



**Conflict,  
Crisis and  
Accountability:**

**Racial Profiling and Law  
Enforcement in Canada**

**Charles C. Smith**

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**Racial Profiling and Law  
Enforcement in Canada**

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CANADIAN CENTRE  
for POLICY ALTERNATIVES  
CENTRE CANADIEN  
de POLITIQUES ALTERNATIVES

**Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives**

Suite 410, 75 Albert Street, Ottawa, ON K1P 5E7

Tel 613 563-1341 Fax 613 233-1453

[ccpa@policyalternatives.ca](mailto:ccpa@policyalternatives.ca)

<http://www.policyalternatives.ca>

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### **About the Author**

Charles C. Smith is consultant to the Ontario Human Rights Tribunal (McKinnon v. the Ministry of Community Safety and Correctional Services) Lecturer at the University of Toronto Scarborough and a member of the Canadian Court Challenges Program Equality Rights Panel. He was also Equity Advisor to the Canadian Bar Association and the first Equity Advisor for the Law Society of Upper Canada. He has authored numerous papers on racial profiling, equality and diversity, and is also a published playwright, essayist and poet. He currently resides in Toronto, Ontario.

# Introduction

I am given to understand that whiteness is the ownership of the Earth forever and ever, Amen!

**W.E.B. DuBois** *Darkwater* (Yancy, 2004:197)

**T**hroughout its history, the Canadian government has developed and implemented laws, policies, and procedures that are now considered racist. Following the practice of slavery under British rule, these have ranged from sanctioning segregation in education and residential accommodation to the racialization of the criminal justice system and immigration and refugee determination processes, as well as the adoption of the Indian Act and imposition of residential schooling for Aboriginal peoples. Canada was imagined as a white supremacist state. As such, its laws and social values have oppressed peoples of diverse racialized backgrounds, including persons of Aboriginal, Japanese, Chinese, South Asian, and African descent.



Official discourses have constructed these groups negatively. This has led in contemporary times to racial profiling, a construct related to criminal profiling and adopted by law enforcement authorities at Canada's borders and within Canadian cities. Specifically, people of African descent, as well as Muslims, Arabs, South Asian, and Aboriginal peoples, have been targeted as criminally suspect, and the rule of law either enables this or is ignored by law-enforcement authorities who stop, search and question, charge, and apprehend individuals from these communities more so than others. This has also meant that these communities have been constructed as inclined toward crime and are then criminalized, resulting in their numbers in correctional facilities being disproportionate to that within the population. This is particularly so for peoples of Aboriginal and African descent.

Much has been written and said about racial profiling in the past few years. Public discourse, as well as media and academic texts, have revealed and examined its origins and impacts in various social sectors, e.g., media, employment, education, policing, and criminal justice. The examples and evidence illustrated in these venues make clear the intent, strategy, implementation, and impact of racial profiling on individuals and whole communities. They point out its indiscriminate nature, the embarrassment and humiliation it causes, the barriers it throws in front of those who wish to feel a sense of comfort and home within this society, the ways it destroys the foundations of particular communities, the impediments it casts in all walks of life.

When confronted with the numerous settings in which it operates and its results, racial profiling immediately draws our attention to a dynamic of power in which the one in authority has had conferred upon him and/or her the values of the dominant racialized group and the seemingly inherent urgency to protect these values and this group. As will be shown throughout this book, those who do not fit or conform to this value system are not only expendable but, more importantly, targeted both to discourage replication and to prop up the value system of the dominant group.

Given the broad range of institutions that engage in racial profiling, it would be quite daunting to write a book that addresses all of them adequately. This book, therefore, will focus on racial profiling in a law enforcement context, particularly as it relates to domestic policing and anti-terrorism initiatives. In this regard, issues concerning the reality and impact of racial profiling will focus mainly on peoples of African descent and those ensnared in post-9/11 security actions. While there are some references to other groups, in particular Aboriginal peoples, I have limited my focus in this way.

