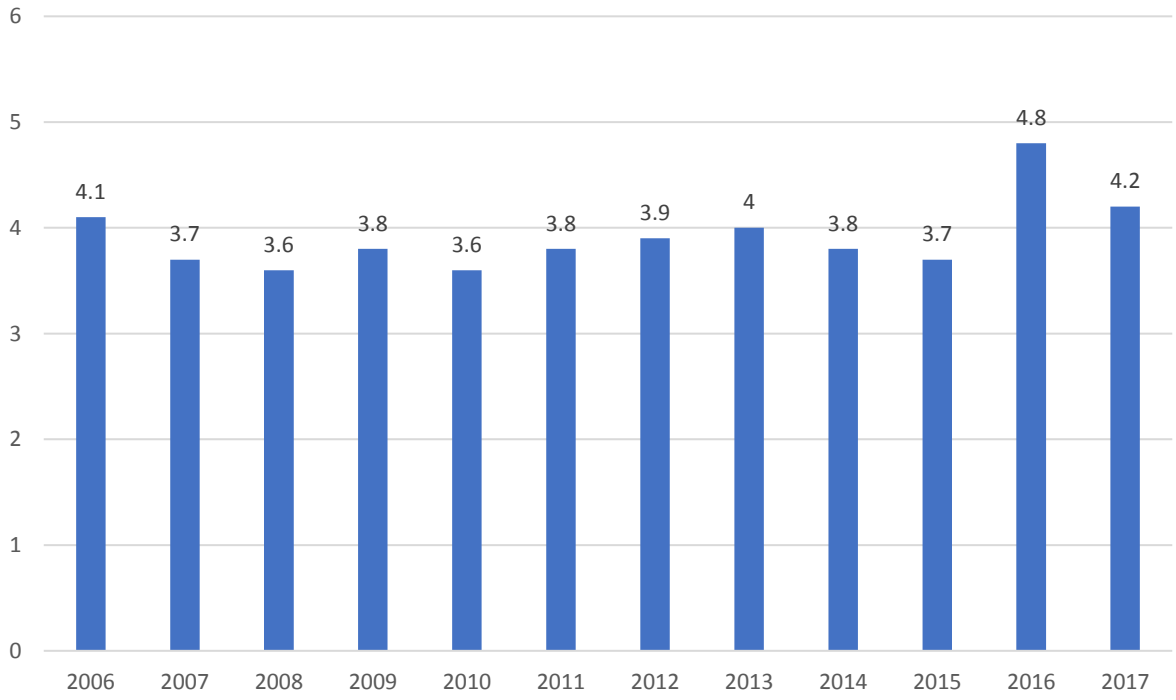


FIGURE 5.15: Level of Black Over-Representation (Odds Ratios), Unique Individuals, Halifax Street Check Data, 2006-2017



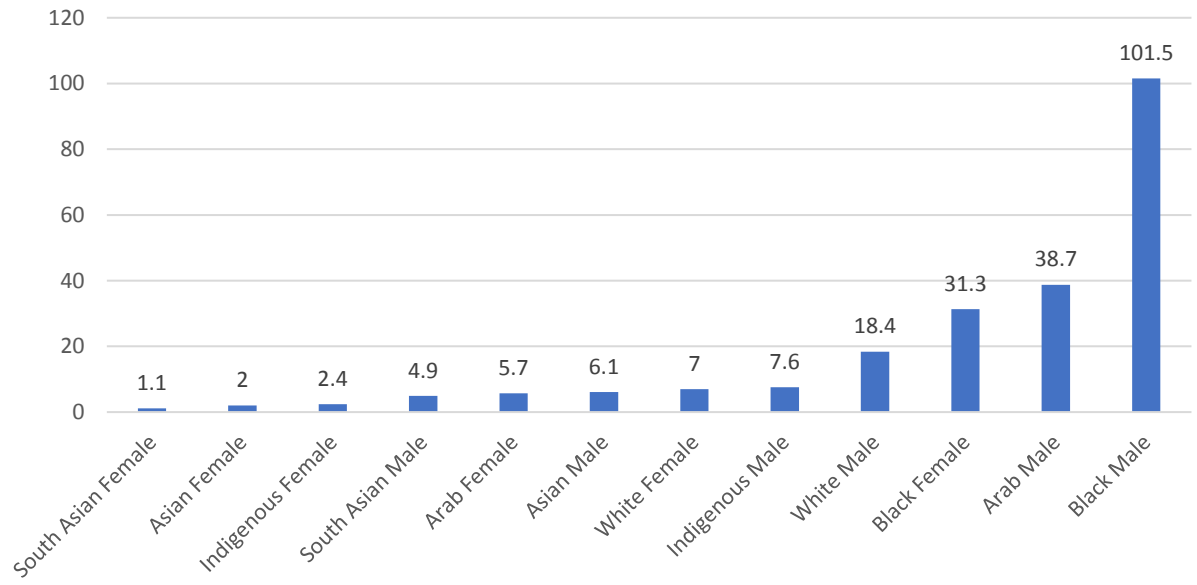
Race, Gender and Unique Individuals

- Table 5.15 examines gender differences with respect to unique individuals street checked by the police in 2016. The data reveal that, in 2016, 741 unique Black males were street checked by the police in the Halifax region. This figure is equivalent to 10.1% of the total Black male population. The data further suggest that unique Black males were 7.3 times more likely to be street checked than their representation in the general population would predict. Arab males (Odds Ratio=2.67) and Black females (Odd Ratio=2.31) are also significantly over-represented in unique individual street checks. White males are also over-represented – but only slightly (Odds Ratio=1.31). Overall, the unique Black male street check rate (101.5 per 1,000) is 5.5 times greater than the rate for White males (18.4 per 1,000) and 14.5 times greater than the rate for White females (7.0 per 1,000). In fact, in 2016, the unique Black female street check rate (21.3 per 1,000) was 1.7 times greater than the rate for White males and 4.5 times greater than the rate for White females.

TABLE 5.15:
Unique Individuals Subject to a Street Check in 2016, by Race and Gender, Halifax CMA, by Race and Gender, Population Estimates from the 2016 Canadian Census (excludes cases with missing racial information)

Racial Group	Average Population Count (2006-2017)	Percent Total Population	Number of Street Checks	Percent of All Street Checks	Odds Ratio	Street Check Rate (per 1,000)
White Male	165,135	41.2	3,036	54.1	1.31	18.4
White Female	177,150	44.2	1,236	22.0	0.50	7.0
Black Male	7,300	1.8	741	13.2	7.33	101.5
Black Female	7,785	1.9	244	4.4	2.31	31.3
Asian Male	5,690	1.4	35	0.6	0.43	6.1
Asian Female	6,435	1.6	13	0.2	0.13	2.0
South Asian Male	3,690	0.9	18	0.3	0.33	4.9
South Asian Female	2,865	0.7	3	0.1	0.14	1.1
Arab Male	4,680	1.2	181	3.2	2.67	38.7
Arab Female	4,050	1.0	23	0.4	0.40	5.7
Indigenous Male	7,460	1.9	57	1.0	0.53	7.6
Indigenous Female	8,355	2.1	20	0.4	0.19	2.4
TOTAL POP	400,595	100.0	5,607	100.0	1.00	14.0

FIGURE 5.16: 2016 Street Check Rates (per 1,000), Unique Individuals, by Race and Gender



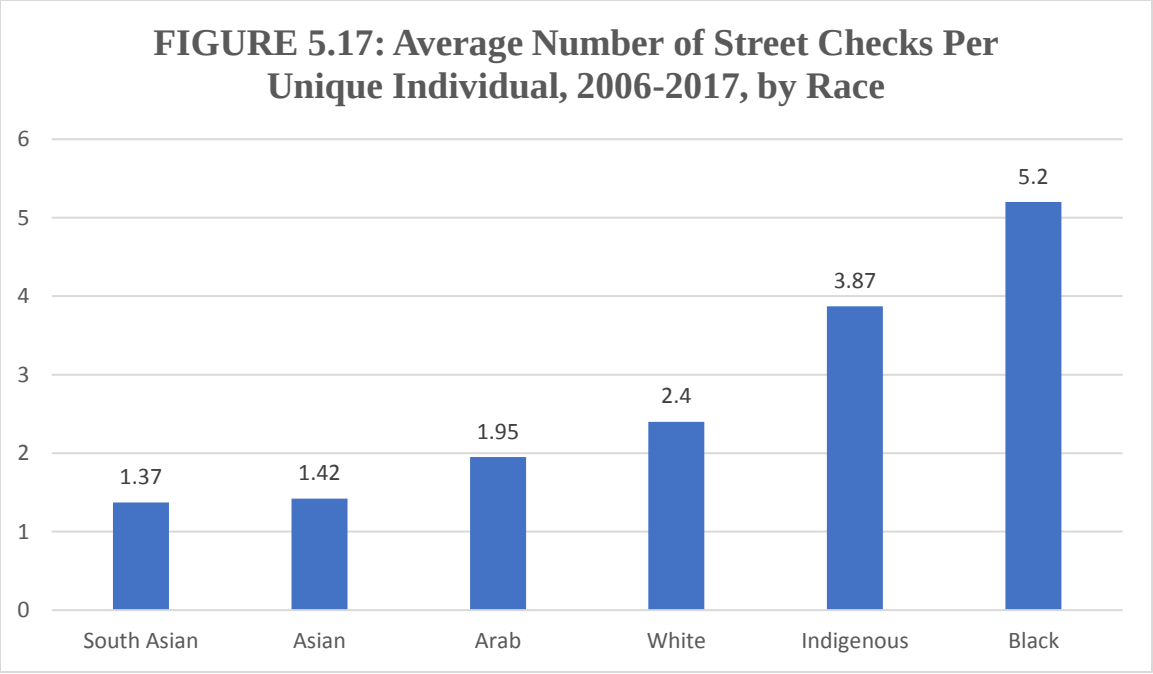
- Table 5.16 examines unique individual street checks for the entire study period (2006-2017). To reiterate, the methodology used in this analysis counts each individual once, and thus controls for the impact of individuals subjected to multiple street checks. When we examine data from the entire time period – as opposed to a single year -- the over-representation of unique Black individuals declines noticeably: from 17.6% in 2016 to 9.9% for the entire 2006-2017 time period. The reason for this decline has to do with the fact that, compared to White people, unique Black individuals were much more likely to be subjected to multiple street checks. For example, from 2006 to 2017, 67.5% of unique White individuals were entered only once into the street check data system, compared to 48.4% of Black individuals. By contrast, 36.3% of Black individuals were subject to three or more street checks, compared to only 18.4% of Whites. Unique Black individuals within the street check dataset (i.e., those who had been street checked at least once), were subjected to an average of 5.2 street checks between 2006 and 2017, compared to an average of only 2.4 street checks for White individuals (Figure 5.17).

- The cumulative data suggest that 5,042 unique Black individuals were entered into the street check dataset between 2006 and 2017. This is equivalent to 36% of the entire Black population. By contrast, the data suggest that 43,372 unique White individuals were subjected to at least one street check over the study period. This is equivalent to only 12.7% of the White population. Overall, the cumulative Black, unique individual street check rate (358.9 per 1,000) still almost three times greater than the White rate (127.3 per 1,000). Clearly, racial disparities in Halifax region street check rates cannot be explained away by the impact of a few individuals who are subject to multiple checks. Furthermore,

the fact that Black individuals are much more likely to experience multiple street checks is consistent with community complaints and allegations of racial profiling.

TABLE 5.16:
Unique Individuals Subject to a Street Check, 2006-2017, by Race
Average Census Estimates Based on 2006, 2011 and 2016 Canadian Census
(excludes cases with missing racial information)

Racial Group	Average Population Count	Average Percent of Population	Number of Street Checks	Percent of Street Checks	Odds Ratio	Street Check Rate (per 1,000)
White	340,675	88.6	43,372	84.8	0.96	127.3
Black	14,047	3.6	5,042	9.9	2.75	358.9
Asian	8,473	2.2	399	0.8	0.36	47.1
South Asian	4,480	1.2	201	0.4	0.33	44.9
Arab/West Asian	6,657	1.7	1,496	2.9	1.71	224.7
Indigenous	10,262	2.7	609	1.2	0.44	59.3
TOTAL	384,594	100.0	51,119	100.0	1.00	132.9



- Table 5.17 presents data on unique individuals subjected to a street check, between 2006 and 2017, broken down by both race and gender. The results indicate that 3,724 unique Black males were subjected to at least one street check during the study period. This is the equivalent to 55.1% of the entire Black male population. By contrast, 30,721 unique White males were subjected to at least one street check – the equivalent of only 18.7% of the White male population.

- Overall, unique Black male individuals are 4.1 times more likely to appear in the 2006-2017 street check dataset than their presence in the population would predict. Individual Arab males (Odds Ratio=2.89) are also significantly over-represented in street checks, followed by White males (Odds Ratio=1.41) and Black females (Odds Ratio=1.39). All other race-gender combinations are significantly under-represented in the cumulative, unique individual, street check dataset.

- The unique Black male street check rate (551.1 per 1,000) is three times greater than the White male rate (187.2 per 1,000) and 7.7 times greater the rate for unique White females (71.5 per 1,000). Interestingly, the street check rate for Black female individuals (178.5 per 1,000) is almost equivalent to the White male rate and is 2.5 times greater than the rate for White females.

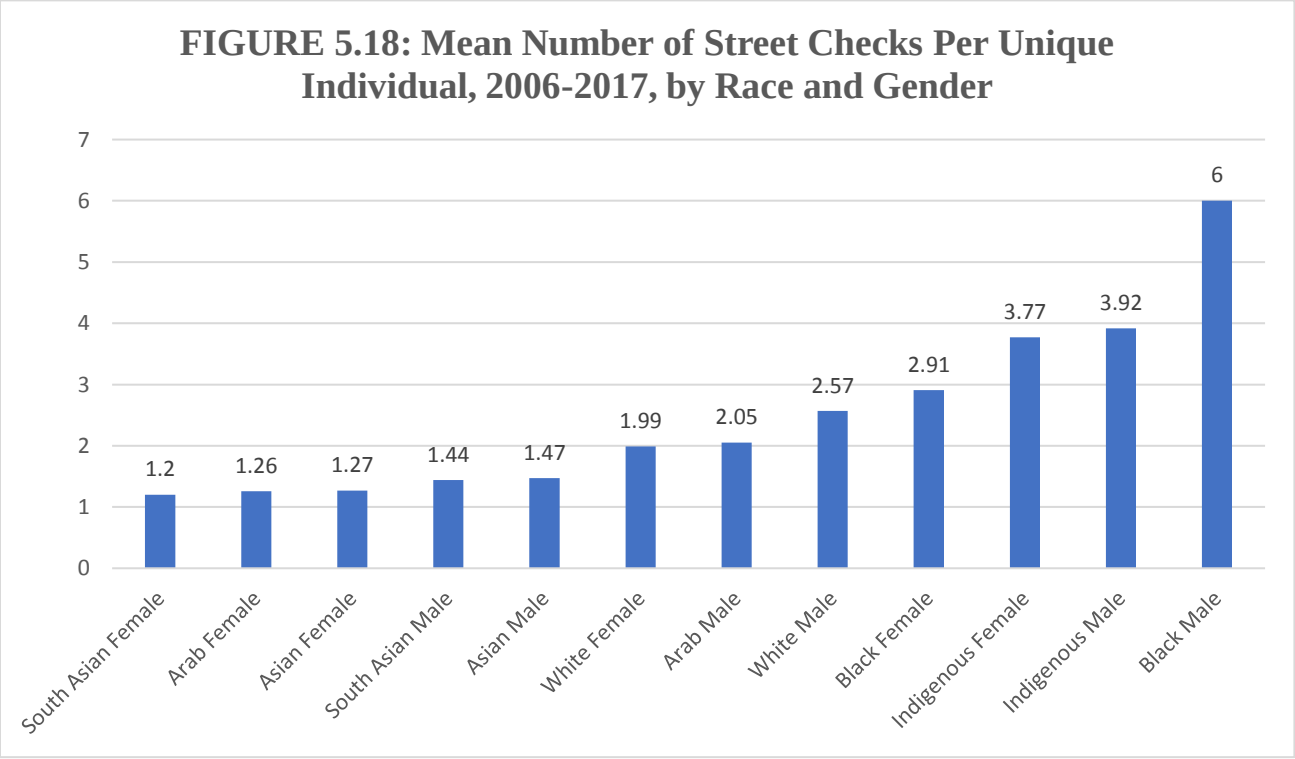
- Finally, additional analysis reveals that, on average, there were six street checks for each unique Black male individual in the dataset, followed by Indigenous males (mean=3.92 checks) and Indigenous females (mean=3.77 checks). It is interesting to note that although Indigenous men and women are under-represented in the overall street data, those individuals that do appear in the data are checked at a relatively high rate (see Figure 5.18).

