

# You want the truth?

Data success stories

› TORONTO STAR ‹



- Open data and journalism
- What is not open
- How FOIs for raw data differ from other requests
- FOI requests for raw data are an imperfect tool, but ...







Data success stories



- Municipal request for crime hot spots
- Cost: \$25
- Length: 5 months
- Why? Heard about it through a police source, kept secret out of fear of stigmatizing areas

## URBAN DEVELOPMENT

# AN INNER-CITY



ROBYN DOOLITTLE PHOTOS/TORONTO STAR

Gavin Morris, 35, works in the financial sector and recently moved to the Glasshouse Lofts, at Queen and Jarvis.

# renaissance?

Dundas and Sherbourne has long been riddled with crime and poverty, but it appears poised for a surprising rebirth

**ROBYN DOOLITTLE**  
URBAN AFFAIRS REPORTER

With the top down in her burgundy convertible, real estate agent Kristyn Wong-Tam was enjoying a sunny summer day as she cruised east along Queen St. towards an office supply store.

When the light turned red at Sherbourne St., Wong-Tam was daydreaming about legal folders and labels.

Suddenly, someone was screaming. A young woman with leathery



Less than one square kilometre, the area ranks at the top of the city's crime lists.

skin and matted blond hair sprinted into traffic, then hurled her petite frame into Wong-Tam's passenger seat.

"Drive! Drive!" the woman

shrieked, diving into Wong-Tam's lap. "They're going to kill me!" "But it's a red light. There's a car in front of me," Wong-Tam stammered.

## Changing neighbourhood

The community clustered around Dundas and Sherbourne Sts. is a high-crime area filled with rooming houses and shelters. But condos are springing up and bringing change.

### CONDOMINIUMS

1. Radio City: 462 units
2. Glasshouse Lofts: 88 units
3. Regent Park revitalization: this massive undertaking includes townhomes, rental units, and houses as well as a highrise condo.
4. Modern: to be completed fall 2011, 343 units
5. Oxygen: to be completed 2013, 48 units
6. Pace: to be completed 2015, 417 units

### SHELTERS

7. Seaton House: 580 beds (after proposed expansion)
8. Salvation Army Maxwell Meighen: 260 beds
9. Dixon Hall Schoolhouse Shelter: 55 beds
10. Shelter: 27 beds
11. Shelter: 90 beds



TORONTO STAR GRAPHIC

Within seconds, two men appeared on opposite sides of the Mercedes, madly swinging their fists toward the woman. Wong-Tam was receiving the majority of the blows.

The light changed. She hit the gas. In pain and trembling with fright, Wong-Tam pulled over a block later to call the police. The woman ran away.

Two years later, Wong-Tam is the neighbourhood's city councillor. She has never publicly spoken

about the attack, but mentions it reluctantly during an interview as proof of her personal commitment to turn the area around.

It won't be easy.

Year after year, the east side of downtown tops every major police crime list in Toronto. Simply put, this is the part of the city where, statistically, you are most likely to be shot, stabbed, robbed or sexually assaulted.

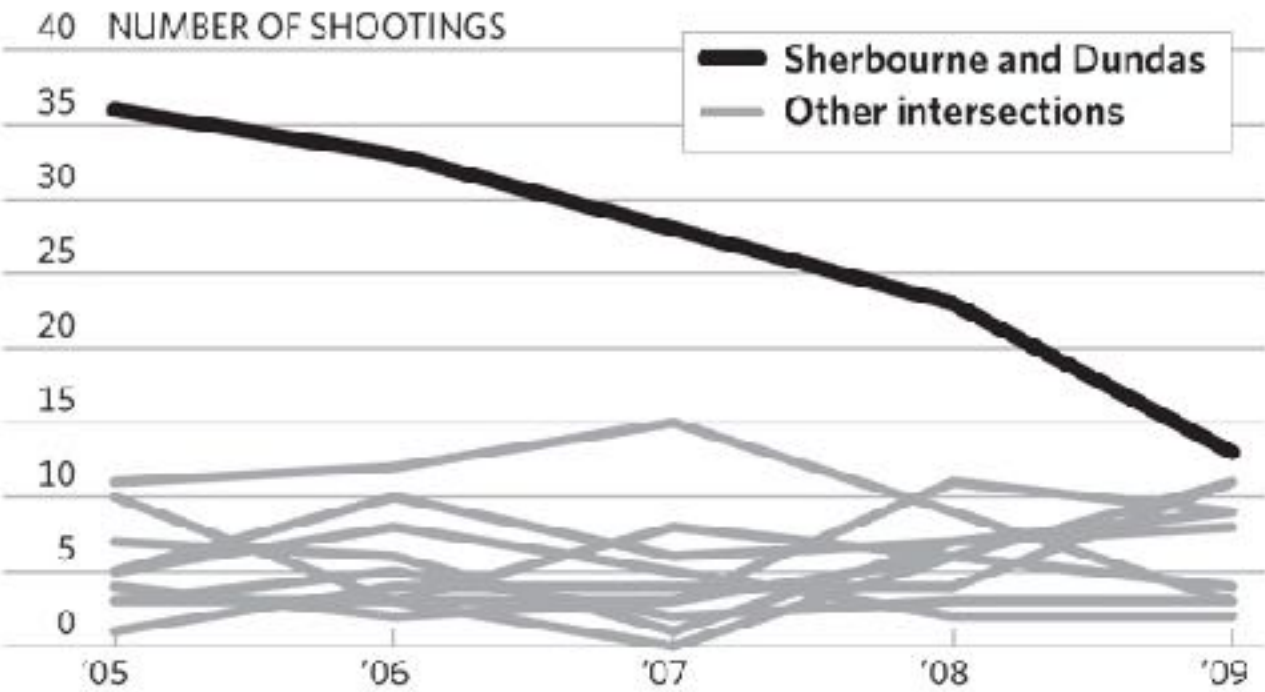
RENAISSANCE continued on GT4



# Hottest of the hot spots

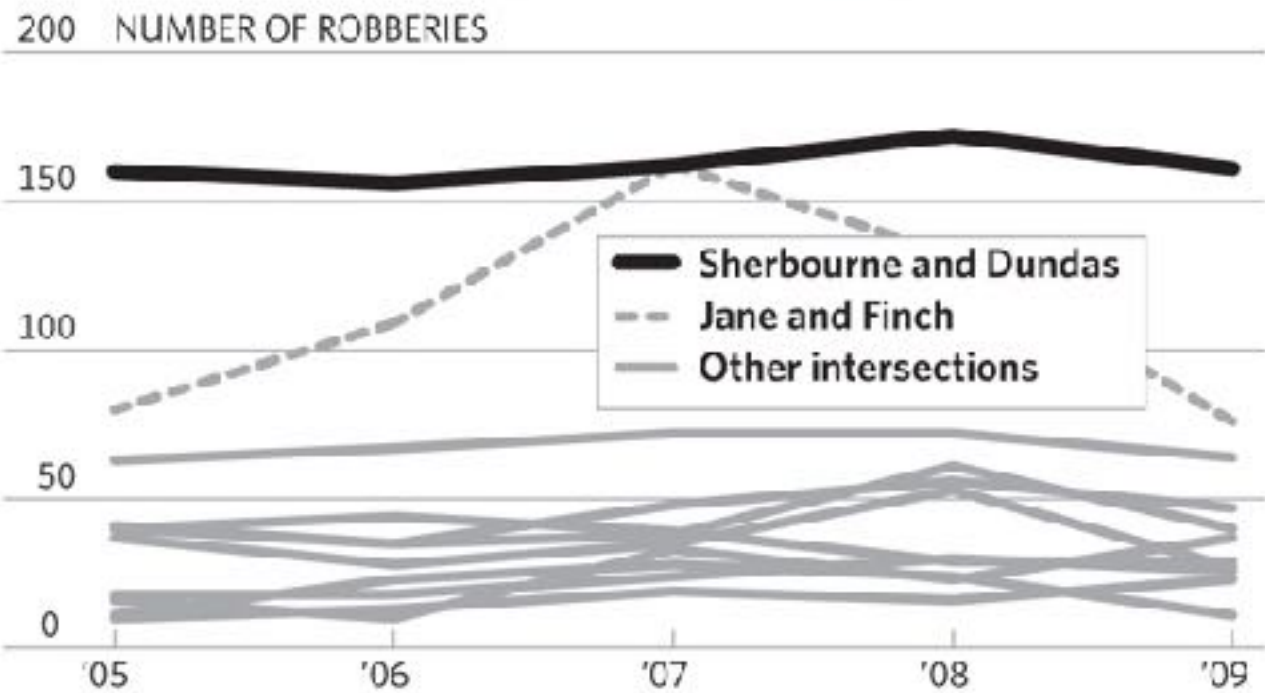
The Toronto Police Service constantly monitors crime rates across the city. Areas with high concentrations of crime are called “hot spots.” This chart shows how much police activity centres on Sherbourne and Dundas. The following data was obtained by the Star through a freedom of information request.

## WORST INTERSECTIONS FOR SHOOTINGS



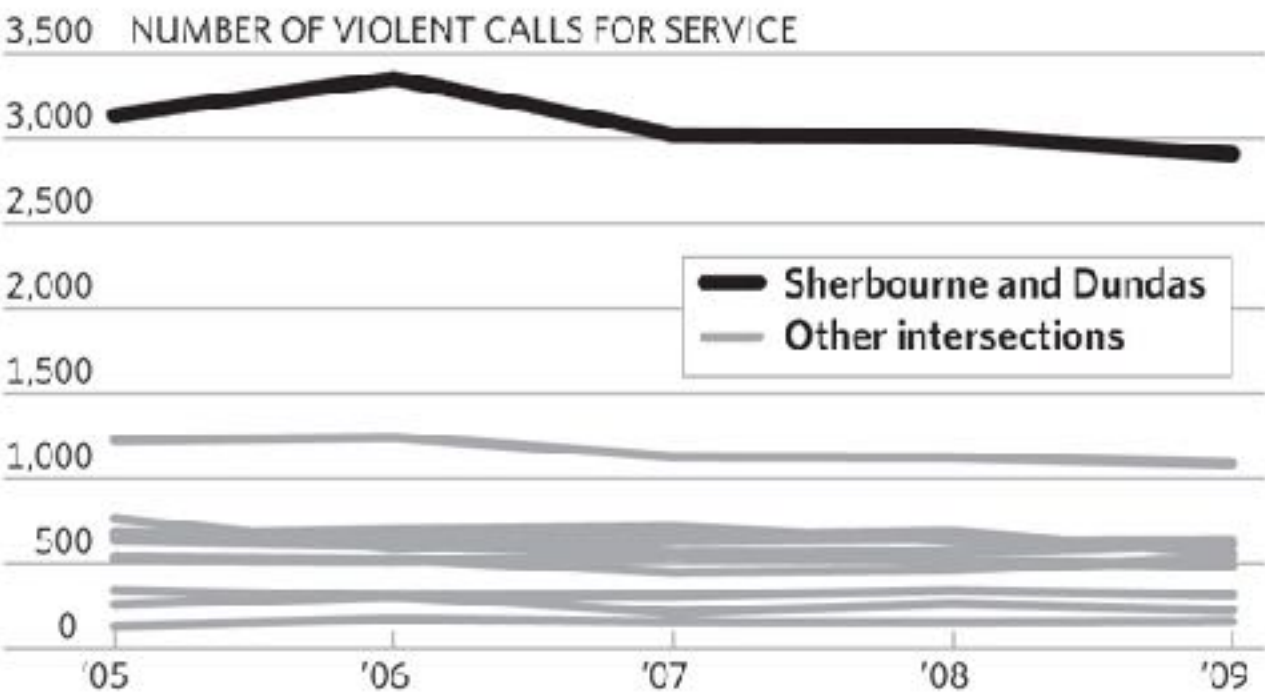
Rank		'09 total	'05-'09 total
1.	Sherbourne and Dundas	13	133
2.	Jane and Finch	3	50
3.	Finch and Albion	11	38
4.	Jane and Wilson	8	36
5.	Rogers and Keele	9	30
6.	Weston and Lawrence	9	29
7.	Dufferin and Eglinton	11	24
8.	Neilson and Sheppard	2	22
9.	Eglinton and Midland	4	19
10.	Markham and Eglinton	4	16
10.	Queen and Dufferin	3	16

## WORST INTERSECTIONS FOR ROBBERIES



Rank		'09 total	'05-'09 total
1.	Sherbourne and Dundas	161	811
2.	Jane and Finch	76	559
3.	Finch and Albion	64	338
4.	Eglinton and Midland	47	227
5.	Queen and Dufferin	40	214
6.	Weston and Lawrence	29	181
7.	Rogers and Keele	27	180
8.	Neilson and Sheppard	37	119
9.	Dufferin and Eglinton	26	116
10.	Jane and Wilson	11	97
11.	Markham and Eglinton	23	81

## WORST INTERSECTIONS FOR VIOLENT CALLS FOR SERVICE\*\*



	'09 total	'05-'09 total
1. Sherbourne and Dundas	2,908	15,431
2. Jane and Finch	1,090	5,817
3. Eglinton and Midland	640	3,351
4. Finch and Albion	612	3,254
5. Queen and Dufferin	564	3,239
6. Weston and Lawrence	619	3,008
7. Rogers and Keele	487	2,586
8. Dufferin and Eglinton	529	2,513
9. Markham and Eglinton	318	1,628
10. Jane and Wilson	227	1,277
11. Neilson and Sheppard	160	779



- 10 municipal FOIs, one still under appeal
- Cost: \$125 (10x\$5, plus 3 \$25 appeals)
- Length: 6 weeks on avg.
- Why: Beat reporter's experience and a reporter's observations, anecdotal evidence. Data shows they were right.

**STAR EXCLUSIVE**

# Rich schools get richer as private cash floods system

First school-by-school look at fundraising in GTA raises alarm about inequality in our classrooms

**PATTY WINSA  
AND KRISTIN RUSHOWY**  
STAFF REPORTERS

Two public and two Catholic high schools in Greater Toronto are bringing in more than a million dollars a year through student fees, private revenue and fundraising

**THE GREAT DIVIDE**  
FUNDRAISING IN SCHOOLS

FIRST IN A TWO-DAY SERIES

cafeteria and vending machine



- Municipal request
- Cost: \$3K, negotiated down to \$350
- Length: 6 months
- Why: Food poisoning that left Rob “praying to die.”
- Result: Canada’s first public restaurant safety system

## SIGNS OF SUCCESS

# DineSafe cuts rate of sickness

Food-related illness cases have plunged 30% since Star exposed violations in city’s eateries

**ROBERT CRIBB**  
STAFF REPORTER

Cases of food-borne illness began to fall almost immediately after Toronto began making restaurant inspection results public in 2001.

Now, eight years after the city launched the DineSafe program that publishes inspection results online and in restaurant windows, cases of individual food-borne illnesses in Toronto have dropped 30 per cent, says a Toronto Public Health report.

It is the clearest evidence yet of the public health benefits of transparency, says John Filion, chair of the city’s board of health.

“This is the first time I’ve seen that food-borne illness took a dramatic plunge after we introduced DineSafe. That shows the public not only

**MANY CASES  
BUT FEW OFFICIALLY  
RECORDED**

**1 in 6**

people suffers food-borne illness, but fewer than 1 per cent of cases are officially recorded.

**437,093**

estimated cases of food-related illness occur annually in Toronto.

**102,717**

people with symptoms of gastrointestinal illness seek



# Sickening numbers

**ONE IN SIX** Torontonians falls ill every year because of tainted food. That's **437,000** people, according to first-of-its-kind research obtained by the *Star*. And up to **40 PER CENT** of cases are caused by bacteria transferred by food handlers who work sick because they need money.

- Provincial request
- Cost: \$150
- Time: 3 months
- Why? Following up on previous stories



AARON HARRIS/TORONTO STAR

Patrons dine on a patio yesterday. A Toronto Public Health report says one in six Torontonians falls ill every year from food laced with bacteria.

**ROBERT CRIBB**  
STAFF REPORTER

One in six Torontonians — 437,000 each year — is sickened by food laced with bacteria, such as salmonella and listeria, according to a groundbreaking study of food-borne illness in the city. The results, triggered by weaknesses in the country's food safety system, represent about \$500 million a year in health-care costs and lost productivity, says a report from Toronto Public Health obtained by the *Star*.

"This is a really important piece of work," said John Filion, chair of the city's board of health. "Everyone

## A RAY OF LIGHT ON FOOD SAFETY

There are some promising signs amid the bad news on food safety.

Cases of individual food-borne illnesses in Toronto have declined 30 per cent after the city launched the DineSafe program in 2001.

That initiative was introduced after the *Star*'s "Dirty Dining" investigation, which found hundreds of restaurants had serious violations — from cockroach infestations to filthy preparation areas. Stories on DineSafe, tips on staying healthy, personal kitchen nightmares and more starting on GT1.



Headlines from the *Star*'s 'Dirty Dining' series in 2000.

lic Health Agency of Canada, McKeown said.

"We looked at existing research about the sources of under-reporting, how many get sick but don't go to the doctors, how many don't result in a lab test being done, how many don't find the bug the patient has, and you can go back and calculate, estimating how many cases we're losing at each step."

Among its recommendations, the report calls for the province to consider compensating food handlers who are too sick to come to work due to "gastrointestinal illness."

Between 20 per cent and 40 per



- Requests at three levels of government
- Cost: ~\$2,000
- Length: 2 years
- Why: Daddy reporter discovers there's no inspection system for daycares

## STAR INVESTIGATION

# Dirty little secrets: Abuse in daycares

You're not supposed to know it, but children in licensed centres endure filthy conditions, bad food and physical and emotional harm

**ROBERT CRIBB  
AND DALE BRAZAO**  
STAFF REPORTERS

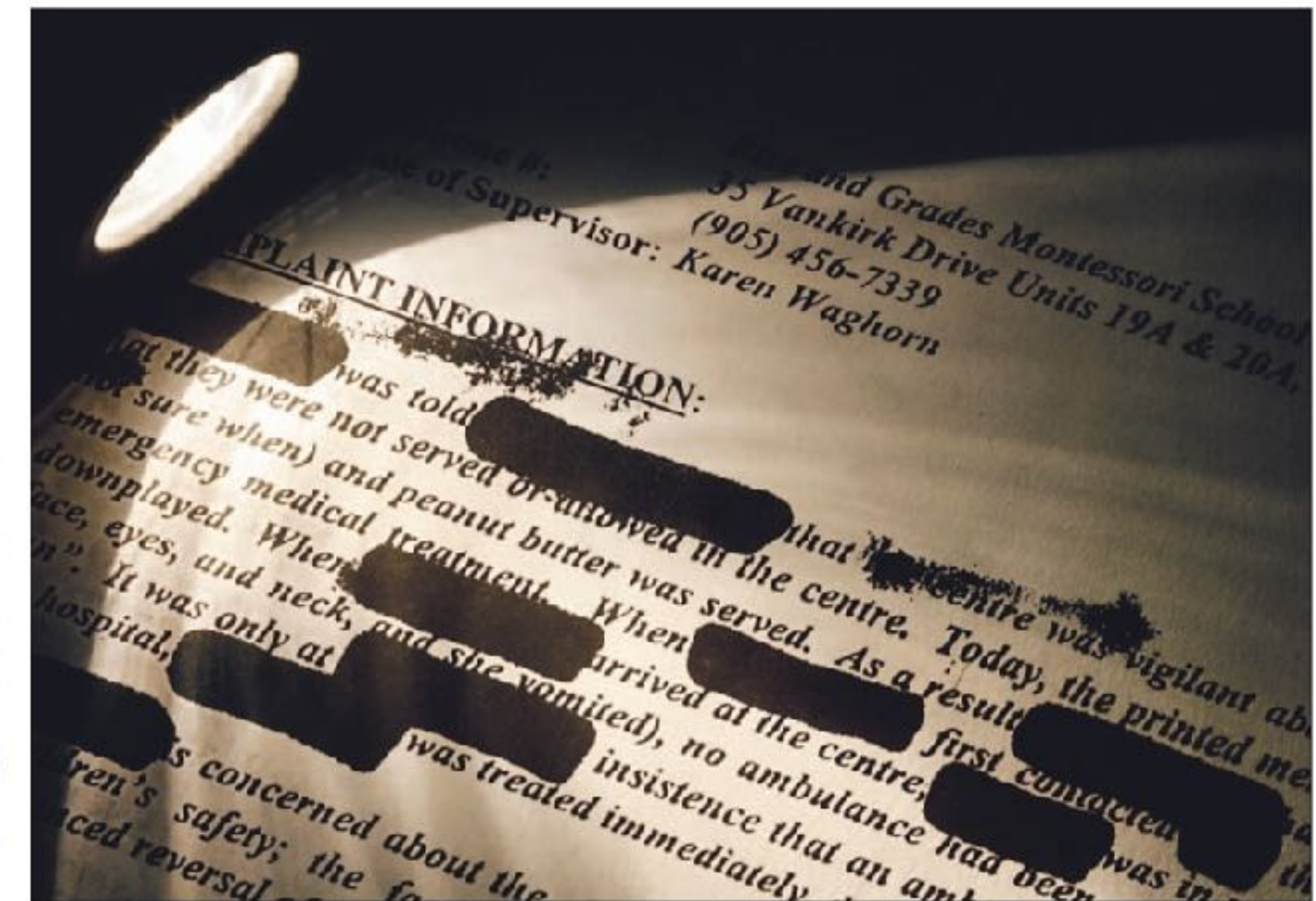
Children in provincially licensed daycares have been hit, kicked, allowed to play in filthy conditions and fed allergy-triggering food that nearly claimed their lives.

A *Star* investigation based on thousands of never-before-released daycare incidents and inspection reports has uncovered myriad serious problems including children wandering off unattended, being forcibly confined in closets and storage rooms as punishment, and served meals prepared in mice-infested kitchens.

But even in the most egregious cases, the provincial Ministry of Children and Youth Services is often slow to act.

Daycares with a pattern of problems are allowed to operate for months or even years on provisional licences, while children are exposed to substandard conditions, internal government documents show.

"The conditions you highlight are unacceptable and we take it seriously," said a ministry spokesman.



TARA WALTON/TORONTO STAR

After filing freedom of information requests that took more than two years, the *Star* obtained partially blacked out records, including this document, that detail many disturbing incidents at daycare centres.

insurance that we will do that. It isn't consistent with the health and well-being of kids."

The records are typically kept secret. Parents who trust their children with a licensed daycare have no way of finding out if their daycare is exemplary or riddled with problems.

more than two years.

They revealed serious problems at several hundred of the 4,400 licensed daycares in the province.

The highest rate of reported problems was in Toronto, but that may be because the city's daycares are more tightly regulated than others in the province.

## FAILING CARE

There were 5,814 serious occurrences reported by licensed daycares across Ontario in 2005-2006, including nearly 3,000 injuries, 674 missing children reports and 675 allegations of abuse or



Near misses. Navigation errors. Engine fires.  
The skies are not as safe as you think. Experts warn  
major changes must be made to prevent disaster

- Federal request for raw electronic data
- Cost: \$0
- Length: 5 years
- Why: Folo to a Hamilton airport story, paper reports
- Results: Daily release of data



A jet leaves a trail of smoke as it soars through the sky above Toronto — while new aviation data leave a trail of controversy, revealing a slew of near misses and risky takeoffs and landings. STEVE RUSSELL/TORONTO STAR

# COLLISION COURSE



**THE REPORTERS:** The Star's Robert Cribb, left, Tamsin McMahon of The Record, and Fred Vallance-Jones of the Hamilton Spectator.

The Toronto Star, Hamilton Spectator and The Record of Waterloo Region teamed up

**ROBERT CRIBB,  
FRED VALLANCE-JONES  
AND TAM SIN MCMAHON**  
TORONTO NEWS SERVICE

More than 30,000 passengers have been put at risk over the last five years when airplanes they were travelling in came dangerously close together in Canadian skies, according to never-before-released federal aviation data.