In doing this, however, I hope this book presents an approach that may be useful in examining other contexts in which racialization and the force of state power is evident. I am hoping that the details provided in this book will make it unmistakably obvious that racial profiling is not only a concern to its primary targets but, ever more so, it is also a challenge to freedom for all peoples. In the past 500 years the challenge to freedom has always been an issue for peoples of African descent and others targeted by racial profiling. However, we are beginning to witness another development in the negative impact of racialization on democratic processes generally. As noted by others, this threat — as it must be called — has come dangerously close to bringing countries we now consider democratic into more and more of what has been referred to by some as “rogue states.” This is an intriguing moment where some influential contemporary European thinkers have been articulating fears about the direction of Eurocentric nation-states, fears which concur with views espoused earlier by critical race theorists.

This congruence is important to keep in mind. It is central to the critical race analysis I use throughout this book. In discussing two contemporary issues — the *Toronto Star* series on racial profiling and Maher Arar’s return home to Canada — this book accesses historical and theoretical perspectives in an effort to demonstrate that racial profiling is an aggravating and sometimes fatal aspect of racial oppression, and that it is linked to the exercise of dehumanizing and undemocratic behaviour derived from the cultural, political, economic, educational, and social val-

ues of Eurocentric states, particularly its laws and law enforcement agencies. Further, it is one of the first signals of state oppression that affects not only its direct targets but, equally, the fabric and operating patterns of so-called democratic states.

Obviously, these concerns require some explanation. So let us begin.

### **The *Toronto Star* Series**

In the fall, 2002, the *Toronto Star* released a series of news articles reporting on the results of substantive research indicating that in stops, searches, arrests, and detentions from 1996 to 2002, the Toronto Police Services treated peoples of African descent differently than other racialized groups (October 9, 2002).<sup>1</sup> Examining data after the release of the report of the Ontario Commission on Systemic Racism into the Criminal Justice System (Cole and Gittens, 1995), the authors of the *Star* series concluded that Toronto police disproportionately single out individuals of African descent and that this may constitute discriminatory treatment.

Like other media reports on racial profiling in North America<sup>2</sup> (Goldberg 1999), the *Star* series unleashed a highly charged debate. While some people contended that these articles merely confirmed what had been known for years, others vilified the *Star* series and denied its veracity (Small, 2002; Shephard and Quinn, 2002; Henry and Tator 2003). In fact, during an interview with the *Star* reporters to discuss the articles' findings, Toronto's former Police Chief dismissed the results entirely and abruptly cut short the interview.

But the issue did not go away. The *Star's* series on policing and racial profiling, and particularly the controversy resulting from it, served to push this issue into the forefront. A series of activities within government, policing circles, the courts, and the community to address this complex and contentious issue followed.

For example, the former Chair of the Canadian Race Relations Foundation, the Honourable Lincoln Alexander, convened a summit with lead-

ers from all three levels of government and within the African Canadian communities. Early in 2003, the Ontario Human Rights Commission announced a probe on racial profiling, and the federal Minister responsible for Multiculturalism convened a national conference on policing and diversity in February, 2003. At the same time, the former Chief of the Toronto Police Services commissioned research by Professor Harvey of the University of Toronto to contest the *Star* series, while the Toronto Police Association announced its intention to sue the *Star* for libel.

The Toronto Police Association action was dismissed by the courts (Tyler 2003). The Ontario Human Rights Commission's public inquiry documented many stories from individuals alleging that they had been victimized by this practice in a variety of sectors (2003). The Ontario Court of Appeal addressed racial profiling in *R. v. Decovan Brown (Morden, J.J.A et al. April, 2003)* and, in December 2003, the Nova Scotia Human Rights Tribunal issued a ringing decision substantiating a complaint of racial profiling filed by a renowned athlete against the Halifax Police Department. Also, the Supreme Court of Canada overturned a decision of the Ontario courts concerning the right of a family to enter a civil suit against the Toronto Police for the shooting death of one of their family members.

Other actions included:

- national consultations by members of the Senate to introduce a private member's bill on racial profiling;
- the introduction of a private member's bill in Parliament on racial profiling introduced by a member of the NDP;
- discussions within the legal profession, particularly the Court Challenges Program and Canadian Bar Association, on racial profiling;<sup>3</sup>
- the continuation of community pressure on this matter coming from diverse communities — Aboriginal, Latino, Arab, Muslim, South Asian and African descent; and

- the establishment of a commission of inquiry to probe the experiences of Maher Arar and the ways in which he, and others, may have been ensnared in security provisions introduced since 9/11.