- Unique Black females in the dataset were subjected to an average of 2.91 street checks over the twelve-year study period. This is a higher average than White males (2.57 checks), Arab males (mean=2.05 checks) and White females (1.99 checks).

- Overall, these results reinforce the conclusion that overall racial disparities in street check statistics cannot be explained away by outliers – unique individuals who are subjected to numerous street checks. In the next section we explore the impact of criminal history;

TABLE 5.17: Unique Individuals Subject to a Street Check, 2006-2017, by Race and Gender, Halifax CMA, by Race and Gender,
Average Census Estimates Based on 2006, 2011 and 2016 Canadian Census
(excludes cases with missing racial information)

Racial Group	Average Population Count (2006-2017)	Percent Total Population	Number of Street Checks	Percent of All Street Checks	Odds Ratio	Street Check Rate (per 1,000)
White Male	164,075	42.7	30,721	60.1	1.41	187.2
White Female	176,600	45.9	12,622	24.7	0.54	71.5
Black Male	6,790	1.8	3,742	7.3	4.10	551.1
Black Female	7,255	1.8	1,295	2.5	1.39	178.5
Asian Male	3,983	1.0	302	0.6	0.60	75.8
Asian Female	4.483	1.2	96	0.2	0.16	21.4
South Asian Male	2,437	0.6	146	0.3	0.50	59.9
South Asian Female	2.043	0.6	55	0.1	0.17	26.9
Arab Male	3,668	0.9	1,305	2.6	2.89	355.7
Arab Female	2,986	0.8	186	0.4	0.50	62.3
Indigenous Male	4,790	1.3	405	0.8	0.61	84.5
Indigenous Female	5,472	1.4	204	0.4	0.29	37.3
TOTAL POP	384,582	100.0	51,079	100.0	1.0	132.8



The Impact of Criminal History

- A major argument, often put forth by police officials, is that Black over-representation in street checks can be explained by higher rates of Black offending. In other words, once racial differences in offending have been take into statistical account, racial differences in street check rates will diminish. The following analysis attempts to addresses this research question;

- Tables 5.18 and 5.19 presents data on all street checks involving entities who were, or were not, charged with a crime between 2006 and 2017. To begin with, the results reveal that people with a charge history have a higher street check rate than those without a charge history. The street check rate for people with a charge history (210.6 per 1,000) is approximately 1.5 times higher than for people without a charge history (144.3 per 1,000). This finding, and the fact that most street checks (59.3%) involve someone with a charge history, is consistent with the police argument that street checks focus more on "known offenders" than people without a criminal background;

- Table 5.18 presents data on all street checks involving entities who were not charged with a crime between 2006-2017. The results suggest that Black people without criminal charges are still three times more likely to be subject to a street check than their representation in the general population. Furthermore, among those without a criminal history, the Black street check rate (436.6 per 1,000) was 3.2 times greater than the White rate (136.2);

- Table 5.19 presents data on all street checks involving entities who were charged with at least one crime between 2006 and 2017. The results suggest that Black people are hugely over-represented amongst this population. Although Black people represent only 3.6% of the population, they represent one-fourth (24.9%) of people with a charge history who were subjected to a street check between 2006 and 2017. All other racial groups are under-represented. The Black street check rate (1,433 per 1,000), is 8.5 times greater than the White rate (169.4 per 1,000) for people with a criminal charge history;

- Further analysis reveals that, as the number of criminal charges increases, so does Black over-representation (see Table 5.02 and Figure 5.19). For example, Black people are 3.06 times over-represented among those with no charges, 4 times over-represented among those with one or two charges, 6.7 times over-represented among those with three to nine charges, and nine times over-represented among this with ten or more charges.

TABLE 5.18:
All Street Checks, 2006-2017, by Race,
Entities Without a Criminal Charge History
Average Census Estimates Based on 2006, 2011 and 2016 Canadian Census
(excludes cases with missing racial information)

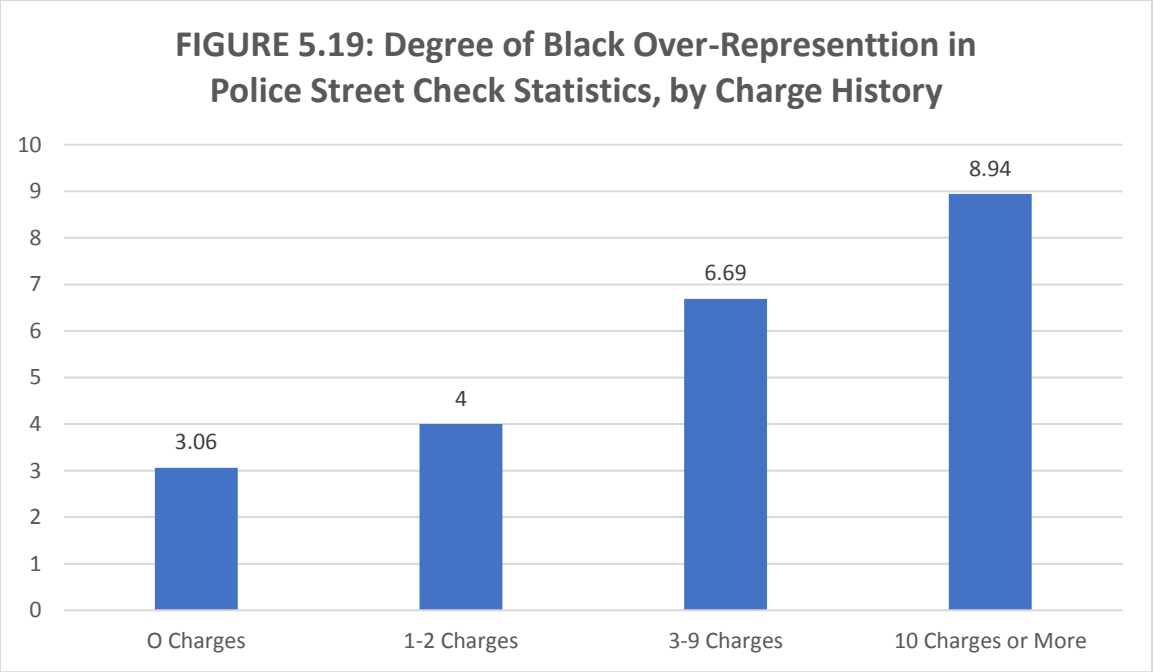
Racial Group	Average Population Count	Average Percent of Population	Number of Street Checks	Percent of Street Checks	Odds Ratio	Street Check Rate (per 1,000)
White	340,675	88.6	46,388	83.6	0.94	136.2
Black	14,047	3.6	6,133	11.0	3.06	436.6
Asian	8,473	2.2	437	0.8	0.36	51.6
South Asian	4,480	1.2	206	0.4	0.33	46.0
Arab/West Asian	6,657	1.7	1.670	3.0	1.76	250.9
Indigenous	10,262	2.7	678	1.2	0.44	66.1
TOTAL	384,594	100.0	55,492	100.0	1.00	144.3

TABLE 5.19:
All Street Checks, 2006-2017, by Race,
Entities with a Criminal Charge History
Average Census Estimates Based on 2006, 2011 and 2016 Canadian Census
(excludes cases with missing racial information)

Racial Group	Average Population Count	Average Percent of Population	Number of Street Checks	Percent of Street Checks	Odds Ratio	Street Check Rate (per 1,000)
White	340,675	88.6	57,732	71.3	0.80	169.4
Black	14,047	3.6	20,130	24.9	6.92	1,433.0
Asian	8,473	2.2	129	0.2	0.09	15.2
South Asian	4,480	1.2	70	0.1	0.08	15.6
Arab/West Asian	6,657	1.7	1,243	1.5	0.88	186.7
Indigenous	10,262	2.7	1,680	2.1	0.77	163.7
TOTAL	384,594	100.0	80,984	100.0	1.00	210.6

TABLE 5.20:
Percent Representation in Street Checks,
by Number of Recorded Criminal Charges and Race

Number of Charges	White	Black	Other Racial Groups	Sample Size
0	83.6	11.0	5.4	55,492
1-2	81.7	14.4	3.9	20,190
3-9	71.8	24.1	4.1	29,047
10 or More	64.3	32.2	3.5	31,747
All Checks	76.3	19.2	4.5	136,476



- Tables 5.21 and Table 5.22 present street check data on unique individuals, both charged and not charged with a crime, during the study period;

- It should be stressed that two-thirds of the unique individuals in the street check dataset (65.4%) were not charged with a criminal offence between 2006 and 2017;

- The data demonstrate that, among those with no criminal charges, Black over-representation in street checks declines after controlling for the impact of unique individuals (see Table 5.21). Nonetheless, Black individuals with no charges are still almost twice as likely to experience a street check than White individuals with a similar "no-charges" background.

- Furthermore, among those with no charges, the Black street check rate (162.5 per 1,000) is still 1.9 times higher than the White rate (85.5 per 1,000). Importantly, Arab/West Asian individuals are also over-represented in street checks involving people with no criminal charges. All other groups are under-represented;

- Table 5.23 presents street check data on unique individuals who have been charged with at least one crime during the study period. The results suggest that, among individuals with criminal charges, Black individuals are heavily over-represented. Although Black people are only 3.6% of the general population, they represent 15.9% of unique individuals, with at least one charge, who were street checked during the study period (Odds Ratio=4.33). All other racial groups – with the exception of Arab/West Asian individuals -- are under-represented. In addition, the street check rate for Black individuals with at least one criminal charge (196.5 per 1,000) is 4.7 times higher than the White rate for people with a similar background (41.8 per 1,000).

- As with the street check entity data, the results suggest that Black over-representation in street checks, among unique individuals, increases with number of charges. For example, Black individuals are 1.9 times over-represented among those with no charges, 3.5 times over-represented among individuals with 1-2 charges, 4.7 times over-represented among those with 3-9 charges and 6.2 times over-represented among those charged ten times or more (see Tables 5.23 and Figure 5.20).

- Further analysis suggests that, at every charge-level, unique Black individuals experience a higher average number of street checks than White individuals or individuals from other racial backgrounds. For example, Black individuals with 10 or more charges were street checked an average of 13.4 times, compared to 8.9 times for White individuals with a similar criminal history (see Table 5.24).

- The results suggest that Black males, once again, are most likely to experience multiple street checks. Among unique individuals with at least one criminal charge, for example, Black males experienced an average of 9.04 street checks, followed by Black Females (mean=4.72 checks), White males (mean=4.49), Arab/West Asian males (mean=4.36) and White Females (mean=4.22).

- This finding is consistent with statements, made during the police consultations, that Black over-representation in street checks statistics partially reflects a focus on "low hanging fruit." A focus on well-known Black male offenders, often from poor communities, who are easily spotted and recorded by patrol officers. Nonetheless, it is important to note that Black individuals, especially Black males, are over-represented in street checks at all charge levels. Thus, although controlling for criminal history may reduce the size of overall street check disparities, these disparities persist;

TABLE 5.21:
Street Checks, 2006-2017, by Race,
Unique Individuals Without a Criminal Charge History
Average Census Estimates Based on 2006, 2011 and 2016 Canadian Census
(excludes cases with missing racial information)

Racial Group	Average Population Count	Average Percent of Population	Number of Street Checks	Percent of Street Checks	Odds Ratio	Street Check Rate (per 1,000)
White	340,675	88.6	29,141	87.2	0.98	85.5
Black	14,047	3.6	2,282	6.8	1.89	162.5
Asian	8,473	2.2	342	1.0	0.45	40.4
South Asian	4,480	1.2	177	0.5	0.42	39.5
Arab/West Asian	6,657	1.7	1,177	3.5	2.06	176.8
Indigenous	10,262	2.7	313	0.9	0.33	30.5
TOTAL	384,594	100.0	33,432	100.0	1.00	86.9

TABLE 5.22:
Street Checks, 2006-2017, by Race,
Unique Individuals with a Criminal Charge History
Average Census Estimates Based on 2006, 2011 and 2016 Canadian Census
(excludes cases with missing racial information)

Racial Group	Average Population Count	Average Percent of Population	Number of Street Checks	Percent of Street Checks	Odds Ratio	Street Check Rate (per 1,000)
White	340,675	88.6	14,231	80.5	0.91	41.8
Black	14,047	3.6	2,760	15.6	4.33	196.5
Asian	8,473	2.2	57	0.3	0.14	6.7
South Asian	4,480	1.2	24	0.1	0.08	5.3
Arab/West Asian	6,657	1.7	319	1.8	1.06	47.9
Indigenous	10,262	2.7	296	1.7	0.63	28.8
TOTAL	384,594	100.0	17,687	100.0	1.00	46.0

TABLE 5.23:
Percent Representation of Unique Individuals in Street Checks, by Number of Recorded Criminal Charges and Race

Number of Charges	White	Black	Other Racial Groups	Sample Size
0	87.2	6.8	6.0	33,432
1-2	84.9	12.8	2.3	5,952
3-9	82.2	17.0	0.8	6,131
10 or More	73.8	22.4	3.8	5,606
All Checks	76.3	19.2	4.5	51,119