Between 2001 and mid-2005, there were more than 300 incidents in which planes got too close to each other, according to Transport Canada data — about one incident every two days. Sometimes, they come within seconds of crash-

ing.

► Mechanical malfunctions, from engine fires to parts falling off in mid-flight, have risen steadily from 2000 to 2004.

► Smaller aircraft, including planes, gliders and helicopters, are also involved in "near misses," both with other small planes and commercial airplanes heading in and out of increasingly crowded airspace above major airports.

"There will be a serious accident. It's just a matter of time," warns veteran aviator Ken Green, who retired in March after a 33-year career as a commercial airline pilot.

up 48 per cent between 2004 and 2005, from 27 to 40. It was the largest number of fatal crashes since 2001 and resulted in 61 deaths.

Eight of those deaths were the result of six accidents in the air taxi industry, which uses small planes. That's double the number of fatal accidents in 2004 and the most since 1998. In all, the accident rate for Canadian aircraft — planes, helicopters and gliders — increased 3 per cent between 2004 and 2005.

Cost cutting, human fatigue and poor morale are key factors that threaten safety in the skies, according to dozens of pilots, air traffic controllers and mechanics interviewed.



Crime & punishment ~ 2008



# SATURDAY STAR

[thestar.com](http://thestar.com)

## SPECIAL REPORT

# Why getting tough on crime is toughest on the taxpayer

Under new gun and drug legislation, more people will go to prison to serve longer sentences. Most Canadians think this is a good idea. But an in-depth look at Canada's criminals and prison system suggests the opposite: that it's a recipe for higher costs and, perversely, no less crime

SANDRO CONTENTA,  
JIM RANKIN, BETSY POWELL  
AND PATTY WINSA  
STAFF REPORTERS

Canadians firmly support federal measures that will put more offenders behind bars for longer, according to a poll conducted for the *Star*.

That's good news for the federal Tory government but bad news, experts say, for the criminal justice system and for taxpayers themselves.

The country's annual bill for policing, courts and incarceration — about \$13 billion — is about to jump. And rather than make neighbourhoods safer, the opposite is likely: troubled communities figure to get worse.

Propelling Canadians down this road — one proven to be monstrously expensive and inept at reducing crime in the United States — are seriously flawed perceptions of crime and punishment. Those misperceptions were revealed in the recent poll done for the *Star* and an analysis of three sets of data: one detailing the criminal histories of 2.9 million people and the other two showing what neigh-



A prisoner looks out into the sun from his cell at the federal Stony Mountain Institution near Winnipeg.

LUCAS OLENIUK/TORONTO STAR FILE PHOTO

## THE SERIES

### TODAY IN IDEAS:

Jailing people is expensive. What are the GTA's costliest neighbourhoods for incarceration? Find the answers on a unique map created with sentencing data. And read how one high-cost neighbourhood is struggling with the incarceration cycle. **ID1**

### TOMORROW:

Why natives suffer the most; punitive politics

**MONDAY:** Misperceptions about criminals; racial differences

**TUESDAY:** How criminal records can trip up the not guilty

**WEDNESDAY:** Lessons from the United States — longer sentences don't work

**THURSDAY:** Tracking the damage of the incarceration cycle

**FRIDAY:** Straining an already burdened prison system

**SATURDAY:** What can be done

## HOW WE DID IT

The foundation for this series is data never before seen by

- Federal and provincial, CPIC and inmates
- Cost: \$100
- Length: 5 years
- Why: Tory approach to crime and punishment



"If you wish to proceed with the processing of your request, forward a deposit of \$1,599,840.00 by cheque or money order payable to the Receiver General of Canada," read the letter from the RCMP's access to information co-ordinator.

And, "should you wish to continue your request, please note that there are no guarantees that any part of the information will be released."



The screenshot shows the Microsoft Access 2000 interface. The title bar reads 'Microsoft Access'. The menu bar includes File, Edit, View, Insert, Format, Records, Tools, Window, and Help. The toolbar contains various icons for file operations and data manipulation. The main window displays a table named 'FSA Plus Demo : Table' from the 'Ontario Data - Plus Demographic : Database (Access 2000)'. The table has four columns: ID, Location, FSA, and Area\_Descr. The data is as follows:

ID	Location	FSA	Area_Descr
0	Ontario	KDA	ALMONTE
1	Ontario	KDB	VANKLEEK

2	Ontario	K0C	ALEXANDRIA
3	Ontario	K0E	PRESCOTT
4	Ontario	K0G	KEMPTVILLE
5	Ontario	K0H	BATH
6	Ontario	K0J	DEEP RIVER
7	Ontario	K0K	PICTON
8	Ontario	K0L	LAKEFIELD
9	Ontario	K0M	BOBCAYGEON
10	Ontario	K1A	OTTAWA - C
11	Ontario	K1B	GLOUCESTER
12	Ontario	K1C	ORLEANS
13	Ontario	K1E	ORLEANS
14	Ontario	K1G	OTTAWA
15	Ontario	K1H	OTTAWA
16	Ontario	K1J	GLOUCESTER
17	Ontario	K1K	OTTAWA
18	Ontario	K1L	VANIER
19	Ontario	K1M	OTTAWA
20	Ontario	K1N	OTTAWA
21	Ontario	K1P	OTTAWA
22	Ontario	K1R	OTTAWA
23	Ontario	K1S	OTTAWA
24	Ontario	K1T	GLOUCESTER
25	Ontario	K1V	OTTAWA
26	Ontario	K1W	ORLEANS

The screenshot shows the Microsoft Access application window. The title bar reads "Microsoft Access". The menu bar includes "File", "Edit", "View", "Insert", "Format", "Records", "Tools", "Window", and "Help". The toolbar contains various icons for database operations. A window titled "Ontario Data - Plus Demographic : Database (Access 2000 f..." is open. Within this window, a table named "FSA Plus Demo : Table" is displayed. The table has 13 columns: ID, Location, FSA, Area Descriptio, Total Jail Cost, Total Cost Ran, Number of Inm, Inmates per 10, Total Days Ser, Population, % Under 18, % Age 65+, and % New I. The first two rows of data are visible.

ID	Location	FSA	Area Descriptio	Total Jail Cost	Total Cost Ran	Number of Inm	Inmates per 10	Total Days Ser	Population	% Under 18	% Age 65+	% New I
0	Ontario	KDA	ALMONTE	\$65,268.64	248	5	0.52903335026	611	94512	0.2806	0.0925	0
1	Ontario	KDB	VANKLEEK HIL	\$6,409.36	396	1	0.46704964738	60	21411	0.2552	0.138	



# High-cost 'hoods



Maps based on prisoner addresses reveal  
where taxpayers spend the most on incarceration

STORIES BY SANDRO CONTENTA, BETSY POWELL, JIM RANKIN AND PATTY WINSA  
ANALYSIS BY ANDREW BAILEY, MAPPING BY HIDY NG

## POSTAL AREA M1E

Unstable funding and  
poor services leave kids  
easy prey to gangs

## CRIME & PUNISHMENT

MAPPING PRISON COSTS

FIRST OF AN EIGHT-PART SERIES

## A DIFFERENT PATH

Why throwing people  
into jail is 'a lazy  
response to poverty'

Imagine pockets of cities where so many residents are in jail and prison, and for so long, that by the time they are released their incarceration will have cost more than \$15 million. Imagine these people being released and returning home to the same place and conditions where the trouble began and, within two years, four



# A real-estate guide to incarceration

A unique map shows where in the GTA our prison inmates come from and just how much they cost taxpayers.

In the U.S., states like Texas have used similar data to transform a penal system once thought backward. Could we do the same here?

JIM RANKIN  
STAFF REPORTER

Texas is looking for jail guards and offering \$1,500 recruiting bonuses for those willing to move to understaffed prisons. The need is not surprising in a state with the highest incarceration rate, in a country with such fervour for imprisonment that one in 100 adult males sits in jail.

But here's the news: Soaring prison costs — and neighbourhood maps that show where inmates come from and return to, and the underlying social conditions in those areas — have caused policy makers, Republican and Democrats alike, to rethink their prison love affair. "It's such a socio-economic concern. Inmates come from poor neighbourhoods, and they go back to neighbourhoods, and it just happens that they have some of the worst schools, worst health-care delivery system," says Texas Sen. John Whitmire, a Democrat who chairs the Senate Criminal Justice Committee.

"How do you fix that? It's a generational deal, almost," he says. "But, that don't mean you don't try."

Instead of building prisons, Texas is investing in programs to keep people out of jail.

Similar thinking is occurring in Wisconsin, where the prison population is projected to go up by one-quarter within the next decade, and in seven more states with out-of-control prison bills, including Michigan, Kansas and Nevada.

They have all turned to the Council of State Governments' Justice Center, a national non-profit organization that helps governments analyze crime and incarceration data. The aim is to find ways to increase safety, reduce jail bills and spend the savings on support and treatment programs for prisoners and parolees.

In Canada, little has been done to analyze where inmates come from and where they return upon release — and more importantly, what they return to.

**It's almost impossible to get police or any of that kind of data**

U OF T MAPPING EXPERT  
DAVID HULCHANSKI

Today, using provincial inmate data obtained in a Freedom of Information request, the Star does just that. The data show blocks within the Greater Toronto Area where taxpayers are paying tens of millions of dollars to incarcerate inmates, when federal prisoners are included.

One-tenth of the City of Toronto's population lives in the 10 most expensive jail cost postal areas. Together, however, those pockets account for nearly one-third of the city's provincial jail bill.

Most of these high-jail-cost areas have below-average levels of income, high unemployment, more single female families and fewer people with university degrees. Canada spends \$13 billion a year on policing, courts and corrections. Overall, crime costs Canadians an estimated \$70 billion a year. Only about two per cent of the \$1.6 billion federal corrections budget is for rehabilitative programs.

With the recent introduction of more "tough on crime" legislation — pitched by the Conservatives and supported by the Liberals — Canada will need more prison beds.

Some of those beds figure to be filled by people from the Jane-Finch area, one of the pockets of the city (see the magnified circles on the accompanying map) that is costing taxpayers millions, according to the Star's data analysis.

There were 31 provincial inmates from the area serving sentences at the time of the Star's 2008 data snapshot. The jail tab will be nearly a million dollars by the time they are released. Factor in a projection for inmate costs from future releases and

criminal justice professor Todd Close found that heavy incarceration in neighbourhoods "backfires" over time and can lead to more crime.

Residents, mostly young men of parenting age, cycle in and out of jail. They become socially disconnected and punitive and deterrent value diminishes. Another side effect: jails are prime places for gang recruitment, says University of Toronto criminologist Scot Wortley, who worked on the 2008 Roots of Youth Violence report, commissioned by Premier Dalton McGuinty.

City of Toronto analysts are already using jail data previously obtained by the Star in assessments of 13 "priority neighbourhoods" identified by the United Way and the city.

David Hulchanski, associate director for research at the U of T's Cities Centre, leads inmate maps as a valuable tool for policy makers. The centre has used several decades of Toronto Census data to map income shifts in neighbourhoods. Hulchanski would like to overlay data from other government arms but obtaining the data is difficult.

"This helps us better understand in so many ways what's happening and the problem is, we're not linking key sectors" like health and crime indicators, he says. "It's almost impossible to get police or any of that kind of data."

Data collection is easier in Texas. After studying incarceration information that showed fewer than expected "low-risk" people were getting parole, Texas began changing its approach in 2007. Instead of spending \$523 million on prison construction, the legislature earmarked \$241 million for "reinvest-

## Brampton (central)

Inmates: **21**  
Jail days: **3,303**  
Provincial jail cost: **\$352,318**  
Federal cost: **\$9,722,012.54**  
Jail cost per area resident: **\$8**  
Per cent of city's total incarceration costs: **19.50%**

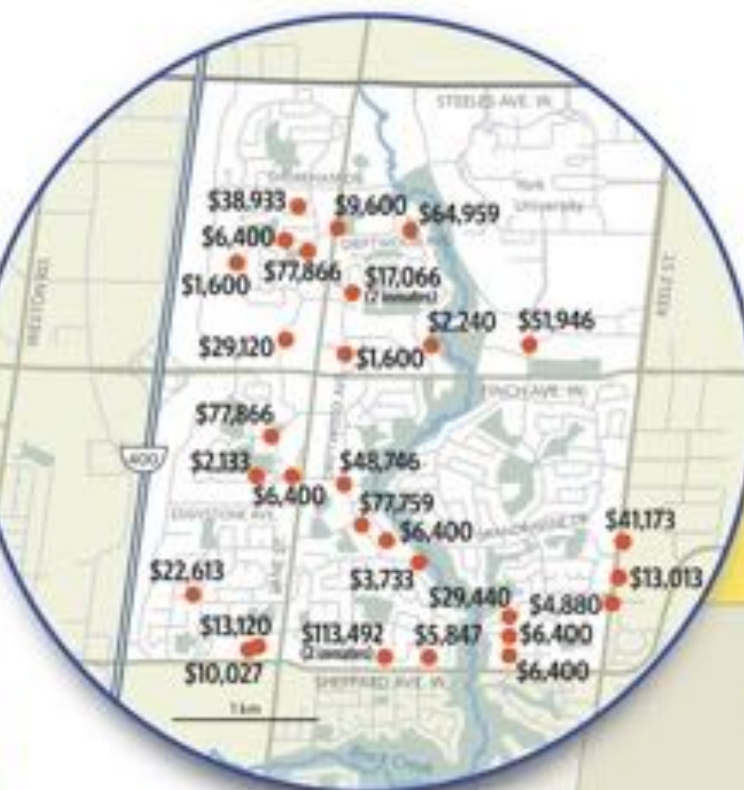
**MAGNIFIED AREA DEMOGRAPHICS**  
Population: **45,864**  
Average household income: **\$72,602**  
Low-income: **12.1%**  
Unemployment rate (over 25): **3.8%**  
Single female family households: **15.2%**  
With university degree: **9.8%**



## Jane-Finch

Inmates: **31**  
Jail days: **8,128**  
Provincial jail cost: **\$866,978**  
Federal cost: **\$54,093,620.20**  
Jail cost per area resident: **\$11**  
Per cent of city's total incarceration costs: **9.13%**

**MAGNIFIED AREA DEMOGRAPHICS**  
Population: **78,331**  
Average household income: **\$49,560**  
Low-income: **32.8%**  
Unemployment rate (over 25): **8.4%**  
Single female family households: **25.3%**  
With university degree: **13%**

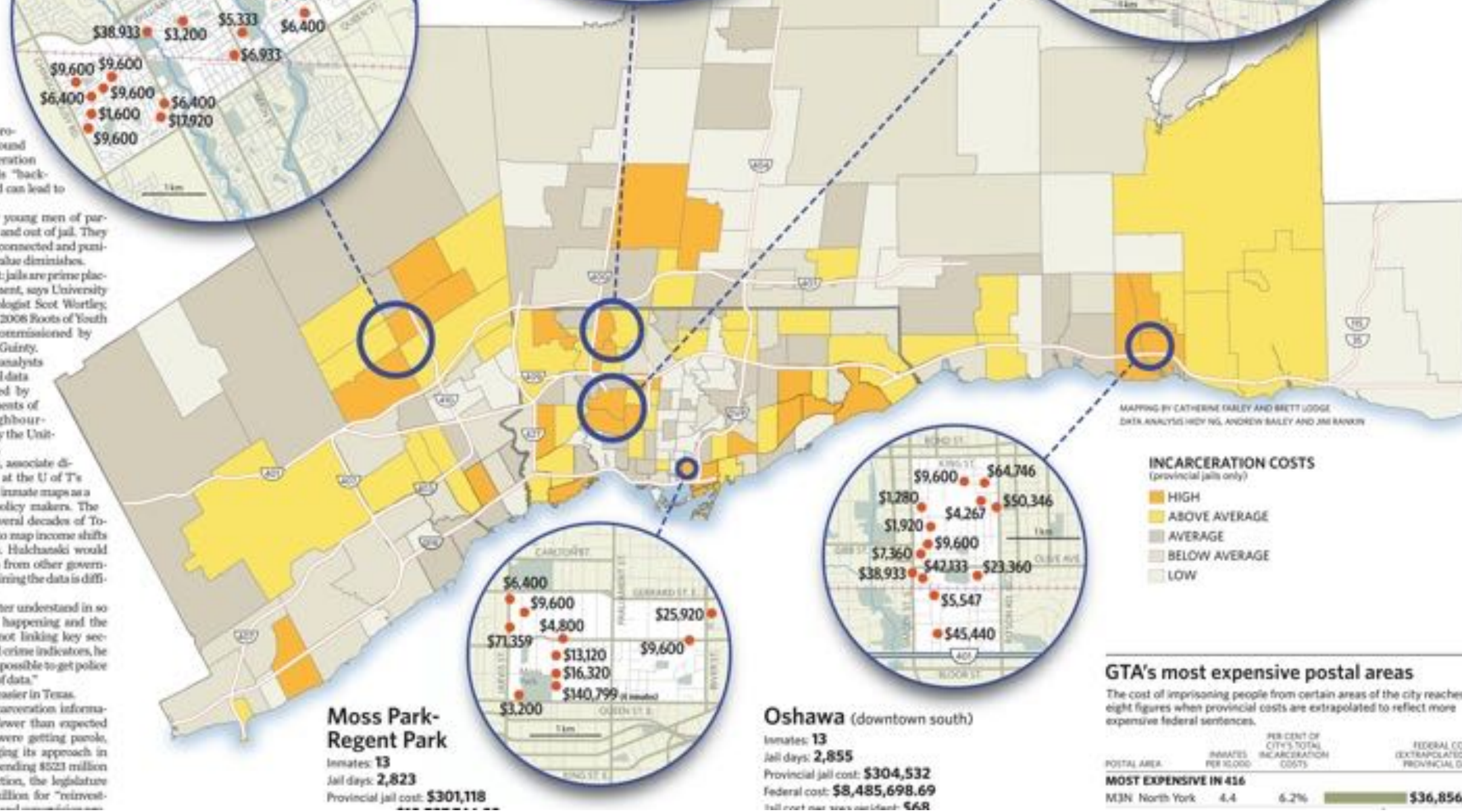


**GTA DEMOGRAPHICS**  
Average household income: **\$82,899**  
Low-income: **14.8%**  
Unemployment rate (over 25): **4.8%**  
Single female family households: **13.4%**  
With university degree: **24.4%**

## Keele-Eglinton

Inmates: **33**  
Jail days: **7,597**  
Provincial jail cost: **\$810,339**  
Federal cost: **\$50,559,725.96**  
Jail cost per area resident: **\$8**  
Per cent of city's total incarceration costs: **8.53%**

**MAGNIFIED AREA DEMOGRAPHICS**  
Population: **98,203**  
Average household income: **\$49,627**  
Low-income: **27.5%**  
Unemployment rate (over 25): **7.0%**  
Single female family households: **22%**  
With university degree: **9.7%**



## Moss Park-Regent Park

Inmates: **13**  
Jail days: **2,823**  
Provincial jail cost: **\$301,118**

## Oshawa (downtown south)

Inmates: **13**  
Jail days: **2,855**  
Provincial jail cost: **\$304,532**  
Federal cost: **\$8,485,698.69**  
Jail cost per area resident: **\$68**

## INCARCERATION COSTS

(provincial jails only)

**HIGH**  
**ABOVE AVERAGE**  
**AVERAGE**  
**BELOW AVERAGE**  
**LOW**

## GTA's most expensive postal areas

The cost of imprisoning people from certain areas of the city reaches eight figures when provincial costs are extrapolated to reflect more expensive federal sentences.

POSTAL AREA	INMATES PER 10,000	PER CENT OF CITY'S TOTAL INCARCERATION COSTS	FEDERAL COST (EXTRAPOLATED FROM PROVINCIAL DATA)
<b>M3N North York</b>	<b>4.4</b>	<b>6.2%</b>	<b>\$36,856,603</b>



## TOMORROW

Meet Suzette Wilmseyer, restaurant and tattoo parlour owner and sometime comedian. She left Los Angeles to get away from gun crime, only to find herself in the middle of an apparent drug war at Keele and Eglinton.

Read the Sunday Star for the inside story about the fight to cut crime in the area and find out why Wilmseyer is a key figure.



## Interactive maps online

Go online for a host of related content, including:

- A detailed, interactive map of where Toronto criminals were living before they went to jail
- Searchable provincial jail costs by postal area
- Map of jail costs by postal area
- You be the Judge interactive game
- Interactive timelines
- The Crime and Punishment series, which includes video documentaries

Go to [thestar.com/specialsections/crime](http://thestar.com/specialsections/crime)



[thestar.com](http://thestar.com)

## HOW WE DID IT

The inmate data used to create the map came from a one-day snapshot, taken in 2008, of offenders who were serving sentences of less than two years in Ontario jails. It was obtained in a Freedom of Information request from the Ministry of Community Safety and Correctional Services, and details sentence lengths and postal code information for 2,212 inmates.

This does not include remands — inmates being held while awaiting trial. For a number of reasons, including lack of address information and people with no address, postal codes were present for 57 per cent of these sentenced inmates. Those without were excluded in the Star analysis.

Area jail cost amounts are based on last available estimate of what it costs to incarcerate an inmate in Ontario (male and female combined). Each year, the



# CRIME & PUNISHMENT



## THE COST OF CRIME

SEARCH jail cost maps by postal area

<< || >>

Intro

Our Criminals

Toronto

Native

Records & Race

Stigma

U.S. Lessons

Incarceration Cycle

Prisons & Vision



Behind The Series

Credits

### Diminishing returns

Each year, Canada spends \$13 billion on policing, courts and corrections, with the latter costing \$2 billion (excluding those in provincial jails).

With new laws that will put more people away, and for longer, that bill is about to go up. This is happening even though Canada's overall crime rate has been dropping for the past quarter century. It is happening even though governments and

FULL STORY

### Must Reads

#### Learning to cope in the city's new crime 'hot spot'

Restaurant owner Suzette Wilmsmeyer moved from L.A. to Toronto to escape crime. But she moved into the city's new hot spot for violence, the Keele and Eglinton neighbourhood.



#### A real-estate guide to incarceration

Texas is looking for jail guards and offering \$1,500 recruiting bonuses for those willing to move to understaffed prisons. The need is not surprising in a state with the highest incarceration rate, in...

GTA's most expensive postal areas			
Postal Code	Area	Rankings	Value
M5S 1A5	Old West	1	\$1,100,000
M5S 1A6	Old West	2	\$1,050,000
M5S 1A7	Old West	3	\$1,000,000
M5S 1A8	Old West	4	\$950,000
M5S 1A9	Old West	5	\$900,000
M5S 1A0	Old West	6	\$850,000
M5S 1A1	Old West	7	\$800,000
M5S 1A2	Old West	8	\$750,000
M5S 1A3	Old West	9	\$700,000
M5S 1A4	Old West	10	\$650,000

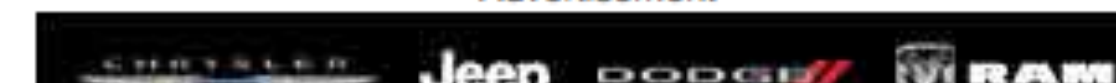
### Jail Data

Postal Code | Area | Rankings

Please enter the first three characters of your postal code.



- Advertisement -



# Crime & Punishment



# SCHOOL, INTERRUPTED

Feature Report

Bob

Daniella

Smiley

Anthony

Alice



Interactive maps and game

Where  
Toronto  
suspends  
and jails  
the most

You be  
the  
Principal  
Game

Related series



The costs of high incarceration

Behind the series

Credits

## Must Reads

### Forging a school-to-prison pipeline?

Thousands of students are kicked out of Ontario schools each year, with educators quietly making sure some don't return.



### Are schools too quick to suspend?

The road to being thrown out of school is paved by missed opportunities for early intervention, a limited curriculum and poor teacher training.