The Ontario Provincial Police have now placed cameras on some of their cars, and the police force in Kingston completed a racial profiling data collection project (Wortley and Marshall, 2005). The former Prime Minister spoke about this in a national interview, and the Federal Government provided millions of dollars for programs within policing services and established the Law Enforcement Aboriginal and Diversity Network which held a conference in the spring of 2006 (Tanovich, 2006:172).

### **Maher Arar Comes Home.**

While the discourse and documentation on racial profiling with Canadian cities contextualize racial profiling as a contested terrain, "...9/11 forced a fundamental shift in the racial profiling discourse. The central contention was no longer whether racial profiling was in fact taking place or how to best prevent incidents of racial profiling, or even whether the Charter of Rights and Freedoms offered adequate remedial measures to address racial profiling. Rather, racial profiling debates in the context of the war against terrorism focus on whether Canadian society can morally, legally, or politically condone racial profiling" (Bahdi 2003:295).

As Bahdi notes, this is a profound shift in thinking since, in essence, it espouses the need to resort to undemocratic measures to ensure democracy might be either established or continued — a rather ironic postulation, yet one we are seeing both at home and abroad. Shortly after the *Toronto Star* series, Canadians were alerted to Maher Arar's plight. As reported widely in the media, his is the story of a man heading home from a family vacation in Tunisia who, during a short wait for a connecting flight in the U.S., found himself transported to prisons in Jordan and

Syria, where he was accused of being linked to terrorist activities, interrogated, and tortured.

That he was able to return home alive is remarkable in itself, but what is most profound is his insistence on telling his story. Combined with the single-minded determination and challenges issued by Dr. Monia Mazigh, Mr. Arar's wife, on his behalf, it is this insistence that commanded the creation of a public inquiry which was set up in February, 2004, and has heard from several organizations, including the Canadian Arab Federation, the Muslim Canadian Congress, Amnesty International, the International Civil Liberties Monitoring Group, and others. Through this forum, Mr. Arar has given witness to a detestable program commonly called "extraordinary renditions," a practice where individuals alleged to be connected to terrorist activities are taken secretly by U.S. operatives to countries where they are interrogated and tortured.

It is tempting to see the Arar affair as distinct and without precedent. While the particulars are certainly without parallel in Canada, it is important to indicate their sources, i.e., the history of racist treatment of immigrants and refugees in Canada. The Canadian government has consistently applied a racist lens to whom it allows into this country and how it treats those who are let in. Clearly, being in Canada does not necessarily lend itself to being a full Canadian. This is something that is demonstrable in the numerous racialized groups who have settled or attempted to settle in Canada from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Persons of Asian, South Asian, African, and Latino descent have been subjected to racist treatment under Canada's immigration laws. It is against this background that we must see the recent cases at the Supreme Court involving Muslim and Arab men accused of being terrorists, who have had hearings in federal courts without access to the evidence entered against them. It is against this background that we see distinctions drawn between how Canadian laws protect its citizens, but not others who reside here, which in turn influences the current use of the *Immigration and*

*Refugee Protection Act* as the federal government's main tool in apprehending terrorist suspects.

What Arar has indicated through his own words and what has become evident in the Arar Inquiry is the horrendous nature of the treatment of suspects held in detention in foreign countries. As part of this, it is apparent that Arar is not the only Canadian citizen who has been subjected to this ordeal. It is also apparent that the program of "extraordinary renditions" casts its net over more than just Canada and the U.S. and that, while primarily a U.S. program, it seems to be supported by numerous other governments.

This is a very chilling matter — one in which it is apparent that democratic governments employ non-democratic means (i.e., the use of renditions) in order to ship individuals to countries which are known to use torture to exact confessions. What is further chilling about this is that the individuals ensnared in this program are predominantly Muslims, Arabs, and South Asians, and that the countries they are sent to are Muslim, Arab, and South Asian. The racialized image of this practice suggests a predisposition to terrorism for the former as well as a lack of "civilization" for the latter. In other words, racialized individuals and states do not know how to behave in a civilized world. Unfortunately, but perhaps quite purposefully, the interests of Western democracies are not examined in this practice. If these interests were examined, it would likely reveal that the primary source for these scenarios are based in the fault-lines of these democracies, those fault-lines being how racism has been and continues to be embedded in the rule of law.