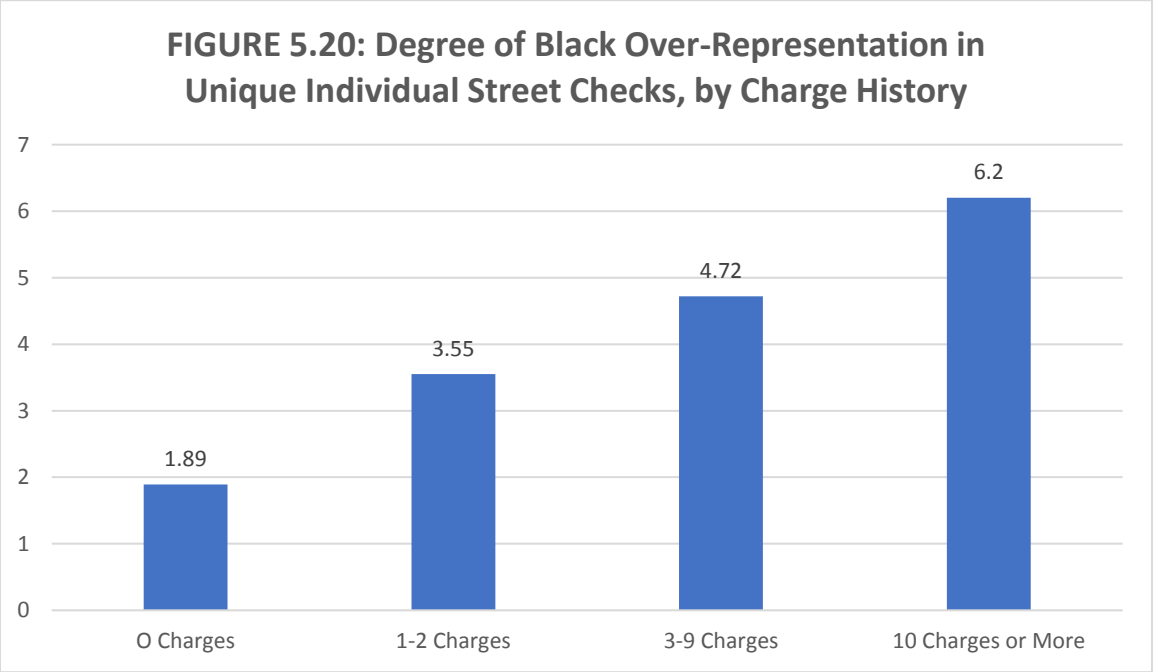
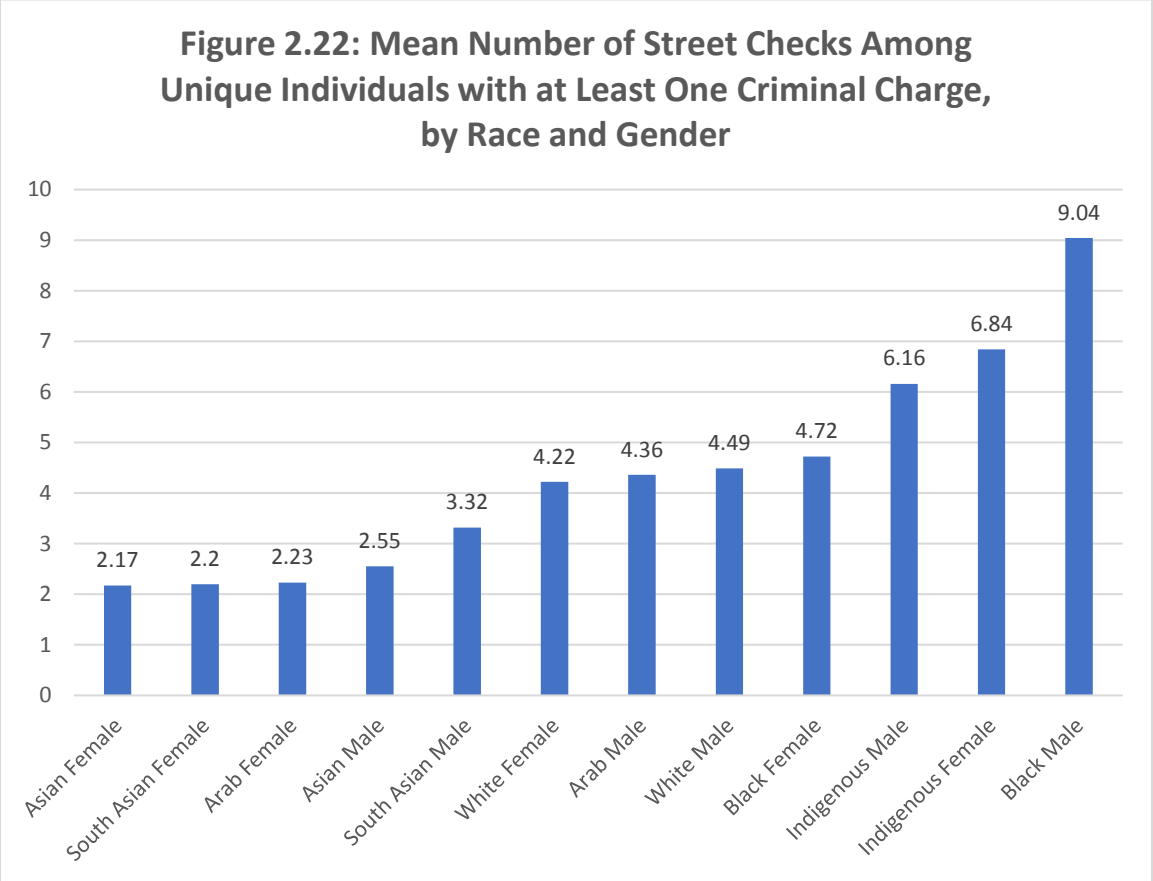


Table 5.24: Mean Number of Street Checks Per Unique Individual, By Race and Number of Criminal Charges

Racial Group	Zero Charges	1-2 Charges	3-9 Charges	10 or More Charges
White	1.41	2.22	2.98	8.90
Black	1.64	2.97	4.35	13.41
Asian	1.24	1.72	1.69	5.5
South Asian	1.14	1.89	4.00	3.0
Arab/West Asian	1.33	2.11	3.09	11.39
Indigenous	1.53	1.89	3.06	10.77



A Disturbing Statistic

- The police statistics provided to the inquiry reveal that, between 2006 and 2017, 2,195 unique Black male individuals were charged with at least one criminal offence. This is equivalent to one-third (32.3%) of the entire Black male population of the Halifax region;[15]

- By contrast, 11,159 unique White males were charged with a crime during this time period: the equivalent to 6.8% of the total White male population of the Halifax region;

- In other words, during the study period, unique Black males were 4.75 more likely to be charged with a crime than White males and 18.5 times more likely to be charged with a crime than White females. In fact, the Black female charge rate (77.9 per 1,000) is higher than the rate for both White females (17.4 per 1,000) and White males (68.0 per 1,000)[16];

- The implications of these findings are beyond the scope of the current inquiry. However, the fact that Black males are so grossly over-represented in Halifax charge statistics is

[15] It is possible that these numbers are somewhat inflated by people from outside of the Halifax region who were charged with a crime by the HRP or RCMP within the Halifax region. However, this inflation would exist for civilians of all racial backgrounds and should not, therefore, significantly impact the magnitude of observed racial disparities.

[16] There is a distinct possibility that unique individual numbers have been somewhat inflated due to the data entry errors that result in the same individual being entered into the police dataset with different identity codes. However, such data entry errors should not impact the magnitude of the observed racial differences. As communicated by the HRP Research Director: "The 2006-2017 street check and general occurrence entity datasets distinguish unique individuals by a 'person PIN' number assigned to them when the entity is first entered into the Versadex system. The entity information linked to this person PIN can then be accessed by officers during subsequent encounters between the entity and the police. However, it is likely that some individuals have been accidentally assigned more than one person PIN during their history of interactions with Halifax police. This may occur, for example, when an officer encounters someone that they do not already know to be in the Versadex system and where the officer does not find them when conducting a search (for example, as a result of variations in name spelling, inaccurate information provided by the entity, or typographical errors during data entry), and in turn creates a new person PIN for an entity already in the system. This likely leads to an inflated total count of unique individuals in these datasets and is a common problem in police records management systems (RMS). Indeed, companies like IBM have software solutions to help alleviate the problem of duplicate records in police RMS, so we should not assume that this problem of duplicate entities is a Halifax-specific problem. It is not possible to estimate the scope of this issue; however, as an illustration of the likely scope of over-counting of entities, looking only at Victim and Suspect entity records within the GO dataset for 2006-2017, we find approximately 500,000 unique person PINs within this dataset. This is more than the entire population of Halifax, yet we would find it unlikely that every person in Halifax was recorded as a victim or suspect in a GO file in this 12-year period. Certainly, some of these records deal with entities from outside of Halifax; nonetheless, it is nearly certain that a portion of these entity records represent multiple entries for a single individual. Of course, we would also expect this error to be random across populations, so any identified disproportionality between groups (age, gender, ethnicity) would likely still remain if duplicate PINs were resolved."

completely consistent with community allegations that police practices – including street checks – target Black males and contribute to their criminalization;

- To what extent do large racial disparities in charge statistics reflect actual racial differences in criminal behaviour? To what extent do they reflect racial differences in police surveillance practices? In other words, are Black people more likely to engage in crime or are they just more likely to get caught than members of the White majority? It is likely that the charge disparity is the result of both higher offending levels (perhaps due to historical oppression and contemporary disadvantage) and police practices. The two factors can be mutually reinforcing;

- Drug possession arrests may provide one example where racial bias in police surveillance practices come into play. Both Canadian and international research reveals, for example, that cannabis use is just as common – if not more common -- among White people than among Black people (see Hamilton et al. 2018). However, in the current data, 16.4% of all cannabis possession arrests, during the study period, involved a Black individual. In other words, Black people in Halifax were 4.5 times more likely to be arrested for marijuana possession than their presence in the general population would predict;

- Whatever the reason, higher rates of offending, police bias or some combination of both, the fact that, from 2006 to 2017, the equivalent to one-third of the Black male population of Halifax was charged with a crime is troubling. Criminal charges can severely limit social, educational and employment opportunities and could further entrench the racial inequalities that are so much a part of Nova Scotia's history. Thus, further research into these gross racial disparities in charge statistics is urgently recommended;

Table 5.25:
Unique Individual Criminal Charge Rates, by Race and Gender
(Average Census Estimates Based on 2006, 2011 and 2016 Canadian Census)

Race and Gender	Population Size	Number of Unique Individuals Charged At Least Once Between 2006 and 2017	Percent Population Charged with At Least One Crime	Unique Individual Charge Rate (per 1,000)
White Female	176,600	3,067	1.7	17.4
White Male	164,074	11,159	6.8	68.0
Black Female	7,255	565	7.8	77.9
Black Male	6,790	2,195	32.3	323.3

The Impact of Geography

- During police consultations, it was often argued that racial disparities in police street check statistics can be explained by crime patterns. It was argued that the police engage in proactive policing – and conduct a high volume of street checks – in high crime communities that usually have a high Black population. It is about place, not race;

- The implications of this argument are twofold: 1) White people residing in high-crime communities should be just as vulnerable to street checks as Black people within high crime communities; and 2) Black people residing in – or travelling through – low crime communities should be relatively immune from street checks. In other words, controlling for geography, racial disparities should diminish;

- In order to test this hypothesis, we used x-y coordinate information within the street check dataset to identify the specific census tracts within which each street check took place. We then used 2016 Census projections to estimate the percent of the population within each census tract that was Black. A disparity index (Odds Ratio) was calculated by dividing the percent of all street checks within a census tract that involved a Black entity, with the percent of the census tract population identified as Black. As discussed above, a Disparity Index or Odds Ratio of greater than 1.50 indicates that a group is significantly over-represented in street check statistics;

- The results of the analysis, presented in Table 5.26, suggest that Black people are significantly over-represented in street checks statistics in almost all of the census tract areas within the Halifax region. In 92 out 93 census tracts (98.9%) the Odds Ratio exceeds 1.3. In 89 out of 93 census tracts (95.6%), the Odds Ration exceeds 1.50. In 81 of 93 census tracks (87.1%) the Odds Ratio exceeds 2.0 and in 62.3% of census tracts it exceeds 3.0. In other words, in two thirds of all Halifax census tracts, Black people are three times more likely to be subject to a street check than their representation in the general population;

- It is also important to note that, contrary to police expectations, there is a negative relationship between the size of the Black population living in a census track and racial disparities in street check statistics (correlation: -.394). In other words, the smaller the Black population, the greater the over-representation is street checks.

- For example, Census Tract 2050150.01 has the highest representation of Black people in Halifax (22.7%). In this area, 66% of all street checks involve Black entities. In other words, Black people in this Census Tract are 2.90 times more likely to be involved in a street check than their representation in the population;

- Compare this with Census Tract 2050106.02. In this Census tract only 2.9 of the population is Black. However, Blacks represent 37.9% of all street checks conducted

within this area. In other words, within this Census Tract, Blacks are 13.2 times more likely to be involved in a street check than their representation in the general population;

- This general pattern persists throughout the data (see Table 5.26). In general, the data suggest that Black people are actually more likely to be street check when they live in – or travel through – areas with a high White population than areas with a high Black population. This phenomenon has been documented in other jurisdictions and have been referred to as the "out of place" hypothesis (see Meng 2017);

- In sum, the data suggest that racial disparities in street checks cannot be totally explained by geographic differences in residence. Black people are over-represented in the street checks that take place across the Halifax region – whether those regions have a high Black population or not;

Table 5.26: Degree of Black Over-representation in Street Checks, by 2016 Census Track

Census Track Identifier 2016	Percent of Street Checks Within Census Track Involving a Black Entity	Percent Black Population In Census Track	Disparity (Odds Ration)
2050001.00	18.14	9.55	1.90
	1	1	1
2050002.00	12.01	4.63	2.59
	1	1	1
2050003.00	10.91	2.08	5.26
	1	1	1
2050004.01	11.07	4.13	2.68
	1	1	1
2050004.02	9.13	3.77	2.42
	1	1	1
2050005.00	7.25	.54	13.53
	1	1	1
2050006.00	8.16	1.95	4.19
	1	1	1
2050007.00	12.33	.92	13.40
	1	1	1
2050008.00	13.15	2.40	5.48
	1	1	1

2050009.00	18.43	4.61	4.00
	1	1	1
2050010.00	42.91	15.30	2.80
	1	1	1
2050011.00	12.95	1.83	7.07
	1	1	1
2050012.00	10.39	1.26	8.26
	1	1	1
2050013.00	6.33	1.16	5.48
	1	1	1
2050014.00	7.74	2.03	3.81
	1	1	1
2050015.00	10.51	6.43	1.63
	1	1	1
2050016.00	9.25	2.15	4.31
	1	1	1
2050017.00	8.77	.34	25.90
	1	1	1
2050018.00	14.08	1.12	12.55
	1	1	1
2050019.00	15.13	1.21	12.46
	1	1	1
2050020.00	21.74	2.79	7.80
	1	1	1
2050021.00	43.94	15.43	2.85
	1	1	1
2050022.00	16.82	6.07	2.77
	1	1	1
2050023.00	21.15	8.25	2.56
	1	1	1
2050024.00	14.67	5.66	2.59
	1	1	1
2050025.01	17.34	7.44	2.33
	1	1	1
2050025.02	14.58	5.01	2.91
	1	1	1
2050025.03	11.19	6.21	1.80
	1	1	1
2050026.02	8.21	4.71	1.74
	1	1	1
2050026.03	4.97	3.04	1.63
	1	1	1
2050026.04	8.32	4.36	1.91

