

Perceptions of and experiences with police and the justice system among the Black and Indigenous populations in Canada

by Adam Cotter

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Perceptions of and experiences with police and the justice system among the Black and Indigenous populations in Canada: Highlights

- The Black population and Indigenous people (First Nations people, Métis, and Inuit) living in Canada have distinct histories, backgrounds, geographic distributions, and current conditions and situations. These factors should be taken into account when interpreting and evaluating data focusing on these populations. While these groups are distinct, their perceptions and experiences are explored in this article to highlight similarities and differences relative to the population who is neither Indigenous nor a member of a population group designated as visible minority.
- According to the 2020 General Social Survey (GSS) on Social Identity, one in five Black (21%) and Indigenous (22%) people have little or no confidence in police, double the proportion among those who were neither Indigenous nor a visible minority (11%).
- Based on data from the 2019 GSS on Canadians' Safety (Victimization), Black and Indigenous people are more likely to rate police performance poorly. About one in three Black (30%) and Indigenous (32%) people said that police were performing poorly in at least one part of their job, a higher proportion than non-Indigenous, non-visible minorities (19%).
- Perceptions of the police varied among the Black population. Almost six in ten (58%) Canadian-born Black people rated at least one element of police performance poorly, well above the proportion of Black immigrants (15%).
- Relative to the overall population, Black people and Indigenous people had particularly negative perceptions of the ability of police to treat people fairly and be approachable and easy to talk to.
- In 2019, 36% of non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people had some form of contact with police, a proportion that was similar to that among Black people (32%) but lower than what was reported by Indigenous people (45%). The majority of people who reported contact with police felt that their interactions were positive.
- The 2021 Canadian Legal Problems Survey found that about one-quarter of Black people (26%) and Indigenous people (27%) experienced problems or disputes that they considered to be serious and not easy to fix. This was higher than the proportion among non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people (17%).
- Black people (8%) were more likely than non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people (2%) to have encountered a serious problem or dispute related to discrimination.
- Indigenous people were more likely than non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people to have had a serious dispute or problem with the criminal justice system in the past 3 years (5% versus 3%). This was the case even after controlling for other factors, such as age, gender, and income.

Perceptions of and experiences with police and the justice system among the Black and Indigenous populations in Canada

by Adam Cotter, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics

The *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Canada Act 1982)* states that all individuals in Canada are equal before and under the law, and that all should be afforded equal protection and benefit of the law without discrimination. In particular, the Charter specifies that all have equal rights regardless of their race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age, or mental or physical disability. In other words, working to ensure the equitable treatment of all in society is not only important in terms of realizing a fair and equitable society, but also a requirement prescribed by Canadian law.

Despite this, people living in Canada are not always treated equally (Cotter 2022). Experiences of discrimination within the criminal justice system have been a subject of discussion nationally and internationally for many decades. Over time, the rise of movements seeking racial and social equity in response to current and historical injustices have demonstrated the importance of measuring and monitoring experiences and outcomes. Recent studies and commissions have demonstrated the need to effect social change and identify and eliminate inequities among First Nations people, Métis, Inuit, as well as racialized groups with respect to public safety measures, victimization, and the criminal justice system (Wortley 2020; MMIWG 2019; Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2015).

In particular, the criminal justice system is one where broader patterns of bias, racism, discrimination, or differential outcomes can have a major impact on an individual's freedom and ability to engage in society and can affect their daily life. Due in part to this significance, the criminal justice system is an institution that has often been scrutinized with regards to these issues, including, for example, the overrepresentation of Indigenous people in the correctional system and the disproportionate number of Black people who are stopped or questioned by police (Wortley and Owusu-Bempah 2011; Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2015; Malakieh 2020; Saghbini et al. 2021).

Taking this context into account, it is critical to continue to examine differences in perceptions of the justice system, and potential barriers to justice among diverse populations in Canada. Lack of public confidence in any institution or a perception that it is performing poorly can have a number of negative impacts, including a reduction in the quality of services provided or a deterioration in the relationship between the institution and the public it is supposed to serve (Jang et al. 2015; Letki 2006). These perceptions and attitudes can be based on a number of factors, including direct or personal experience, the influence of others, or the influence of media, both traditional and social. When examining perceptions at a broad, population-based level, they can also illuminate areas of potential systemic bias or differential treatment or outcomes.

This Juristat article relies on multiple data sources to examine perceptions of police, confidence in institutions, and experiences of serious problems or disputes. Analysis is broadly separated into three sections, with the first section focusing on the experiences of the Black population in Canada. The second section examines the experiences of Indigenous people, taking a distinction-based approach to examine the experiences of First Nations people, Métis, and Inuit in Canada where possible. The third section contains a higher-level look at some selected findings for population groups designated as visible minority.

Throughout the report, findings are compared to those who identified as neither Indigenous nor a member of a population group designated as visible minority in the *Employment Equity Act*—that is, primarily, those who identified as White or Caucasian.^{1,2}

This report was funded by Canadian Heritage, as part of the federal government's Anti-Racism Strategy. In addition, it represents part of Statistics Canada's ongoing commitment to publishing data that is disaggregated to the fullest extent possible.

Section 1: Perceptions of and experiences with the justice system among the Black population

Though the experiences of Black people living in Canada are grouped together in this article for the purposes of analysis, it is important to note that the Black population is not homogenous but rather represents a diverse population with varying backgrounds and circumstances. In fact, over 200 different ethnic or cultural origins were cited by those who self-identified as Black in the 2016 Census of population, with the 10 most frequent being Jamaican, Other African,³ Haitian, Canadian, English, Somali, Nigerian, French, Ethiopian and Scottish (Statistics Canada 2019). In addition to diversity in terms of ethnic or cultural origins, the Black population is diverse in terms of languages, religions, experiences, and socioeconomic characteristics (Do 2020).

In Canada, the majority of Black women (71%) and Black men (63%) between the ages of 25 and 59 have a postsecondary education, comparable to the proportions among women (69%) and men (64%) in the rest of the population (Do 2020). However, relative to the overall population, the Black population in Canada is younger (Statistics Canada 2019). Black adults between the ages of 25 and 59 (21%) and Black youth (27%) are more likely than 25 to 59-year-olds (12%) and youth (14%) in the rest of the population to be living in a low-income situation (Do 2020). The unemployment rate is also higher among the Black population (10% among both Black women and men in 2016, compared with 6% and 7%, respectively, among women and men in the rest of the population) (Do 2020).

In the face of these inequalities, many indicators of resiliency are also higher among the Black population in Canada (Do 2020). For example, the Black population was more likely than the rest of the population to state that they are always able to bounce back quickly after hard times, to have always learned something from difficult or negative experiences, or were always able to continue going about their daily lives (Do 2020). Each of these are important factors linked to resiliency, demonstrating the ability to successfully adapt to challenging situations (Seiler et al. 2011).