The adoption of anti-terrorism legislation by the Canadian government in the aftermath of 9/11 was widely suspect. Many argued that previous laws already addressed this matter and simply needed to be applied. Others argued that the government should make explicit in any legislation a ban on racial and religious profiling. There was much concern expressed about how the Canadian government was hastening to fall in line with the U.S. and its adoption of the *Patriot Act*, and that, as a result of this, the

Canadian government would relinquish authority over numerous areas, including border control and protection of the privacy of its citizens.

While these concerns were expressed in the drafting of the anti-terrorism legislation, it has been suggested that they would be very evident in the application of these laws. The case of Maher Arar illustrates this very well, as do the cases of three other Canadians: Messrs El Maati, Nuredin, and Almaki. The actions of law enforcement authorities in Project Thread and the capture of 18 individuals during the summer of 2006 are equally instructive, as are the cases before the Supreme Court of Canada of Hassan Almrei, Adil Charkaoui, and Mohammed Harket.

In each of these incidents, the individuals directly affected are racialized men of Arab and South Asian descent, particularly those perceived to be Muslim. As well, the Muslim, Arab, and South Asian communities across Canada have felt the pressure of these new laws through both the efforts of law enforcement authorities and negative media exposure, which many allege perpetuates stereotypes of these men and their communities.

## **What We Are Talking About**

The circumstances noted above, i.e., the convergence of domestic and international influences, have made racial profiling a very disturbing phenomenon. As a law-enforcement practice, it is linked to centuries of racial oppression for groups who find themselves under its scrutiny in almost every aspect of their public and private lives. For members of the dominant group, profiling is a distant matter handled by law-enforcement officials, an experiential gap that shields them from its rather gritty details and horrendous impact. This dynamic, however, has recently been disrupted with reports of racial profiling in domestic law enforcement and local policing (Rankin et al. 2003), as well as at the borders of our nation (Daniels, Mackelm and Roach 2002; Mendes and McAllister 2002; Cana-



dian Bar Association 2002; Lowry 2002; Law Commission of Canada 2002; Griswold 2002; Canadian Human Rights Commissioner 2001).

Consistent with a history of racialization, racial profiling in law enforcement has established particular borders and exclusions that apply at a number of entry-ways in our lives. They are like the obstacles Kafka's "K" faces in *The Trial* as he tries to find his accusers, who are everywhere and nowhere. They are equally like K's efforts in *The Castle* to find the meaning of things, where the trail to the person who seems to have the answers appears and then disappears. Often these borders are referred to as the boundaries of a nation, but they are also painfully evident in the lives of individuals from racialized groups, particularly those borders within the self, those landmarks by which individuals and communities establish identities, purposefully drawing distinctions between themselves and others. Woven into this is the effect of dominant and subordinated group relations and its racialization within contemporary domestic and global sociopolitical and cultural spheres.

The promise of the United Nations gathering against racism, xenophobia, and other related intolerances in Durban, South Africa, in 2001 was totally lost with the attacks of September 11, 2001, in New York City and Washington. Symbolically, 9/11 represents a rather dramatic change from attacking racism to condoning it domestically and internationally. As a result, racial profiling has become even more enmeshed in the fabric of North American and European societies, affecting the way those it impacts see themselves and the world because of how *they* are seen. Dyzenhaus (2002:21–28) and Gross (2002:45–47) discuss how anti-terrorism legislation establishes boundaries separating "us" from "them"—"insiders" from "outsiders"—based on stereotypes. Consequently, "members of some communities, whatever their immigration status, will experience more than ever how boundaries demarcated by ethnicity, culture, religion, and politicization emerge in sharp relief when viewed through the lens of the state's surveillance camera" (Macklin 2002:398).