	1	1	1
2050026.05	4.77	3.41	1.40
	1	1	1
2050027.00	9.69	2.46	3.94
	1	1	1
2050100.00	18.56	4.35	4.27
	1	1	1
2050101.00	13.62	3.15	4.33
	1	1	1
2050102.00	18.71	3.43	5.46
	1	1	1
2050103.00	16.16	2.79	5.79
	1	1	1
2050104.01	26.06	3.14	8.29
	1	1	1
2050104.02	16.89	1.79	9.46
	1	1	1
2050105.01	17.66	5.46	3.24
	1	1	1
2050105.02	16.78	3.49	4.81
	1	1	1
2050106.01	51.90	7.95	6.53
	1	1	1
2050106.02	37.87	2.88	13.16
	1	1	1
2050107.00	32.06	3.03	10.58
	1	1	1
2050108.00	19.57	1.54	12.73
	1	1	1
2050109.00	25.38	4.43	5.73
	1	1	1
2050110.00	29.67	13.04	2.27
	1	1	1
2050111.00	17.39	4.17	4.17
	1	1	1
2050112.00	23.81	11.06	2.15
	1	1	1
2050113.00	16.74	9.52	1.76
	1	1	1
2050114.00	28.97	8.41	3.44
	1	1	1
2050120.00	9.32	1.10	8.50
	1	1	1

2050121.02	12.15	2.91	4.17
	1	1	1
2050121.03	4.18	.78	5.35
	1	1	1
2050121.05	9.09	1.88	4.84
	1	1	1
2050121.06	3.49	3.51	1.00
	1	1	1
2050121.08	5.52	2.61	2.12
	1	1	1
2050121.09	14.29	.00	.
	1	1	
2050121.10	7.73	3.63	2.13
	1	1	1
2050122.01	14.83	6.52	2.28
	1	1	1
2050122.03	35.58	9.98	3.56
	1	1	1
2050122.04	20.73	5.95	3.49
	1	1	1
2050122.05	20.70	6.96	2.98
	1	1	1
2050123.01	6.17	.74	8.33
	1	1	1
2050123.02	8.77	1.03	8.52
	1	1	1
2050123.04	5.42	2.51	2.16
	1	1	1
2050123.05	7.98	2.57	3.10
	1	1	1
2050123.06	4.58	1.09	4.18
	1	1	1
2050130.03	2.04	.75	2.74
	1	1	1
2050130.04	2.84	.26	10.85
	1	1	1
2050130.06	3.45	1.30	2.65
	1	1	1
2050131.01	9.55	2.38	4.01
	1	1	1
2050131.02	10.89	3.03	3.59
	1	1	1
2050131.03	12.26	3.78	3.25

	1	1	1
2050131.04	9.06	.76	11.92
	1	1	1
2050131.05	7.60	1.89	4.03
	1	1	1
2050132.03	8.42	3.18	2.65
	1	1	1
2050132.04	4.56	2.11	2.16
	1	1	1
2050132.06	6.77	1.90	3.56
	1	1	1
2050132.07	19.05	3.12	6.11
	1	1	1
2050132.10	12.87	2.37	5.42
	1	1	1
2050140.00	2.12	.63	3.35
	1	1	1
2050141.00	2.91	.45	6.54
	1	1	1
2050142.01	4.37	3.13	1.39
	1	1	1
2050142.02	7.25	5.46	1.33
	1	1	1
2050143.01	2.88	.18	15.56
	1	1	1
2050143.02	2.78	.53	5.24
	1	1	1
2050150.01	66.00	22.72	2.90
	1	1	1
2050150.02	5.40	1.47	3.68
	1	1	1
2050151.00	2.89	.53	5.48
	1	1	1
2050152.00	7.17	1.25	5.72
	1	1	1
2050153.00	1.88	.67	2.82
	1	1	1
2050154.04	1.62	.50	3.28
	1	1	1
Total	93	93	92

Street Checks and Crime Prevention

As discussed during police consultations (see Section D of this report), many police officials view street checks as an effective crime-fighting tool that can help in investigations and thus improve public safety. We used a variety of strategies to examine these claims. To begin with, we asked various police officials and crime analysts to send the inquiry specific examples of cases where street checks had helped solve crime. We had hoped to receive twenty or thirty examples to present in the report. We received five. A description of these five cases is provided below[17]:

> *I know I've used street checks many times in the past when I was in Central. They often provided background information that I used to make selections on Comstat targets as they gave more in depth details on who was active in specific areas as well as providing associations that were not usually noted through the associates tab on entities. If we didn't have street checks to provide this association information, there would be a pretty substantial gap in our understanding of groups and networks since the associates tab is not used effectively by members. In the Division, I would read the street checks every morning and then use the information to cross reference with incidents that had occurred sometimes to identify possible suspects who had been noted in specific areas where incidents had occurred. For example, a break and enter might have been reported the next morning and while reviewing it there might have been a street check from an officer the night before that placed a person in the area who was known for breaks, not always a guarantee but a good place for investigators to start. I don't review them daily anymore while in CID, but they are still of use especially when creating profiles again for the associations that are noted.*
>
> *A deceased (entity or person) was found on the conveyor at Otter Lake [a waste facility in HRM]. Several street checks and files helped us determine he was homeless and likely fell asleep in the dumpster -- including a street check the previous night which placed the entity near a dumpster and helped investigators narrow the scope.*
>
> *One substantial benefit from a check related to a 2014 Homicide. The information investigators gleaned from a street check helped with the direction of the investigation. The day before the murder two subjects were seen in a particular vehicle. An officer put in a street check which enabled investigators to narrow their scope as it was the same vehicle involved in the homicide. One of the males that was mentioned in the check, was eventually charged in the homicide. Court case pending.*
>
> *In regard to our conversation about street checks. While I was a school liaison officer at Citadel, I would use information obtained from street checks*

[17] A few other examples were brought up during police focus groups and one-on-one consultations. These are discussed in Section D of the report.

on a regular basis. Historically growing up in North-end Halifax, there was tension between the guys from North Central Halifax, Uniacke square area, and groups from Mulgrave and Bayers West Wood, also known as the pub. There was also tension between the pubs and Mulgrave park groups but that changed over the years and it appeared as though the group from the Park and Bayers West wood squashed their beef and it seemed as though both areas now had an issue with groups from the Uniacke area. The guys that were listed on street checks we students associated with students from Citadel High school. When I first noticed that groups from the two areas were hanging out together, I monitored it a little more closely at the school level. There were a few incidents, which I believe were drug-related which resulted in fights at or near Citadel involving groups from Uniacke vs. groups from Mulgrave and Bayers West wood. Once the connection was made, I was able to defuse situations from occurring in and around school when certain individuals, especially the ones who didn't attend Citadel High, were seen in and around the area. I feel when conducted properly street checks can be a useful tool in policing, allowing us access to intel and associations that may not have been formed with just conducting our general duties.

Officers spoke with a female who was sitting outside a business. This female was believed to be a sex trade worker. The officers made note of a male who struck a conversation with the female and noted the description. Later the same night the female attended the rear of the police station and informed the officer (that submitted the street check) of the name of the person that sexually assaulted her. She came forward with the information but forgot the name and had to run around the corner (presumably to a vehicle) and be reminded of the name. As a result of the street check a significant amount of information was gained. Although the female refused to speak with officers at the initial meeting that generated the street check, the female approached the officer at a later date to provide additional information on the sexual assault. Additionally, she provided information on another violent sexual assault that was prevented. The information that was gathered and recorded was able to corroborate some of the facts of the violent sexual assault as well as the one that was narrowly avoided.

The basic information provided during the inquiry suggests that street checks are useful because they can identify the location of known offenders, establish associations and identify potential suspects, victims or witnesses (i.e., people documented in the vicinity of a location where a crime took place). In other words, street checks, when used properly, can provide "leads" in criminal investigations. It is important to note that the reported usefulness of street checks is very different than the reported utility of police stop, question and frisk (SQF) tactics. SQF tactics are sometimes promoted as a method that directly identifies crime on the street. For example, stopping,

questioning and searching someone might directly uncover firearms or other weapons, discover illegal drugs or other contraband, or identify a person who is breaching court conditions. SQF tactics are also thought to increase the certainty of punishment and thus deter offenders from carrying weapons in public (see Wortley 2018). It is important that none of the Halifax region police officers who participated in this inquiry described "street checks" in these terms. Thus, if the police in the Halifax region ever do engage in SQF tactics, it is unlikely to be captured in the street checks statistics.

A second strategy used to capture the use of street checks involved an exercise with HRP crime analysts. From March 1st to April 30th, 2018, crime analysts were asked to record the details of every occasion they used information from a specific street check as part of a criminal investigation.[18] The results indicate that 81 different street checks were queried as part of a criminal investigation over this 61-day period (an average of 1.33 street checks per day). In almost half of all cases (46.9%) the street check was used to draw associations between civilians. In 28.4% of cases the street check was used to help investigators track the movements of offenders, identify potential witnesses or assist in some other manner. An additional 13.6% of street queries were used to produce an "intelligence product" and 11.1% were used in the development of a CAU general report. In almost all cases (79.0%), the use of the street check led to "no specific outcome." In 11.2% of cases the street check was used to plan a "prevention activity" and in 8.6% of cases it was used to "clear a file." On only one occasion (1.2% of the sample) was the street check query linked directly to an arrest. Combined with the statistical analysis presented in the next section, these results suggest that, overall, street checks have only a small role to play in police investigations and likely have only a small impact on crime rates.

Effect of Street Checks on Local Crime Counts: Fixed Effects Regression Results

It must be stressed that the work completed in the following section was conducted with the assistance of **Professor Maria Jung**, Assistant Professor, Department of Criminology, Ryerson University. In fact, while I helped provide the data and the research question to be addressed, Professor Jung is responsible for the analysis and write-up of the results.

In order to examine whether within—police-zone and within-police-district changes in street checks are associated with within-zone and within-district changes in the counts and severity of various crime incidents (total, violent, property, drug), bivariate fixed effects regressions were conducted. The unit of analysis is zone*month/year for the zone-level analysis and district*month/year for the district-level analysis. For the zone-level analysis, there are 18 zones and 144 time points (January 2006 to December 2017), which yielded 2592 zone*month/year observations. For the district-level analysis, there are 3 districts. However, not every district has the same number of month/year observations, with one district having a minimum of 720 observations and another having a maximum of 1008 observations. In total, there are also 2592 district*month/year observations.

[18] This exercise did not capture the daily review of street checks from the previous 24-hour period. Only queries of street checks for specific investigative purposes.

Since the focus here is examining the nature of the longitudinal relationship between changes in the number of street checks and the changes in the counts and severity of different crime incidents, fixed effects linear regressions were conducted using the *xtreg* procedure in the statistical software Stata 14. Fixed effects models are one of the several methods of analyzing panel data; others including random effects models, panel negative binominal regression models, and generalized estimating equation models (Rabe-Hesketh and Skrondal 2012). Broadly, all of these models are preferable to ordinary least squares regressions when analyzing longitudinal data because their standard error estimates can adjust for the fact that repeated observations on the dependent variable for a particular zone or district are likely to be correlated (Rabe-Hasketh and Skrondal 2012). However, fixed effects regression models are more appropriate in this case because they focus solely on within-unit (i.e., within-zone and within-district) changes in the variables and requires less restrict assumptions than alternative models (Snijders and Bosker 2012).

Said differently, fixed effects models are appropriate for this analysis because they assess how *changes* in the number of street checks within a zone or a district are related to *changes* in the counts and severity of different crime incidents in that zone or district. Furthermore, other models assume that time-varying explanatory variables, such as the independent variable (i.e., the number of street checks), are uncorrelated with unmeasured zone-specific or district-specific, time-invariant factors (the "random effect"), whereas fixed effects models do not make such assumptions. In fact, fixed effects models control for time-invariant factors whose effects are time-stable (e.g., an enduring characteristic specific to a particular zone or district), whereas other models do not. In other words, fixed effects models control for a key source of omitted variables bias (Brame, Bushway, and Paternoster 1999). In addition, robust variance-covariance matrix was employed in the computation of standard errors, so the model takes into account any clustering of standard errors within zones or districts. Since no other covariates are controlled, this is strictly a bivariate examination of the relationship between street checks and the counts and severity of different crime incidents.

At both the zone-level and the district-level, there is a consistent set of findings. At both the zone-level (Table 1) and the district-level (Table 2), changes in the number of street checks seem are positively and significantly associated with the changes in the counts and severity of different types of crime incidents.

Table 5.27:
Summary of zone-level relationships between the number of street checks and dependent variables

Total Incidents	.306, p < .001
Total Violent Incidents	.043, p < .05
Total Property Incidents	.118, p < .01
Total Drug Incidents	.016, p < .01
Total Severity	16.192, p <. 01
Total Violent Severity	6.934, p < .01
Total Property Severity	7.647, p < .05
Total Drug Severity	.730, p < .01

Table 5.28:
Summary of district-level relationships between the number of street checks and dependent variables

Total Incidents	2.347, p < .05
Total Violent Incidents	.243, p < .001
Total Property Incidents	.285, p < .01
Total Drug Incidents	.077, p < .05
Total Severity	60.053, p < .01
Total Violent Severity	29.451, p < .01
Total Property Severity	17. 049, p < .05
Total Drug Severity	4.087, p < .05

On a bivariate level, without controlling for other covariates, there is a positive association between the changes in the number of street checks and the changes in the counts and severity of crime incidents. The effects are small as indicated by the small coefficient sizes but still significant. Increases in street checks are significantly associated with increases in the counts and severity of crime incidents. Conversely, decreases in street checks are significantly associated with decreases in the counts and severity of crime incidents. In other words, zones and districts that experienced increases in the number of street checks also experienced increases in the counts and severity of crime incidents. Zones and districts that experienced decreases in the number of street checks also experienced decreases in the counts and severity of crime incidents.

Even with longitudinal data and the use of fixed effects models, this analysis still cannot fully control for the influence of other variables, the possibility of reverse causation, endogeneity-related concerns, and potential antecedent distorter variables. Therefore, it cannot be ascertained whether increases in the counts and severity of crime incidents caused street checks to increase, if the increases in street checks caused crime incidents to increase, or if they just co-occur together.

Although it is not possible to ascertain the exact reason for this relationship, it would be useful to situate this preliminary finding within the context of other research. It is possible that street checks may be more vigorously employed in areas where there are higher crime rates or concerns about

higher crime rates, which may be why there is a significant positive association between street checks and the counts and severity of crime incidents (Tiratelli, Quinton, and Bradford 2018). On the other hand, since street checks are forms of surveillance, the increases in street checks and increases in crime incidents should not be surprising, since increasing surveillance means that one will inevitably find or discover more crime (Hinkle and Weisburd 2008). It is also possible that street checks can lead to increases in crime; research has found that particularly in highly disadvantaged neighbourhoods, questionable forms of police stops and activities can undermine citizens' perceptions of police legitimacy and lead to increases in violent crime (Kane 2005) and civic disengagement (Lerman and Weaver 2014).

Since this was only a bivariate examination, it would be important to further examine this relationship using multivariate models in order to control for other important covariates such as demographic and socioeconomic characteristics at the zone- or district-level, extent of proactive and/or aggressive policing, citizen perceptions of trust in the police, among others. It would also be important to ascertain the rate of productive stops. For example, New York City increased the number of stop-and-frisk activities from about 90,000 in 2002 to 700,000 in 2011; nonetheless, the proportion of productive stops, i.e., those leading to arrest, remain unchanged at about 5-6%, leading to questions about the usefulness of the stops and the unintended consequences of the surplus stops (Lerman and Weaver 2014). In addition, it would be important to systematically examine the effects of street checks both in terms of the positive effects in aiding investigations and solving crimes but also the potential negative effects on crime and community relations.