## Documents, videos, links

- [More videos: Expulsion School](#)
- [Related documents and links](#)
- [Search schools](#)
- [Related map: High school dropouts](#)
- [Related series: Crime & Punishment](#)

# School, interrupted



Race & crime ~ 2002





JIM RANKIN/TORONTO STAR

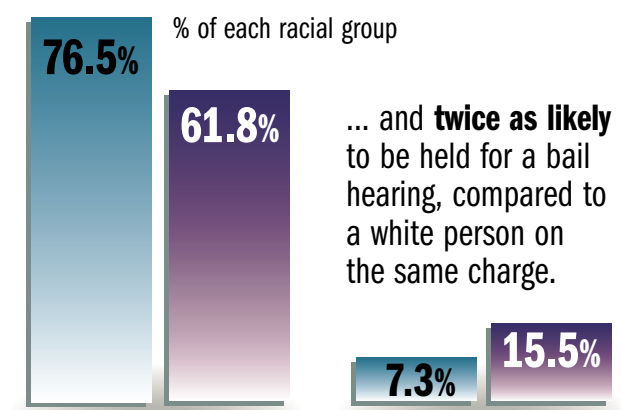
**SUING POLICE:** Jason Burke, falsely accused of dealing drugs during Caribana two years ago, says he was a victim of racial profiling.

# Singled out

Star analysis of police crime data shows justice is different for blacks and whites

## Telling numbers

Police records show that a black person in Toronto arrested on a single drug possession charge was **less likely** to be released at the scene...



Blacks arrested by Toronto police are treated more harshly than whites, a Toronto Star analysis of crime data shows.

Black people, charged with simple drug possession, are taken to police stations more often than whites facing the same charge.

Once at the station, accused blacks are held overnight, for a bail hearing, at twice the rate of whites.

The Toronto crime data also shows a disproportionate number of black motorists are ticketed for

### ■ Managing Editor's notebook, A2

leaders and criminologists, suggests police use racial profiling in deciding whom to pull over.

The evidence is contained in a massive police database recording more than 480,000 incidents in which an individual was arrested, or ticketed, for an offence dating back to 1996. It included almost 800,000 criminal and other charges. The Star obtained that data through a freedom of information

community.

Police are forbidden, by their governing board, from analyzing this data in terms of race, but The Star has no such restriction. The findings provide hard evidence of what blacks have long suspected — race matters in Canadian society especially when dealing with police.

Chief Julian Fantino disputed the findings, saying the colour of a person's skin has nothing to do with how they're treated by his officers.

# Chrétien expected to keep cabinet minister

Ethics report has 'wobble room' to save MacAulay

BY TIM HARPER  
AND LES WHITTINGTON  
OTTAWA BUREAU

OTTAWA — Jean Chrétien receives a report from his ethics counsellor today that is expected to give him enough "wobble room" to keep his solicitor-general, Lawrence MacAulay, in the federal cabinet.

Ethics counsellor Howard Wilson completed his report and delivered it to the Prime Minister's Office last night, where it was received by Chrétien's chief of staff, Percy Downe.

It was then to be relayed to Chrétien by secure fax to Beirut, where the Prime Minister is attending a summit of French-speaking nations. It was 1:30 a.m. in Beirut when the fax arrived so Chrétien would likely be reading it this morning.

Senior sources said last night that unless there is a surprise in Wilson's report, the Prince Edward Island minister will remain, Chrétien will return to Ottawa and weather the inevitable storm of opposition and media protest and forge ahead with an ethics package by mid-week.

Wilson has been investigating whether MacAulay broke ethics guidelines for cabinet ministers in the awarding of a contract and extension worth \$100,000 to Everett Roche, a Charlottetown political friend of the solicitor-general's.

Chrétien will not fire MacAulay unless he is given incontrovertible evidence of wrongdoing for two key reasons, sources

☛ Please see MacAulay, A8







# Sunday Star 25 years old

NEWS, A7

## THE SUNDAY STAR

Partly cloudy. High 11C

October 20, 2002

[thestar.com](http://thestar.com)

# Police target black drivers

## Star analysis of traffic data suggests racial profiling

Black drivers confronted by the flashing lights of a police cruiser often worry if they're being pulled over for the colour of their skin.

Officers deny that happens.

- Reaction, A9
- The Star's view, A12

Now, for the first time, empirical evidence suggests police have indeed been targeting black drivers in Toronto.

Police traffic offence data, obtained and analyzed by The Star, shows a disproportionate number of blacks ticketed for viola-

tions that routinely surface only after a stop has been made.

These "out-of-sight" traffic offences include failing to update a driver's licence with a change of address, driving without a licence, driving without insurance,

or driving while under suspension. Police usually discover such violations only after a motorist has been pulled over. And, in the absence of any other charge, it isn't clear why drivers involved in these offences were stopped in

## Race and Crime

STAR INVESTIGATIVE TEAM: JIM RANKIN, JENNIFER QUINN,  
MICHELLE SHEPHARD, JOHN DUNCANSON, SCOTT SIMMIE

the first place.

It's assumed random checks would generate a pattern of charges that mimics the racial distribution of drivers in society as a whole. So the rate at which minority drivers are charged is often used, in the U.S., as a bellwether for racial profiling.

Canadian authorities refrain from studying the issue. Toronto's police services board has ordered its officers not to analyze

raw race-based crime data, arguing racists might use the resulting statistics to stigmatize ethnic communities.

Police follow that rule, and don't record race statistics for the purpose of ethnic analysis. They do, however, list skin colour in most arrest reports when describing a person charged. It's routine in arrests for major

➡ Please see Police, A8

## Students



# Police chief calls for race relations probe

Justice Dubin to study treatment of black suspects

BY MICHELLE SHEPHARD  
AND JENNIFER QUINN  
STAFF REPORTERS

One of Canada's most respected judges will investigate race relations practices in the Toronto Police Service, following a Toronto Star investigation that showed blacks are treated more harshly than whites.

- Reaction to Dubin probe, B1
- Debate on statistics, B4
- Chief's own words, B5
- The Star's Ombud, H6

Police Chief Julian Fantino announced yesterday that he has asked the Honourable Charles Dubin, retired chief justice of Ontario, to conduct an independent review, meet with community leaders and make recommendations that could "improve our performance in this area."

Fantino spoke publicly about The Star's investigation for the first time yesterday, having just returned from an out-of-town conference.

"I have never denied that there are instances of inappropriate conduct by a small number of our officers and our personnel — some that have been viewed as discriminatory and racist," he said. "We do not, however, have a racist or corrupt police service."

When told of the findings in an interview before the stories were published, Fantino flatly denied any racial bias.

"We don't treat people differently," he said at that time. "Nor do we consider the race or ethnicity, or any of that, as factors of how we dispose of cases, or individuals."

Dubin's review was welcomed by board chair Norm Gardner, who said he hoped that there were "no restric-



KEN FAUGHT/TORONTO STAR

**FORCE UNDER FIRE:** Police Chief Julian Fantino discusses the issue of police-minority relations yesterday.

## Fantino's bold move on right path

### Editorial

Chief Julian Fantino deserves congratulations for announcing steps to address the dramatic findings of a Toronto Star investigation that indicates blacks are being unfairly targeted by Toronto police.

Although we would have preferred the chief take such action sooner, we are delighted he now wants an in-depth — and open — study into possible racial profiling by his officers.

His moves clearly show he is asserting his leadership on one of the most sensitive issues to affect this city: its police and its

mer Ontario chief justice, to take an independent look at the race relations practices of the force.

Fantino also plans to meet with his senior officers on the issue. He's inviting members of the black community to come in and talk directly with him.

And the chief reaffirmed his willingness to participate in a summit of civic leaders

look at the issue.

All good steps.

And all necessary steps, backed by promises that he won't tolerate any form of racism and that he will act forcefully on any recommendations that Dubin makes. Fantino's bold decision to appoint Dubin is a sign that he is at last serious about coming to grips with this issue.

Since he became chief, Fantino has worked hard to reach out to minorities in the city — blacks, gays, Asians and others.

But racial bias and prejudice within the

### Race and Crime

INVESTIGATIVE TEAM: JIM RANKIN,  
JENNIFER QUINN, MICHELLE SHEPHARD,  
JOHN DUNCANSON, SCOTT SIMMIE

## Black crime rates highest

'No one was born violent . . . What's causing these problems?'

There had been another one.

Soon, a police officer would face the thankless task of breaking the news to yet another anguished family. The officer would have to tell Omar Sheriff Christian's next-of-kin that the 26-year-old was dead — shot as he stood outside an Etobicoke nightclub.

His killing, like many others in the black community, sparked a tragic chain reaction. Police allege that Christian's friends, who knew him as 'Face', took off in a fury to avenge his death. But instead of finding his killer that hot July night last year, they found community activist Paul Watson, 33, and his 29-year-old friend Michael Lewis. The two were on the doorstep of a Toronto housing complex.

In the space of 24 hours, three black men lay dead; their names added to a list many have mourned.

"Look at the news, all the shootings that have happened — look at the news," despairs Bev Folkes of the Black In-mates and Friends Assembly. "You're seeing black faces, black faces. I don't want to turn the TV on."

A Star investigation, conducted by analyzing police arrest records, showed that in certain cases where police have discretion to use personal judgment, blacks receive harsher treatment than whites. Last weekend's stories prompted a flood of letters and phone calls from black readers who say they have been subjected to ra-



## Life and death on mean streets

Toronto's patrol area 2302 has highest number of violent charges

Kevin King stands on the fenced-in asphalt where he earned his neighbourhood passport.

There are garbage piles in the corners, and four poles cast long shadows through the centre of the basketball court. And there was a time, he says, when 50 sweaty teenagers owned this area, playing ball long after the streetlights of Kipling Ave. and Panorama Court came on.

King, having just emigrated from Jamaica at the age of 14, quickly found the troubles he was having fitting into the Rex-

dale community vanished on this paved square.

"It's tough because it takes a while for the area to accept you. I was a baller so I earned it at the court. It was the only way I had friends."

### Race and Crime

**INVESTIGATIVE TEAM:** Jim Rankin, Jennifer Quinn, Michelle Shephard, John Duncanson, Scott Simmie

Around 1996, no one's quite sure of the date, the basketball rims were removed. The court was shut down after complaints, from the surrounding neighbourhood, about noise.

So teenagers brought togeth-

er by the ball started going their own ways. King went on to become a community activist and now, at 22, holds a college degree in business marketing.

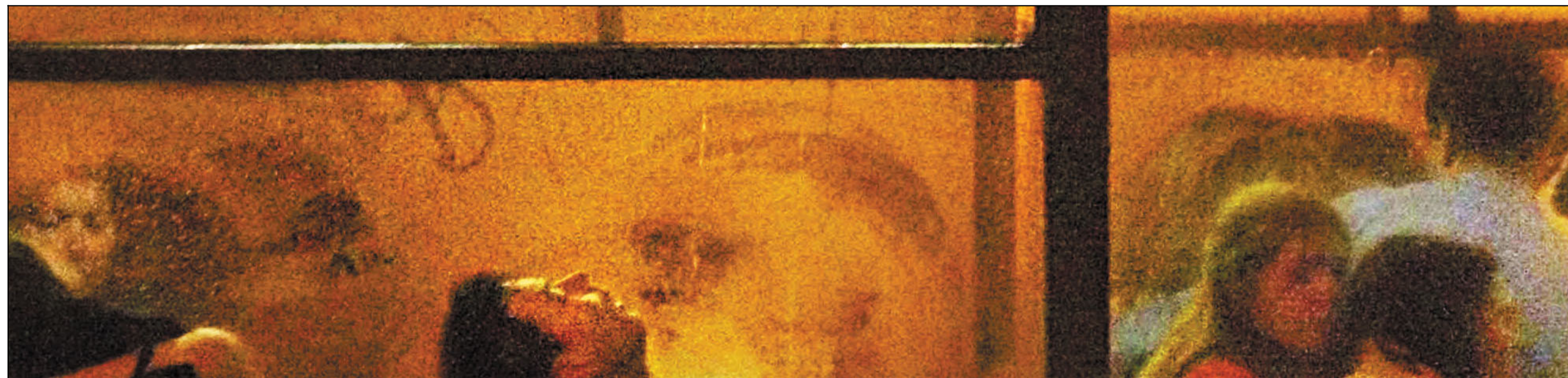
A short baller named Garcia, who compensated for his height with quick feet on the court, was shot and killed in a Kipling highrise during a birthday party. Another player was shot but survived.

Jughead used to play with them too. On a cold March night in 1998, Jughead, known to police as Jermaine Miller, shot an undercover officer in the chest and arm during a drug deal. Detective Constable Russ Lillie survived. Miller was convicted and remains in jail.

There are more than 200 police patrol areas in the city. Po-

➔ Please see 'This, A14

## Moscow hostages: 'We were all waiting to die'



## Harris a no-show as Eves pays tribute



## Police union sues Star over race-crime series

**7,200-member group seeks \$2.7B damages in class action lawsuit**

**Star stands by stories as fair, balanced and accurate**

**PETER SMALL**  
STAFF REPORTER

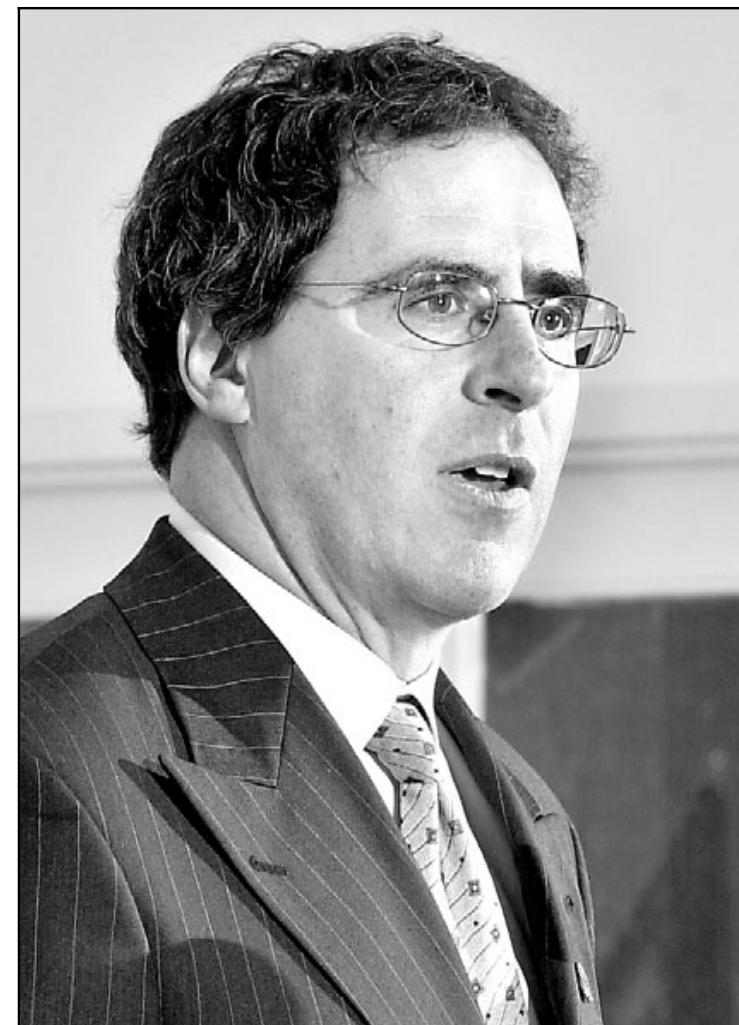
The Toronto Police Association has launched a \$2.7 billion class action libel suit against the Star for its series spotlighting the force's treatment of blacks.

"Accusing the members of the Toronto Police Service of racism is a very serious allegation and if such a serious allegation is going to be made, the accusers will be called upon to prove it," Tim Danson, the association's lawyer, told a news conference yesterday.

The Toronto Star analysis of police arrest data showed that with charges for simple drug possession, nearly twice as many blacks as whites were taken into custody and held in jail awaiting a bail hearing.

The data also showed a disproportionate number of black motorists were ticketed for offences that routinely would come to light following a traffic stop. Civil libertarians and criminologists say this pattern points to racial profiling, whether conscious or not.

Shortly before Danson spoke at the association's headquarters, flanked by president Craig Bromell and other union officials, the Star was served with



**Police union lawyer Tim Danson says the Star's racial profiling series maligned all city officers.**

consulting service, found the paper's findings to be sound.

In an in-depth analysis of the data, presented to the Toronto police services board on Dec. 10, Friendly, author of *The SAS System for Statistical Graphics and Visualizing Categorical Data*, and associate editor of the *Journal of Computational and Graphical Statistics*, said many factors other than skin colour affect how one is treated, but that the effect of skin colour was "persistent, and cannot be dismissed" in the arrest data.

Danson said he hoped the Star will "al-

He said he thought that the case is appropriate for a jury to decide, particularly since it's the community's view that is important. "The police really want to put this in the hands of the public in the form of a jury."

Danson said regardless of whether the association loses the case against the Star, "there are some things worse than losing and that's not even trying."

When asked whether the lawsuit, regardless of its success or failure, may create a libel chill that would cause media to think twice about criticizing institutions whose employees have powerful unions, Danson called that concern "somewhat speculative."

He added that the Star has gone well beyond fair comment in its series. "This was a direct and frontal attack to the quintessential core of what it is to be a police officer."

The charges examined by the Star are part of a much-larger Toronto police database that details all arrests made since late 1996. The paper first sought access to the data in a March, 2000, freedom of information request.

Following appeals and mediation, a copy of the database, excluding personal information, was released to the Star in May, 2002. It records more than 480,000 incidents in which an individual was arrested or ticketed, and almost 800,000 criminal and other charges. It served as the basis of the investigation into policing, crime and race.

Using relational database software, Star reporter Jim Rankin spent most of the summer preparing and analyzing the data. The Star study examined

### The Regional Municipality of York YORK REGION RAPID TRANSIT PLAN PUBLIC MEETING

**Monday, February 17, 2003, 9:00 a.m.**

At its meeting of December 19, 2002, York Regional Council endorsed a series of recommendations regarding the York Region Rapid Transit Plan. It was recommended that the necessary steps be taken in order that the Region be able to incorporate share capital corporation under the new *Municipal Act*, 2001, and the Regulations anticipated to be passed thereunder.

The Regulations under the *Municipal Act*, 2001, will require that a Business Case Background Study and a proposed by-law of the Region authorizing the incorporation of the corporation be prepared and be made available to the public at least 15 days before a public meeting to review and discuss the Study and the proposed by-law.

Accordingly, notice is hereby given that a public meeting will be held on February 17, 2003 commencing at 9:00 a.m. at the York Region Administrative Centre, 1000 Yonge Street, Newmarket, to consider the Business Case Background Study and the proposed by-law of the Region. Any person attending the meeting may make representations relating to the Business Case Background Study and proposed by-law. We would appreciate that any written submissions or requests to speak be submitted to Denis Kelly, Regional Clerk, at (905) 830-4444, ext. 1300 before February 15, 2003 at 5 p.m.

A copy of the Business Case Background Study and the draft by-law to establish the corporation is available for inspection at the Regional Clerk's Office, York Region Administrative Centre, between 8:30 a.m. and 5:00 p.m. Monday to Friday. The Business Case Background Study and the draft by-law to establish the corporation are also available on the Region's Web site.

For further information on the York Region Rapid Transit Plan Public Meeting, Business Case Background Study, please contact Patrick Casey, Senior Municipal Relations Specialist, at (905) 830-4444, ext. 1235, or visit the York Region Web site at [www.region.york.on.ca](http://www.region.york.on.ca) or the York Region Rapid Transit Plan Web site at [www.region.york.on.ca/yrtp](http://www.region.york.on.ca/yrtp)





Race Matters ~ 2010



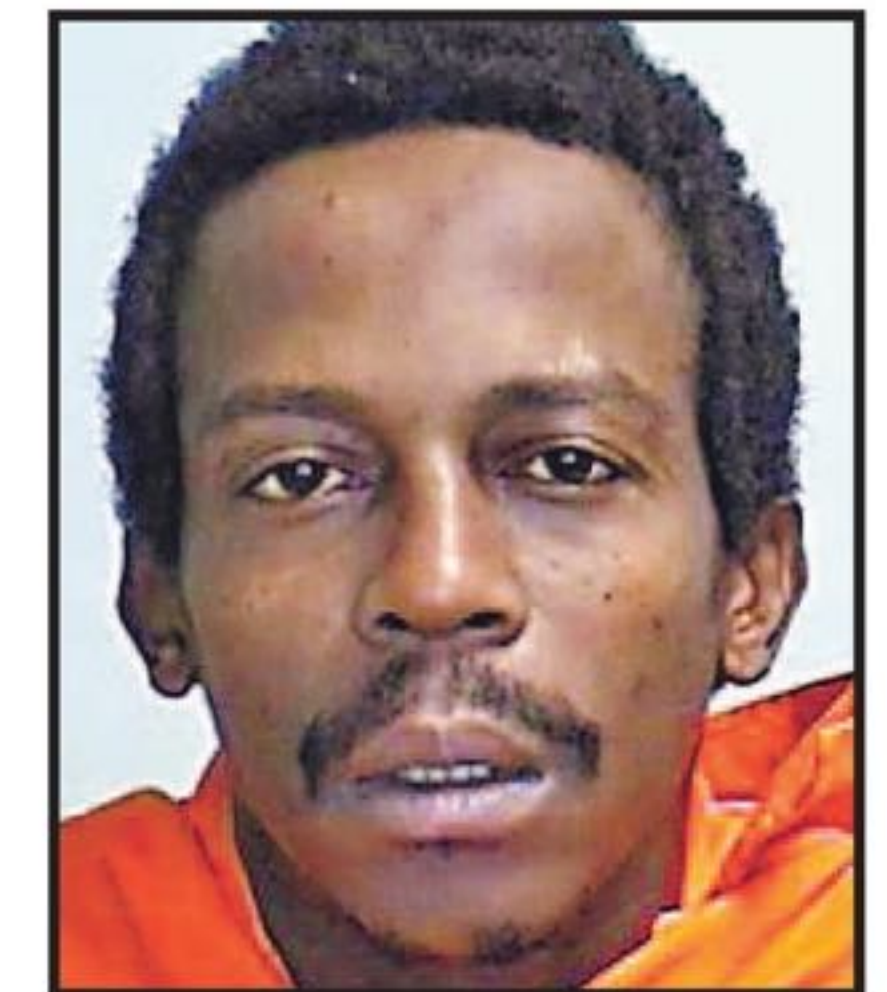
# When good people are swept up with the bad

- Municipal request, appealed, Divisional Court and COA decisions
- Cost: \$6,000
- Length: 7 years
- Why: Folo to 2002 Race and Crime series



**THE GOOD.** Teacher Rohan Robinson has been stopped numerous times.

FIELD INFORMATION CARD - CONTACT DETAILS						TPS208 2008/05	
DATE (YYYYMMDD)		TIME (24 HR. CLOCK)		ZONE			
AT <input type="checkbox"/> NEAR <input type="checkbox"/> LOCATION / INTERSECTION							
LOCATION DETAILS				OFFICER NO.(S)			
				1. 2.			
PROJECT #		REFERENCE TYPE/REF NO.		NATURE OF CONTACT			
CIRCUMSTANCES OF INVESTIGATION							
PERSON INVESTIGATED IN VEHICLE <input type="checkbox"/> PEDESTRIAN <input type="checkbox"/> BICYCLIST <input type="checkbox"/>							
SURNAME G1							
G2 ALIAS / NICKNAME							
DOB (YYYYMMDD)		AGE	SEX	BIRTH PLACE		COLOUR	
APPEARANCE		EYES	HAIR (STYLE/LENGTH/COLOUR)			FACIAL HAIR	
HEIGHT	WEIGHT	IDENTIFIED BY (I.D. TYPE)			ID CONFIRMED YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>		
ADDRESS		SAME AS LOCATION <input type="checkbox"/>		NFA <input type="checkbox"/>		PROV/COUNTRY	
TELEPHONE NO <input type="checkbox"/>		CELL NO. <input type="checkbox"/>		E-MAIL <input type="checkbox"/>			
DRIVER'S LICENCE NO.				PROV / STATE		DRIVER <input type="checkbox"/> PASS. <input type="checkbox"/>	



**THE BAD.** Police frequently stopped Mark Cain, now a convicted murderer.

**SEVEN YEARS AGO**, a *Star* investigation into race, policing and crime in Toronto was met with denials of racial bias. Today, police across the country readily acknowledge bias is a factor and the Toronto Police Service is setting an example for other services and institutions with its diversity policy. Yet, race still matters. Today, using never-before-released data, the *Star* launches a series highlighting the Toronto police practice of documenting people in mostly non-criminal encounters. In an uneasy trade-off for safer streets, both “good” and “bad” end up in a growing database. Young black men, more than any other group, are most likely to be stopped and documented. **Jim Rankin reports.**



## FIELD INFORMATION CARD - CONTACT DETAILS

TPS208  
2008/05

DATE (YYYYMMDD)

TIME (24 HR. CLOCK)

ZONE

AT ☐ NEAR ☐ LOCATION / INTERSECTION

LOCATION DETAILS

OFFICER NO.(S)

1.