Racialization refers to a process by which those in power construct the social identity of themselves and others by attaching meaning to their

bodily markers. It also constructs a “profile” of an individual that law-enforcement agencies use to target and to discriminate against. Although the terminology of racial profiling has only recently gained currency, the phenomenon has deep roots in Canadian history. This book shows that, by racializing some groups in legislation, and by associating criminal activity with Aboriginal peoples and peoples of colour, Canadian society has facilitated their past and current targeting through law-enforcement policies of racial profiling. Such profiling shows us that racism constructs national identity and national borders, and calls into question how Canada defines itself as a nation.

What is disturbing here is the failure of the federal and provincial governments in Canada to take decisive action on reports of racial profiling by domestic police forces, including the RCMP. This compels us to consider the normative value of race and racism within communities, and how it continues to be normalized in society’s way of thinking and doing things. As we shall see, these are views shared by contemporary Eurocentric philosophers and critical race theorists.

In this book, I am suggesting that racial profiling must be looked at in its social context. For example, in the last few years, the term has jostled its way to the top of the list of common terms employed in public discourse across North America and in the U.K. There have been numerous media articles on this subject (Olsen 2000; Randall 2000; Bain 2000; Cloud 2001; Golab 1999; Arellano and Ashenfelter 2000; Associated Press 2000; Murakami 2002; Barovick 1998; Stewart 1999; McCain 2000; Goetz 2001).

Canadian society has become increasingly security conscious and more willing to allow the state to erect boundaries between “us” and “them” than at any time since the end of World War II (Aiken 2001). Consequently, racial profiling supports the sense of comfort and well-being of white Canadians. It has been described as one of the most significant weapons in both the “war on drugs” and the “war on terrorism.” Since the concept of “war” has been directly linked to racial profiling, it is not open for debate, let alone corrective or restorative measures. Consequently, it plays havoc with the lives of those it ensnares (Glasser 1999 and 2000). As Beare not-

ed, “Since September 2001, terrorism supplements all other lesser threats with a slightly different perspective that focuses more on the nature of the border and the symbolic and/or real reasons for maintaining one’s border. The terrorist enemy has become the dangerous foreigner in our midst, with the policing task being to identify, remove, and incapacitate these persons” (2003:7;. See also Macklin 2002:383–392).

Racial profiling in the new millennium has allowed racism to openly and unapologetically insert itself into policing and security. We see it everywhere around us. For example, Stenning (2003) and Holdaway (2003) write about policing in Canada and the U.K. They examine its impact on racialized groups over the last thirty years and comment on the increasing reliance on private security companies, which operate openly in shopping centres, malls, and public housing. Their presence is a seemingly inescapable sign of comfort against an ever-present danger, e.g., youth, particularly of African descent, that has been socially constructed (Benjamin 2002:183; Law Commission of Canada 2002: 15–28, 39–41).

Others tell us that racial profiling is consistently used in law enforcement in Canada, the U.S., and the U.K. For example, in the state of Maryland, African Americans constituted 72% of those stopped by police, even though they only made up 17% of drivers in the state. In the U.K., recent data indicate that people of African descent are stopped anywhere between 7.5 and 27 times more than whites. In Ontario, survey results indicate that 43% of African-Canadian respondents have been stopped by police over a two-year period, compared with 25% of whites and 19% of Asians. Other data suggest that African-Canadian drivers are four times more likely to be stopped more than once and seven times more likely to indicate that they have been unfairly stopped by police (Smith 2004; Wortley 1997; Tanovich 2002:151–157).

In addition, since the 1970s, a disproportionate number of African-American students have been at greater risk of receiving school punishments, and more recent evidence suggests that zero tolerance in the schools simply moves the “problem” from the school to the community where, in many instances, such youth engage in criminal offences (Pow-

er 2003:3–4; Shannon and McCall 2001; Harvard University Civil Rights Project 2000).<sup>4</sup> Similar patterns have emerged in places such as Nova Scotia, affecting African-Canadian youth (Power 2003: 4–5; Smith and Lawson 2002:40–43).<sup>5</sup>

The hostile interactions between law enforcement/security services and individuals from racialized groups seem to point to a tacit understanding within the public domain of who we need to feel “safe from.” This form of racism has become acceptable in the day-to-day and, while it is easily defined, it is simply not discussed. It also becomes the illusive source of knowledge that makes the accuser invisible. The fact that people of African descent, Aboriginal peoples as well as Muslims, South Asians and Arabs are being “profiled” suggests that we need to examine how this border was established historically and how it is maintained at the present time. We need to understand how racial profiling has replicated itself in shopping malls, schools, apartment complexes, low-income communities, and at international ports of entry.