One in five Black people are not confident in police

Black people have and continue to experience various forms of racism, discrimination, and unfair treatment in Canada, many of which are specific to the criminal justice system. For example, Black people are overrepresented at many different stages of the criminal justice system, ranging from proactive and discretionary policing practices such as stops, charges, or arrests, through to incarceration (Owusu-Bempah et al. 2021; Ontario Human Rights Commission 2021).

The 2020 General Social Survey (GSS) on Social Identity included questions on levels of confidence in various Canadian institutions, including the police and the justice system and courts.⁴ While overall, more than half of people were confident in police, the proportions varied considerably between ethno-cultural groups. According to the 2020 GSS on Social Identity, seven in ten (70%) non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people 15 years of age and older were confident in the police, compared to about half of Black (54%) people (Table 1).

More than one in five (21%) Black people had little or no confidence in the police, which was the case for about one in ten (11%) non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people. The proportion of Black men (24%) and Black women (19%) who had little or no confidence in police did not differ significantly, but in both cases was higher than the proportions among non-Indigenous, non-visible minority men (12%) and women (8%).

Levels of confidence in the justice system and courts were similar among Black people and non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people, of whom just over half were confident (54% and 53%, respectively).

Certain measures of police performance more likely to be rated unfavourably by Black people

While the GSS on Social Identity asked more broadly about Canadian institutions, the GSS on Victimization focused more specifically on perceptions of different agents and aspects of the criminal justice system: namely, police, courts, prison, and parole. Respondents were asked if police, courts, prison, and parole were doing a good job, an average job, or a poor job across a variety of job or performance indicators. For the most part, police performance was evaluated similarly between Black people and those who were neither Indigenous nor visible minority people (Table 2).

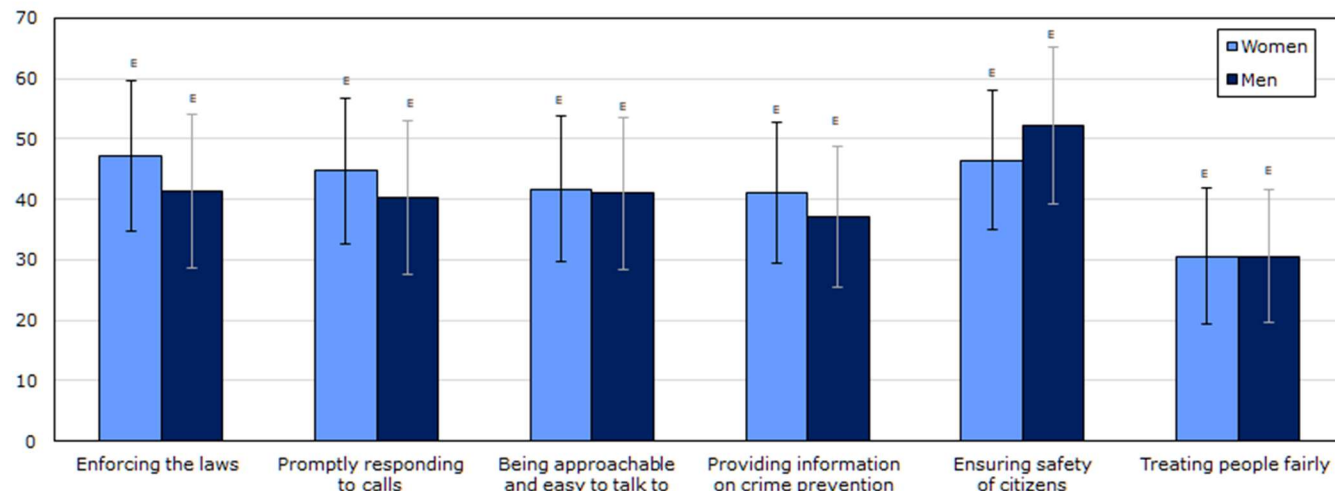
Research on perceptions of police performance often distinguishes between operational and interpersonal elements (Spratt and Doob 2014; Cotter 2015). Operational elements can include tasks that are, broadly speaking, more objectively measurable, such as promptly responding to calls and ensuring the safety of citizens. In contrast, interpersonal aspects are related to the relationship between police and the community they serve, such as being approachable or treating people fairly.

It was notable that while overall perceptions on operational measures were similar, there were significant differences in how police were seen in the interpersonal dimension. Black people were less likely to feel that police were doing a good job of being approachable and easy to talk to (41%) and treating people fairly (30%) compared with non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people (52% and 45%, respectively).

Black women and men had similar perceptions of these interpersonal measures. Four in ten Black women (42%^E) and men (41%^E) felt police were doing a good job being approachable, while three in ten (31%^E each) felt police were doing a good job treating people fairly. Likewise, there were no significant differences between Black women and men for any of the operational measures included in the GSS (Chart 1).

Chart 1
Perceptions of police performance among the Black population, by gender, Canada, 2019

percent who believe police are doing a good job



^E use with caution

Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals and can be interpreted as such: if the survey were repeated many times, then 95% of the time (or 19 times out of 20), the interval would cover the true population value. Differences between women and men displayed on this chart are not statistically significant.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey on Canadians' Safety (Victimization), 2019.

In all, three in ten Black (30%) people rated at least one element of local police performance poorly, a higher proportion than among non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people (19%). Similar proportions of Black women (32%) and men (26%) rated at least one aspect poorly.

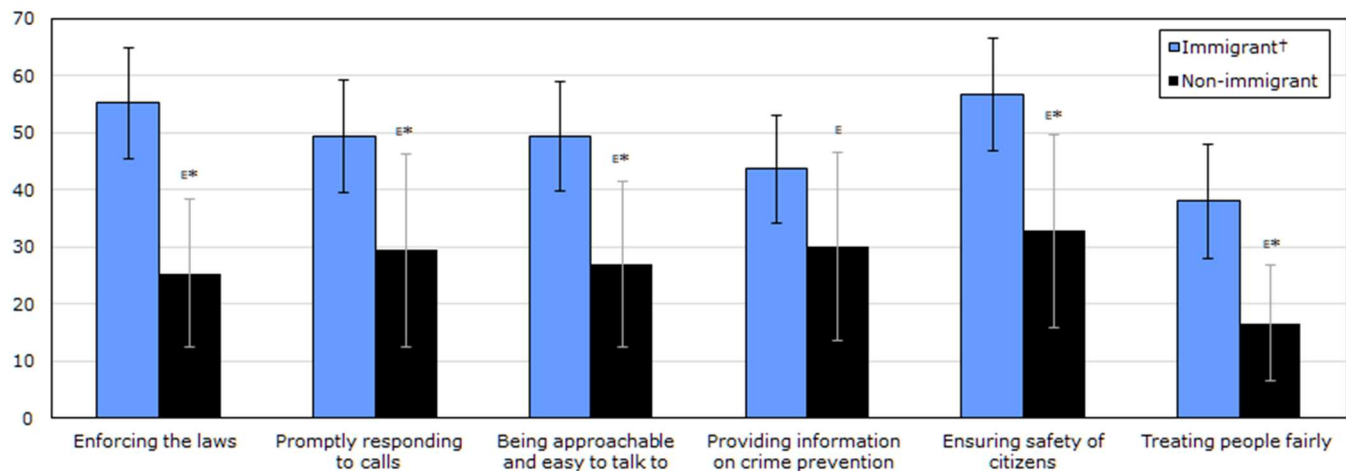
Canadian-born Black people have more negative perceptions of police