2.

PROJECT #

REFERENCE TYPE/REF NO.

NATURE OF CONTACT

CIRCUMSTANCES OF INVESTIGATION

PERSON INVESTIGATED

IN VEHICLE ☐PEDESTRIAN ☐BICYCLIST ☐

SURNAME

G1

G2

ALIAS / NICKNAME

DOB (YYYYMMDD)

AGE

SEX

BIRTH PLACE

COLOUR

APPEARANCE

EYES

HAIR (STYLE/LENGTH/COLOUR)

FACIAL HAIR

HEIGHT

WEIGHT

IDENTIFIED BY (I.D. TYPE)

ID CONFIRMED

YES ☐ NO ☐

ADDRESS

SAME AS LOCATION ☐NFA ☐

PROV/COUNTRY

TELEPHONE NO. ☐CELL NO. ☐E-MAIL ☐

DRIVER'S LICENCE NO.

PROV / STATE

DRIVER ☐PASS. ☐



Records

Sort &amp; Filter

Window

Find

Warning Certain content in the database has been disabled Options...

	CONTACTID	ZONE	NATUREOFCONTACT	CONTACTDATETIM	YEAR	AGE	SEX	BIRTHPLACE	SKINCOLOUI	DOB	U_ID
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	1068268	131	Bail Compliance Check-No Viol	12/4/2011 9:18:00 AM	2011	86	Male		White	1925 SEP	391
	1068269	551	Observed but not Spoken to	12/3/2011 5:30:00 PM	2011	21	Male		Black	1990 NOV	4837
	1068270	411	Radio Call	2/4/2011 12:36:00 PM	2011	81	Female		White	1930 MAR	1413
	1068270	411	Radio Call	2/4/2011 12:36:00 PM	2011	56	Male		White	1955 OCT	4525
	1068271	132	Bail Compliance Check-No Viol	12/4/2011 8:42:00 AM	2011	17	Male		Black	1994 AUG	259
	1063479	314	General Investigation	/18/2011 12:03:00 AM	2011	22	Male	Jamaica	Black	1989 NOV	4794
	1068272	531	Radio Call	2/4/2011 12:40:00 PM	2011	49	Male		White	1962 AUG	740
	1068272	531	Radio Call	2/4/2011 12:40:00 PM	2011	23	Male	Kenya	Black	1987 DEC	1542
	1068273	312	Radio Call	12/4/2011 9:35:00 AM	2011	26	Male		Black	1985 JUL	4612
	1068273	312	Radio Call	12/4/2011 9:35:00 AM	2011	27	Male		Black	1984 FEB	4104
	1068274	533	Radio Call	12/3/2011 9:35:00 AM	2011	45	Female		Black	1966 AUG	4837
	1068274	533	Radio Call	12/3/2011 9:35:00 AM	2011	19	Female		Black	1992 MAR	4837
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	1068278	232	Traffic Stop Caution	12/3/2011 7:00:00 PM	2011	34	Male		Black	1977 JAN	4837
	1068280	231	Loitering	1/30/2011 2:40:00 PM	2011	26	Male	England	Brown	1984 DEC	4837
	1068281	131	Radio Call	12/3/2011 1:42:00 PM	2011	41	Male		White	1970 JAN	4837
	1068282	122	Liquor Licence Act	12/4/2011 1:17:00 PM	2011	52	Male		Other	1958 DEC	21
	1068283	234	Drug Related	1/30/2011 4:20:00 PM	2011	51	Male	Jamaica	Black	1960 JAN	63
	1068283	234	Drug Related	1/30/2011 4:20:00 PM	2011	39	Male	Jamaica	Black	1972 AUG	4837
	1068284	232	General Investigation	12/1/2011 2:00:00 PM	2011	32	Female	Toronto	White	1979 JUN	763
	1068284	232	General Investigation	12/1/2011 2:00:00 PM	2011	33	Male	Toronto	White	1978 FEB	219
	1068285	541	General Investigation	2/4/2011 12:50:00 PM	2011	17	Male		Brown	1994 SEP	4317
	1068287	131	Loitering	12/4/2011 3:55:00 AM	2011	25	Male		Black	1986 OCT	1327
	1068288	222	Radio Call	12/4/2011 1:15:00 PM	2011	69	Female	Croatia	White	1942 FEB	4837
	1068289	133	General Investigation	12/3/2011 2:23:00 PM	2011	34	Male		Other	1977 SEP	102
	1068290	232	Liquor Licence Act	12/1/2011 4:00:00 PM	2011	41	Male	Jamaica	Black	1970 OCT	588
	1068291	123	General Investigation	12/4/2011 1:28:00 PM	2011	25	Male	Peterborough	White	1986 MAY	1934
	1068292	233	Loitering	1/21/2011 6:00:00 PM	2011	43	Male		Black	1968 JUL	4837





Open Design New

Objects

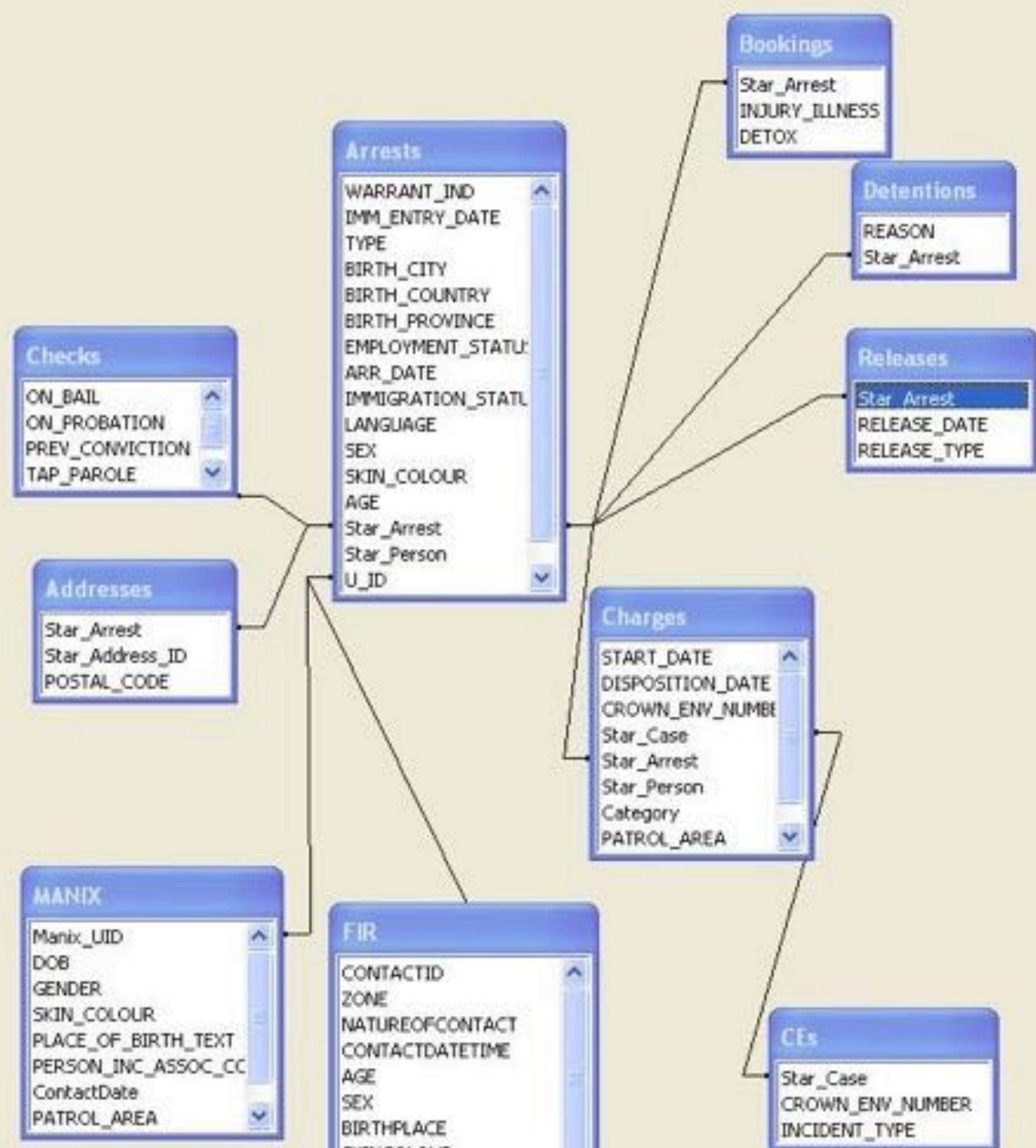
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Groups

- Favorites

WARRANT_INC	IMM_ENTRY_D	TYPE	BIRTH_CITY	BIRTH_COUNT	BIRTH_PROVIN	EMPLOYMENT	ARR_DATE	IMMIGRATION	LANGUAGE	SEX	SKIN_COLOUR	AGE	Star_Arrest	Star_Person
		SummonApplic				Unemployed	2008 DEC	CanadaCitizn	English	Female	Black	31	35205500	35205500
N		ProvOffncTck				Employed	2008 SEP	CanadaCitizn	English	Male		32	70858049	70858049
N		ProvOffncTck				Employed	2008 DEC	CanadaCitizn	English	Male		30	49754705	49754705
Y		Arrest	Toronto	Canada	Ontario	Unemployed	2008 DEC	CanadaCitizn	English	Male	White	41	17047418	17047418
N										Male	White	46	39996199	39996199
N										Female	Black	28	45305108	45305108
N										Male	White	45	38232760	38232760
N										Male	Black	41	89907146	89907146
N										Male	Brown	39	76280659	76280659
N										Male	Black	66	85893761	85893761
N										Male	White	44	63463190	63463190
N										Male		42	83757516	83757516
N										Male		70	55727228	55727228
N										Male		50	86702779	86702779
N										Male	White	23	80698553	80698553
N										Female	White	37	79630430	79630430
N										Male		23	74694327	74694327
N										Male		28	70826346	70826346
N										Male	White	80	49463897	49463897
N										Female		41	59740613	59740613
N										Male	Brown	32	33037552	33037552
N										Male		30	26224308	26224308
N										Male	White	45	83239307	83239307
N										Male	Black	34	54400001	54400001
N										Male		47	52927369	52927369
N										Male		35	21692714	21692714
N										Male		41	993878	993878
N										Male	White	21	37310041	37310041
N										Female	White	43	49501078	49501078
N										Female	White	18	6112567	6112567
N										Male	Brown	19	96498466	96498466
N										Male	White	48	90089731	90089731
N										Male	White	61	367446	367446
N										Male	White	50	3976322	3976322
N										Male	White	24	11048670	11048670
N										Male	White	18	40260782	40260782
N										Male	Brown	31	94475922	94475922
N										Female	Black	12	48805761	48805761
N										Male	Other	20	90867045	90867045
N										Male	Brown	37	44937780	44937780
N										Male	Brown	41	89135309	89135309
N										Male	White	18	73372577	73372577
Y										Male	Black	26	92712482	92712482

Relationships





# CARDED: Probing a racial disparity

**JIM RANKIN**  
STAFF REPORTER

10...9...8...

Rohan Robinson begins the mental countdown. A police cruiser has pulled up beside his Acura, an officer has peeked in the driver's side window, and the cruiser has dropped back in behind his car.

...7...6...5...

Usually, he sees the flashing lights in the rear-view mirror before he reaches zero. "It's so routine now that I know," says Robinson, 32, an elementary school teacher with the Toronto District School Board.

Robinson, who is black, estimates

that since 2001, he has been stopped close to 30 times while driving in Toronto without being ticketed. On a few other occasions he was handed tickets, and he says he deserved them.

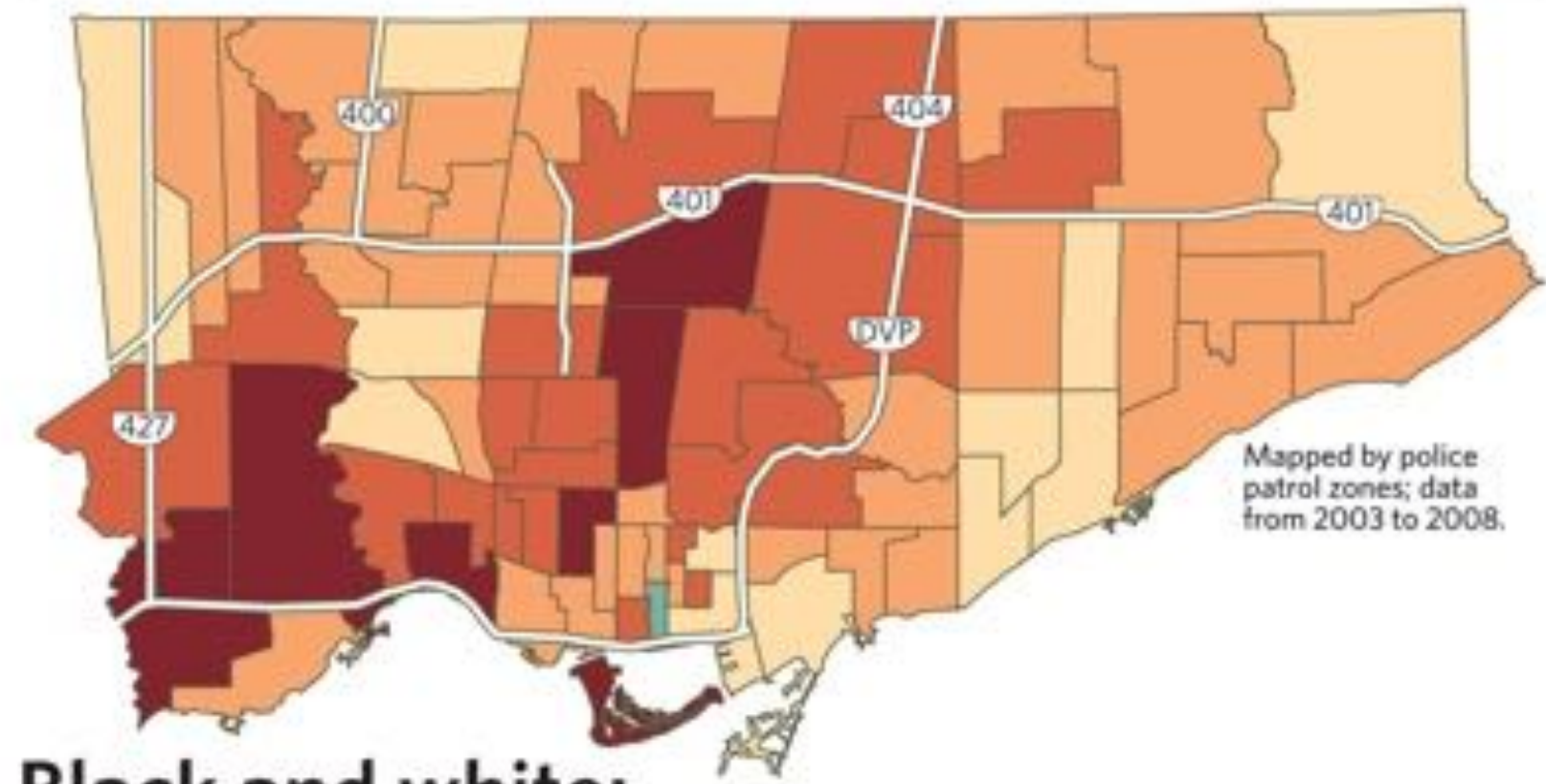
Before he was old enough to drive, beginning when he was 15, he would be stopped while on foot.

Toronto police question hundreds of thousands of people, both walking and driving, every year. In many cases, officers fill out a "208" card, police lingo for an index-card-sized document used as an investigative tool and, according to Chief Bill

CARDED continued on IN4

## INVESTIGATIVE TEAM:

David Bruser  
Moirá Welsh  
Andrew Bailey  
Jim Rankin  
Hidy Ng  
Patty Winsa  
Brett Popplewell  
Michele Henry  
Dale Brazao  
and Diana Zlomislíc



## Black and white: A difference in documentation

Police stop and document a higher proportion of black people than white people in every single one of the city's patrol zones, save one. In most areas, the chances of being stopped if you're black are at least two to three times higher. And in predominantly white, more affluent neighbourhoods, that likelihood is at least three to five times higher, but can go as high as 17.

Increased likelihood of being stopped and documented by police if you're black compared to white



CREDITS: HIDY NG, MAPPING ANALYSIS; ANDREW BAILEY, JIM RANKIN, DATA ANALYSIS/TORONTO STAR  
SOURCE: Toronto Police Service; Statistics Canada

- Mapping used to show where police document people the most, by race
- Census data used for benchmarking



# RACE MATTERS

Blacks are three times more likely than whites to be stopped by police and questioned. The Star investigates why.

FIELD INFORMATION CARD - CONTACT DETAILS	
DATE (YYYYMMDD)	TIME (24 HR. CLOCK)
AT <input type="checkbox"/> IN <input type="checkbox"/> LOCATION / INTERSECTION	ZONE
LOCATION DETAILS	
PROJECT #	OFFICER NO. (S)
REFERENCE TYPE (S) NO.	NATURE OF CONTACT
CIRCUMSTANCES OF INVESTIGATION	
PERSON INVESTIGATED	
SURNAME	IN VEHICLE <input type="checkbox"/> PEDESTRIAN <input type="checkbox"/> SECURITY <input type="checkbox"/>
DOB (YYYYMMDD)	AGE
SEX	ALIAS / NICKNAME

## In this section:

- **Video: Profiling - or practical policing?**
- **Resources: Data and background**
- **2002 Race and Crime series**
- **Interactive: Police Patrol Zones**

## Must Reads

### Part 1: Blacks documented by police at high rate

In a freedom of information request that spanned nearly seven years, the Star obtained six years worth of contact-card data from Toronto police.



### Part 2: Troubled neighbourhood desperate for change

Chalkfarm towers in northwest Toronto are stained with blood and fear — and a deep antagonism between police and tenants.



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With data starting from \$5/month on the Tab™.

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Known to police ~ 2012, 2013, 2014



- Municipal request
- No appeals, no cost
- Length: Less than a year

## POLICING

# Known to police

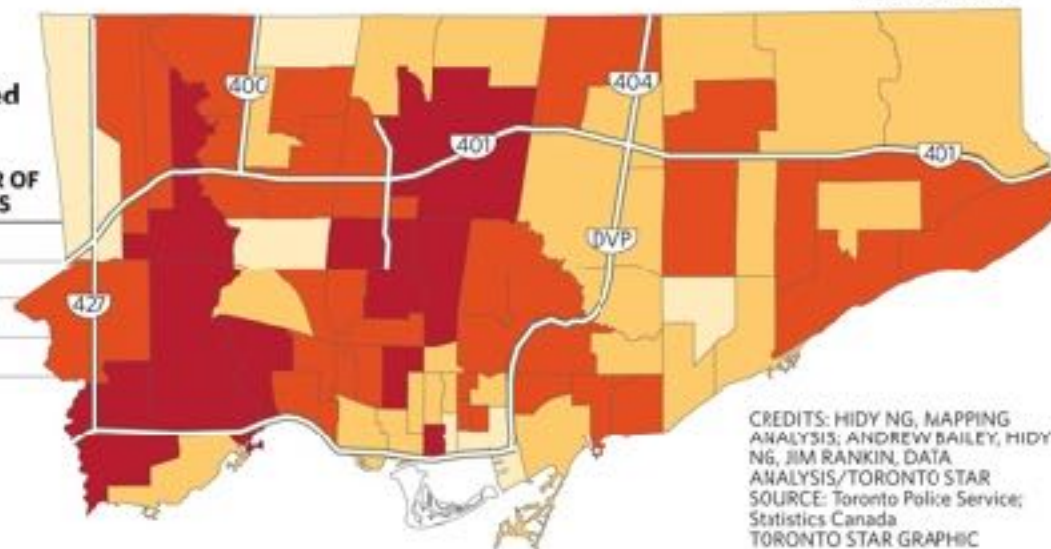
Toronto officers stop, question and document hundreds of thousands each year. Young men of colour are 'carded' in numbers far above their population

## Black and white: A difference in documentation

Police stop and document a higher proportion of black people than white people in each of the city's 72 patrol areas. On average, blacks are 3.2 times more likely to be documented than whites, but in predominantly white, more affluent neighbourhoods that likelihood increases.

Increased likelihood of being stopped and documented by police if you're black, compared to white

LIKELIHOOD	NUMBER OF ZONES
1 to less than 2	6
2 to less than 3	24
3 to less than 5	31
5 to 10 times more likely	11
No data	



Mapped by police patrol zones; data from 2009 to 2010

CREDITS: HIDEY NG, MAPPING ANALYSIS; ANDREW BAILEY, HIDEY NG, JIM RANKIN, DATA ANALYSIS/TORONTO STAR  
SOURCE: Toronto Police Service; Statistics Canada  
TORONTO STAR GRAPHIC

JIM RANKIN  
PATTY WINSA  
STAFF REPORTERS

In a cramped office in the Weston-Mt. Dennis neighbourhood, this question is put to young men taking part in a program designed to keep them from the trouble that comes with gangs, guns and drugs:

Do you think police have stopped, questioned and documented every young man of colour in this neighbourhood?

To a one, the young men agree that is the case in their part of town, one of 13 designated by the city as priority districts, and one where there had been a spate of homicides.

"I am sure of it," says Arnold Jeyabalan, 25, a case manager and employment counsellor with Prevention Intervention Toronto, the federally funded pilot project operating in this office off the lobby of an apartment building. The project closes at the end of March.

"At least once," continues Jeyabalan, who grew up in Malvern, another of the city's at-risk neighbourhoods, and has worked with youth in Weston-Mt. Dennis since 2007.

A *Star* analysis of Toronto police stop data from 2008 to mid-2011 shows that the number of young black and brown males aged 15 to 24 documented in each of the city's 72 patrol zones is greater than the actual number of young men of colour living in those areas.

Young white males and those designated as "other" do

"I find the data hugely problematic, regardless of what explanation is provided by the police service."