Racialization and “white supremacy” have influenced the body politic in Western countries (Mills 1999; Harris 1995:276; Bell 2000:71; Lopez 2000:626). In this context, explanations of criminal behaviour that make use of national and racial characteristics have characterized the modern juridical system. For example, modern legal institutions evolved with the formation of the nation state in 18<sup>th</sup>- and 19<sup>th</sup>-century Britain. The moral regulation of citizens and their property became one of the primary objectives of state intervention. The identification of law with national interests, and of criminality with un-English qualities, dates from this process of state formation, and its history remains relevant to the analysis of “race” and crime today (Gilroy 1991:77; Ware 2002:185).<sup>6</sup>

In discussing contemporary Canadian experience, Macklin says, “Boundaries of membership and modes of exclusion can be (and regularly are) redrawn from within the nation. They trace themselves along fault lines that erupt along the surface of our pluralistic, multicultural democratic country when stressed by real or perceived crisis” (2002:398). As well, Henry and Tator write, “In a racialized society, Whiteness pervades

the reality of daily experience, and this construct is woven into the invisible fabric of the dominant culture...[and that] White culture possesses the power to “colonize” the definition of normal with respect to race, class, gender, heterosexuality, and nationality” (2003:8).

In Canadian jurisprudence, racial profiling has been defined as “...criminal profiling based on race...[which] refers to that phenomenon whereby certain criminal activity is attributed to an identified group in society on the basis of race or colour, resulting in the targeting of individual members of that group...[and] is illegitimately used as a proxy for the criminality or general criminal propensity of an entire racial group” (Rosenberg 1999). Bahdi defines racial profiling as a practice that “...involves separating a subsection of the population from the larger whole on the basis of specific criteria that purportedly correlate to risk, and subjecting the subgroup to special scrutiny for the purposes of preventing violence, crime, or some other undesirable activity. Racial profiling thus entails the use of race as a proxy for risk, either in whole or in part (2003:295).<sup>7</sup>

Bahdi further asserts: “In the context of the war on terrorism, the racial profiling debate centres on whether or not race should substitute for real knowledge about an individual’s connection to or propensity for terrorist activity. As in the United States, the central question in Canada’s ‘war against terrorism’ was whether Arabs and Muslims should be treated as more likely to threaten Canada, or indeed global security” (2003:295).

Given the incredible panoply of anti-terrorism legislation adopted, the increased and focused coordination of law enforcement authorities domestically and internationally, the social context of racism in Canadian immigration policies, and the history of anti-black racism and the devastating impact of colonialism on Aboriginal peoples, a broad range of debilitating impacts upon racialized communities continues to occur. This gives credence to the notion that, in the new millennium, race has emerged once again as an active, probative, and divisive force within Canadian society. Indeed, in looking at the phenomenon of racial profiling in Canada, the U.K., and the U.S., particularly following the proscriptions resulting from the recent Iraq war, the war on terrorism and the war on

drugs, it is clear that race is once again an undeniable marker within public discourse.

It is difficult not to juxtapose these events with the UN conference against racism, which preceded 9/11 by one month, and to see the global challenge to racism, no matter how qualified, turn into a widespread racist attack. It is as if the will of the world was spun on a coin and the movement toward Durban reversed overnight. Precedent has been found for continuing and developing new arguments legitimizing racism in state law and policy. Resulting from this, the blatant and willful promotion of racial profiling is unprecedented, particularly in democratic countries that espouse human-rights laws and constitutional guarantees prohibiting racism.