SUMMARY

The results presented in this section produced several major results:

- Within the Halifax region, Black people are grossly over-represented in police street check statistics;
- The over-representation of Black males in street check statistics is particularly high;
- Although overall street check numbers have declined significantly in recent years, racial disparities have not diminished;
- Although the Black population of Halifax is younger than the White population, racial disparities cannot be explained by group-related age differences. In fact, Black people are grossly over-represented in street checks within each age category.
- The data also suggest that aging protects White people from police street checks more than it protects Black people;
- Young Black males (15-34 years of age) are by far the group most exposed to police street check activity;
- Racial differences in street checks cannot be explained away by criminal history or unique individuals (outliers) who are subject to multiple street checks;
- Among those with no criminal history, the street check rate for Black individuals is twice as high as the street check rate for White individuals;
- Black individuals with extensive criminal charge histories are much more likely to experience multiple street checks than White individuals with similar offending backgrounds;

- Preliminary analysis suggests that residential location does not reduce racial disparities in police street check statistics. Racial disparities exist in all Halifax census tracts. In fact, the Black street check rate is higher in predominantly White communities than communities with a relatively high Black population;
- Finally, analysis reveals very little evidence to support the argument that street checks lower crime. If anything, in Halifax, at the aggregate level of analysis, increased street check activity is related to small, but statistically significant increases in both crime-counts and crime severity;

Overall, do these findings prove that the police in the Halifax region engage in racial profiling? Technically, as many will note, racial disparity does not equal racial discrimination. That being said, it can be argued that racial bias is much more likely to exist when certain racial groups are hugely over-represented in negative life outcomes – as Black people are with respect to police street checks in Halifax. Nonetheless, it is almost impossible to determine what proportion of the racial disparities documented above are the result of racial profiling and what proportion reflect racially neutral police practices. Critics will be quick to question the use of census benchmarking techniques and cite a long list of variables – type of car, driving habits, time of day, type of clothing, group membership, type of criminal involvement, furtiveness, etc. -- that must be accounted for before racial profiling can be determined.

Personally, after years of examining these issues, I believe that only a small proportion of the racial disparity in police street checks can be explained by overt, malicious racism. Although the negative impact of a few "bad apples" cannot be completely discounted, I believe that most police officers in Halifax, and other Canadian cities, are professionals who try to conduct themselves in an objective manner. They certainly do not consider themselves racists and thus feel deeply insulted when accused of racial bias or profiling. However, I do think that implicit or unconscious racial bias can play a role in who the police "feel" are suspicious and thus deserving of police attention (including street checks). I also feel that the police – like other segments of society – engage in forms of "statistical discrimination" that can have a profound impact on policing outcomes. Much like the actuarial reasoning practices employed by insurance companies, police engage in forms of criminal profiling that target the usual suspects – the poor, the young, men, racial minorities. These forms of informal risk assessment can directly contribute to the over-representation of young Black men in street check statistics. Finally, we must also explore the impact of institutional forms of racism – including police deployment practices – that can have a hugely disproportionate impact on Black and other minority communities (see review in Appendix A).

In the end, I hope that this report does not devolve into another heated debate about whether racial profiling exists or not. This is an argument that cannot be won. The opposing sides are too entrenched, too blind to insights that oppose their world view, too invested in winning. Too often debate leads to stagnation. Rather, I hope this report highlights the huge racial differences in how policing is experienced in Halifax and produces a plan to reduce the consequences associated with those disparities.

The most disturbing finding to emerge from this inquiry is the fact that, over the past decade, the equivalent of one-third of Halifax's Black male population was charged with a crime. To what extent is this fact associated with racial differences in police surveillance strategies – including street checks? Evidence also suggests that street checks erode trust in the police and undermines the legitimacy of the entire criminal justice system. Are street checks worth it? Do the alleged crime-fighting benefits of street checks really outweigh the potential consequences (see Appendix A)?

An increasing volume of research suggests that proactive police activities – including random street interrogations, stop, question and frisk (SQF) tactics and street checks – do not have a significant impact on crime or public safety. After reviewing the available research Laura Huey, Director of the Canadian Society of Evidence-Based Policing concludes that:

> Empirical support for street checks is very weak and, in some instances, nonexistent. In relation to the latter, we have no published studies of the use of street check data to inform investigations and/or solve cases. Where research exists, but is very weak, is in the context of arguments that street checks can produce crime deterrent effects (Huey 2019).

However, a wealth of additional research clearly illustrates that street checks – along with other police stop, question and search tactics – are not harmless and should thus not be condoned in the name of public safety or crime prevention. The empirical evidence strongly suggest that the costs are greater than the benefits. Indeed, racial biases with respect to police surveillance activities can have a hugely detrimental impact on individuals, communities and the operation of the criminal justice system. Eminent Canadian criminologists Tony Doob and Rosemary Gartner, after reviewing the extensive academic literature on police stops, came to the following conclusion:

> The police have a number of important roles to play in public safety and in the operation of the criminal justice system. The findings that we cite here which suggest that certain approaches to crime and public protection either do not work or have overall negative impacts should be placed in this larger context. Perhaps the conclusion that one could come to that might be the least controversial would be the need to monitor and evaluate police policies related to street stops to ensure that the benefits outweigh the possible harm that could come from such interventions. This is the same conclusion that one could apply just as easily to medical or educational interventions as police interventions. An important point to remember is that one cannot conclude something is effective, just because assertions are made that it is. Data are important. And sometimes, the findings are complex. Certain kinds of activities of the police can have quite positive effects if the community is engaged in an appropriate fashion. But looking at the issue that we started with – street stops by the police of people who have not apparently committed an offence – it is quite clear that to us that it is easy to exaggerate the usefulness of these stops, and hard to find data that supports the usefulness of continuing to carry them out. This is not to say that the police should not be encouraged to continue to talk to people on the street. But evidence that it is useful to stop, question, and/or search people and to record and store this information simply because the police and citizens "are there" appears to

> us to be substantially outweighed by convincing evidence of the harm of such practices both to the person subject to them and to the long term and overall relationship of the police to the community (Gartner and Doob 2017: A22).

It is with these insights in mind, as well as the research results discussed above, that the report turns to a review of policy recommendations.

PART F: RECOMMENDATIONS

In this section of the report, I provide various recommendations with respect to the police "street check" controversy and the broader issue of police-race relations within the Halifax region. These recommendations are based on the information gathered through the inquiry's community consultations, community (internet) survey, police consultations and review of official street check data (see Parts B through E above). Recommendations are also informed by a review of the research literature on street checks, police stop and search activities and racial profiling (see Appendix A). Finally, in developing these recommendations, I reviewed the findings and recommendations produced by other recent examinations of the street check issue from other provinces (i.e., Tulloch 2019; Vancouver 2018; Griffiths et al. 2018).

This chapter is divided into several parts. I first discuss the issue of a possible street check ban. In my mind, police and government stakeholders within the Halifax region must chose between two options: 1) Ban police street checks altogether; or 2) Improve the regulation and quality of street checks. The goal of both options would be to reduce or eliminate racial disparities in involuntary police contact. I thus begin by discussing the potential benefits and limitations of imposing a street check ban, followed by a discussion about the potential strengths and weaknesses of street check regulation. I then provide recommendations associated with both options.

In the third section I discuss the broader issue of police stops (i.e., traffic stops, pedestrian stops, etc.). During the consultation process, it became clear that many community members were expressing concerns about police stops rather than what, technically, the police define as a street check. In other words, during public discussion and debate, police stops are often conflated or confused with street checks. Thus, I provide several recommendations that might help address police stops in general, over and above those stops that may result in a street check. I should note that it was an allegation of racial bias in police stops, not street checks, that was at the core of the Kirk Johnson case (see Girard 2003). This case ultimately led to the release of race-based data and the current NSHRC inquiry.

In the final section I turn from a discussion of street checks to a more general discussion of police-race relations. In this section I provide recommendations designed to improve the relationship between the police and Black and other minority communities in the Halifax region. Indeed, regardless of racial background or ethnicity, if implemented, these recommendations might improve trust and confidence in law enforcement throughout the region.

To Ban or Not to Ban

The most glaring debate identified through this inquiry is the great divide between those who want to ban or eliminate police street checks and those, mainly police officials, who believe that street checks should be retained as a valuable crime fighting tool. Perhaps the strongest call for the elimination of street checks comes from the African Nova Scotian Decade for People of African Descent Coalition (ANSDPAD). In recent correspondence (see Appendix D), the coalition states:

> *The ANSDPAD Coalition's position remains that street checks should cease immediately because they are illegal and harmful. This position applies to all street checks conducted in Nova Scotia, not just those undertaken within the Halifax Regional Municipality. Street checks affect everyone. According to the 2017 CBC investigation, the vast majority (30,000) of people street checked by police were not African Nova Scotian. Everyone's rights are at stake. Police do not have the legal authority to engage in street checks. There is no legislation, constitutional nor common law power authorizing such checks. As such, they should cease immediately. We live in a constitutional democracy wherein police derive their power and legal authority from the people. The police must operate within the legal parameters set out in the Constitution, including the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, legislation and the common law. Street checks involve police stopping a person or otherwise recording information about a person without having reasonable and probable grounds – or even reasonable suspicion – to believe the person has committed a criminal offence - as is required by law. As such, street checks potentially violate a person's right to privacy; right to life, liberty & security of the person; and the right to be free from arbitrary detention…Beyond their illegality, street checks cause immense harm to the African Nova Scotians (and others) through the individual, family and community trauma that is created by the checks. The sharing of street check data can also interfere with employment and volunteer opportunities and cross border travel. Moreover, being street checked for no legal reason creates mistrust of the police. On another level, street checks/racial profiling support the misalignment of police services insofar as police are engaged in places where they are not needed - and potentially not in places where they are needed. They can also contribute to the overrepresentation of African Nova Scotians in the criminal justice system.*

By contrast, during consultations, police officials, and some members of the public, defended street checks as an effective crime prevention activity. Street checks, it was argued, can be used to identify the movements of known criminal offenders and the location of vulnerable populations. When crimes do take place, street checks, it was maintained, can assist police investigators with the identification of potential offenders, witnesses and victims. In other words, street checks can be used to develop investigative leads when crime problems emerge. Finally, street checks can be used to document criminal associations: links between offenders or links between offenders and otherwise law-abiding civilians.

Contrary to the ANSDPAD position, police officials across Canada have argued that, when done correctly, street checks are not illegal and do not violate civil rights. This point was argued by the Vancouver Police Department in their systemic review the street check issue:

> *The British Columbia Association of Chiefs of Police (BCACP) and British Columbia Association of Municipal Chiefs of Police (BCAMCP) supports consistency in the delivery of lawful and bias-free policing strategies, including the use of street checks. The BCACP and BCAMCP agree that street checks are not random but done within the authorities provided by common law and the B.C. Police Act, originating either as proactive initiatives or from citizens' CFS (call for service). The Vancouver Police Department (VPD) is committed to ensuring that our police practices and crime prevention strategies are applied judiciously and do not infringe on citizen rights. The VPD will continue to work on initiatives that support this commitment, as described below…. The VPD is dedicated to ensuring that the rights of citizens are respected. Therefore, VPD members will not stop, question or detain any person for a reason based on prohibited grounds of discrimination, or engage in "racial profiling". The VPD does not support random or arbitrary stops of any individual in order to collect personal information. Nor does the VPD support random street checks. The VPD does not support any police action based on discriminatory profiling* (Vancouver Police Department 2018: 44-46).

The argument that street checks are "legal" was also put forth by a recent report commissioned by the Edmonton Police Service (see Griffiths et a, 2018). The authors of this report conceded that bias may impact some street-check decision making, and therefore called for increased street check training, monitoring and regulation. However, they also maintained that, when conducted properly, street checks are a legal police practice that can help combat crime:

> *One position in the ongoing debate/discussion of street checks is that the practice should be banned. The materials gathered for this study and the analysis conducted on the SCR data suggest that the practice of street checks should not be banned. When properly conducted, street checks can assist in maintaining the safety and security of the community. However, there are a number of initiatives that could be taken to address the issues surrounding street checks and the concerns expressed by community organizations and residents. These have been set out in the preceding discussion. It was noted at the outset of this report that police officers are given considerable discretion in carrying out their legislated mandate. The debate over street checks has turned largely on the assertion that officers abuse their discretionary powers and engaged in racial profiling and biased policing in conducting street checks. An analysis of the 2017 EPS SCR data revealed that, in the majority of cases, officers had the lawful authority to conduct the subject stop. However, the use of bylaws such as loitering, panhandling, jay walking, interfering with park furniture, and interfering with grass that provide lawful authority are quite subjective and there may be differences*

> *how officers exercise discretion with respect to these cases. While it is not possible to enact legislation and create policies that cover all of the situations that police officers observe, training and a focus on professionalism can serve to mitigate biases in these situations. What one officer may determine to be loitering may not be similarly interpreted by other officers. Much may depend upon whether the officer knows the subject in question, that person's prior history of contact with the police, and, perhaps, their racial or ethnic identity. Rather than banning the practice of street checks, training and protocols should be put into place to ensure that police officers do not abuse their discretionary powers and engage in racial profiling and biased policing. Surveys consistently indicate that the general public wants the police to be more visible and proactive in the community. Street checks are a component of police visibility and of proactive activities* (Griffiths et al. 2018: 229).

Finally, in his review of recent street check legislation in Ontario, Justice Micheal Tulloch, concluded that, under certain circumstances, police have the legal right to stop and question civilians and record their personal information. In other words, he too concludes that street checks, if done properly, are legal and can contribute to public safety. However, Justice Tulloch also recognized that, historically, a great deal of police street check activity has not been conducted in a legal manner nor met the standards of procedural justice. He also argues that street checks have had a disproportionately negative impact on both Black and Indigenous communities. Thus, rather than simply condoning street checks, Justice Tulloch recommends both the heavy regulation of street checks and a ban on random police stops or carding. As he states in Recommendation 5.1 of his most recent report: "*The Regulation (of street checks) should expressly state that no police officer should arbitrarily or randomly stop individuals to request their identifying information*." He also states in Recommendation 5.15 that: "*No police service should randomly stop people in order to collect and record identifying information and create a dataset for general intelligence purposes*." Other recommendations made by Justice Tulloch and embedded within Ontario's new Street Check Regulations (O. Reg. 58/16), govern when and how police officers may approach and request personal information from civilians, how personal information is stored and retained by police services, and how it can be used for investigative purposes.

In sum, there appears to be a stark ideological and political void between those who believe that street checks should be subject to an outright ban, and those that feel that street checks, when used legally, have potential crime prevention benefits. However, even among supporters, there is an awareness of possible abuses and the need for additional street check monitoring, regulation, training and supervision. In the next section I discuss the possible benefits – and limitations – of a street check ban. I then turn to the prospects of regulating street checks if a street check ban is not implemented.