ALOK MUKHERJEE  
CHAIR,  
TORONTO POLICE  
SERVICES BOARD

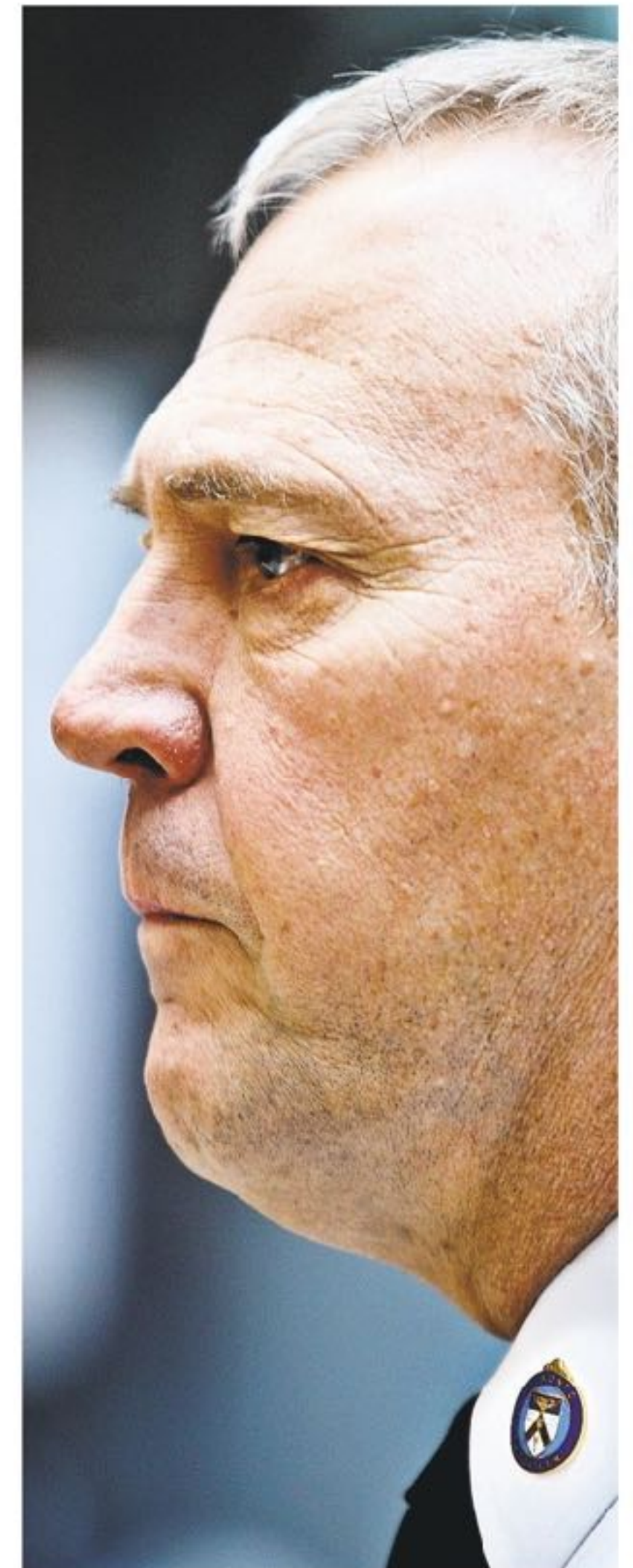
attract police attention, but nothing as pronounced as black and brown youth.

Toronto police Chief Bill Blair dismisses the possibility that his officers, who are encouraged to stop, question and document citizens in all areas of the city as part of regular and targeted police work, may have documented all young black and brown men in certain areas.

"I can't imagine that that's true," Blair said in an interview that stretched over two hours and included two deputy chiefs.

People come and go, he said, and citizens are documented in areas where they do not live, which indeed accounts for many of the cards filled out in certain neighbourhoods.

Blair pointed to internal police data that, unsurprisingly, show many of those stopped within patrol zones do not live within them. This, he argues, would account for much of the huge discrepancy in who is carded.



TARA WALTON/TORONTO STAR

Chief Bill Blair says the police strategy is working.

CARDING continued on IN3



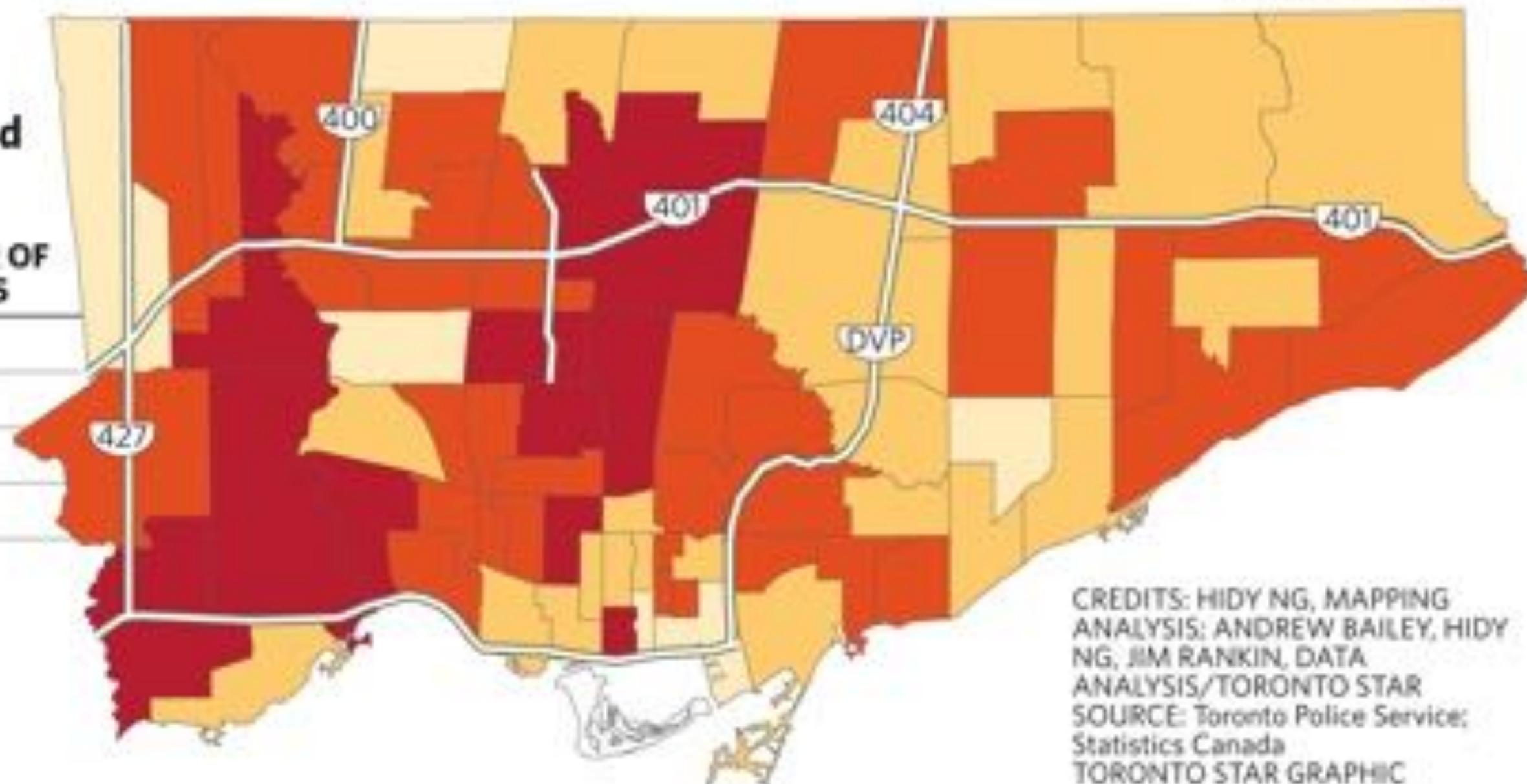
Toronto officers stop, question and document hundreds of thousands each year. Young men of colour are 'carded' in numbers far above their population

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LIKELIHOOD	NUMBER OF ZONES
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2 to less than 3	24
3 to less than 5	31
5 to 10 times more likely	11
No data	







TORONTO STAR FILE PHOTO

Police board chair Alok Mukherjee.

at mitigates any potential risk or damage that's caused by it," says Blair. "We're the word balance around here a lot trying to strike that all-important balance between the work that we have to do in enforcement or in crime prevention or through this felt presence — and at the same time, I don't want young people to feel that they're being unfairly targeted."

Blair created a specialized policing tactic called Toronto Anti-Violence Intervention Strategy (TAVIS) in response to a spike in homicides in 2005, the so-called "Year of the Gun." The strategy involves targeting violent areas with officers who stop, question and document at a higher rate than regular officers.

# Carding on the rise

After peaking in 2007 and declining in 2008, the number of contact cards filled out by Toronto police in mostly non-criminal encounters with citizens has steadily increased, adding more personal details to a massive police database that has no purging requirements. Areas with high levels of violent crime are more heavily policed in this way. These areas, typically, are neighbourhoods where there are lower incomes, fewer opportunities, more single-parent families — and more visible minorities.

## MOST CARDED AREAS: 2010

Patrol zone 121, which includes the neighbourhood of Weston-Mt. Dennis, has seen a spate of homicides in the past few years and, unsurprisingly, is where police have filled out the most contact cards. The downtown patrol zone 523, which includes the Entertainment District, is also a place where police document many citizens.

### CARDS DOCUMENTED

	Less than 2,500
	2,500 to 5,000
	5,000 to 7,500
	7,500 to 10,000
	More than 10,000
	No data

Zone 121



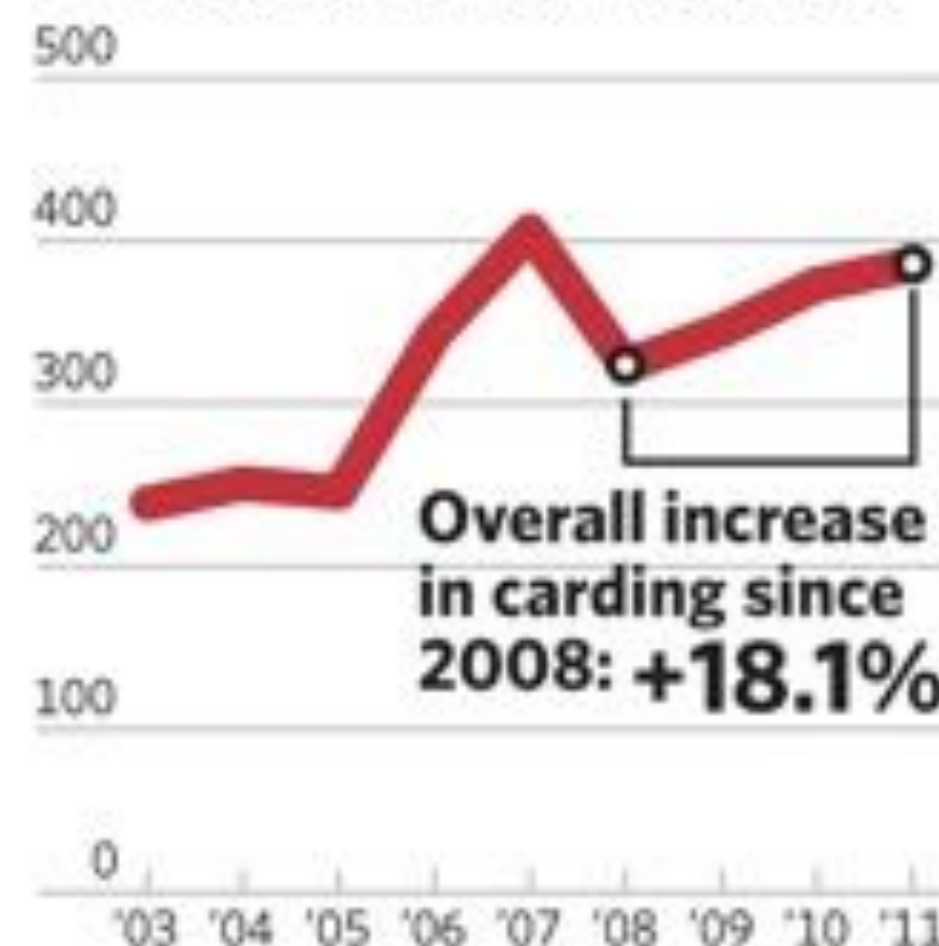
Mapped by police patrol zones; data from 2010

## CHANGES BY PATROL ZONE: 2008 TO 2010

Carding increased in 51 of the city's 72 patrol zones between 2008 and 2010. Areas in mid Toronto and the west end saw the largest increases, while the northeast part of the city saw the largest decreases.

## CARDS BY THE YEAR

CARDS DOCUMENTED/THOUSANDS



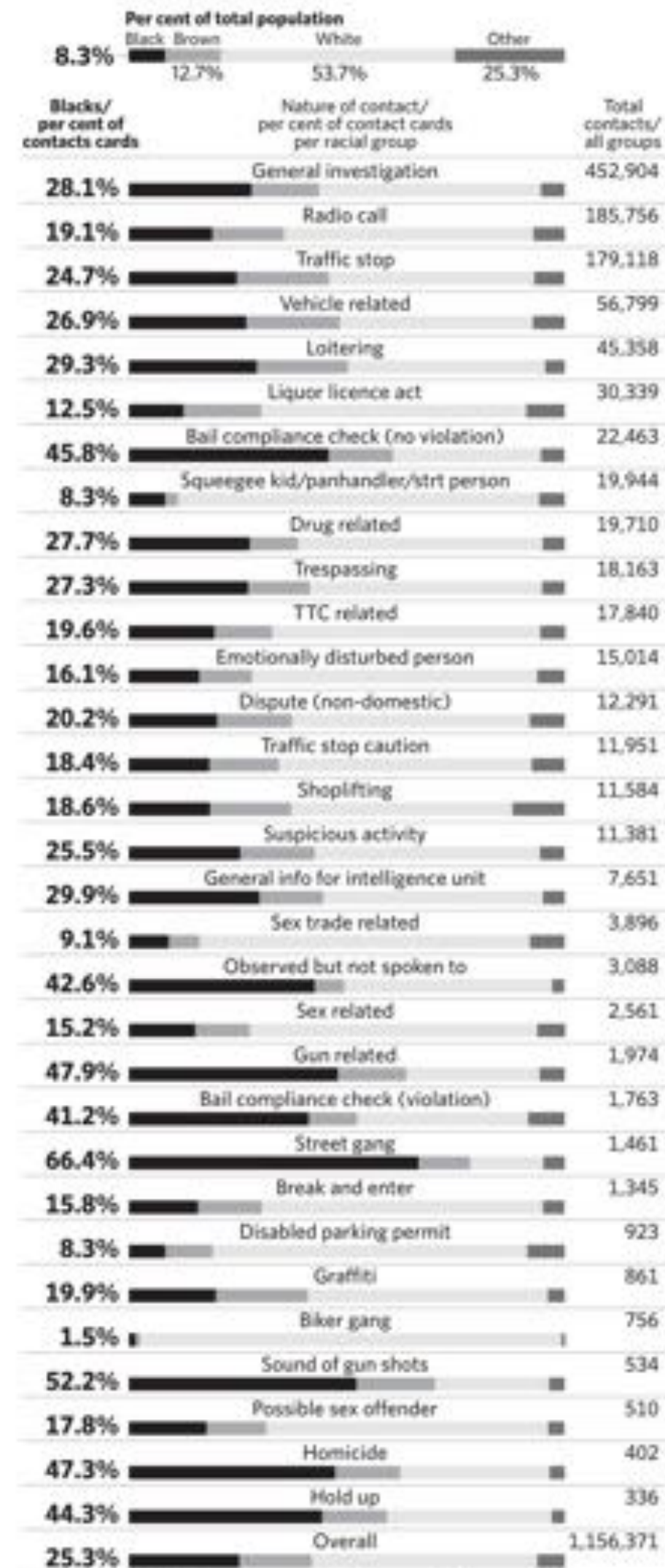
Mapped by police



# 'These stops contribute to black males' alienation from Canadian society'

## Race cards?

Blacks account for 8.3 per cent of Toronto's population. Yet, of the 1.25 million contact cards filled out by Toronto police officers when they stopped and questioned people between 2008 and mid-2011, 23.4 per cent were for people identified as black. This table shows who police stopped by four skin colour categories, for what reason and the per cent who were black.



\*Numbers do not add up to 100% due to some reasons for stops were excluded.  
CREDITS: ANDREW BAILEY, HIDEY NG, JIM RANKIN; DATA ANALYSIS/TORONTO STAR  
SOURCE: Toronto Police Service, Statistics Canada

TORONTO STAR GRAPHIC

Continued from previous page

There were 381,873 cards filled out in 2011, 20,000 fewer than 2007 but up 18 per cent from 2008.

In an interview with the *Star* two years ago, Blair attributed the drop in 2008 to the possibility that police had gotten to "know" many people, and there was less need to document them. This time around, Blair says the subsequent increases are the result of intelligence-led policing in violent crime hot spots.

Yet police fill out these cards in every area of the city, and it is considered good police work. In fact, most police services collect data from non-criminal encounters they have with the public.

"When I have two cops walking down the street, I don't want them just talking to each other," Blair says. "I want them to talk to the people... the shop owners, the people who live there, that are working there, playing there, kids going to school."

"It's that felt presence. You want them to engage with people. And one of the things we require — not every interaction with the public — is that they record a certain amount of information about those transactions. It's a measure of them doing that."

Youth interviewed by the *Star* for past stories and for this series speak of encounters with police that begin badly, such as being interrupted during a basketball game on an outdoor court and asked to produce identification.

Many feel "criminalized" by the experience and that they have no choice but to answer police questions, even if they are not required to do so.

To go silent or, worse yet, walk or run away, invites more trouble.

Aside from a few youth workers who have had their own experiences being stopped by Toronto police, the young people the *Star* interviewed for this story did not want to be identified, but they share similar stories.

"One thing I learned is that if you're not involved in that stuff, then you don't have any problems," says one thoughtful black man of 21 living in a priority neighbour-



Federal funding for Weston youth workers Arnold Jeyabalan and Zola Jeffers and their Prevention Intervention ends this month.

hood, referring to street crime and police. "But I always feel that, because I live in the neighbourhood and because I fit the profile of young black male, I guess I'm always going to be targeted."

Like this experience he had two years ago with TAVIS officers: "We were at the basketball court and they roll up on us and say, 'Wow, don't move. Don't move.'"

"They searched one of them and they say, 'Wow, what do you have in your pocket?' 'Nothing.' 'Don't lie to me. Where is the stuff?'"

There was no "stuff."

"It feels more like another system of oppression where the police use that power just to let you know that they have that right to come any time and your

home is not your home."

University of Windsor law professor David Tanovich has described the growing police database of people stopped and documented in these mostly non-criminal encounters as a "no-walk list" for "racialized youth."

In a ruling in 2004, Justice Harry LaForme, now on the Ontario Court of Appeal, wondered if the practice of documenting citizens was a possible tool for racial profiling.

"This kind of daily tracking of the whereabouts of persons — including many innocent law-abiding persons — has an aspect to it that reminds me of former government regimes that I am certain all of us would prefer not to replicate," wrote LaForme.

Akwasi Owusu-Bempah, a doctoral candidate at the University of Toronto's Centre of Criminology and co-author of a 2011 paper called "The usual suspects: police stop and search practices in Canada," believes the patterns revealed in his research and in certain Toronto neighbourhoods in the *Star* analysis are "reminiscent of apartheid South Africa."

Owusu-Bempah, who sits on the Toronto police Black Community Consultative Committee, said in an interview that Toronto police are working hard to improve relations with communities strained by violence and credits Chief Blair for hiring "racialized police officers."

But then there is the reality of what is being felt and perceived by youth on the streets.

"We see hard evidence that blacks, yes, are more likely to be stopped, searched and questioned, but what we're not seeing in the data that we have are the stories that we hear of young men who are in neigh-

bourhoods other than their own who are stopped by the police and essentially told, you know, 'If you don't have any legitimate business here, especially at night, you shouldn't be in the area, and to move along.'"

The *Star* analysis of the police stop data shows blacks are more likely than whites to be documented in areas where fewer black people live.

However, the overall level of carding of citizens is highest in areas where more visible minorities live.

Owusu-Bempah says data suggesting that in some areas police may have documented every young black or brown male "speaks exactly to this being reminiscent of apartheid South Africa and the pass laws which were used there to control the movement of blacks in the country."

Chief Blair and police board chair Mukherjee reject the apartheid comparison. "Apartheid in South Africa was state-sanctioned and -backed practice," Mukherjee says in an email. "Not so in Toronto, and that is a significant point of departure..."

"Having said that, I would worry very much with the youth workers that even the belief that this is what is happening will undo the effect of all the positive work that has been attempted to be done."

**THE BELIEF IS** there in Weston-Mt. Dennis.

"I don't think you're getting to know someone by getting their name and their height and how much they weigh," another young black man who lives there told the *Star*. "You don't know the person. You know what they look like."

Another explanation for the over-representation of blacks in the card data —

"There are bad apples in every area, but this whole community's getting targeted."

ARNOLD JEYABALAN  
YOUTH WORKER,  
PREVENTION  
INTERVENTION  
TORONTO

## Police documentation by skin colour

Is it possible that in certain areas of Toronto, police over the past several years have documented every young man of colour? Overall in Toronto, the number of young black and brown males documented by police is greater than the number of young males of those skin colours who live in the city. Of course, people move about and not everybody documented will be from the city. But it does allow for the question to be asked.



### ALL AGES AND GENDER

DOCUMENTED INDIVIDUALS FROM 2008 TO MID-2011

**BLACK:** Enough black people documented to equal **74%** of the city's black population

**BROWN:** Enough brown people documented to equal **39%** of the city's brown population

**WHITE:** Enough white people documented to equal **30%** of the city's white population

**OTHER:** Enough other people documented to equal **9%** of the city's other population

### YOUNG MEN, AGED 15 TO 24

DOCUMENTED INDIVIDUALS FROM 2008 TO MID-2011

**BLACK YOUTH:** Enough black youth documented to equal **340%** of the city's young black population

**BROWN YOUTH:** Enough brown youth documented to equal **183%** of the city's young brown population

**WHITE YOUTH:** Enough white youth documented to equal **99%** of the city's young white population

**OTHER YOUTH:** Enough other youth documented to equal **33%** of the city's other youth

SOURCE: Toronto Police Service, Statistics Canada CREDITS: ANDREW BAILEY, HIDEY NG, JIM RANKIN; DATA ANALYSIS/TORONTO STAR TORONTO STAR GRAPHIC

stops contribute to black males' alienation from Canadian society."

Since becoming chief in 2005, Blair has been quick to acknowledge that racial bias is a reality in policing, as it is with any other segment of society that hires from the human race.

But he has also stressed that his strategy with TAVIS is to heavily police in areas of high victimization. These areas happen to be poorer and home to more visible minorities.

"The most important statistic so far?" Blair says, nearing the end of the interview.

"I think that all of those young people are safer today than they were five years ago. And I think it's far more likely that young people can be successful and live in their neighbourhoods without being fearful."

"That's ultimately why we're doing this... It's safer for those young people."

Police are certainly aware of the negative perceptions.

They have consulted youth over how to improve interactions they have with young people and have tailored the TAVIS program to do maintenance and follow-up programs in areas they target.

But youth worker Jeyabalan says there is much more work to be done in at-risk areas, and it is all about the approach.

"There are bad apples in every area, but this whole community's getting targeted," he says. "That's why you have people who are innocent having those feelings toward police."

"There's a lot of good cops... But there definitely needs to be a change in their interactions with the youth."

Data analysis by Andrew Bailey, Hidey Ng and Jim Rankin.

## Violent crime

2009-2010  
Blacks are charged with a disproportionate number of violent crimes.

**8.3%**  
of Toronto's population is black, but...

**30%**  
of violent crime charges between 2009 and 2010 were laid against blacks.

CREDITS: ANDREW BAILEY, HIDEY NG, JIM RANKIN; DATA ANALYSIS/TORONTO STAR  
SOURCE: Toronto Police Service, Statistics Canada

## TOMORROW, PART 2: PATROL ZONE 121

### KNOWN TO POLICE

Detailed interactive maps, an animated movie and an explanation of the *Star* analysis are available online



[thestar.com/known2police](http://thestar.com/known2police)



A heavy police presence is a defining feature of life in Weston-Mt. Dennis. The body count is down, but tensions are high between youth and police

## Patrol Zone



# 121



JIM RANKIN/TORONTO STAR

**PATTY WINSA  
AND JIM RANKIN**  
STAFF REPORTERS

A flickering television illuminates the young faces in a darkened room at 121 Humber Blvd., a community housing apartment building in a neighbourhood labelled one of Toronto's most troubled.