Whether from a liberal perspective as articulated by such thinkers as Will Kymlicka (1995 and 1998) and Charles Taylor (1995), or from the more critical perspectives previously outlined, Canadian society is confronting challenges on the basis of race and racism. The percentage of racialized people migrating or seeking refuge in Canada, the U.S., and the U.K. has increased substantially in the last 50 years through changes in immigration legislation and refugee determination processes. It is therefore imperative that these countries deal not only with racism in law enforcement but, more fundamentally, examine the very foundations of the rule of law for its biases and discriminatory framework. Such work is now being undertaken by critical race theorists, who contend that laws and their underlying values reflect the racialized discursive formation within our society (Crenshaw et al. 1995; Delgado and Stefanic 2000; Aylward, 1999).

Challenges such as these provide a standpoint from which to engage in discourse about racial profiling. This requires questioning the normative value of racism in Canadian society, and exhorting governments, the courts, and the media to re-think how racism has an impact on our lives, why it does so and, more importantly, how allowing this to continue (indeed, aiding and abetting it) causes immeasurable harm to Canada's social fabric.

To begin to consider how Canadian society has arrived at this debate on racial profiling and domestic law enforcement, this book examines two of the most widely publicized issues that have brought concerns about racial profiling to the forefront of Canadian public policy and attention. In this regard, I have divided the book into five chapters. The first two chapters summarize developments contributing to the conflict between the Toronto Police and the African Canadian community, as well as the history of racial profiling and domestic law enforcement in the U.S., the U.K., and Canada. The next two chapters look at the impact of anti-terrorism legislation, its effect on particular racialized groups, and how this is part of the history of Canadian immigration law and policy. The final chapter reviews current efforts to reduce and eliminate racial profiling in domestic law enforcement. I make the assumption here that several of the measures I examine might be useful for all law enforcement officials, whether domestic or at the borders of the nation.

In closing, I suggest that we need to re-examine what is happening around racial profiling and that, first of all, we acknowledge its very existence. We then need to discuss this openly and come to terms with the impact it is having on all of our lives.

*The book is a real treasure trove of information – historical and contemporary - of the relationship between the Canadian state and Canadian racialized minorities. The author explores effectively the impact of that convergence and the use of common strategies and tools of the trade, justified by the same logic of broad brush distinctions and assumptions of proclivity to criminal behaviour based on racial and religious affiliations.*

—Dr. Grace-Edward Galabuzi, Author of Canada's  
Economic Apartheid: The Social Exclusion of  
Racialized Groups in the New Century

*Conflict, Crisis and Accountability is essential reading about racial profiling, and is engaging, sensitive, politically astute, and well documented. It focuses on the “hostile interactions between law enforcement/security services and individuals from racialized groups,” and exposes in extensive detail the permanence of a state of crisis in the everyday reality of Aboriginal and racialized persons--a crisis only exacerbated by racial profiling. The author offers a glimmer of hope when he cites the various efforts to change the institutional values and practices of law enforcement institutions, and to influence the behaviours of individual officers.*

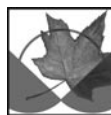
—Dr. Ayman Al-Yassini, Executive Director,  
Canadian Race Relations Foundation

*Racial profiling contributes to mistrust, alienation and a diminished sense of citizenship and, as Ontario Chief Justice Roy McMurtry warned, threatens to undermine both the perceived and substantive equality of Canada's Aboriginal and immigrant/ethnic communities. Now, with this comprehensive research into racial profiling, Charles C. Smith adds to the growing call for acknowledgement of the problem, along with policy initiatives to reverse this harmful trend.*

—Dr. Sheema Khan, Columnist, Globe and Mail

This book focuses on racial profiling in a law enforcement context, particularly as it relates to domestic policing and anti-terrorism initiatives, and issues concerning the reality and impact on peoples of African descent and those ensnared in post 9/11 security actions.

This book is divided into five chapters. The first two summarize developments contributing to the conflict between the Toronto Police and the African Canadian community as well as the history of racial profiling and domestic law enforcement in the U.S., the U.K. and Canada. The next two look at the impact of anti-terrorism legislation, its effect on particular racialized groups and how this is part of the history of Canadian immigration law and policy. The final chapter reviews current efforts to reduce and eliminate racial profiling in domestic law enforcement; several of the measures examined might be useful for all law enforcement officials, whether domestic or at the borders of the nation.



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