Research and data on perceptions has shown that recent immigrants tend to be more positive in their perceptions of institutions, and perceptions tend to align more with the non-immigrant population over time and subsequent generations (Statistics Canada 2021b; Owusu-Bempah et al. 2021; Roder and Muhlau 2011). This was apparent when it came to perceptions of police performance among the Black population, with those born in Canada having considerably more negative perceptions. Among the Black Canadian-born population, 58%^E rated at least one element of police performance poorly, compared with 20% of the non-Indigenous, non-visible minority population born in Canada.

In contrast, 15% of Black immigrants rated at least one aspect of police performance poorly, a result that was not different from the non-Indigenous, non-visible minority population and far below the proportion among Canadian-born Black people. For five of the six measures of police performance measured by the GSS, Black immigrants were more likely than Canadian-born Black people to state police were doing a good job (Chart 2).

Chart 2
Perceptions of police performance among the Black population, by immigrant status, Canada, 2019

percent who believe courts are doing a good job



^E use with caution

* significantly different from reference category ($p < 0.05$)

† reference category

Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals and can be interpreted as such: if the survey were repeated many times, then 95% of the time (or 19 times out of 20), the interval would cover the true population value.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey on Canadians' Safety (Victimization), 2019.

Black people under 40 years of age view police more negatively

Black people under the age of 40 were more likely to rate at least one element of police performance poorly, when compared with their non-Indigenous, non-visible minority counterparts (41%^E versus 24%). Specifically, three in ten (29%^E) Black people under 40 felt that police were doing a poor job treating people fairly, three times higher than the proportion of non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people under 40 (9%).

When looking at the perceptions of those 40 years of age and over, however, Black people (17%) and non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people (17%) were equally likely to state that police were performing poorly in at least one aspect of their job. Previous analysis of perceptions of police has found that, in general, older people have more positive perceptions of police (Ibrahim 2020).

One-third of Black people had contact with police in past 12 months, similar to non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people

Recent analysis of the 2019 GSS found that recent encounters with police were associated with perceptions of police performance, even when controlling for other socio-economic and demographic characteristics (Ibrahim 2020). Largely due to the public-facing nature of their work, when people do come into direct contact with the justice system, it is most commonly with the police. This direct contact can have a considerable impact on general perceptions, in particular if this contact is perceived to be negative. Despite this, as many people do not have direct contact with police, factors other than contact can inform perceptions.

One-third (32%) of Black people had contact with police, a proportion that was not statistically different from non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people (36%) (Table 3). Contact with police could be for a variety of reasons, including through work, volunteering, or public information sessions, traffic violations, as a victim or witness to a crime, by being arrested, or due to personal or family-related problems with emotions, mental health, drugs, or alcohol. Though overall levels of contact were similar, when looking at the specific reasons for contact with police, Black people were less likely than non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people to have had contact through a public information session (3% versus 6%) or as a witness to a crime (3% versus 5%).

In addition to the type of contact, whether the interaction with police is seen as positive or negative can have an impact on overall perceptions of and confidence in police. Regardless of ethno-cultural group, according to the GSS, the majority of interactions with police in Canada were perceived as positive. Eight in ten (81%^E) Black people felt that their experience with police was, on the whole, positive, not statistically different from the non-Indigenous, non-visible minority population (89%).

Although contact with police, particularly negative contact, can influence overall views of police, the majority of Black people did not have contact with police – and, those who did most often felt it was positive. This suggests that the more negative perceptions of police and lower levels of confidence among Black people are related to factors beyond individual experiences.

One potential factor is experiences of discrimination or other negative interactions, which can influence overall views of police. Furthermore, when discrimination or unfair treatment targets a particular group or community broadly, the negative impacts are felt by others who are part of that group, beyond the individuals who are directly impacted. Data from the 2019 GSS show that Black people were more likely than those who were non-Indigenous, non-visible minority to have been discriminated against in an interaction with police (Cotter 2022).

Of all Black people 15 years of age and older in Canada, 7% indicated having been discriminated against by police. This was similar to the proportion among Indigenous people (7%). Both Black and Indigenous people were far more likely than other visible minority (2%) or non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people (0.6%) to have experienced discrimination in this context.

Black immigrants have more positive perceptions of criminal courts in Canada

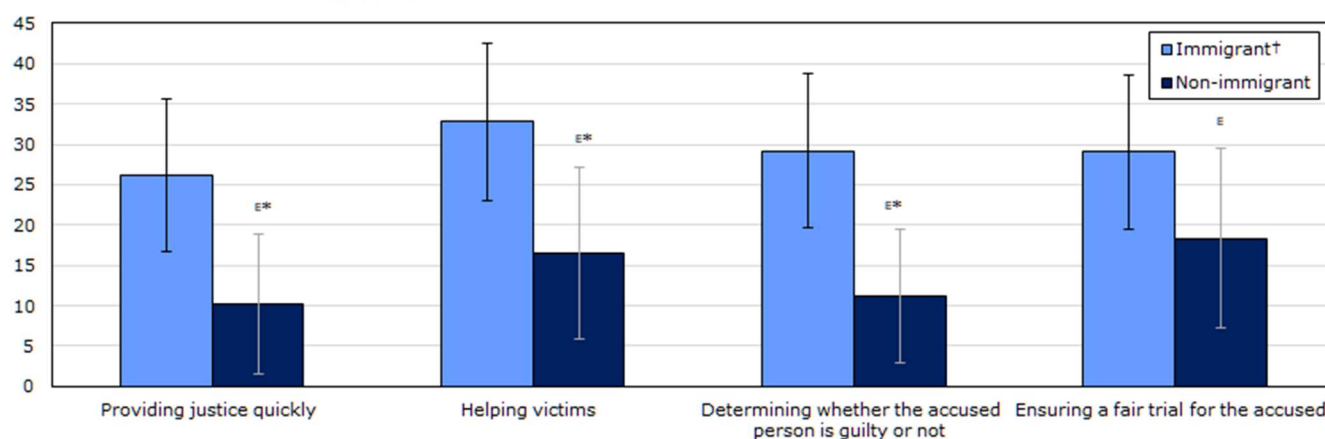
Many people, regardless of population group, stated that they did not know if courts or the prison or parole systems were doing a good, average, or poor job at a variety of aspects (Table 4). This may, in part, reflect the fact that relatively few Canadians have direct experience with the criminal courts.