Potential Benefits of a Street Check Ban

- A street check ban would have great symbolic value. The formal prohibition of street checks would send a message that the concerns of the Black community – and other citizens impacted by the street check issue -- have been taken seriously. It would also

formally recognize that street checks have had a disproportionate impact on the Black community. It would demonstrate that the HRP, the RCMP, the Police Commission and the government are all willing to take strong action towards addressing the threat of biased policing and are willing to make sacrifices to regain public confidence in law enforcement;

- By contrast, a failure to ban street checks is not likely to be well received by large segments of the Black community. Many will see this as a government decision to uphold police interests over the interests of the community. This could result in further protest and continued unrest over the street check issue;
- A ban on street checks would alleviate concerns that street checks are – at least sometimes – an illegal practice that indirectly criminalizes civilians through the creation of a non-charge, non-conviction, "known to police" database;
- A street check ban would alleviate privacy concerns and anxieties about the potential misuses of historical street check data;
- Based on the evidence produced by this report, and the broader research literature on police "stop, question and search" practices, a ban on street checks will not have a major impact on local crime rates;
- Finally, during consultations, several community leaders discussed the possibility of taking legal action if street checks continue. Thus, a ban on street checks might reduce the likelihood of future litigation and associated legal costs;

Potential Limitations of a Street Check Ban

- As described in the findings section above, community members often defined a "street check" as being stopped, questioned and sometimes searched by the police. Many described these stops as "unfair" or without just cause. However, according to current police practices, a street check only captures a fraction of all police stop activity. Technically, street checks are only completed when an officer believes there is intelligence value in recording the presence of an individual in a specific location, the details of a civilian's behaviour or the nature of their associations. Furthermore, while the public described street checks as a form of direct police contact, police participants noted that a large proportion of street checks only consist of visual observations and do not involve any form of police-civilian interaction.
- To reiterate, a ban on street checks will not in anyway monitor, control or regulate police stops. A ban on street checks, in my opinion, will only prevent the recording of personal information, collected during noncriminal police-civilian interactions, for police intelligence purposes. Thus, while a ban may eliminate the street check dataset, it will not necessarily change the frequency of police stops or how civilians experience policing in public settings;
- I fear, therefore, that a simple ban on street checks may be interpreted by members of the public as a ban or restriction on investigative police stops. This may raise expectations and lead to disappointment, frustration and anger if the ban does not reduce the frequency or nature of police interactions. In other words, a ban on street checks may not change how the public in general – and the Black community in particular – experience policing on the

street. As a result, the ban – in the absence of other measures -- may ultimately have little impact with respect to improving police-community relations;

- There is a possibility that, even with a formal ban on street checks, the police will continue to stop, question and search minority citizens at disproportionately high rates. There is also a concern that the police could rebrand or relabel street checks and continue to collect the personal information of civilians for intelligence purposes. For example, in my opinion, it would be rather simple for the type of information currently collected and entered through the Street Check system to be reconfigured and entered into the General Occurrence (GO) dataset. As one officer stated during the consultation process: "*With or without street checks, cops will continue to collect information on people, places and situations. That's what we do. We collect data, we make observations, we investigate, we take notes. We have always done this, but it has become even more pronounced with the rise of intelligence-led policing*."
- A potential benefit of the current street check system is that it provides some transparency and insight into the nature of police-civilian encounters. After all, it was the public release of Halifax street check statistics that served to increase public awareness – particularly among members of Halifax's White majority – that gross racial disparities in police contact exist.[19] These statistics supported claims, made by the Black community for decades, that the police are engaged in racially biased practices. In other words, the release of street check data has led to further investigation and policy attention. It is possible, therefore, that a ban on street checks – if not replaced by another data monitoring mechanism – may reduce transparency, eliminate the opportunity to monitor racial differences in police-civilian encounters and hinder the evaluation of strategies to reduce racial bias and improve police-community relations. In other words, while a ban on street checks may or may not impact police behaviour, it could severely limit the documentation of police-civilian interactions and our ability to measure change. A ban on street checks could cause police stop, question and search practices to go further "underground" and eliminate any meaningful paper trail;
- Finally, although the available evidence is somewhat underwhelming, there is anecdotal evidence to suggest that, when done properly, street checks can help solve crimes, identify missing persons and increase public safety. It is apparent that many police officials perceive street checks as a valuable investigative tool. Thus, it can be anticipated that a complete ban on street checks will not be well received by the police community. Some police officers went so far as to suggest that, in addition to impeding crime fighting efforts, a complete ban on street checks will amount to a finding of "guilt" against the police and that this will have a detrimental impact on police morale. Some suggested that this could lead to "de-policing" and a reluctance among police officers to work within the Black community. These facts could be used to justify the improved monitoring and regulation of street checks, rather than a complete ban;

Policy-makers have a tough choice to make with respect to police street checks. I have tried my best to outline the potential strengths and limitations of a complete street check ban. However, the decision to ban street checks is not mine to make. However, I feel strongly that, if a complete ban is not forthcoming, the monitoring and regulation of street checks – and other forms of police-

[19] One could argue that, as a result of their shared history and lived experience, members of the Black community did not need to be educated about racial disparities in police treatment.

civilian interaction – must be enhanced. Thus, I first provide recommendations with respect to the option of banning street checks. I then provide recommendations with respect to a second option: the regulation and monitoring of street check activity.

OPTION ONE: *A STREET CHECK BAN*

Recommendation 1.1: If a decision is made to formally ban street checks, all police officials should be ordered to immediately cease the recording of civilian information for "street check" purposes. Furthermore, the street check field within the Versadex data management system should be immediately disabled;

Recommendation 1.2: Officers on patrol should no longer have immediate access to historical street check data pertaining to the civilians they interact with in the community. Access to historical street check data should be restricted to investigators, supervisors and crime analysts. This practice will ensure that police decision-making is not unduly influenced by the often-times subjective information present in the historical street check dataset;

Recommendation 1.3: So as not to interrupt or impede current criminal cases or investigations, historical street check data should remain available to police investigators -- for a one-year period -- following the formal street check ban. After this one-year grace period, all street check data containing personal information should be purged;

Recommendation 1.4: During the one-year grace period, prior to the destruction of personalized street check data, civilians should be informed of their right to order, retrieve and review their own street check record. Civilians should also be given written documentation about how their personal information was used by the police and whether it was shared with third parties. This will inform civilians about the types of information the police have collected on them in the past and give them a chance to dispute the accuracy of that information. This gesture will also increase the transparency of the police service and could thus serve as a step towards improving community trust;

Recommendation 1.5: All historical street check data should eventually be de-identified and retained for future research purposes. De-identification should include the removal of names, addresses, birth dates or any other information that could be used to identify specific individuals. However, information on general demographic characteristics -- including race, age and gender – should be retained for aggregate-level analyses. The retention of a historical street check dataset may assist researchers in further addressing issues of racial bias, the impact of street checks on individuals and communities and the effect of the street check ban on subsequent crime patterns and trends;

Recommendation 1.6: A committee, consisting of both police officials and community members, should be formed to assess the impact of the street check ban on police-community relations and public safety. This committee should also explore the possible re-branding or re-naming of street checks or the shifting of street check information into other data fields (i.e., general occurrence reports);

Recommendation 1.7: In the absence of street checks, the police should be mandated to collect and disseminate information on the personal characteristics – including racial background -- of all civilians subject to police stops and other investigative detentions. This will ensure transparency and the continued monitoring of police services for evidence of possible racial bias or profiling. This recommendation is discussed further below.[20]

OPTION TWO: *THE REGULATION OF STREET CHECKS*

Most police services have a street check policy. The street check policy for the Halifax Regional Police Service, for example, is found in Chapter Three, Section Four of the HRP Policy Manual. The current policy, reproduced below, is rather short and concise:

> ***STREET CHECKS*** *Department Order #: 17-08 (Originally issued under Department Order #27-02)*
>
> ***A. POLICY STATEMENT***
> *1. Section 4 contains policy related to the gathering of field intelligence through the use of Street Checks.*
>
> ***B. POLICY***
> *1. A Street Check shall be submitted under the following circumstances:*
> *a. A subject is queried by an officer on CPIC and a CNI hit is obtained, but the subject is not classified as an entity on any current GO Report, Summary Offence Ticket or other electronic record stored within the RMS.*
> *b. A member observes a person or vehicle in a location, at a time and/or under circumstances that suggest would be of significant to future investigation. The person/vehicle does not have to be stopped or occupants interviewed nor must the vehicle be checked to require a Street Check be submitted in this instance.*
> *c. A person(s) are passengers of a motor vehicle which has been stopped for an offence and the passengers are known to police or have criminal records.*
> *2. A Street Check will not be submitted (with all known relevant information supplied on a Text) for any incident which will be recorded in the RMS/CAD in another form such as:*
> *a. A traffic stop which has resulted in the issuance of a summary offence ticket(s) to the driver of the vehicle unless the circumstances in A1(c) above exist.*
> *b. A General Occurrence Report is required to be submitted.*
>
> ***C. QA SERGEANT***
> *1. During each shift, the QA Sergeant will complete a Browse query of all Street Checks submitted during the shift and within his/her assigned division. In completing this query, the QA Sergeant shall ensure submitting members*

[20] The ANSDPAD Coalition also recommends that the Halifax Regional Police and RCMP issue an apology for the disproportionate number of street checks conducted against African Nova Scotians and that the harm caused by street checks be remedied. The exact remedies to be delivered are not discussed in their correspondence.

have complied with established policy on same and take appropriate follow-up action when necessary.

The HRP Training Manual also has an extensive Law Enforcement Code of Ethics (see Appendix E) which discusses the topic of bias and explicitly states that officers must ensure that bias does not impact their decision-making:

> *Each police officer shall regard the discharge of his/her duties as a public trust and recognize his/her responsibilities to treat the public in an impartial manner during all interactions. In doing so, officers shall refrain from actions such as vehicle stops, questioning, searching, detaining or arresting based solely on a person's:*
> *a. Race.*
> *b. Ancestry.*
> *c. Place of origin.*
> *d. Ethnic origin.*
> *e. Citizenship.*
> *f. Creed.*
> *g. Gender.*
> *h. Sexual orientation.*
> *i. Disability.*
> *j. Age.*
> *k. Marital status.*
> *l. Same-sex partnership status.*
> *m. Family status.*

The Code of Ethics provides further guidance with respect to the promotion of civil rights and the prevention of racially biased police practices:

> *1. Halifax Regional Police is committed to endorsing a police environment which prohibits the practice of racially-biased policing and values the diversity within communities in the Halifax Regional Municipality.*
>
> *2. All members of this service are obligated, from the first day of their employment, to conduct themselves at all times in a professional, legal and respectful manner and to display a high level of professionalism during any type of contact with members of the public.*
>
> *3. Officers must be able to determine and articulate they have articulable cause that support their actions prior to conducting any of the following:*
>
> *a. Investigative detentions.*
> *b. Traffic stops.*
> *c. Arrests.*
> *d. Non-consensual searches. And*
> *e. Property seizures.*

4. Except as provided in A5 below, skin colour, race or ethnicity absent any other factors will be insufficient to justify a stop, search or arrest. Therefore, officers shall not in isolation consider a person's race/ethnicity:

a. When establishing articulable cause.

b. In deciding to initiate even those non-consensual encounters that do not amount to legal detentions or to request to consent to search.

5. Officers may take into account the reported race/ethnicity of a specific suspect(s) when they have been provided with reliable, locally relevant information that links a person(s) of a specific race/ethnicity to a particular unlawful incident(s).

6. The following list includes but is not limited to inappropriate conduct which will not be tolerated by the Halifax Regional Police:

a. Targeting motorists for traffic stops based on race.
b. Applying discretionary enforcement on the basis of race.
c. Tolerating different degrees of disorder and deviance based on race.
d. Interfering with citizens' routine activities based on race.
e. Assuming someone is dangerous on the basis of race.
f. Providing different levels of police patrol and protection on the basis of race, or because of unfounded racial fears.
g. Providing different levels of service on the basis of race.

7. Race/ethnicity must never be used as the sole basis for determining articulable cause. Violations of this policy shall result in disciplinary action.

8. Competencies for race and diversity relations shall be embodied within the Competency Assessments, hiring, promotional routines and competitions for transfers. HRP members are evaluated on some of these standards and competencies under the broad headings of Providing Distinguished Service, Valuing diversity and Leadership.

1. HRP seeks to prevent incidents of misinterpreted perceptions of biased law enforcement. To accomplish this objective, each officer shall do the following when conducting pedestrian and vehicle stops:

a. Be courteous and professional.
b. Introduce him/herself to the citizen (providing name and agency affiliation) and state the reason for the stop as soon as practical, unless providing this information will compromise officer or public safety. In vehicle stops, the officer shall provide this information before asking for the driver's license and registration.

c. Ensure that the detention is no longer than is necessary to take appropriate action for the known or suspected offence and that the citizen understands the purpose of reasonable delays.
d. Answer any questions the citizen may have, including explaining options for traffic citation disposition, if available.
e. Thank them for their patience and/or explain if s/he determines that the reasonable suspicion was unfounded.

Clearly, the HRP's and RCMP's current street check policies, combined with their Code of Ethics, provides a strong theoretical foundation for the delivery of fair, unbiased and impartial police services. The groundwork has already been laid. Thus, the recommendations provided below serve to solidify – and make explicit -- the connection between the current street check policy and the existing Code of Ethics. Furthermore, many of the following recommendations reflect the street check regulations developed and implemented in Ontario (see Tulloch 2019). Other recommendations are more novel and expand on work conducted in other jurisdictions. It should be stressed that some of these recommendations apply to police stops or investigative detentions and not just those incidents that result in a street check. It is important to note that there is a strong correlation between police stops and street checks that needs to be recognized in any policy reform. Finally, it is stressed that although the development of the basic principles of fair and unbiased policing, as outlined in the Code of Ethics, is an excellent start, improved monitoring, evaluation and enforcement is required to ensure that such principles are translated into action.

Recommendation 2.1: The Halifax Regional Police Service and Royal Canadian Mounted Police, in conjunction with the Halifax Municipal Government, the Board of Police Commissioners and the Government of Nova Scotia, should develop a new regulation to govern the use of police street checks and investigative police stops. The basic principles of this new regulation are outlined below. The Board of Police Commissioners and the Government of Nova Scotia should consider a moratorium on street checks until this regulation is developed and implemented.

Prior to the establishment of a new street regulation, the Police Board of Commissioners and Government of Nova Scotia should seek an independent legal opinion regarding the lawfulness of street check practices. The legality of street checks is still a very much contested issue and the new regulation must fully address the conditions under which street checks may violate the legal rights of civilians;

Recommendation 2.2: Once developed, all police officials, from new recruits to frontline officers to police executives, should receive mandatory training on the new street check policy. During consultations, many police participants maintained that training on the current street check policy is either inadequate or nonexistent.

Recommendation 2.3: The new street check regulation should clearly articulate the conditions under which officers *should not* conduct investigative stops or street checks. Consistent with the HRP Law Enforcement Code of Law Ethics and the Nova Scotia Human Rights Code, the regulation should explicitly state that street checks should not be conducted solely on the basis of a civilian's personal characteristics including race, ethnicity, gender, age, religion, sexual orientation or combination thereof. Police officers should not engage in actuarial discrimination

and stop, detain and document civilians because their demographic profile is consistent with criminal profiles derived from aggregate crime statistics. Decisions must be based on individual-level, not group-level suspicions. Group-level suspicions are consistent with the concept of racial profiling. The policy should also explicitly state that street checks should not be conducted simply because a civilian is observed walking or driving late at night or is physically present in a high crime community. Street checks are also not justified when a civilian has exercised their legal rights and refused to answer police questions. Street checks are also not justified simply because an individual has exercised their legal rights and decided to end an interaction with a police officer. Rightful noncompliance with police requests or commands does not provide the legal justification for increased police suspicion or street checks. Finally, the regulation should explicitly state that officers should refrain from investigatory police stops and/or street checks based on a hunch or intuition that a person *may* be involved in criminal activity.