The boys and girls and youth workers of the Boys and Girls

In this episode from the first season, drug dealer Avon doubles a bounty on the heads of rival Omar, a likeable yet deadly dealer, and his crew. It's street retribution for a rip-off that will, naturally, go unreported to the authorities.

The boys and girls in the room, most in their early teens, see a reflection of what

But this is a place where single families struggle, unemployment is high and there is a general lack of opportunity. This is what kids see out their windows: on Aug. 25, 2010, four men were shot in a housing complex next to 121 Humber, including a 19-year-old with a bullet in his chest, a 17-year-old with two bullets

Building No. 9, the last structure standing of the former Kodak plant, is still an icon — for lost jobs and neighbourhood decline. The old CCM bicycle plant is gone too. The high-crime Weston-Mt. Dennis area is one of the city's 13 "priority" or at-risk neighbourhoods.



## Patrol Zone 121

Patrol Zone 121 cuts through the Weston-Mt. Dennis neighbourhood. It's where police filled out the most contact cards between 2008 and mid-2011. Of the city's 72 patrol zones, it has the highest black population. Following a spate of homicides, Chief Bill Blair deployed TAVIS officers into the area.



### BY THE NUMBERS

- Population: **43,129**
- Police document cards between 2008 and mid-2011: **35,920**
- Visible minority population: **63.2%**
- Median household income: **\$44,890**
- Per cent of single-parent families: **33.4%**
- Unemployment rate, overall: **12.3%**
- Unemployment rate, 15 to 24 year olds: **19.9%**

SOURCE: Toronto Police Service, Statistics Canada

DATA ANALYSIS: HIOY NG, ANDREW BAILEY





Chris Blackwood, left, and Rayon Brown of the Boys and Girls Clubs. Police "automatically assume we're drug dealers and killers," says Brown.



Former T2 Division unit commander, Staff Superintendent Tom Russell, left, and his replacement, Superintendent Mark Saunders, outside the station at the corner of Trethewey and Black Creek Drives.



Shadya Yasin of the York Youth Coalition challenges area politicians at a community meeting last month that focused on youth programming and funding.



Arnold Jeyabalan and Zola Jeffers will be out of work at month's end, federal funding having expired for their Prevention Intervention youth program.

# 'It's not all a doom-and-gloom story here'

Continued from previous page

"There were a lot of young people who felt there was an abuse of power from the police towards them in terms of the questioning," says Shadya Yasin of the York Youth Coalition, a group of 18 agencies that work together to provide service coordination for youth programs in Mt. Dennis.

"Until today, there are still a lot of young people who feel questioned."

Two youth workers interviewed by the Star recalled a day last year when they were walking along Jane St. and saw that TAVIS officers had pulled over four different motorists in a span of two blocks.

"Unfortunately they were all young and black," says one of the workers. "That was a shocking experience for me because I've never seen four different people in cars — not even two blocks apart — pulled over."

**ABOUT 65 GRADUATES** of Prevention Intervention Toronto (PIT), a nine-month, federally funded gang prevention program run by the non-profit agency JVS Toronto, sit waiting to receive their diplomas in the brightly lit gym of the Bialik Hebrew Day School on Bathurst St. south of Lawrence Ave. W.

Since July, the youth — who are from some of the city's most at-risk communities, including Weston-Mt. Dennis — have received intensive mentoring from case workers who have taught them about anger management, life skills, leadership training, even food literacy.

All of them were chosen because they were involved in gangs or lived in a neighbourhood where there were strong odds they might join one.

But "it's not like the Crips and Blood gangs sensationalized in the U.S.," says Zola Jeffers, a hard-nosed case worker who mentored youth in the Weston-Mt. Dennis branch of the program. "Here it's about survival and poverty. It's about putting food on the table."

The gym is decorated with tables covered in black cloths and dotted with black, gold and white balloons. High up on the walls are the bright blue-and-white championship banners of the Hebrew school's sports teams.

But for the youth sitting five rows deep, watching a gritty theatrical performance on mental health and teen sex before the ceremony, success will be judged in far less tangible terms.

"If I can get a young man to stop referring to women as 'bitches,' that's suc-



Looking east along Eglington Ave. W., left, where construction is underway on a cross-town subway line. Above, Weston Rd. street lights bear reminders of another neighbourhood icon, the long-gone CCM bicycle plant.

PHOTOS BY JIM RANKIN/TORONTO STAR

## VIDEO KNOWN TO POLICE

Detailed interactive maps, an animated movie and Part 1 of the series are available online.

[thestar.com/knowntopolice](http://thestar.com/knowntopolice)

He says he often hears from teenagers who say, "Oh I can't stand the police. I can't stand this. There are no jobs for me." But Asante says he encourages the conversations and hopes it will keep the kids coming through the door.

"When they come back the second time it's more positive," says Asante. "And that's what I'm always trying to get out of them. That you can be in a terrible position but there's always something to be

**"It's not like the Crips and Blood gangs sensationalized in the U.S. Here it's about survival. It's about putting food on the table."**

**ZOLA JEFFERS**  
YOUTH WORKER

bigger," says Asante. But it's law enforcement resources that have been on the rise.

the area.

About 20 community agency workers, including two from the Jane St. hub, as well as city employees fill the small second-floor boardroom of an old City of York building on Keele St.

YYC coordinator Shadya Yasin has brought everyone together with the goal of creating a "clear and open conversation between the three levels of government and the coalition members when it comes

modelled on the Jane St. hub.

"I think that's what we need to look at as a community," says Nurziata. "We should be looking at partnerships and amalgamating them all into one space, providing even more services than you are because there will be more resources given to that."

Already, many of the agencies in the room dominate local Archbishop Romero high school, where they run programs

young person who is on the verge of going to the other side of the law, instead of arresting them, listen.

"And say, 'Go talk to Jim, go talk to Amanda. Make sure you're in that program for this amount of time and I'll at least do a follow-up.'"

The police presence, for youth in the area, is constant. There are police in their buildings and in their high schools. On her way to the meeting, Yasin says she was waiting for a bus when police pulled up and called out to a young male beside her.

"Hey, come here. Where's your ID? Where are you going? Do you live here?" she says the police asked.

"It's pretty sad to see what's happening here. There are a lot of people who are working to change things but this is something that is still continuing."

**BACK AT THE** Boys and Girls Club at 123 Humber Blvd., the television set goes dark. Usually, the youth workers have the kids discuss what they've just watched on *The Wire*. On this night, they talk with reporters about their neighbourhood and relations with police.

The latter is a tough topic, given that the youth workers have had negative personal experiences with police. The kids in the club are young but they, too, have negative views of police, based on what they've seen and what older siblings have experienced.

A young boy in the room, on the cusp of puberty, says he hasn't personally had a bad experience with police. It will come, says Chris Blackwood, 30, a program co-ordinator for the club, who grew up in the Jane and Finch neighbourhood.

"They'll catch him at the basketball court. See what he's up to. See what he has. I think it happens to all young black males, in regards to police. We're in a priority neighbourhood. We're always in the wrong place."

"I think they're very unaware of the impacts that they may have, coming into these neighbourhoods, where you have normal people and normal children," says Hiba Waia, 26, a youth worker with the club and a youth and tenant representative in her home neighbourhood of Jamieson.

Officers come in "cocky, arrogant," continues Waia.

"Like it doesn't matter. There are other people who live within the neighbourhood that are not criminals. The majority of them that work in TAVIS, I would say, the ones that work in these high priority

**"We're in a priority neighbourhood. We're always in the wrong place."**

**CHRIS BLACKWOOD**  
PROGRAM CO-ORDINATOR,  
BOYS AND GIRLS CLUBS

them. You teach them how to fish, they fish for life."

Back in the TV room, a young girl who had been silent says she has something to say.

"I don't think police are doing a good job," she says, clutching a pillow to her chest. "Because my brother died four years ago and..."

She pauses, and all chatter in the room stops.

"They never found his killer yet. His killer is still on the road. He's probably still like enjoying his life right now, and that's all I wanted to say."

And then she cries.

**MARK SAUNDERS**, Acting Superintendent and Unit Commander of T2 Division, is new to the job, having just been moved from his position as head of the homicide squad, where he worked for 10 years and was the first black officer to lead it.

Saunders and his predecessor, Tom Russell, who ran T2 Division for a year before being promoted late last year, recognize there is always room for improvement but say much is being done to improve relationships with youth.

"I get it when you're talking about toxic," says Saunders. "But I'm getting phone calls from people who are very excited. They're going, 'Great, when are you coming out into the community?'"

The two senior officers seemed shocked to hear what youth and youth workers interviewed by the Star were saying about their perceptions of police and relationship, and don't believe it speaks for the majority. But they were concerned.

"Any viewpoint with youth that is negative towards police is concerning, no matter where you work within the city of Toronto," says Russell. "So, we're always looking for opportunities to work with youth, to listen to youth..."

To that end, the division is developing a youth liaison committee. And T2 Division officers have initiated — on their own — a number of recreation programs, including cooking, camera clubs and sporting activities.

"I can show you hundreds of youth involved in programs that police have been





REDIRECTED BY CNO - CONTACT BOMLS				POLICE	
NAME	DATE	TIME	POLICE		
VIOLENT / NON-VIOLENT / OTHER					
DATE / TIME		POLICE			
NAME	DATE / TIME	POLICE			
CHARGE - DESCRIPTION					
FINGERPRINTS - IDENTIFIED - FINGERPRINTS					
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> STAR INVESTIGATION

# 'Devastating. Unacceptable'

Toronto police board chair  
appalled by Star findings  
that show a stubborn rise  
in the number of citizens  
stopped and documented  
by our police officers  
— with black males  
heavily overrepresented

**JIM RANKIN AND PATTY WINSA**  
STAFF REPORTERS

**ANDREW BAILEY AND HIDY NG**  
DATA ANALYSTS

Despite years of growing criticism, Toronto police continue to disproportionately stop, question and document blacks — and to a lesser extent, people with "brown" skin — adding their personal details into a controversial database.

Proportionally, a new Star analysis of Toronto police data from 2008 to 2012 shows blacks here were stopped and documented to a higher degree than blacks who were stopped and frisked by New York City police under a policy there that has led to outrage, lawsuits and settlements.

The overall number of people of all colours documented by Toronto police also steadily rose in those five years, according to a Star analysis of contact card data.

Looking solely at young black male Toronto residents, aged 15 to 24, the Star found the number "carded" at least once between 2008 and 2012 — in the police



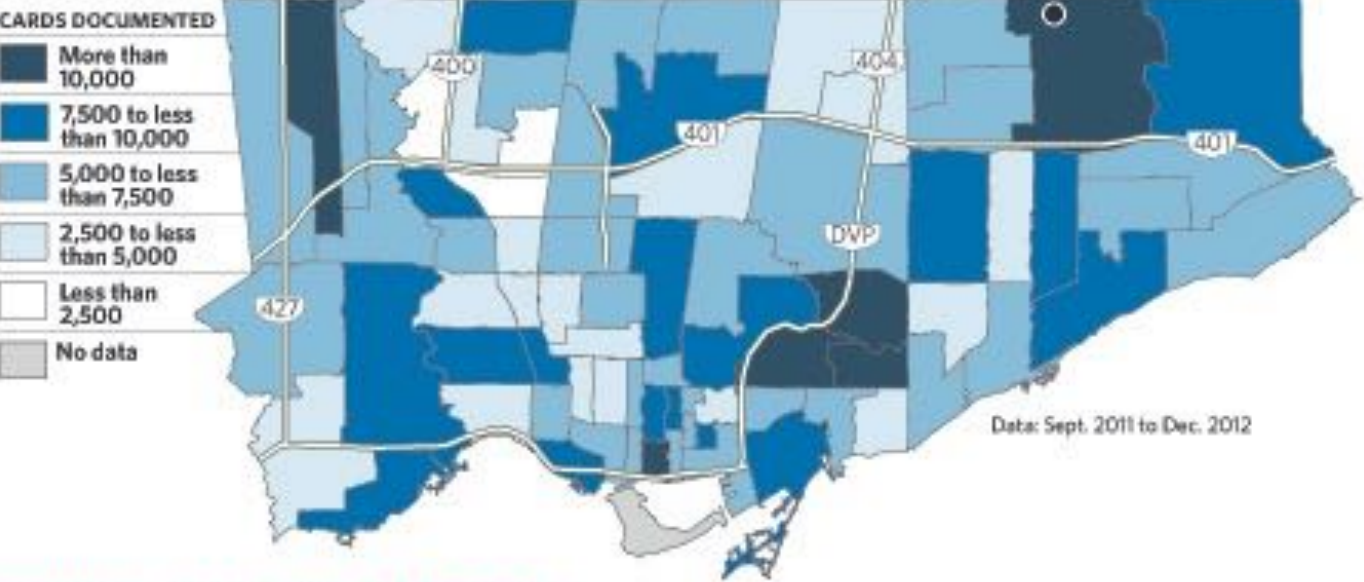


# Carding on the rise again

Toronto police filled out almost 400,000 contact cards in 2012, a 23-per-cent increase since 2008. The cards are filled out by officers who stop and document individuals in what are usually non-criminal encounters. Areas of the city with high levels of violent crime are more heavily policed in this way. These areas, typically, are neighborhoods where there are lower incomes, fewer opportunities, more single-parent families — and more visible minorities.

## MOST CARDED AREA

Officers in patrol zone 423 filled out 14,661 contact cards in a period from Sept. 2011 — when the Toronto Police Service made changes in the city's patrol zone boundaries — to Dec. 2012. The high number may not be surprising since the zone, which runs from Brimley Rd. east to Neilson and from Steeles Ave. south to Sheppard, is one of the city's most populated. But an analysis of new police data shows officers in 42 Division card at high rates.



## YOUNG, MALE AND CARDED

From 2008 to 2012, the number of young black males, aged 15 to 24, who were documented at least once in the police patrol zone where they live exceeded the young black male population for all of Toronto. That same analysis shows lower counts for young brown and white men. For each group, each year, of course, a new number of people enter this demographic, as 14-year-olds become 15, and, if carded, they contribute to a higher count, and this would make it entirely possible that the number exceeds the snapshot census population estimates. But as police continue to stop, question and document hundreds of thousands of people annually, it becomes increasingly possible that all youth of colour, in certain parts of the city, could become part of a police contact card database.



### Young males (15-24)

Per cent of young males by skin colour carded by police in the patrol zone where they live\*.

Black:	123%
Brown:	56%
Other:	11%
White:	30%

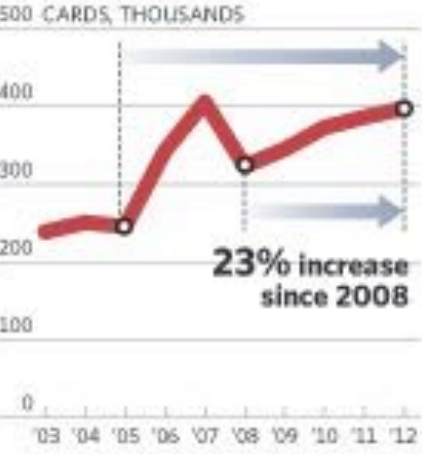
### All males

Per cent of all males by skin colour carded by police in the patrol zone where they live\*.

Black:	40%
Brown:	20%
Other:	5%
White:	14%

## CARDS BY THE YEAR

62% increase since Summer of the Gun in 2005, the year Bill Blair became police chief



SOURCE: Toronto Police Service; Statistics Canada; Census projections  
\*Calculations do not include contact cards involving bail compliance checks

DATA ANALYSIS: Toronto Star

TORONTO STAR GRAPHIC



> STAR INVESTIGATION

# One cop, five years, 6,600 cards

Is an individual officer's high rate of street checks of blacks a reason for police to be concerned?

**JIM RANKIN AND PATTY WINSA**  
STAFF REPORTERS

**ANDREW BAILEY AND HIDY NG**  
DATA ANALYSTS

During Officer #81499756's time with the Toronto Anti-Violence Intervention Strategy unit, the first-class constable would, on a typical shift, stop, question and document about a dozen people in encounters that typically involved no arrest or charge.

As every other police officer in Toronto is expected to do, this officer filled out contact cards on the people he — and usually one or more partners — stopped.

Name, date of birth, location, physical description, the reason for the stop, which was most often “general investi-



The Star's new analysis of police carding practices began Saturday.



# contact cards



> KNOWN TO POLICE

# Ex officer's candid view of carding

Toronto police say stopping, questioning and documenting citizens is an invaluable investigative tool, but one disagrees

*What follows is the frank perspective of a former Toronto police officer, who asked not to be identified out of concern of being seen as anti-police and how it might affect employment. The Star asked the former officer about the practice of stopping, questioning and documenting citizens in what are mostly non-criminal encounters. These are called street checks, 208s or contact cards.*



“We’ll actually go out in the parks and whatever and we’ll look for guys who fit a certain description, who may not be wearing fancy clothes, and we’ll harass them, like literally. And we call it shakedown.

“You have to, because at the end of the day it’s numbers.”







Unequal justice ~ 2013



# SATURDAY STAR

WEATHER HIGH -2 C | 'A SCOWL OF CLOUD' — ROBERT BROWNING | MAP S8

SATURDAY, MARCH 2, 2013



## STAR INVESTIGATION

# Black and aboriginal youths overrepresented in Ontario jails

**JIM RANKIN AND PATTY WINSA**  
STAFF REPORTERS

**HIDY NG**  
DATA ANALYST

Black and aboriginal people are overrepresented in Ontario's youth and adult jails, with some staggering ratios that mirror those of black Americans in U.S. jails.

A Star analysis of Ontario jail data, obtained by University of Toronto doctoral candidate Akwasi Owusu-Bempah through freedom of information requests, shows:

➤ In Ontario, aboriginal boys aged 12 to 17 make up 2.9 per cent of the young male population.

But in Ontario youth facilities they

make up nearly 15 per cent of young male admissions.

In other words, there are, proportionally, five times more aboriginal boys in the young male jail population than what they represent in the general young male population.

JUSTICE continued on A18

Read the series at [thestar.com/unequaljustice](http://thestar.com/unequaljustice)

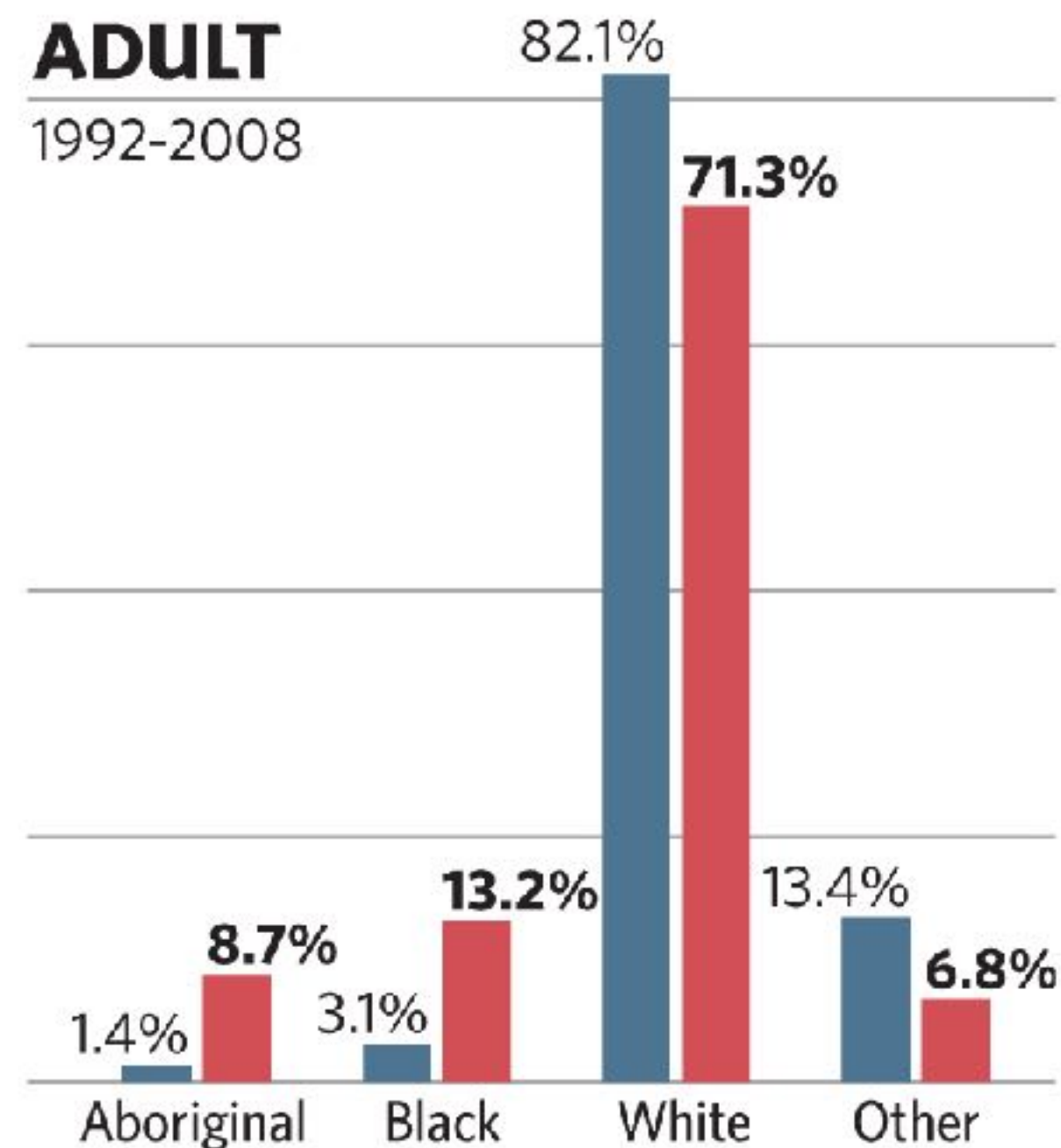
- Insight, A family's story, **IN1**
- Analysis, IN3. Editorial, **IN6**
- Tomorrow: Harsh justice for aboriginals



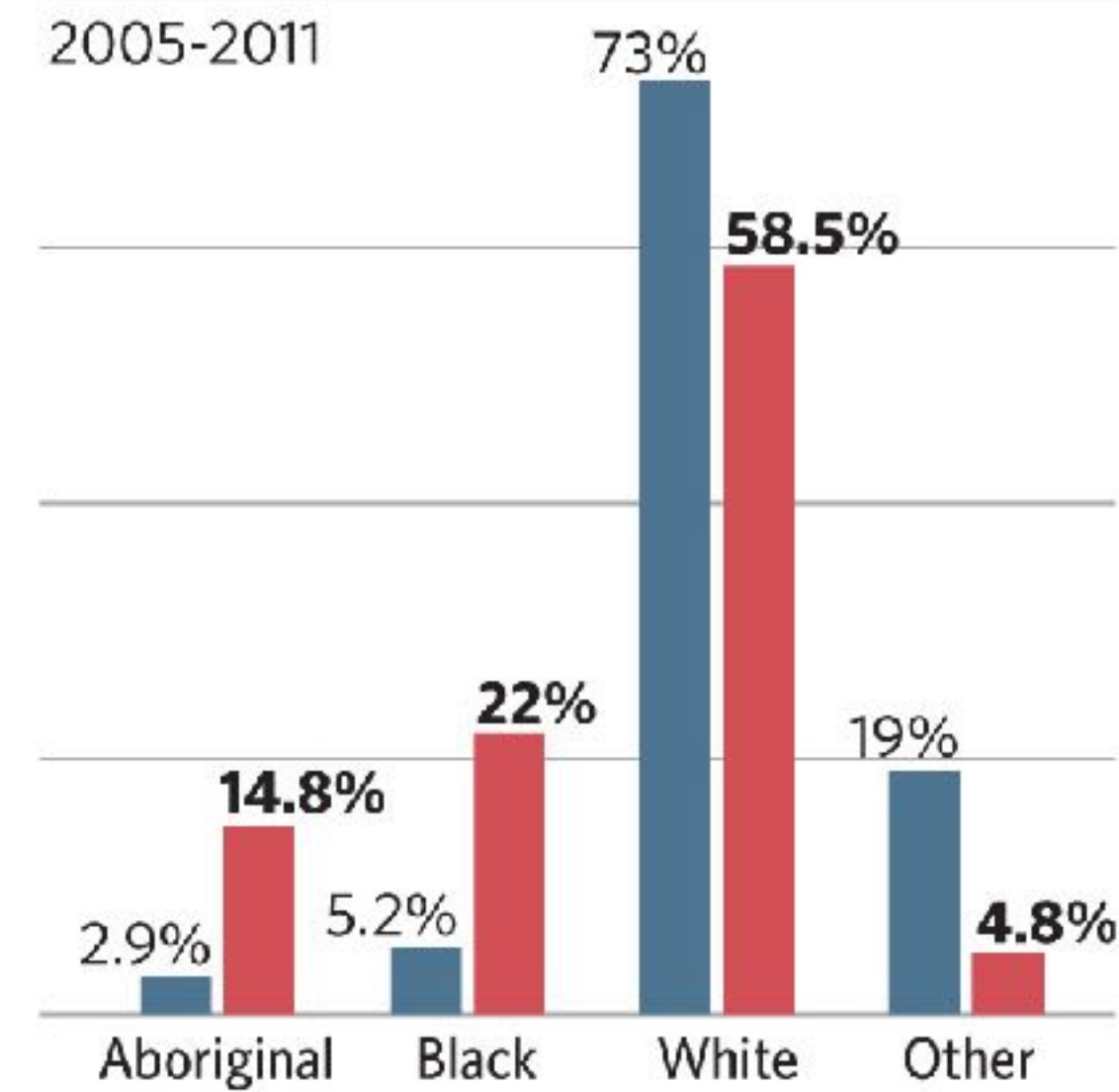
## Jail admissions

The proportion of aboriginal and black inmates admitted to provincial jails is greater than the proportions of aboriginals and blacks in the general population, which means they are vastly overrepresented in jail. There is no such overrepresentation for white inmates.