Among those who did provide their perception of the work of criminal courts, Black people generally had a more positive perception than non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people. For example, the proportion of Black people who felt criminal courts were doing a good job at providing justice quickly (20%) and helping victims (28%) was more than double that among the non-Indigenous, non-visible minority population (8% and 12%, respectively).

These more positive perceptions were largely driven by the perspectives of Black immigrants, who were more likely to rate the performance of courts favourably than were Canadian-born Black people (Chart 3). Black immigrants were more likely than Canadian-born Black people to feel courts were doing a good job providing justice quickly, helping victims, and determining whether the accused person is guilty or not.

Chart 3
Perceptions of Canadian court performance among the Black population, by immigrant status, Canada, 2019

percent who believe courts are doing a good job



E use with caution

* significantly different from reference category (p < 0.05)

† reference category

Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals and can be interpreted as such: if the survey were repeated many times, then 95% of the time (or 19 times out of 20), the interval would cover the true population value.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey on Canadians' Safety (Victimization), 2019.

Text box 1**Defining and measuring legal problems and access to justice**

Fundamentally, access to fair and timely justice is a right for all. Barriers to this access can serve to perpetuate or exacerbate existing inequalities. For that reason, in 2021, Statistics Canada conducted the Canadian Legal Problems Survey (CLPS) for the first time. Building upon previous work, the development of this national survey was funded by the Department of Justice Canada and other federal partners in order to further understanding of how people experience legal problems and to assist in the measurement of progress in realizing the United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 16.3.3: Equal access to justice for all.

This survey asked people living in the Canadian provinces about serious problems or disputes in their daily lives. A legal problem, in the context of legal problems surveys, includes any problem that could have legal implications or a possible legal solution, and is not limited to problems that were addressed or resolved through the formal justice system. However, the formal legal system is one potential mechanism that can be used for the resolution of these problems or disputes, and therefore understanding challenges or barriers to access, differential strategies or outcomes, and the type and frequency of problems faced by diverse populations is important.

In all, there were 19 categories⁵ of problem included in the questionnaire, each of which could potentially require legal intervention, ranging from problems related to consumer debt, to issues with the criminal justice system, to custody or family-related disputes.⁶

Among other findings, the 2021 CLPS found that about one in five (18%) Canadians 18 years of age and older had experienced at least one problem that they considered to be serious and not easy to fix in the three years preceding the survey (Savage and McDonald 2022). The most common problems involved obtaining social or housing assistance, receiving poor or incorrect medical treatment, being harassed, being discriminated against, or a problem with a large purchase or service. Of those who encountered a serious problem, 17% said that they had given up on resolving it. Another key finding is that, while the majority of those who faced a problem said that they took action to attempt to resolve it, most of those who attempted to resolve a problem did not rely on the formal justice system to do so.⁷

Black people more likely to experience serious legal problems or disputes

According to the Canadian Legal Problems Survey (CLPS), Black Canadians experienced serious problems more frequently over the past three years than did non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people. More than one-quarter of Black (26%) adults had experienced one or more serious problems over this time, a proportion that was higher than that found among other people who are part of a population group designated as visible minority (19%) and non-Indigenous, non-visible minorities (17%) (Table 5).

This pattern held when taking gender into account as well; Black women and men were more likely to have experienced a serious problem than non-Indigenous, non-visible minority women and men. The proportions of Black women (29%) and men (23%) who experienced serious problems was not statistically different.

Problems related to immigration disproportionately impact visible minorities

Serious problems involving immigration, refugee status, or sponsoring a family member's application to come to Canada, while not a relatively common problem among any group, were disproportionately experienced by those belonging to visible minority groups. According to the CLPS, 0.1% of non-Indigenous, non-visible minorities had experienced such a problem in the previous 3 years – a proportion far below that among Black (2.5%) and other visible minority groups (1.8%).

The reason for this is, in part, the fact that a higher proportion of Black (73%) and other visible minority (77%) people are immigrants, relative to the non-Indigenous, non-visible minority population (11%). That said, even when looking just at the immigrant population, serious problems or disputes related to immigration were still more common among Black (3.4%) and visible minority (2.1%) people than non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people (0.7%).

Almost one in ten Black Canadians reported experiencing a serious problem involving discrimination

The CLPS included discrimination as one category of a serious problem with potential legal implications.⁸ Just as discrimination in everyday life, regardless of the perceived severity, was more common among Black people (Cotter 2022), discrimination as a serious problem was considerably more common among Black adults.

In total, 8% of Black adults reported discrimination as a serious problem, with similar proportions seen among Black women (8%) and men (8%). In contrast, 2% of non-Indigenous, non-visible minority adults reported a similar problem—with women (2%) and men (2%) equally likely to report this type of problem.

Most people take action to resolve their problem, with one in three contacting a legal professional

Regardless of population group, just under nine in ten of those who experienced a serious problem took some sort of action as a result (Table 6). Not only that, the types of actions taken were similar across groups—most commonly, those who experienced serious problems and took action searched the internet for information, sought advice from friends or relatives, or contacted the other party involved in the dispute.

Around three in ten Black (28%^E) people contacted a legal professional to help resolve their problem, a proportion which did not differ significantly from non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people (36%).

Negative impacts on health most common consequence of serious problems

As may be expected, given the scope of the survey focused on serious and not easy to resolve problems, those who experienced disputes often cited a variety of resulting health, financial, or social impacts.

Regardless of ethno-cultural group, the majority of those who had a serious problem or dispute indicated that there were negative health consequences stemming from their most serious problem. The most common impact was extreme stress, cited by seven in ten Black (71%^E) people and nearly three-quarters (73%) of non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people (Table 7).

Financial impacts were also a relatively common consequence of problems or disputes. Similar proportions of Black (54%^E) and non-Indigenous, non-visible minority (48%) people stated that they faced financial challenges as a result of the most serious problem they encountered.

Section 2: Discrimination and perceptions of and interactions with the justice system among First Nations people, Métis, and Inuit

In Canada, generations of First Nations people, Métis, and Inuit have been and continue to be negatively impacted by the effects of colonial policies and practices explicitly intended to assimilate Indigenous people (MMIWG 2019). The long-lasting and intergenerational impacts of colonial policies and programs, including but not limited to residential schools, forced relocation, and the removal of children from their families into the child welfare system, contribute to the perpetuation of inequalities, disadvantage, and intergenerational trauma among First Nations people, Métis, and Inuit in Canada (MMIWG 2019).

As government institutions were drivers of colonization, and police have been used to support many of these practices, there continues to be mistrust of official institutions by Indigenous peoples. The effects of colonization and systemic inequities are seen in the continued overrepresentation of Indigenous people in a number of institutions, including adult and youth correctional populations (Malakieh 2020; Saghini et al. 2021; see Text box 4) and the child welfare system (Ontario Human Rights Commission 2018). It has been argued that this overrepresentation reflects the ongoing impacts of colonialism in Canada, and continues to contribute to negative impacts on the trajectories of Indigenous people in Canada.