Recommendation 2.4: The new street check regulation should explicitly state that police officers should never arbitrarily or randomly stop, question and search civilians as part of a general crime identification strategy or "fishing expedition." Police officers should also never arbitrarily or randomly request identifying information from a civilian for general police intelligence purposes. Previous research suggests that the random stopping of civilians for crime detection and intelligence purposes is both ineffective and costly. This last point is reinforced by Catherine Tully, the Information and Privacy Commissioner for Nova Scotia. In correspondence with the inquiry she writes that: *"Law makers should* ***explicitly prohibit****, in Nova Scotia's Municipal Government Act, Part XX, randomly or arbitrarily collecting and recording identifying information to create a database for general intelligence purposes. The explicit prohibition should state that random or arbitrary collection is not an authorized collection of personal information for law enforcement purposes under s. 483(1)(b)."*

Recommendation 2.5: The new street check regulation should provide a clearer, more detailed description of the conditions under which investigative stops and/or street checks can be legally conducted. Emphasis must be placed on the requirement for officers to provide an articulable justification for the stop or street check. Possible conditions in which a street check might be legally conducted include: a) A situation in which a civilian fits the detailed description of a suspect in a specific criminal incident; b) A known criminal offender is observed at a time or location that might contribute to police intelligence or an on-going criminal investigation; c) A known crime victim or other vulnerable person (i.e., homeless person, prostitute, a person with a cognitive disability, a person with addictions issues, etc.) is observed and this information might help ensure their personal safety or solve missing persons cases; d) Information can help establish an association between two or more known offenders; and e) The information documents suspicious activity that might help identify future criminal activity.

According to the Nova Scotia's Information and Privacy Commissioner: "*The definition of law enforcement under s. 461(c) of Nova Scotia's Municipal Government Act, Part XX should be amended to explicitly state that for the collection of personal information to be authorized as a collection for "policing" and "criminal-intelligence operations" under s. 461(c)(i) it must be based on suspicious activity. Suspicious activity should be defined to mean activity where, under all of the circumstances, there are objective, credible grounds for the suspicion, none of which may be grounds prohibited by the Human Rights Code.*" This statement is consistent with

recommendations made by Justice Micheal Tulloch in his recent review of Ontario's Street Check regulation (O. Reg. 58/16). Justice Tulloch argues that grounds for suspicion may be less than the reasonable and probable grounds required to detain an individual. He further recommends that an attempt must be made to confirm or dispel suspicions before personal information can be collected (see Tulloch 2019: Chapter Five).

Recommendation 2.6: Street checks should not be routinely used to establish associations between law-abiding citizens and criminal offenders. The police should not have the power to establish guilt by association. It is likely that many residents of the Halifax region have a relationship with at least one person who has been charged or convicted of a crime. This may be particularly true of the residents of poor, Black communities who are often subject to higher levels of police surveillance. It is not a crime to be seen in public or otherwise associate with a family member, friend, student, client, co-worker, neighbour or parishioner who has a criminal record. The fact that Black civilians experience much higher street check rates than other civilians, means that they are also much more likely to be documented for having criminal associates than their White counterparts. In sum, street checks should not be used to indirectly criminalize civilians for the company that they keep. The new regulation could, however, establish exceptions under which associations between law-abiding civilians and known offenders can be drawn – especially if the law-abiding civilian might be vulnerable to criminal exploitation or victimization.[21]

Recommendation 2.7: As discussed in the findings section, many civilians, even those with knowledge of their civil rights, feel coerced or compelled to provide personal information and comply with police commands during police interactions. Many civilians fear the consequences of not complying with police requests. Others allege that the police have threatened them with arrest (i.e., for obstruct justice) or other consequences if they failed to follow orders. These are the classic symptoms of psychological rather than legal detention. Civilians often leave these interactions convinced that their rights have been violated, that the police have broken the law or that the rules of procedural justice have been discarded. Such encounters can have a devastating impact on community trust and the perceived legitimacy of law enforcement. As such, the new street check regulation must provide clear guidelines with respect to police requests to collect personal information or request consent searches. The street check regulation must ensure that officers follow the rules of procedural justice and inform citizens of their rights prior to making requests for personal information or requesting a consent search.

The police have the legal right to request the personal information (i.e., licence, insurance, etc.) of drivers. However, in most cases, the same legal right does not apply to passengers, pedestrians and other civilians. The regulation should clearly stipulate, therefore, that officers must first inform civilians of the reason that they are requesting personal information. The regulation should also stipulate that officers must inform civilians that they are not legally obligated to provide personal information if they do not want to. The same rules should apply to consent searches. Officers

[21] Examples that emerged during police consultations involved known drug dealers observed in discussions with local high school students or other potential customers. Another example involved the documentation of a young woman, from out of province, in the company of a known human trafficker. A third example involved a young man in the company of a known gang member that raised concerns about possible gang recruitment. In all three cases the police officers maintained that street checks established associations in order to highlight and hopefully prevent future victimization.

should fully disclose why they are requesting a search and inform the civilian that they can deny the search request without consequence.[22] Once again, failure to comply with police requests does not provide the legal justification for heightened police suspicion. Noncompliance should also not be used as an excuse to extend police stops or investigative detentions or justify more aggressive police tactics (i.e., threats, warnings, non-consent searches, arrest, etc.);[23]

Regulation 2.8: The new regulation should explicitly require that a police officer attempting to collect personal information must first identify and record the authority to collect and the reason for the collection, at the time of the collection, regardless of the manner of collection (e.g., visual observation, street level interaction, traffic stop). Police should be required to disclose the authority and purpose to the individual at the time of the collection if the collection involves direct interaction with the individual.

Recommendation 2.9: Consistent with practices in the United Kingdom and some North American jurisdictions, the new regulation should require officers to provide citizens with a receipt when subjected to a formal street check. This receipt should include the time and date of the interaction, the reason or justification for the street check and the name and badge numbers of the officers involved. The receipt should also include information on how the civilian can retrieve their full street check record as well as information on how to contact the Police Complaints Commissioner (OPCC). The purpose of the receipt is to increase transparency with respect to the police collection of personal information and provide the civilian with concrete documentation that a street check has taken place. All too often, during the inquiry, civilians expressed confusion about whether they had been subject to a street check or not. This receipt will reduce such uncertainty. This document will also assist civilians if they wish to file a complaint. Finally, the requirement of issuing a receipt might increase the overall quality of street checks and prevent officers from collecting personal information under questionable grounds. The requirement of issuing a street check receipt could be waived if the street check involves a visual check.[24]

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[22] It is quite likely that this recommendation will be unpopular with some police officers. Officers sometimes benefit from civilian ignorance with respect to civil rights or civilian fear that evoking civil rights will anger or aggravate the officers they are dealing with. Under such circumstances, officers are more likely to gain compliance with respect to the consent searches and the disclosure of personal information. Officers may feel, therefore, that they will have lower levels of compliance if they must inform civilians of their right not to cooperate. Once informed of their rights, civilians might be more likely to walk away from a police interaction. Such noncompliance it has been argued, will make it much more difficult for officers to collect important information and this could ultimately compromise public safety. However, with respect to public confidence in the police, it is likely more important that the police follow the rule of law than dangerously disregard laws they do not like. Ultimately, if police officials feel that civilians should always have to comply with their requests, they should lobby the government and get the relevant laws changed.

[23] Of course, there are many other situations in which civilians might be legally obliged to provide personal information including the investigation of a specific criminal incident, the enforcement of bylaws and the enforcement of trespassing legislation. However, officers should still disclose to civilians when they are retaining collected information as part of a street check.

[24] However, the Information and Privacy Commissioner of Nova Scotia argues that civilians should always be informed when a street check has been conducted – even when the street check involves a visual check. As she states: "The protections surrounding the use of personal information to make decisions about individuals contained in ss. 483(2) and 483(4) of the *Municipal Government Act, Part XX*, are meaningless if an individual is not aware that personal information is being collected, stored and used to make decisions. Decisions made by police based on the intelligence information they collect are among the most impactful decisions a municipal public body

Recommendation 2.10: As discussed above, police participants consistently maintained that a large proportion of all street checks are based on visual observation and do not involve any direct interaction, questioning or searching of civilians. It was argued that a high proportion of these visual checks track the movements of known offenders in the community. Unfortunately, due to poor documentation, the current street check dataset cannot accurately distinguish between visual street checks and those that involved an actual police-civilian interaction. Thus, it is recommended that the new regulation require officers to clearly distinguish between visual or observational street checks and those that involve direct civilian contact. This recommendation likely involves a change to the current street check documentation system. Visual street checks may not be subject to the same procedural justice guidelines as street checks involving police stops and/or civilian questioning (see discussion above). Although I could not locate any Canadian legislation or legal decisions that explicitly condone visual street checks, neither could I locate legislation or common law decisions that explicitly prohibit this type of practice. It seems, therefore, that as long as they don't impede a civilian's freedom, the police are legally permitted to gather information or intelligence on known offenders, potential suspects or other civilians of interest that they observe in the community. That does not mean that this type of intelligence gathering is harmless or noncontroversial. Indeed, if the police are significantly more likely to conduct visual street checks on racial minorities than White civilians, this could be construed as evidence of disproportionate minority surveillance or racial profiling. Hence, visual street checks should be subject to the same monitoring, review and data analysis as street checks that involve direct contact with police officials.

Recommendation 2.11: During consultations, several police participants maintained that the current street check dataset does not accurately capture the reasons street checks are conducted or the types of information recorded. The new regulation should ensure that the street check dataset is revised to better capture important information. First, the dataset should capture the context from which the street check emerged. For example, was the street check based on a visual observation or did it emerge from a traffic stop, a pedestrian stop, a call for service, a parole/probation check or some other situation? Secondly, the street check dataset should clearly document why a street check was conducted or the type of information the street check documents. For example, did the street check document the presence of a known criminal offender, a relationship or association between offenders, the location of a former crime victim or vulnerable person, unusual or suspicious behaviour or some other fact that may have intelligence value. The improved collection of street check information will enable a more advanced analysis of the street check dataset and ensure data quality. This information might also be used to communicate the purpose of street checks to the general public.

Recommendation 2.12: The new street check regulation should require police to standardize all related collection, recording and storage methods. This will serve to promote consistency, accountability and transparency and improve the quality of data for review and monitoring purposes.

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can make about an individual. Law makers should explicitly require notification to individuals when their personal information is collected by police and how individuals may exercise their rights under the *Municipal Government Act, Part XX* to access records containing their own personal information and to seek correction where they believe it contains an error.

Recommendation 2.13: The new street check policy and/or regulation should explicitly state that officer performance should, under no circumstances, be evaluated on the basis of the number of street checks collected during a shift or other time period. This information should be periodically communicated to officers, by their supervisors, to counteract the perception that street check numbers matter. During police consultations, officers repeatedly stated that the perceived pressure to complete a high number of street checks reduces the overall quality of street checks and their investigative value. There is also evidence, from other jurisdictions, that internal pressure to complete street checks – or pressure to meet a perceived street check quota – can contributed to racial disparities in street check statistics (see discussion in White and Fradella 2016). If street checks are to persist, officers should be evaluated on the quality of the street checks they produce, not the quantity;

Recommendation 2.14: The current HRP street check policy states that QA Sergeants are supposed to review all street checks after each shift. However, during consultations, police participants claimed that street check review practices focus more on quantity (meeting numerical performance targets) than quality. It was argued that street checks are rarely reviewed for quality and that officers are rarely given feedback or additional training to improve their work in this area. Thus, the new regulation should set standards for street check quality and ensure that police supervisors routinely review and evaluate the quality of street checks within their unit. Poor quality street checks should be immediately purged from the system. Officers who repeatedly submit low quality street checks should be targeted for additional training.

Recommendation 2.15: Both community members and police officials maintained that a small number of racist, corrupt or incompetent officers could be responsible for racial disparities in street check statistics. It was also argued that these "bad apples" could cause disproportionate harm to police-community relations. The new regulation should, therefore, compel police managers to use internal benchmarking techniques to identify individual officers who are engaging in racially biased street check practices (see discussion in Appendix A). Once identified, these officers can be targeted for retraining, reassignment, discipline or possible dismissal.

Recommendation 2.16: Consistent with the views of Justice Micheal Tulloch and Nova Scotia's Information and Privacy Commissioner, the new regulation should explicitly limit who may access street check information and clearly identify the purposes for which street check data can be used. At the very least, access to street check information should be limited to crime analysts and investigators. A civilian's street check history should not be available to officers on patrol. During police consultations it was often argued that street checks are a valuable investigative tool that can help solve major crimes. However, very few participants argued that historical street check information can immediately assist officers on routine patrol. This recommendation will thus maintain the investigative value of street checks, while mitigating concerns that one's street check history can unduly influence officer treatment and decision-making during subsequent police encounters. There are legitimate concerns that a previous street check history, for example, might influence officer decisions to conduct investigative stops or detentions, issue warnings, write traffic tickets, request consent searches or even complete additional street checks. Furthermore, there are concerns that if, during a previous street check, a civilian has been documented for demonstrating "poor demeanour" towards other police officers, this information might be used –

either consciously or unconsciously – to justify harsher treatment. There is also a risk that knowledge of a previous street check record may render a civilian more "suspicious" to patrol officers and contribute to more intrusive interactions.[25]

Recommendation 2.17: The new street check regulation should explicitly define the circumstances under which it is permitted to disclose personal information to another law enforcement agency in Canada or a law enforcement agency in a foreign country as provided for in Nova Scotia's *Municipal Government Act, Part XX*, s. 485(2)(l) and (m).

Recommendation 2.18: During the consultation process, it was admitted that street checks can be used as part of the security or background check for police recruitment and employment purposes. Although skeptical, officers were unsure whether street check information was ever included in vulnerable sector checks or criminal record checks for outside employers. The new street check regulation should explicitly prohibit this practice both within and outside of the police service. Street checks do not provide a record of criminal charges or convictions. Furthermore, as reviewed above, African Nova Scotians are grossly over-represented in street check statistics. Thus, the use of street check data for security check or employment purposes represents a form of systemic racism that could have a disproportionately negative impact on the educational, volunteer and employment prospects of Black people. Again -- this practice should end immediately – especially when the officers themselves admit that street checks are often of questionable quality.[26]

Recommendation 2.19: The new street check policy should clearly articulate that civilians have the right to immediately access their full street check record upon request. Furthermore, civilians should be able to access their street check record at no financial cost. This recommendation will increase transparency and ensure that citizens know about the information that has been collected about them. Access to this information will enable citizens to review their street check profile and challenge the accuracy of police records.

Nova Scotia's Information and Privacy Commissioner has also recommended that the new regulation: "*should explicitly require that the electronic database used to store personal information be capable of recording each time the information is accessed and/or viewed and why, and should create a process for individuals to obtain a record of such access events or views, similar to the individual's right to a Record of User Activity for electronic health information databases in s. 63 of Nova Scotia's Personal Health Information Act."*

Recommendation 2.20: The new street check recommendation should explicitly limit the retention of legally collected personal information to a maximum of five years from the date of collection. Personal information should be immediately purged or destroyed following that five-

[25] A few officers did state that street checks could inform officers in the future that a person is "unfriendly" towards the police and thus a security risk. However, if a person truly represents a danger to officers, this information should be entered via a general occurrence report – not a street check. As discussed above, other officers stated that they used street checks to communicate that a civilian has already received a warning for a traffic violation and should not be given a break in the future. If a valid concern, it is recommended that such information be restricted to the system that deals with traffic violation information.