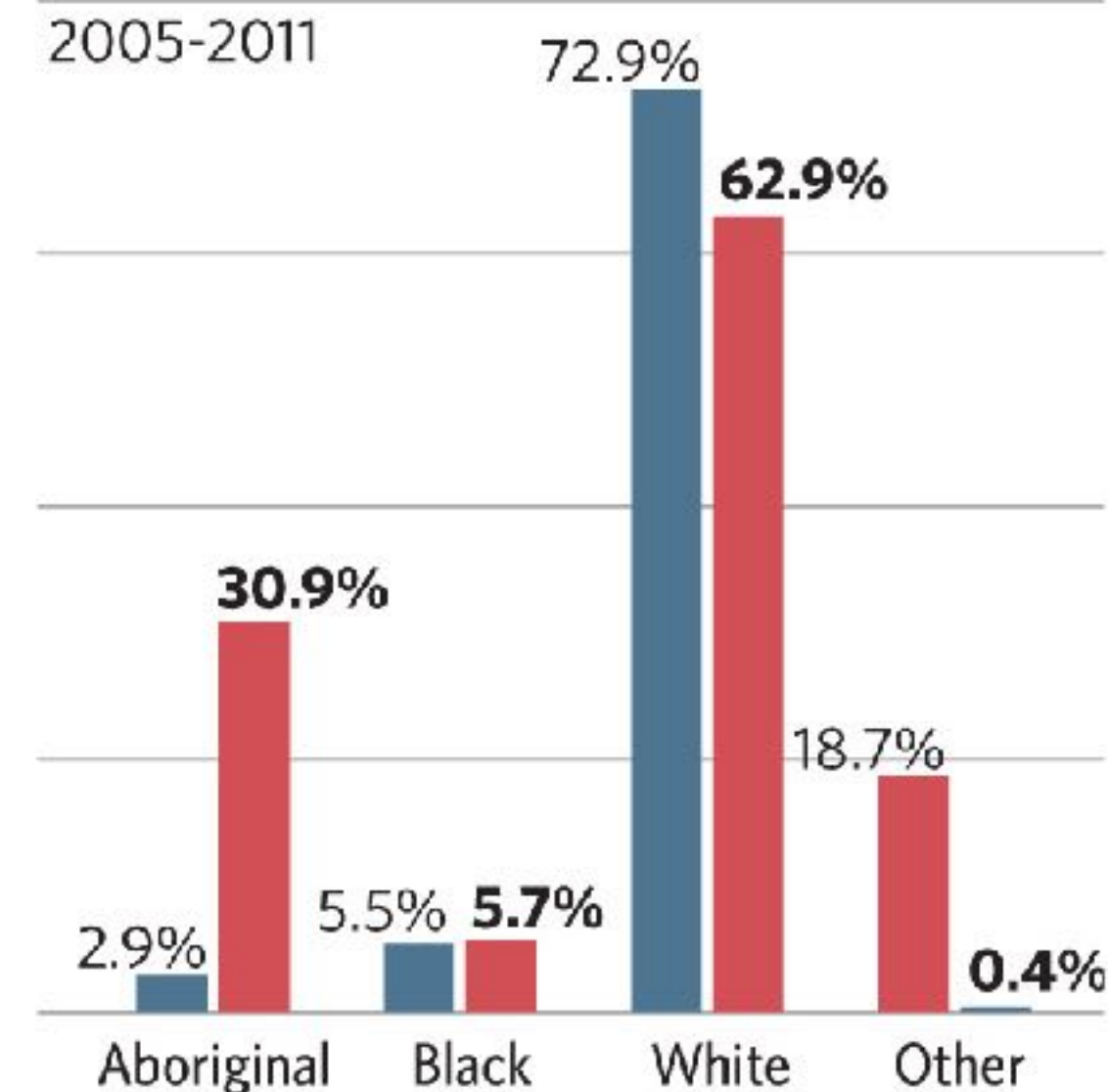
■ % OF GENERAL POPULATION  
■ % OF JAIL POPULATION



## MALE YOUTH



## FEMALE YOUTH



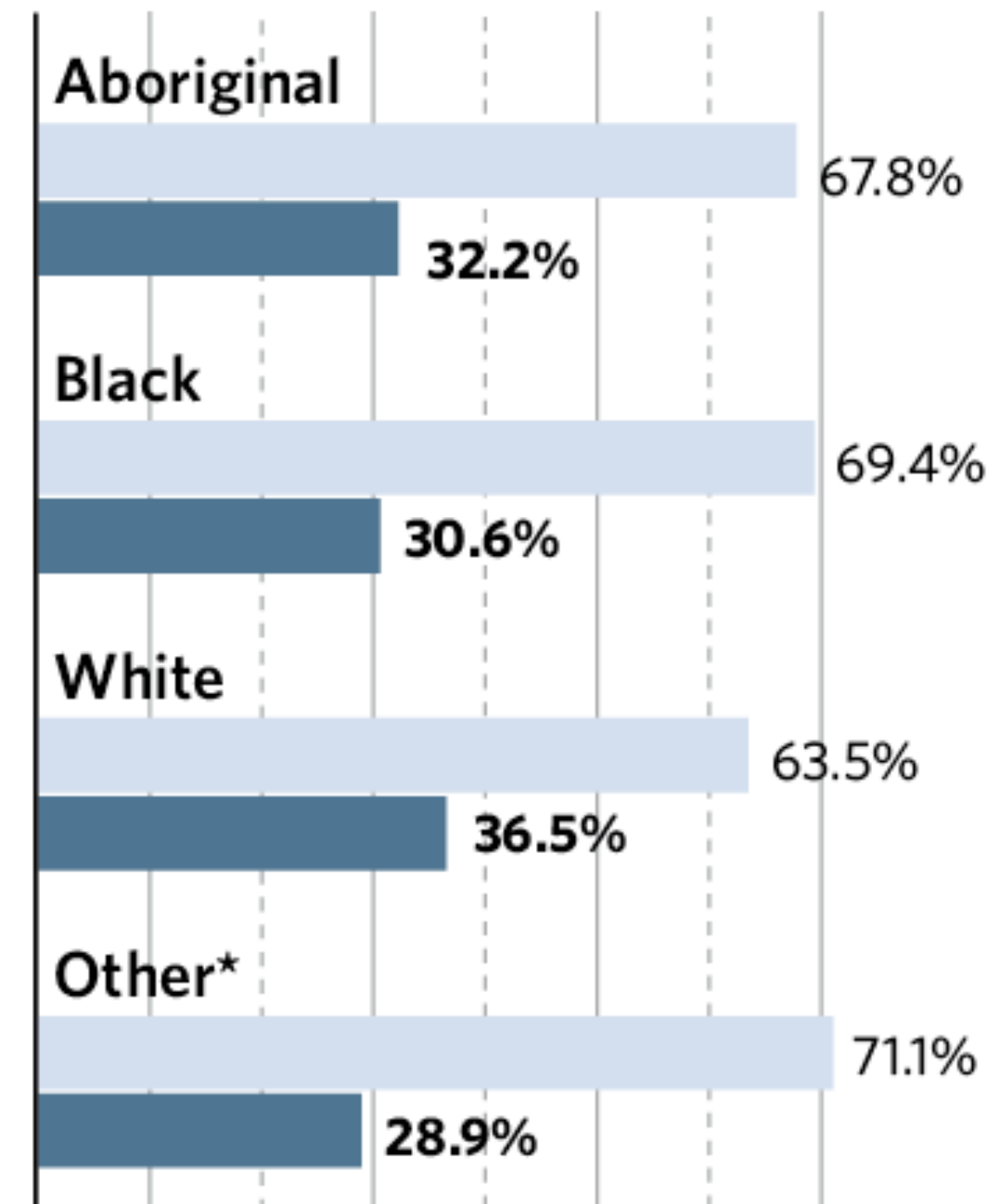
SOURCE: Ministry of Children and Youth Services and Ministry of Community Safety and Correctional Services and Statistics Canada



## Bail or jail

■ REMAND ADMISSIONS ■ SENTENCED ADMISSIONS

A comparison of Ontario adult inmate admissions data shows that, for the fiscal year 2010/2011, white people were the least likely of all ethnic backgrounds to be held in jail pending trial, and most likely to be entering jail to serve a sentence. Factors in denying bail include seriousness of the alleged crime, criminal histories, inability to find a surety, lack of a stable environment to return to, and risk of flight. Spending time in remand before trial increases the likelihood of a guilty plea, studies have shown. It is also a period when accessing rehabilitation and other programs is most difficult.



SOURCE: Ministry of Community Safety and Correctional Services, Statistics Canada

NOTE: In a given year, a person could spend time in jail on remand — which is awaiting bail — and also receive a sentence. They would show up in both categories.

\*Other includes East Asian, Hispanic, South Asian, Southeast Asian, West Asian/Arabic TORONTO STAR GRAPHIC





DREAMSTIME PHOTO ILLUSTRATION

# Sucked into the criminal justice system

The case of a Toronto family illustrates how young black men can get caught up in the system, and how it can be hard to get out

**JIM RANKIN AND PATTY WINSA**  
STAFF REPORTERS

**HIDY NG**  
DATA ANALYST

On a cold Saturday night in January, Jean, 40, sits at the kitchen table of the east Toronto apartment she shares with her two sons, Brandon, 19, and Thomas, 22. Both sons have cycled in and out of the youth criminal justice system, and now find themselves in serious trouble as young adults.

Court paperwork is scattered across the table.

After spending years bailing out her boys, the elder perhaps more than 50 times, Jean finds herself at the dismal point where even she has been sucked into the criminal justice

dropped by just before Christmas and found Thomas to be out, without his mother.

It did not matter to police that Thomas, a diabetic with a host of food allergies, had taken a cab to hospital, where he was being treated in the emergency room.

Jean has just returned from a police station, where she was fingerprinted and photographed on the surety charges. It's now up to the courts to sort that one out. Jean is confident the charges

with the names of her sons, since this story delves into their youth records.)

Jean, who is white, raised her boys, who present as black, on her own. She was a teenage mom, with a supportive family. She worked as hard as she could to support the boys and further her own education. Today she has a well-paying job working with special needs children.

But along the way, just about every factor experts cite when talking about the roots of what lands people in legal trouble and jail came into play.

The real slide began when Thomas was 10. He was a handful. Teachers talked of attention deficit disorder, in addition to his diabetes. The Children's Aid Society, following up on an educator's belief he needed Ritalin, got involved. Jean, who did not want her son on the drug, said she was forced to hand over Thomas for a psychiatric assessment or would risk losing both boys for being an unfit mother who refused medical treatment.

"I was fought by the doctor. I was fought by the CAS. Eventually I caved."

Thomas was taken, screaming, by police, to a youth psychiatric crisis centre. From there, he went to foster homes

**unequal** justice

## ONLINE

See our website for a timeline on the history of youth justice in Canada, a video and



unequal  
justice

Aboriginal people often end up in jail after minor crimes lead to more trouble. But there are small signs of hope

# 'I got caught up in the system'

**PATTY WINSA AND JIM RANKIN**

STAFF REPORTERS

As Jill Buckshot describes the addiction that helped put her in prison, her words sometimes slur together over the phone, so that she has to spell out "dope sick" and "Dilaudid."

"Dope sick" refers to the violent physical reaction that occurs when an addict goes a day without drugs. The second term is the narcotic she would steal for.

Buckshot, who became addicted at 25 after having surgery and taking a prescribed narcotic for the pain, would steal steaks from an Ottawa grocery store by hiding them under large packages of toilet paper. Then she'd sell them for half-price.



Jill Buckshot, seen in a recent photo, became addicted at 25 after taking a prescribed narcotic for



MMIW ~ 2015



## Missing & Murdered

Unsolved cases of indigenous women and girls

"Having her there at the birth of my daughter is one of my favourite memories."

Candice L'hommecourt, Shelly's sister



Angel Carlick

**Shelly Dene**

25, Missing since 2013. Unsolved.

THE  
GLOBE  
AND  
MAIL



Sections

thestar.com



# GONE

MISSING AND MURDERED  
INDIGENOUS WOMEN

'HE WAS ABLE TO  
MANIPULATE THE  
SITUATION'





Society's Children ~ 2014 -



- Eight provincial requests and counting
- Couple of appeals
- Cost: \$6,000
- Length: Ongoing

> STAR INVESTIGATION

## Just 8% of Toronto kids are black But 41% of kids in care are black

The stunning disparity is being called ‘a modern-day residential schools system.’ Critics believe that **poverty, cultural misunderstanding and racism** are to blame

SANDRO CONTENTA, LAURIE MONSEBRAATEN  
AND JIM RANKIN  
STAFF REPORTERS

In the Toronto area, black children are being taken from their families and placed into foster and group-home care at much higher rates than white children.

Numbers obtained by the Star indicate 41 per cent of the children and youth in the care of the Children's Aid Society of Toronto are black. Yet only 8.2 per cent of Toronto's population under the age of 18 is black.

By contrast, 37 per cent of kids in the care of the Toronto CAS are white, at a time when more than half of the city's population under the age of 18 is white.

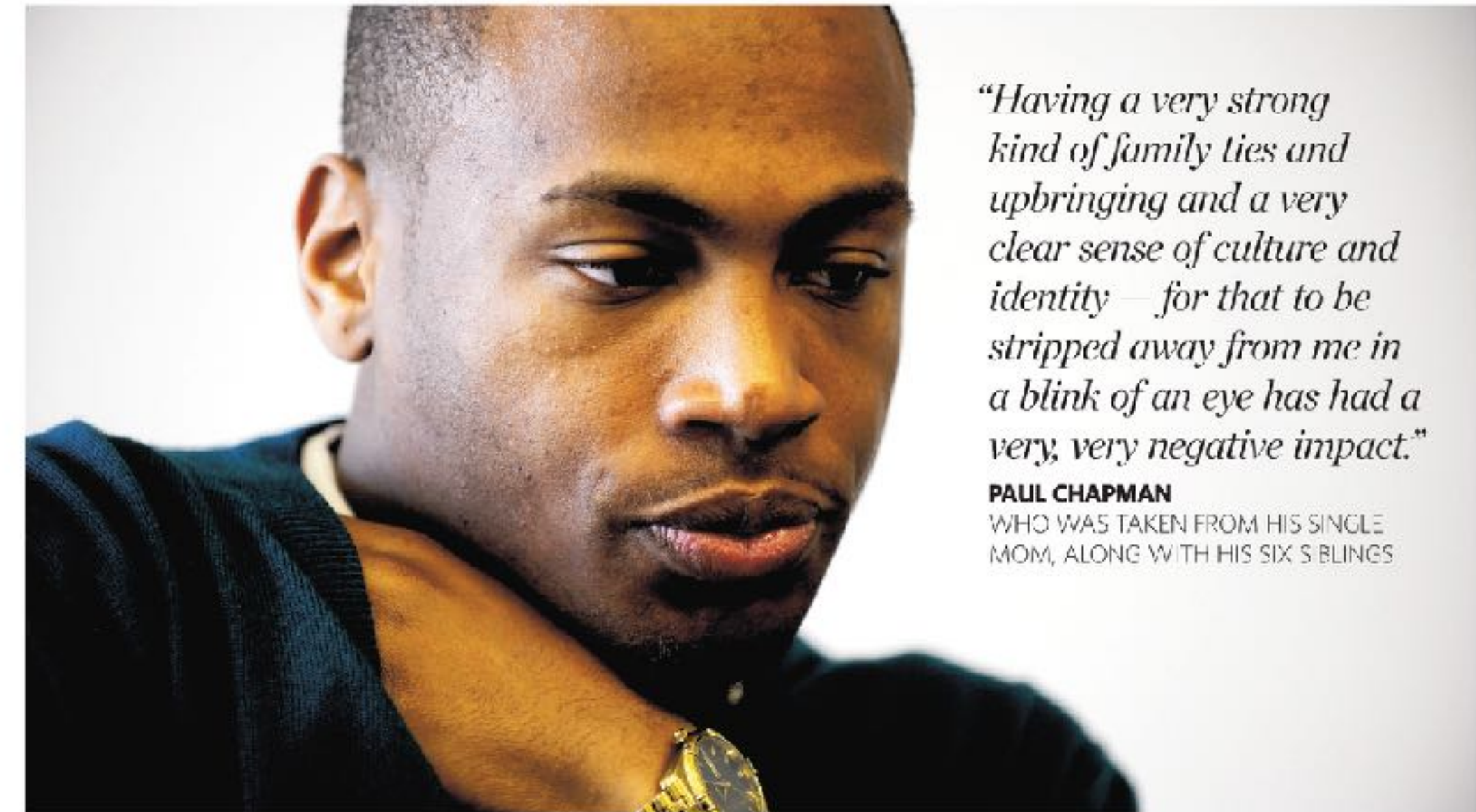
Other figures obtained by the Star indicate the overrepresentation is provincewide.

“The gross overrepresentation of black kids in the CAS is like a modern-day residential schools system,” says Margaret Parsons, executive director of the African Canadian Legal Clinic, which advocates on behalf of the province's 590,000 black residents.

“This is another form of racial profiling,” she says. “They're profiling black parents in a very negative way.”

Patricia knows first-hand how cultural misunderstandings can lead to black children being removed from their homes.

She was shocked when police and a Toronto children's aid worker came to her tidy bungalow two years ago to say her granddaughters were being taken into care.



*“Having a very strong kind of family ties and upbringing and a very clear sense of culture and identity — for that to be stripped away from me in a blink of an eye has had a very, very negative impact.”*

**PAUL CHAPMAN**  
WHO WAS TAKEN FROM HIS SINGLE MOM, ALONG WITH HIS SIX SIBLINGS

JIM RANKIN/TORONTO STAR

CARE continued on A33

Paul Chapman, who was 9 when he was removed from his family home, says many black youth “lose themselves” after being put in care.

**SOCIETY'S CHILDREN A SERIES**

**FRIDAY THE DRUG PROBLEM**

Shocking levels of behaviour-altering medication for children in care

**SATURDAY SECRETIVE SYSTEM**

The child welfare system is lacking transparency and accountability

**SUNDAY A NEW APPROACH**

A ride-along with a children's aid society that strives for a gentler way



> **STAR INVESTIGATION**

# 46 children's aid societies, 46 standards of care

Kids in Ontario subject to vastly different treatment depending on the location and the agency

**SANDRO CONTENTA, JIM RANKIN  
AND LAURIE MONSEBRAATEN**

STAFF REPORTERS

**ANDREW BAILEY AND HIDY NG**

DATA ANALYSTS

An unprecedented analysis of data from Ontario's children's aid societies has revealed striking differences in the way vulnerable youth are treated across the province.

Whether children are placed with relatives or in group homes, how likely they are to rejoin their families after being placed in care, and even whether they

receive regular dental checkups are all influenced by where they happen to live and which of the province's 46 children's aid societies takes them into care.

The stark differences are revealed in a Toronto Star analysis that, for the first time, compares the performance of these privately run, non-profit agencies. Drawn from budget reports and case audits, the numbers raise the veil on a secretive and unaccountable system that struggles to keep tabs on how well its youth are faring.

A child removed from a family in Toronto, for example, is more likely to end up in a group home than one from Brantford, where a much higher percentage of children are placed with kin.

**CHILDREN'S AID** continued on **A23**

## > **THE SYSTEM AT A GLANCE**

*Children's aid societies in Ontario are private, non-profit corporations regulated by the government. In some areas, aboriginal, faith-based and secular societies share a catchment area.*

**23,300**

Number of children and youth in care in Ontario.

**7,000**

Approximate number who were wards of the province, living in foster care or group homes, in 2013-14

**1,000**

Children on the path to becoming Crown wards in 2013-14

**18**

Age at which children leave care if they are not adopted



## SOCIETY'S CHILDREN A SERIES

# Troubling events rampant at group homes

But province failing to keep track of 'serious occurrences' involving vulnerable young people, Star finds

**SANDRO CONTENTA, JIM RANKIN  
AND LAURIE MONSEBRAATEN**  
STAFF REPORTERS

**ANDREW BAILEY**  
DATA ANALYST

Several times daily in Toronto, vulnerable children and teenagers in group homes are physically restrained by staff or charged by police, or they run away.

Their stories are briefly told in 1,199 Toronto reports describing "serious occurrences" filed to the Ministry of Children

and Youth Services in 2013. Most involve children and youth in publicly funded, privately operated group homes.

The Star obtained the reports in a freedom of information request and compiled them according to the type of serious event that occurred — something the ministry does not do. They note everything from medication errors to emotional meltdowns to deaths.

And they shed light on the troubled lives of children placed in group or foster

homes by children's aid societies and desperate parents.

There are 3,300 children and youth in 484 group homes in Ontario, according to the ministry. Those homes, along with foster parents and children's aid societies, generate almost 20,000 serious occurrences filed provincewide every year.

Yet the ministry does not know, for example, if physical and chemical restraints are being used more or less often over the years, or if more children are sustaining

"There's no evidence that anybody is taking this seriously."

**KIM SNOW**  
RYERSON  
UNIVERSITY  
PROFESSOR AND  
RESEARCHER

serious injuries while in care. How can practices be improved if no one is keeping provincewide track of what is going wrong?

"There's no evidence that anybody is taking this seriously," says Kim Snow, a Ryerson University professor and researcher specializing in child and youth care.