In the analysis that follows, it should be noted that the General Social Survey (GSS) on Social Identity and the Canadian Legal Problems Survey (CLPS) were conducted in the provinces only, and findings may not be generalizable to the total Indigenous population in Canada, a considerable proportion of whom live in the three territories; in particular, Inuit and First Nations. Consistent with past cycles, the GSS on Victimization included the territories.⁹

One in five Indigenous people are not confident in police

According to the 2020 GSS on Social Identity, about half (52%) of Indigenous people aged 15 and older were confident in the police, while one in five (22%) had little or no confidence in police (Table 1).¹⁰ These proportions were similar to those among Black people, but differed from the non-Indigenous, non-visible minority population (70% of whom were confident in police, and 11% of whom had little or no confidence).

More specifically, similar proportions of First Nations (48%) and Métis (54%) people were confident in police, in both cases well below the non-Indigenous, non-visible minority population.¹¹

Indigenous women and men did not differ significantly in their levels of confidence in police, with 55% of Indigenous women and 50% of Indigenous men having confidence. This was lower than what was seen among non-Indigenous, non-visible minority women (71%) and men (68%).

Indigenous people were also less likely to have confidence in the justice system and courts; 37% were confident while 30% were not. In contrast, among non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people, 53% were confident and 16% were not.

Indigenous people critical of police performance

Of the six measures of police performance included in the GSS on Victimization, Indigenous people were more likely to state police were doing a poor job for five of them, relative to non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people: enforcing the laws (10% versus 5%), promptly responding to calls (16% versus 7%), providing information on crime prevention (16% versus 9%), ensuring the safety of citizens (11% versus 5%), and treating people fairly (15% versus 7%) (Table 2).

In all, nearly one-third (32%) of Indigenous people rated at least one element of local police performance poorly, a higher proportion than among non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people (19%). Regression analysis showed that, when taking into account several factors, such as age, gender, disability, and previous contact with police, that visible minority and Indigenous people were more likely to report low confidence in the police (Ibrahim 2020).

More precisely, First Nations people (34%) and Inuit (44%) were more likely to rate at least one aspect of police performance poorly. The proportion of Métis (28%) who felt police were performing poorly in at least one part of their role was not statistically different from the non-Indigenous, non-visible minority population.

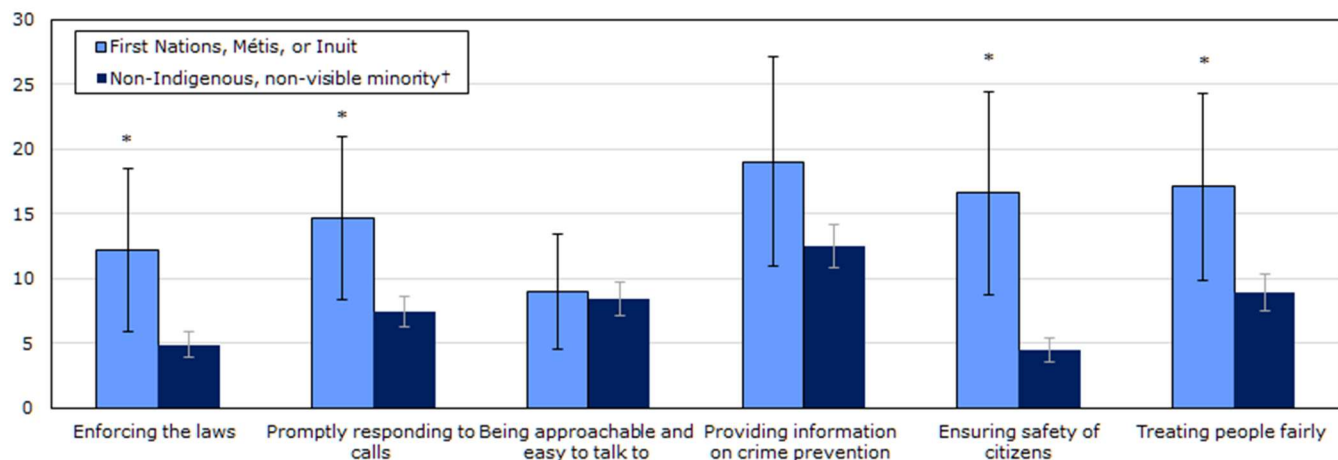
Younger Indigenous people have more negative perceptions of police

Indigenous people (34%) under the age of 40 were more likely to rate at least one element of police performance poorly, when compared with their non-Indigenous, non-visible minority counterparts (24%).

These more negative perceptions of police were seen for both operational and interpersonal measures. A higher proportion of Indigenous people under 40 felt police were doing poorly at enforcing the laws, promptly responding to calls, ensuring the safety of citizens, and treating people fairly compared to the similarly aged non-Indigenous, non-visible minority population (Chart 4).

Chart 4
Perceptions of police performance among the population under 40 years of age, Indigenous population, Canada, 2019

percent who believe police are doing a poor job



* significantly different from reference category (p < 0.05)

† reference category

Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals and can be interpreted as such: if the survey were repeated many times, then 95% of the time (or 19 times out of 20), the interval would cover the true population value.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey on Canadians' Safety (Victimization), 2019.

That said, this finding was not unique to younger Indigenous people. Indigenous people over the age of 40 were also more likely than non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people to rate at least one aspect of police performance poorly (30% versus 17%).

Indigenous people more likely to report contact with police in past 12 months, but the majority perceived their interaction as positive

Nearly half (45%) of Indigenous people had some form of contact with police in the 12 months preceding the survey, a higher proportion than among non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people (36%) (Table 3).

The specific reasons or scenarios for which people had contact with police were generally similar between Indigenous and non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people. However, one in ten (10%) Indigenous people had contact with police in the past 12 months as a result of a family member's problems with their emotions, mental health, or alcohol or drug use, a proportion three times higher than that among non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people (3%).

First Nations people (43%) and Métis (50%) more commonly had contact with police in the past 12 months. One in three (33%) Inuit had some form of contact with police in the previous year, similar to what was seen among non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people.

While the majority (80%) of Indigenous people who had contact with police said that, overall, they perceived the interaction as positive, this was lower than for the non-Indigenous, non-visible minority population (89%).

Though the majority of Indigenous people who had contact with police said the interaction was positive, recent contact with police did appear to influence perceptions of police performance. Half (49%) of Indigenous people who had contact with police rated at least one aspect of police performance poorly, compared with 17% who did not have contact with police in the past 12 months.

More than one-third of Indigenous people have had contact with criminal courts

Indigenous people and non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people generally had similar perceptions of criminal courts. Namely, similar proportions felt that criminal courts in Canada do a good job of providing justice quickly, helping victims, and determining whether the accused person is guilty or not. Opinions diverged when it came to the perception of the courts' ability to ensure a fair trial for accused; 21% of Indigenous people felt criminal courts are doing a good job, lower than the proportion among non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people (28%) (Table 4).