[26] During consultations, several community stakeholders, including the Information and Privacy Commissioner, explicitly stated that only criminal conviction records should be included in background security checks for employment or other civic purposes.

year time period. Furthermore, information that, upon supervisory review, is found not to be lawfully collected should also be immediately destroyed.

Recommendation 2.21: Research findings, described in Sections B through E, demonstrate that African Nova Scotians are grossly over-represented in historical street check statistics. The evidence strongly suggests that a significant proportion of this disparity is due to some combination of explicit, implicit or systemic bias. Since historical street checks have had such a disproportionate impact on the Black community, it is recommended that all personal information within the historical street check dataset be destroyed within one year of the implementation of the new street check regulation. However, a process should also be developed for police to make an application to retain historical street check data in relation to specific individuals involved in ongoing criminal investigations. The onus will be on the police to prove that such individual data has been collected without bias and has significant intelligence value.

Recommendation 2.22: For ongoing research and evaluation purposes, all historical, pre-regulation street check data should be de-identified and retained. De-identification should involve the removal of names, addresses, birth dates or any other information that could be used to identify specific individuals. However, information on general demographic characteristics -- including race, age and gender – should be retained for aggregate-level analyses. The retention of an anonymized historical street check dataset will further assist researchers in their examination of the relationship between race, gender, age and police surveillance activities. This historical data will also assist in the evaluation of the new street check regulation. It will help researchers determine whether the new regulation reduces the overall number of street checks, impacts racial disparities or has an impact on crime trends. The loss of the historical data would prevent such evaluation efforts.

Recommendation 2.23: The new street check regulation should require police services to produce annual reports that document the previous year's street check activity. These reports should, at a minimum, document the reasons or justifications for street checks and the race, age and gender of civilians who are subject to street check activity. Importantly, these reports will increase transparency and allow both policy-makers and civilians to monitor trends with respect to overall street check numbers and determine whether Black and other minorities continue to be over-represented in street check statistics. The continuing collection of street check statistics will also enable the evaluation of efforts to reduce racial disparities in police contact. Finally, the collection and dissemination of street check statistics can be used to examine whether street checks, in conjunction with other variables, have an impact on local crime rates. Annual street check reports should be released to the public within six months of the new calendar year.

Recommendation 2.24: During police consultations, several police participants complained that police executives had not effectively explained to the public the proper definition of street checks or their intended purpose. These officers felt that poor communication efforts had contributed to the "moral panic" over the street check issue. Thus, if street checks are to continue, it is recommended that the police embark on a public education program that will explain the purpose of the new street check regulation, the justification for conducting street checks, the type of information contained in street checks and how street checks might contribute to crime prevention

and public safety. These education sessions should also describe safeguards designed to prevent the misuse of street check information.

DATA COLLECTION ON POLICE STOPS

As discussed at various points in this report, Black Nova Scotians have for decades complained that they are subject to more numerous traffic stops and pedestrian stops than members of the White majority or people from other racial minority groups. Black Nova Scotians often allege that these stops are, in fact, attempts by police officers to uncover criminal activity and thus amount to racial profiling. Interestingly, allegations of racial profiling with respect to traffic stops -- not street checks -- are at the heart of the Kirk Johnson case that began this whole inquiry. However, as revealed in this report, street checks are not police stops. In fact, the term "street check" does not appear once in the Kirk Johnson tribunal decision (Girard 2003). Technically, street checks involve the collection of personal information for police intelligence purposes. Many street checks are visual in nature. In other words, street checks only capture a small proportion of all police stops and thus grossly under-estimate the extent to which civilians are subject to police surveillance activity. In my opinion, therefore, in order to truly examine and monitor racial bias in police surveillance practices, police in the Halifax region must collect information on police stop and question tactics as well as street checks. This type of police data collection is widely practiced in the United Kingdom (Bradford 2017) and the United States (White and Fradella 2016) and has recently been adopted in Ottawa (Foster et al. 2018). Although the proposed street check regulation may help control the use of police street checks, it may do little to address racial disparities in police stops.

Recommendation 3.1: A research committee should be formed to explore the feasibility of gathering data on police stops in addition to information on street checks. This committee would be responsible for the development and implementation of the research and evaluation plan. This committee should consist of police personnel, community representatives and academic researchers. It is important that researchers be involved from the beginning of the research process as they should have the methodological training to ensure the development of a sound methodological strategy. The selection of the researchers is an important step. Ideally, researchers should be approved or accepted by both the police and community representatives.

Recommendation 3.2: Halifax region police services should establish a permanent data collection system to record information on all stops of civilians. This data system should record information on both traffic stops and stops involving pedestrians. The information to be collected on each stop should include: the date of the stop, the time of the stop, the location of the stop, the reason for the stop and the outcome of the stop (no action, warning, ticket, summons, arrest, etc.). Whether the person or vehicle was searched by the police should also be recorded. It is also important to distinguish between consent searches, investigative searches and searches that take place after arrest. The age, gender and racial background of the person stopped should also be recorded. Ideally the data collection procedure would also record the full name and home address of the individuals stopped. This would help the research team identify individuals who are stopped multiple times in a given time period as well as individuals who reside outside of the study

jurisdiction. Such information would also help researchers determine if people are more likely to be stopped in their own neighbourhoods or when they travel to other areas of the city.

Recommendation 3.3: The collection of official police data should be supplemented with periodic surveys of the general public. General population surveys should collect information on self-reported contacts with the police as well as respondent attitudes and perceptions of the police and wider criminal justice system. Survey data on self-reported stops could be compared with official stop data in order to identify significant commonalities or differences. Surveys could also be used to conduct multivariate analyses and determine whether racial differences in stop and search activities can be explained by other factors including age, area of residence, local crime rates, driving habits, use of public spaces, self-reported drug and alcohol use and self-reported involvement in criminal activity. Importantly, if such surveys are conducted on a periodic basis (every 2-5 years), the data could be used to determine if racial differences in stop and search activities are declining or increasing and if attitudes towards the police are improving or getting worse. In other words, survey research data over time could be used to evaluate the effectiveness of anti-racism and anti-profiling policies.

Recommendation 3.4: Periodic surveys should also be conducted on the police themselves. Such surveys could be used to measure the impact of data collection on officer morale and job satisfaction, officer attitudes towards anti-racism programs or policies, and officer decision making with respect to stop and search tactics. Such surveys could be expanded to measure prejudice and stereotyping, attitudes towards specific minority groups and minority crime and opinions about the effectiveness of various anti-racism policies. These surveys could address any other topics of interest to the research team or police managers. It is suggested that such officer surveys be conducted every 2-5 years to better facilitate the evaluation of anti-racism initiatives.

Recommendation 3.5: It is proposed that reports documenting the results of all data collection and research activities be released to the public on an annual or biannual basis. The dissemination of these reports will increase both transparency and police accountability.

IMPROVING POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

In this section, the focus is less on street checks and more on general recommendations that might improve police-community relations. Most of these recommendations reflect ideas discussed during both community and police consultations. It should be stressed that these recommendations are more general in nature and reflect a basic reform philosophy rather than a specific policy or regulation.

Recommendation 4.1: The HRP and RCMP should develop a protocol that will screen new recruits for both cultural competency and racial bias. The importance of this recommendation is reinforced by new research which suggests links between right-wing extremist groups and law enforcement and the possible infiltration of White supremacists into both policing and the military (Boutilier 2018).

Recommendation 4.2: The HRP and RCMP should continue to develop and implement mandatory anti-bias, cultural competency and race relations training.

Recommendation 4.3: The HRP and RCMP should continue to develop and implement training modules designed to educate police officials about local Black history and the contemporary social and law enforcement concerns of the Black community. These modules should be delivered, on-site, by Black community members. Such efforts will give members of the Black Nova Scotian community a stake in police training strategies and could help build mutual understanding, empathy and compassion.

Recommendation 4.4: Although mandatory, a potential weakness with current anti-bias training strategies is the lack of officer performance evaluation. In other words, officers only have to "take" these training courses, they do not have to "pass" them. Anti-bias training can, therefore, be viewed as a box that must be ticked rather than a skill-set or knowledge-base that must be learned. Thus, it recommended that the HRP and RCMP develop a testing or evaluation strategy for all anti-bias, cultural competency or race relations courses. Such a testing strategy will ensure that officers take these training opportunities seriously and increase the likelihood that teaching objectives will be met.

Recommendation 4.5: It is recommended that both the HRP and RCMP continue to hire police officers from diverse backgrounds and that police services continue to reflect the racial/ethnic makeup of the communities they serve. It is recognized that the Halifax Regional Police is already more racially diverse than the population it serves. This trend should be both celebrated and continued.

Recommendation 4.6: It is recommended that Black and other minority officers be promoted to positions of upper management within both the HRP and Halifax region RCMP. Both community members and police participants maintained that minority officers must be promoted to upper management before they can have a positive impact on police culture and police practices. It was suggested that appointments to the police executive would also have great symbolic value and could contribute to an improve police-community relationship.

Recommendation 4.7: It is recommended that both the HRP and RCMP devote more time and resources to community policing efforts. Both community members and police officials stressed that the police should get to know better the people they are policing, and that the community should get the chance to know the police. It was stressed that this could be accomplished if officers were stationed in the same communities for sustained periods of time (i.e., several years). It is also recommended that the police, in conjunction with community leaders, organize more social opportunities in which community members and police officers can interact and learn about each other. Individual police officers are also encouraged to participate, off duty, in community activities (i.e., church, sports events, festivals, etc.) so that they could develop relationships with community members. Such participation will likely send a positive message to community members and "humanize" the police profession.

Recommendation 4.8: It recommended that the police establish more community-level detachments like the one recently developed in North Preston. Such local detachments should

operate seven days a week, twenty-four hours a day. In the absence of local detachments, it is recommended that both the HRP and RCMP deploy more community liaison officers to cultivate local relationships, develop local knowledge and act as mediators between the community and regular patrol officers.

Recommendation 4.9: It is recommended that the HRP and RCMP devote more time and resources to the development and implementation of youth-based sports, recreational and mentorship programs. Both community members and police officials maintained that such programs create opportunities for positive interactions with the police. These positive interactions can break down mutual stereotypes, foster relationships and increase trust. It is further recommended that, to be effective, youth programs must receive sustained funding so that they can become permanent fixtures within disadvantaged communities. One-time, short-lived programs, while positive, are unlikely to have a lasting impact on police-community relationships.

Recommendation 4.10: It is recommended that the HRP and RCMP develop a public education program for Black and minority youth. This program should be delivered by police officials and focus on teaching youth about their rights during police interactions. The program should also teach youth about street checks and the new street check regulation. Such a program could help relieve tensions during police-youth encounters and contribute to an understanding of police powers and limitations. The program could also serve to remind police officers about the Charter rights of civilians and ensure compliance the principles of procedural justice.

Recommendation 4.11: It is recommended that a committee – consisting of community members, police officials and government stakeholders – be formed to study the strength and integrity of the current police complaints process. Both the HRP (Police Complaints Commission) and the RCMP (Commission for Public Complaints) have independent police complaints bodies. However, during consultations, community members expressed serious doubts about these organizations. Community concerns included:

- A lack of community awareness about how to file a complaint;
- The inability to file verbal complaints;
- The inability to file 3rd party complaints;
- The six-month time period for filing;
- A lack of independent complaint investigation and adjudication (i.e., the fact that complaints are returned to the police service in question for internal investigation, deliberation and disciplinary decisions);
- A lack of transparency with respect to the investigative process and the rationale behind complaint decisions;
- A confusing, convoluted appeals process;

Some community members expressed that they had previously filed a complaint against the police and found the process to be confusing, frustrating and unfairly biased in favour of the police. All stated that, as a result, they would never file a complaint against the police again. The proposed committee should examine these issues and make recommendations for improving the current police complaints system and increasing community confidence in the complaints process.

As part of the police oversight process, the government should also consider creating and funding an African Nova Scotian Legal Advocate or Legal Clinic. Such an organization would help Black youth and adults negotiate the police complaints process and provide them with legal advice on other criminal justice matters. The creation of such a body might also serve to increase confidence in the overall criminal justice system.

Recommendation 4.12: It is recommended that the HRP and RCMP develop additional training modules that will improve officer adherence to the principles of procedural justice and ensure respect for civil rights during all civilian encounters. Such training should focus on developing officer communication skills and their ability to explain lawful police actions to civilian actors.

Recommendation 4.13: It is recommended that the HRP and RCMP develop new policies to address the police code of silence and empower officers who challenge the illegal or unprofessional activities of their colleagues. Officers should receive continual training with respect for both existing and emerging departmental regulations. Punishment for the violation of these regulations should be clearly communicated and consistently enforced.

Recommendation 4.14: It is recommended that the HRP and RCMP develop a new performance evaluation system that explicitly rewards officers for their community policing efforts, their ability to work effectively with diverse communities and their ability to develop relationships of trust with community members from various backgrounds. Performance indictors should be clearly articulated and communicated to all police officers and further entrenched in the promotion process.

Recommendation 4.15: It is recommended that the HRP and RCMP fully engage in efforts to evaluate the effectiveness of all anti-bias initiatives and community building strategies – including anti-bias training and community policing protocols. Evaluation should take the form of continued data collection on street checks and other policing outcomes. Changes with respect to public trust and confidence in the police should be monitored through ongoing community consultations and periodic surveys. The police should engage with objective, outside experts to develop evaluation methodologies and analytic strategies. The results of evaluation projects should be fully disseminated to the public.

Recommendation 4.16: It is recommended that a committee – consisting of community members, police officials and government officials – be formed to monitor progress towards the implementation of the recommendations produced by this report, or additional policy initiatives that emerge post-release. This committee should report to the Police Board of Commissioners by September 2020.

Recommendation 4.17: Finally, it recommended that the Government of Nova Scotia, and the Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission, extend their examination of racial bias beyond police street checks to other aspects of policing and the broader criminal justice system. Statistics reveal that Black Nova Scotians are significantly over-represented in both the provincial and federal correctional systems. It is important to determine the extent to which this over-representation reflects possible biases at each stage of the criminal justice process: from police surveillance and charge practices to remand decisions, plea bargaining, conviction rates, sentencing and parole

outcomes. A small degree of racial bias at each stage of the criminal justice funnel can result in gross racial disparities within the correctional system. This inquiry could begin by mandating the collection of race-based statistics within policing, the criminal courts and corrections.

CONCLUSION

It was an honour to be asked by the Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission to conduct this important inquiry. I took my responsibilities seriously and have tried to produce a thorough report. I hope that the findings, discussed above, provide insight, stimulate further study and provoke policy debate. I also hope that the above recommendations provide some guidance and – hopefully – inspire effective policy solutions beyond my current imagination. I conclude by revisiting the abject cynicism expressed by Black citizens during community consultations. Many felt that this report would fall on deaf ears, policy recommendations would be reviewed and forgotten, and nothing will change. I hope all stakeholders involved can prove the sceptics wrong. Good luck with your deliberations.

Sincerely

Dr. Scot Wortley