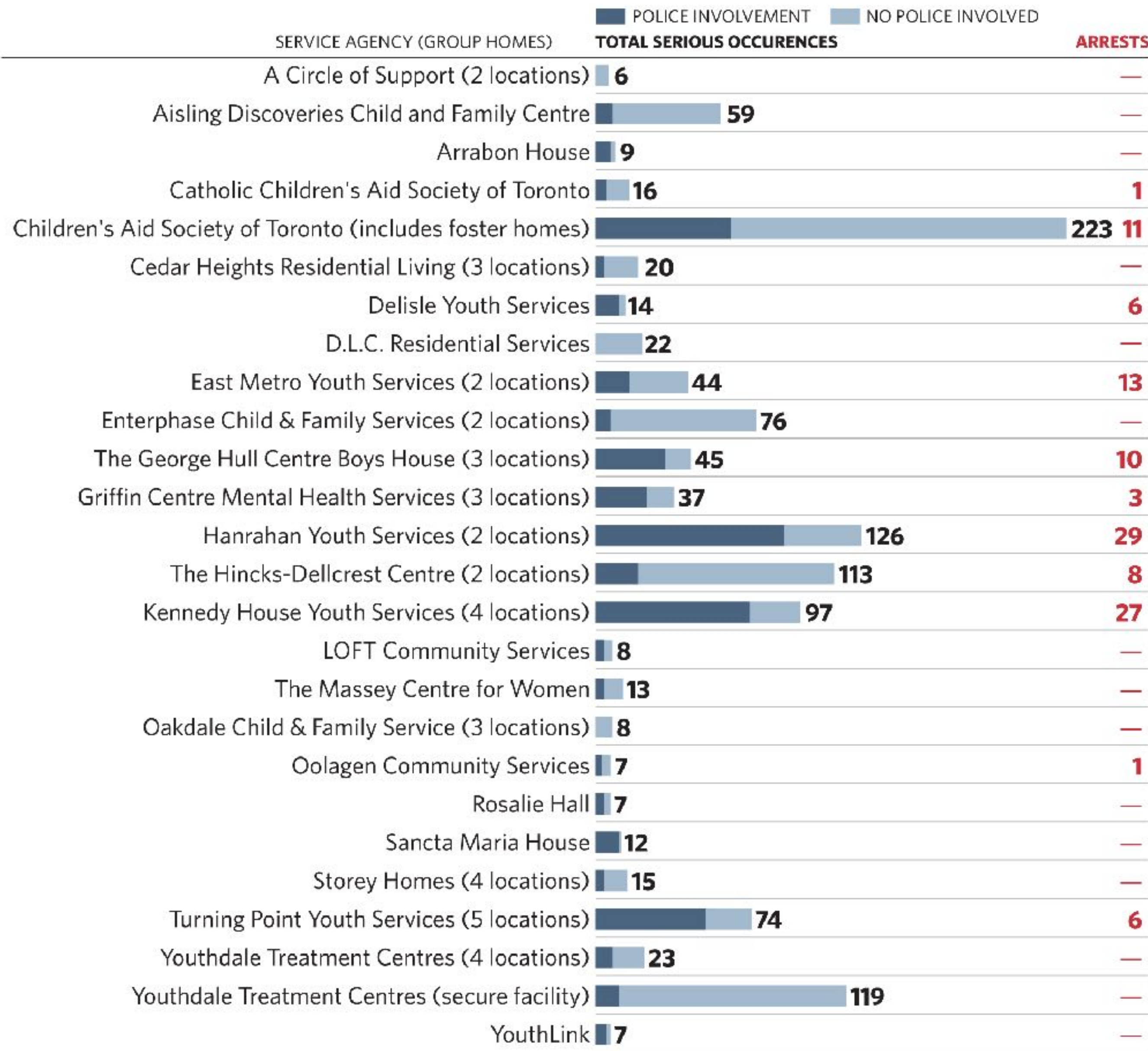
**GROUP HOMES** continued on A17

Use of restraint common in group homes, A16



# Reported serious occurrences in Toronto involving police, 2013

There were almost 1,200 serious occurrences in Toronto group homes in 2013. The police were involved in 460 of those incidents, resulting in 115 arrests.





## > STAR GETS ACTION

Ontario is set to crack down on a troubled children's aid sector with 'groundbreaking' legislation that will take aim at systemic racism, raise the age of protection, allow the province to seize control of children's aid societies and ...

# LET YOUTH IN CARE HAVE A VOICE

**SANDRO CONTENTA, LAURIE MONSEBRAATEN  
AND JIM RANKIN**  
STAFF REPORTERS

Sweeping changes to Ontario's child protection law will give children a say over decisions related to their welfare, allow the government to grab control of children's aid societies and increase the age of protection from 16 to 18.

"The proposed legislation is going to be groundbreaking," Children and Youth Services Minister Michael Coteau told the Star's Robert Benzie on Wednesday.

"I believe that it's going to be reflective of what people in Ontario expect in regards to the delivery of child welfare in the province," he added.

The minister will unveil changes to the Child and Family Services Act today at Toronto's Covenant House homeless youth shelter. Sources told the Star the proposed legislation will emphasize the rights of children and youth to participate in all decisions about practice, policy and legislation that affect them.

The inspiration comes from a coroner's inquest into the



The Star reported in December 2014 on the disproportionately high number of black youth in foster and group homes.

Irwin Elman, Ontario's advocate for children and youth, said in a statement Wednesday.

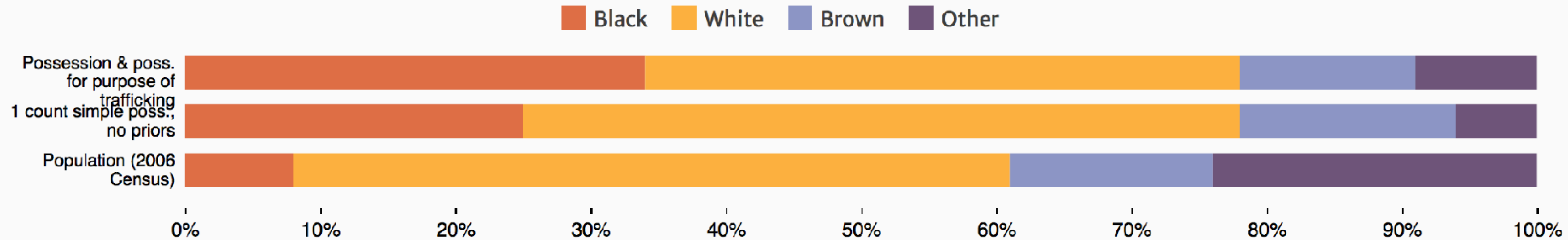


# Cannabis arrests and charges 2017



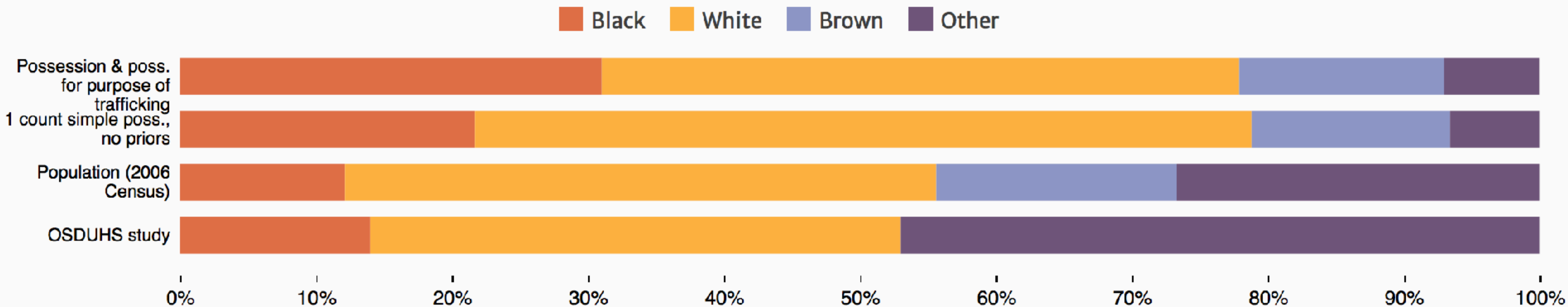
# Cannabis and colour

Toronto data for 2003-13 shows disproportionate possession charges for Black people



Toronto Star Analysis / Source: Toronto Police Service

Data for 2003-2013 show higher rates of charges for black youths, compared to marijuana use reported in the 2015 Ontario Student Drug Use and Health Survey

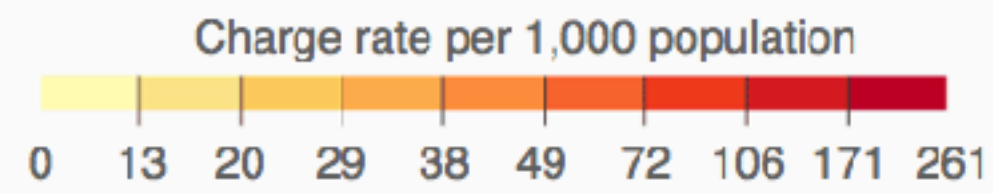


Toronto Star Analysis / Source: Toronto Police Service

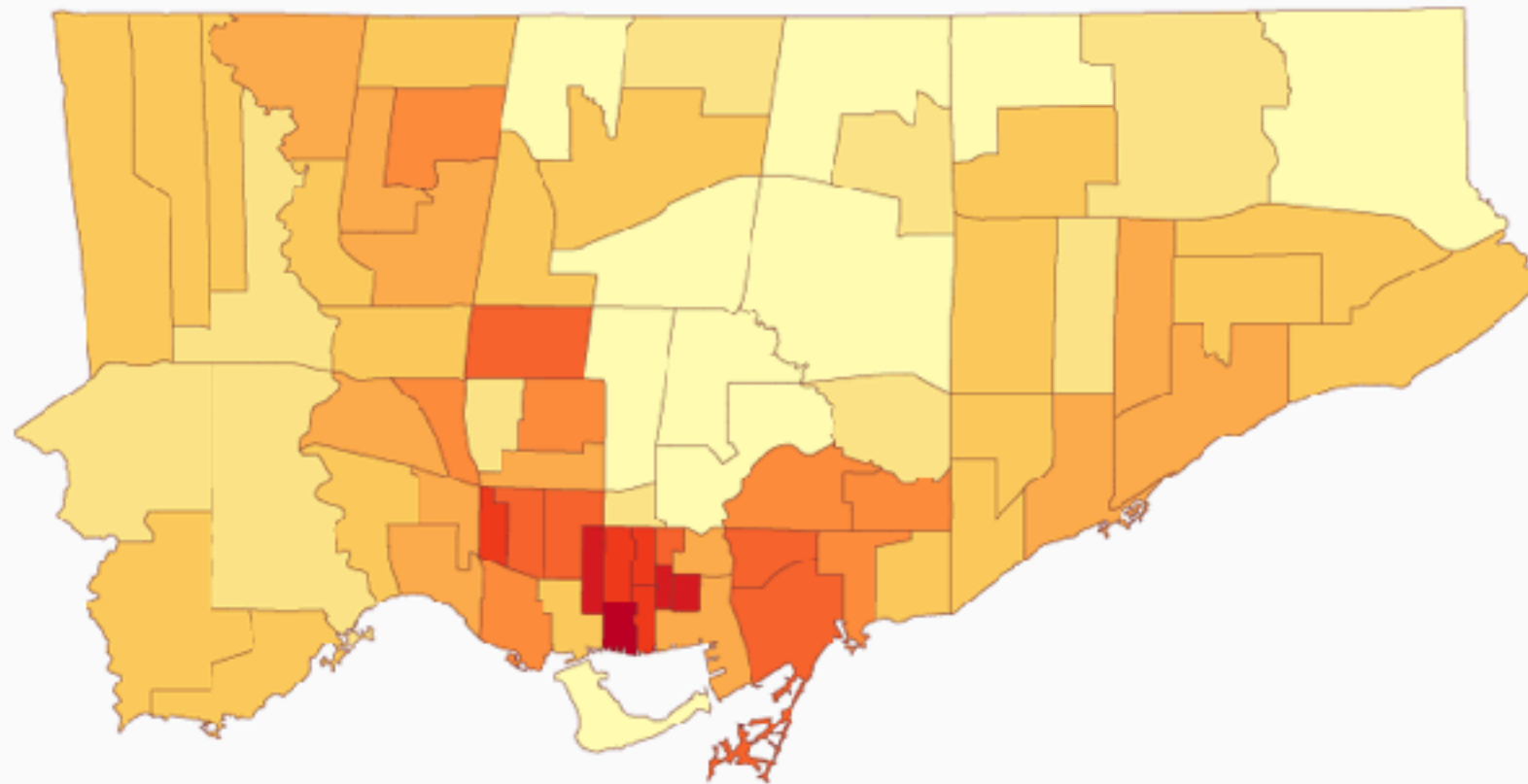


# Charge rates per Toronto patrol zone

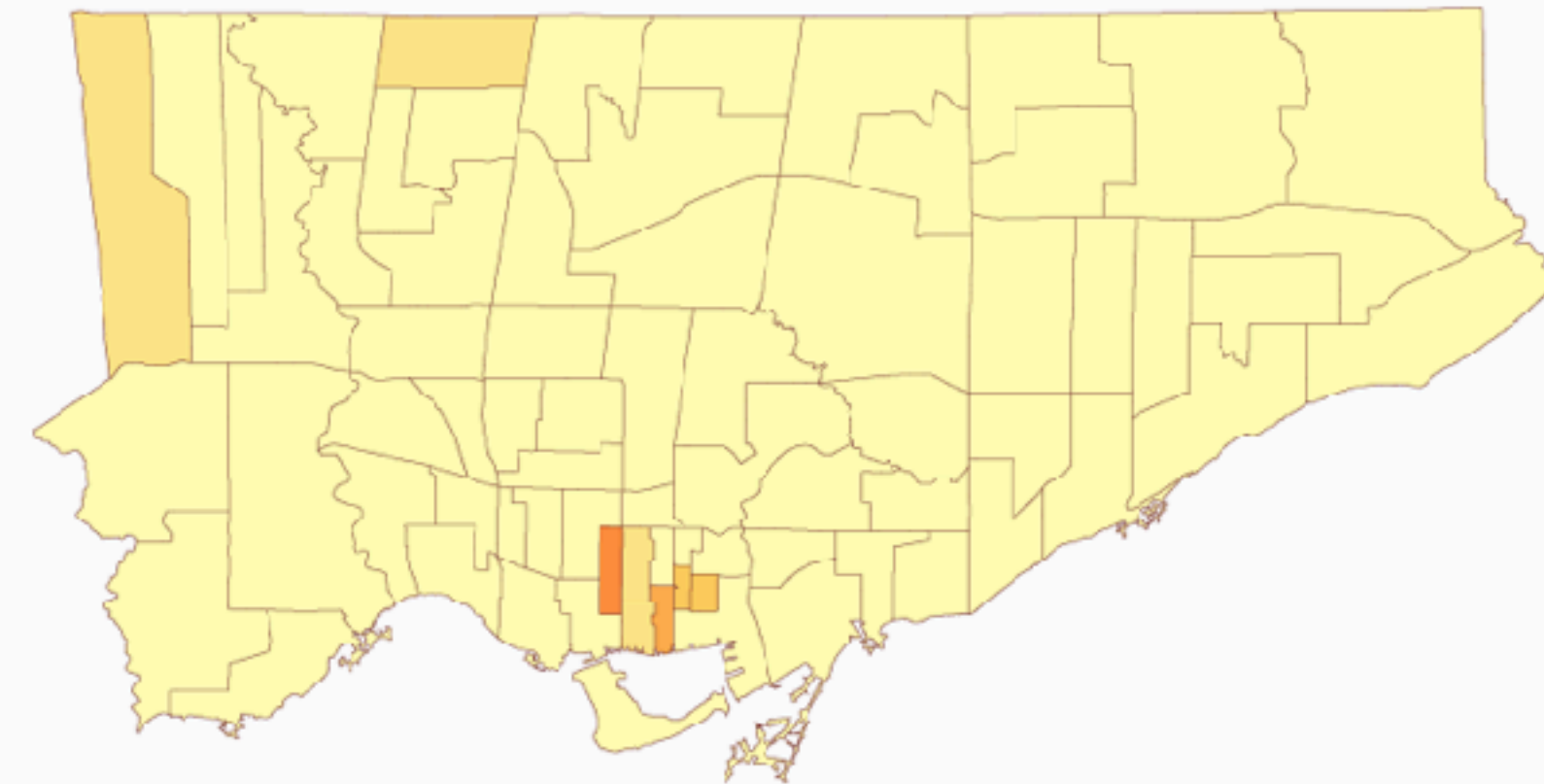
All marijuana possession charges (2003-2010)



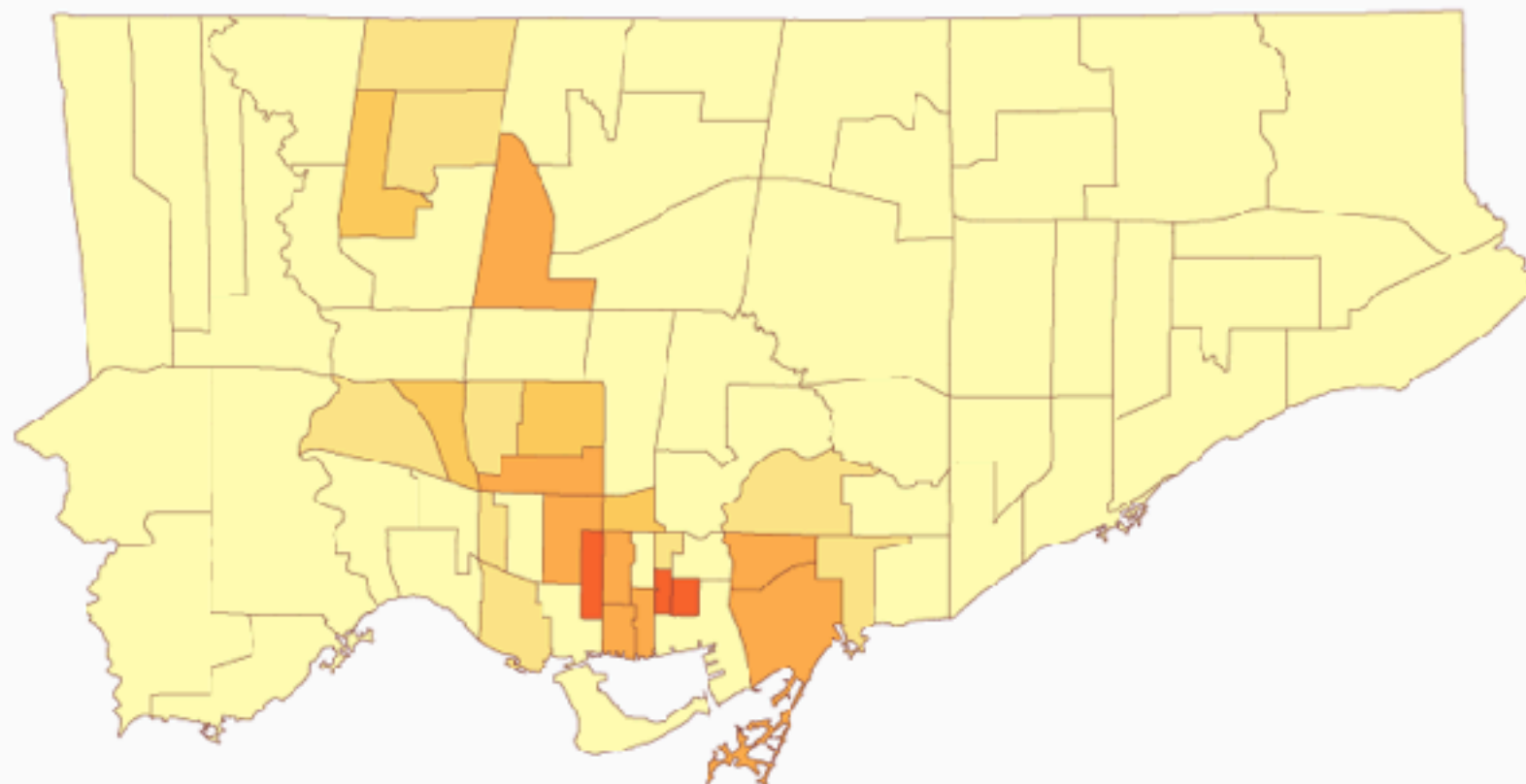
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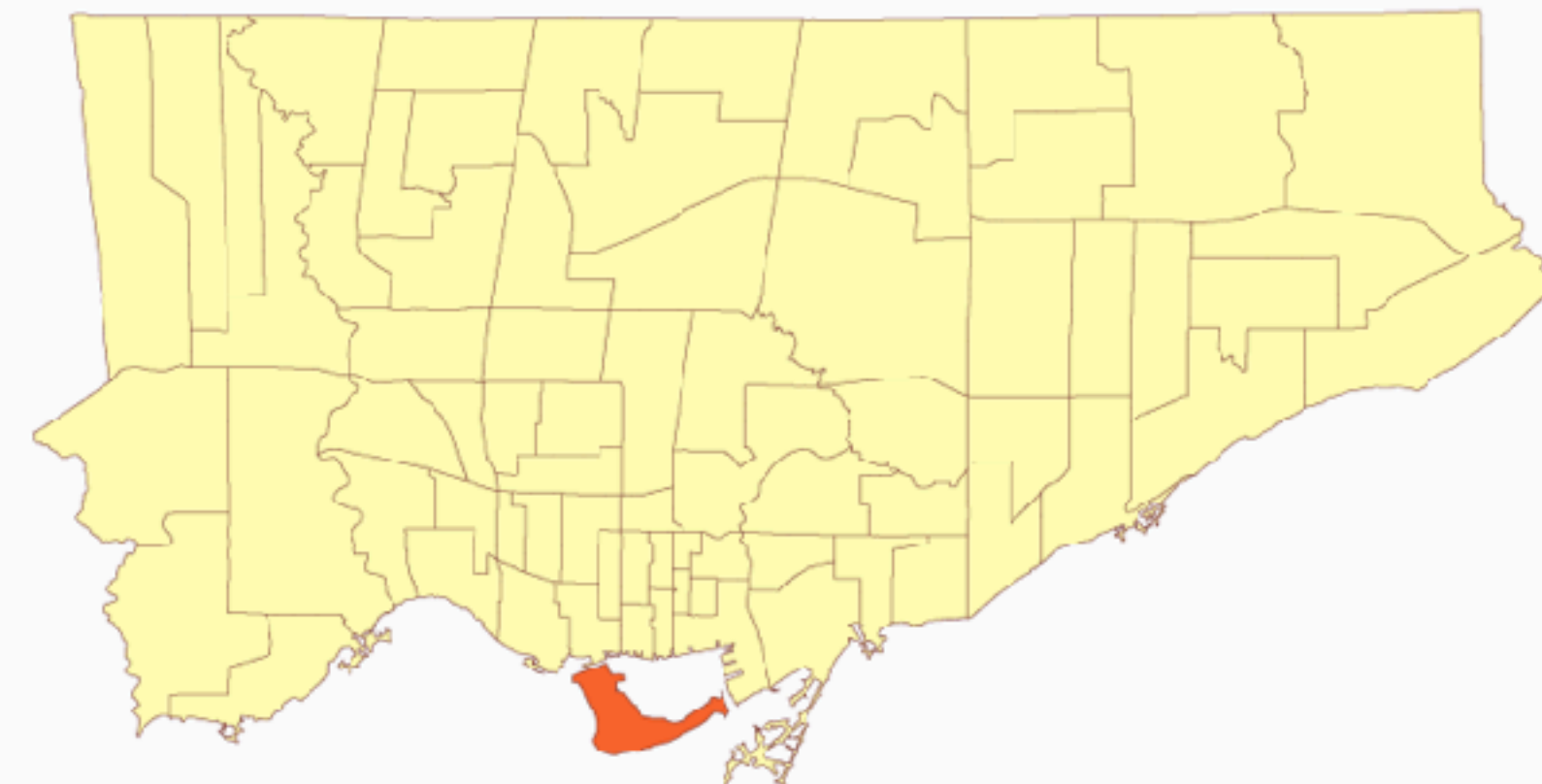
WHITE



BROWN



OTHER





# Tips

- Speak “geek to geek” and keep an open dialogue
- Ask for a record layout
- Eliminate obviously contentious data fields (names, etc)
- Don’t be snowed by size - it really doesn’t matter - and challenge fee estimates
- Don’t know how? Call a geek
- Assume nothing - “interview” your data
- No one remembers numbers



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