While perceptions of the Canadian criminal courts were similar, Indigenous people were far more likely than non-Indigenous people to have ever had contact with a Canadian criminal court (37% versus 22% of non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people). Though the reason for contact—that is, as a victim, witness, or accused person—was not asked in the General Social Survey, this finding aligns with a large body of research that has shown, in general, Canada's Indigenous population is overrepresented in various stages of the criminal justice system (see Text box 3).

Text box 2

Confidence in other Canadian institutions

In addition to the police and the criminal justice system, the General Social Survey (GSS) on Social Identity also asked about perceptions of other major Canadian institutions, including the school system, banks, Canadian media, federal Parliament, major corporations, and local businesses and merchants.

Black people more confident in Canadian media and federal Parliament

On the whole, fewer than half of Canadians were confident in the Canadian media—similar to what was found in the 2013 GSS on Social Identity (Cotter 2015). As with perceptions of police and the justice system, levels of confidence in the media varied across ethno-cultural groups. Almost half of Black (47%) people were confident, while four in ten (40%) non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people felt likewise.

Similarly, more than half of Black (52%) people were confident in Federal parliament, a higher proportion than among the non-Indigenous, non-visible minority population (41%).

Indigenous people have less confidence in nearly all institutions measured

Relative to the non-Indigenous, non-visible minority population, a smaller proportion of Indigenous people were confident in each of the institutions measured, with the exception of banks where the proportion who were confident was similar between Indigenous and non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people. Three in ten (30%) Indigenous people had confidence in the media. Fewer than one in three (28%) Indigenous people indicated that they were confident in federal Parliament.

Generations of systemic racism, discriminatory policies and practices directed at Indigenous people, and the historical and ongoing legacy of colonization likely explain these lower levels of confidence, as they have contributed to an overall sense of mistrust in the police, criminal justice system, and many other institutions (MMIWG 2019; Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada and Comack 2020).

Indigenous people more often experience serious problems or disputes

According to the 2021 Canadian Legal Problems Survey (CLPS),¹² Indigenous people in Canada experienced serious problems or disputes more frequently over the past three years than did non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people. More than one-quarter of Indigenous (27%) adults had experienced one or more serious problems over this time, a proportion that was higher than that found among non-Indigenous, non-visible minorities (17%) (Table 5). Among Indigenous people, the proportion who faced serious problems was similar among First Nations (28%), Métis (27%), and Inuit (26%).

Serious problems or disputes were more commonly reported by Indigenous women (29%) than Indigenous men (25%). This marked a difference when compared to the non-Indigenous, non-visible minority population, where women (17%) and men (17%) were equally likely to have faced a serious problem or dispute.

Indigenous people more likely to experience multiple serious problems

Indigenous people were more likely than non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people to experience 15 of the 19 problem categories measured in the CLPS (Table 5). The largest gaps were seen with serious legal problems involving discrimination (6.5% versus 2.0%), accessing government assistance, excluding disability assistance¹³ (2.6% versus 1.0%), and obtaining disability assistance (1.9% versus 0.9%).

Experiencing multiple problems was also more common among Indigenous people. About one-quarter (24%) of Indigenous people faced three or more serious problems in the three years preceding the survey, compared to 15% of non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people who faced at least one problem.

Indigenous people more often report disputes with the criminal justice system

The CLPS asked about serious and not easy to fix problems specific to the criminal justice system; namely, issues stemming from contact with the police or other parts of the criminal justice system involving being stopped, accused, charged, detained, or arrested, or contacted as a victim or witness of a crime. On the whole, 2.6% of Canadians 18 years of age or older, or nearly 780,000 individuals, had encountered such a problem in the three years preceding the survey.

Overall, 5.5% of Indigenous people faced one of these problems, double the proportion of non-visible minority, non-Indigenous people (2.7%). The proportion of Black people (2.7%) and other visible minority people (1.9%) who encountered this issue was not statistically different from non-visible minority, non-Indigenous people. More specifically, among Indigenous people, 3.8% reported an issue related to being a victim or witness of a crime, while 2.5% had an issue that involved being stopped, accused, charged, detained, or arrested. In both cases, these were about twice as common than among the non-visible minority, non-Indigenous population (1.8% and 1.2%, respectively).

Consistent with other research that shows Indigenous people face disproportionate levels of contact with the criminal justice system, being Indigenous was associated with higher odds of experiencing a serious problem with the criminal justice system, even after controlling for other factors, including age, gender, and income. When these factors were held constant, the odds of experiencing a serious problem with the justice system were 1.6 times higher among Indigenous people than non-Indigenous people.

Those who reported a problem with the criminal justice system were also asked if the incident that caused the dispute involved violence in any way. About one-third (35%) of those who had a dispute with police or the justice system in the past three years indicated that violence was involved; proportions were similar among Indigenous people (43%) and the non-Indigenous, non-visible minority population (37%).¹⁴

Moreover, those whose dispute was with police and involved being stopped, accused, charged, detained, or arrested were asked if they felt they were unreasonably stopped, questioned, or threatened by the police. In all, just under half (48%) of those who experienced this problem felt that police acted unreasonably. This included 52%^E of Indigenous people and 44% of non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people, a difference that was not statistically significant.

Text box 3**Overrepresentation of Indigenous people in the criminal justice system**

The overrepresentation of Indigenous people in the Canadian criminal justice system has been known for decades. Recently, many reports have raised concerns around the treatment of Indigenous people within the criminal justice system—both as accused persons and victims of crime—and overrepresentation in the correctional system as something tied to the legacy of colonialism and residential schools (MMIWG 2019; Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2015).

Consistent with previous years, in 2018/2019, Indigenous adults, who made up 4.5% of the adult Canadian population, accounted for a disproportionate amount of adult admissions to custody (31% of provincial/territorial and 29% of federal admissions) (Malakieh 2020). Overrepresentation is not solely an issue among adults; more than four in ten (43%) youth admissions to correctional services in 2018/2019 were Indigenous, despite accounting for 8.8% of the total youth population (Malakieh 2020).

Recent analysis of data from Canada's criminal courts, linked to information from the Census of Population, found that not only were Indigenous people overrepresented as accused persons relative to the total population, there were also a number of differential outcomes at various parts of the criminal court process (Saghbini et al. 2021). While some differential outcomes are not necessarily negative, such as the finding that Indigenous people were more likely to have a preliminary hearing, others, such as a higher likelihood of being found guilty and a higher likelihood of being sentenced to custody, may be contributing to the ongoing overrepresentation of Indigenous people in the correctional system.

Statistics Canada is working with the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police and police services across the country to include information about the Indigenous and racialized identity of victims and persons accused of police-reported crime (Statistics Canada 2020). This inclusion will facilitate additional analysis of varying or disproportionate levels with which population groups come into contact with police and subsequently, other parts of the criminal justice system.

One in three Indigenous people contacted a legal professional to help resolve their problem

Overall, just under nine in ten of those who experienced a serious problem took some sort of action as a result (Table 6). While there were few significant differences between ethno-cultural groups, Indigenous people were more likely to have obtained advice from friends or relatives compared to non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people (58% versus 49%). Indigenous people also more frequently stated that they contacted a federal, provincial, territorial, or municipal government department or agency than did non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people who took action to solve a problem (28% versus 22%), or that they contacted a community centre or community organization (15% versus 10%). In contrast, Indigenous people were less likely than non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people to have searched the internet for a solution (42% and 49%, respectively).

Consistent with other findings and research which suggests that most people take action outside of the formal justice system (Savage and McDonald 2022), one-third (34%) of Indigenous people contacted a legal professional to help resolve their problem. This did not differ significantly from non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people (36%).

Among those who did not take action, the most common reason was a sense that nothing could be done about their problem. This was reported by 56% of Indigenous people and 51% of non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people who did not take action.¹⁵ Relative to the non-Indigenous, non-visible minority population, Indigenous people who did not take action to resolve their most serious problem or dispute more commonly cited shame or embarrassment as a reason why (12% versus 4%).

Text box 4**The COVID-19 pandemic worsened serious problems**

The COVID-19 pandemic has disrupted the lives of Canadians in countless ways. In many respects, the visible minority and Indigenous populations have been disproportionately impacted. For instance, during the pandemic, Indigenous participants have been more likely than non-Indigenous participants to report that their mental health has worsened, to feel less safe in their neighbourhoods, to be more concerned about increased family stress or risk of violence in the home, to report a strong or moderate impact on their ability to meet financial obligations or essential needs, and to have less trust in the decisions made by governments and public health agencies (Arriagada et al. 2020a; Arriagada et al. 2020b; Arriagada et al. 2020).

Likewise, the visible minority population has been disproportionately impacted by the pandemic, indicating that they consider their neighbourhoods less safe, and experiencing more negative financial impacts due to the pandemic when compared to the non-visible minority population (Heidinger and Cotter 2020; Statistics Canada 2021a).

In addition to impacts such as these, access to justice may have also been made more difficult, as access to many services may have been limited or impossible at various times during the pandemic.

Among those who had encountered serious problems at some point during the past three years, approximately four in ten said that the COVID-19 pandemic made their problems worse or more difficult to resolve. Almost half (48%) of Indigenous people who had serious problems said the pandemic made their situation worse, above the proportion of non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people (42%). Similar proportions of Black (44%^E) and other visible minority (44%) people who faced problems felt that the pandemic exacerbated them, findings that were not statistically different from non-Indigenous, non-visible minorities.

The Canadian Legal Problems Survey, which was collected from February to August 2021, also asked if any of the problems encountered in the past three years had started after March 16, 2020. This was the case for about four in ten of those who had faced problems and was similar among Black (40%^E), Indigenous (43%), other visible minority (39%), and non-Indigenous, non-visible minority (39%) people.

Indigenous people more likely to experience difficulties with mental health or social, family or personal issues as a result of their most serious problem

Most individuals who had experienced a serious dispute or problem indicated that there were negative health consequences as a result. The most common impact was extreme stress, cited by three-quarters of Indigenous (76%) and non-Indigenous, non-visible minority (73%) people (Table 7).

In terms of health impacts, Indigenous people were more likely to state that their serious problem(s) caused difficulties with their mental health (56%), social, family, or personal issues (49%), or problems with their physical health (38%) compared to the non-Indigenous, non-visible minority population (45%, 39%, and 34%, respectively).

One-third (34%) of Indigenous people who faced a serious problem or dispute reported negative socio-economic impacts as a result, a higher proportion than among non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people (29%). Notably, one in ten (10%) Indigenous people said that their most serious problem or dispute either caused or contributed to losing housing, compared to 6% among non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people.

Financial impacts were also a relatively common outcome of legal problems or disputes. Similar proportions of Indigenous (49%) and non-Indigenous, non-visible minority (48%) people stated that they faced financial challenges as a result of the most serious problem they encountered.

In general, about half of those who said the most serious problem had a financial impact said they had to spend their savings as a result. Indigenous people were more likely than non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people to have to put unwanted expenses on their credit card (40% versus 33%), miss payments on a bill or make late payments (34% versus 19%), and borrow money from friends or relatives (33% versus 20%). In addition, the proportion of Indigenous people who had to borrow money from a credit or loan agency was twice as high as that among non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people (12% versus 6%).

Relative to the non-Indigenous population, Indigenous people are more likely to live in situations of poverty (Arriagada et al. 2020c).¹⁶ This may not only exacerbate any financial impacts of a serious problem or dispute, but also represent another way in which economic inequalities linked to colonialism continue to contribute to disparities in socioeconomic status (Reading and Wien 2009).

Text box 5 Odds of experiencing serious problems or disputes

Results from the 2021 Canadian Legal Problems Survey demonstrate that Black and Indigenous people are more likely to face serious problems or disputes. In addition to these key findings, multivariate analysis was conducted in order to determine if these differences can be attributed to other characteristics among these populations, or if ethno-cultural identity on its own has an independent effect on the likelihood of experiencing serious problems.

An initial model, taking into account ethno-cultural identity, age, gender, immigration status, disability, sexual orientation, and income was created. From there, five characteristics remained independently associated with higher odds of experiencing a serious problem or dispute.

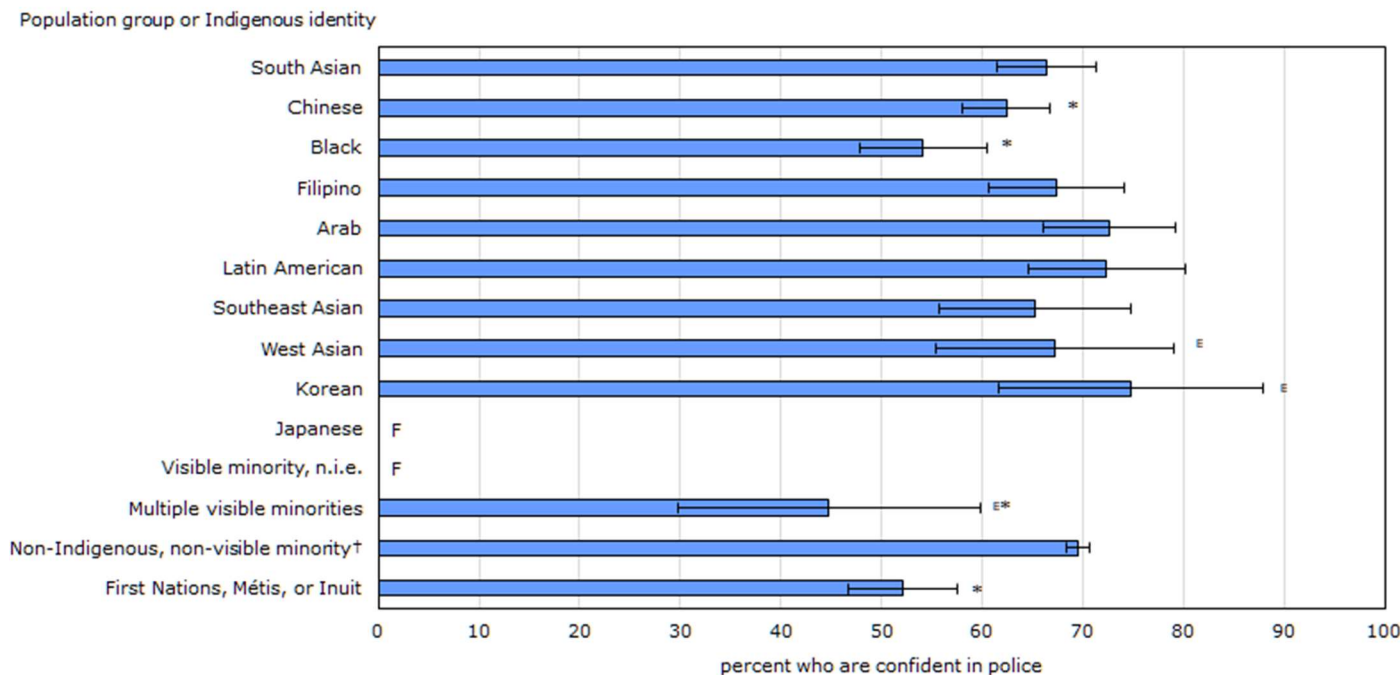
Among these characteristics, being Black and Indigenous each increased the odds of experiencing serious problems, even after controlling for other relevant factors. For Black people, the odds were 1.8 times higher, and for Indigenous people, the odds were 1.5 times higher, when compared to non-Black, non-Indigenous people.¹⁷

The other factors that remained significantly associated with higher odds of facing a serious problem or dispute were disability (+2.7 times), having a sexual orientation other than heterosexual (+1.4 times), and having an income of less than \$60,000 (+1.3 times). On the other hand, the odds of experiencing a problem decreased with age, declining 1% with each additional year of age.

Section 3: Selected findings among other groups designated as visible minorities

According to the General Social Survey on Social Identity, there were few differences in levels of confidence in police among ethno-cultural groups (Chart 5). As noted, Black and Indigenous people had lower levels of confidence in police than did non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people. In addition, Chinese people (62%) and those who belonged to more than one group designated as visible minority (45%^E) were also less likely to have confidence in police.

**Chart 5
Confidence in police, by population group or Indigenous identity, provinces, 2020**



^E use with caution

F too unreliable to be published

* significantly different from reference category

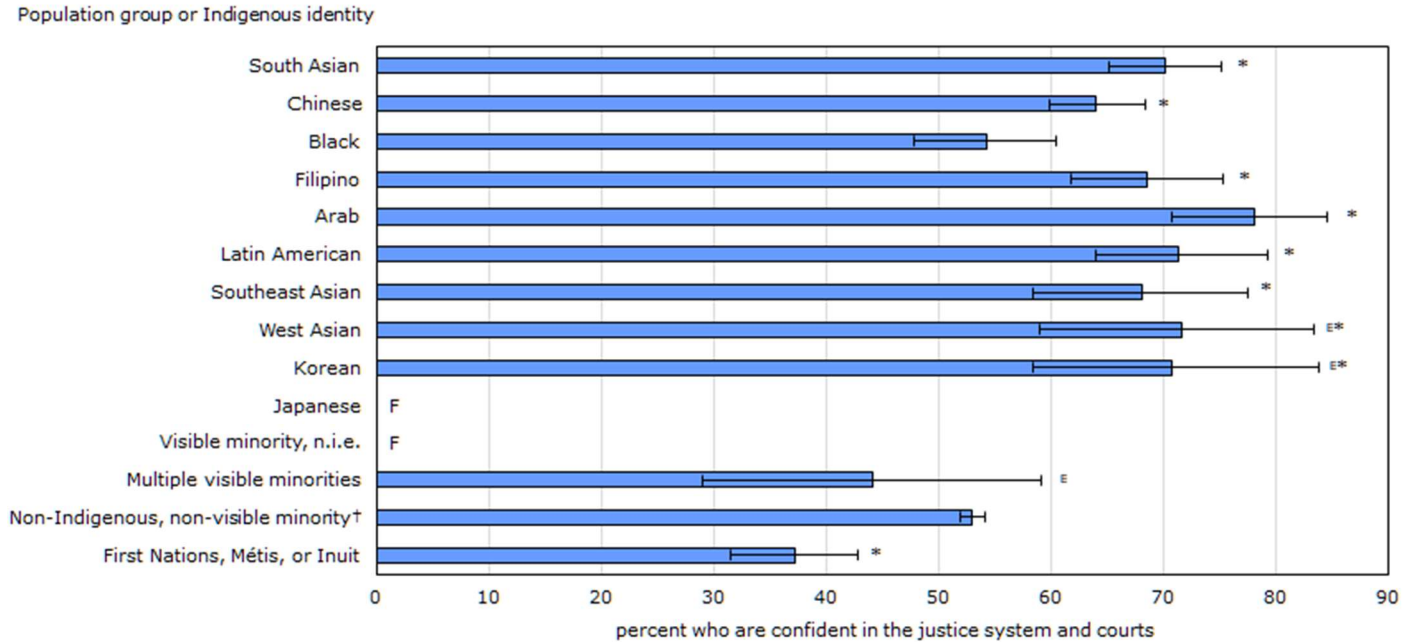
† reference category

Note: n.i.e. = not indicated elsewhere. Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals and can be interpreted as such: if the survey were repeated many times, then 95% of the time (or 19 times out of 20), the interval would cover the true population value. Information on Indigenous identity and belonging to a population group designated as visible minority is captured in two separate questions. Having separate questions and variables encourages data users to take into account the differences between these groups, including in terms of their history, background, geographic distribution, and current conditions and situations. These distinctions should be considered when collecting data and planning, monitoring, and evaluating programs and services. For the purposes of this report, in order to have a consistent reference category across all sections, the questions on Indigenous identity and population group have been partially combined in order to create the category of "Non-Indigenous, non-visible minority". This category includes respondents who indicated they were not Indigenous people and provided responses to the question on population group which indicated that they are not a visible minority according to the *Employment Equity Act*.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey on Social Identity, 2020.

In contrast, there was more variation in levels of confidence in the justice system and courts, with a higher proportion of many population groups having confidence compared with non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people (Chart 6). The proportions of South Asian, Chinese, Filipino, Arab, Latin American, Southeast Asian, West Asian, and Korean people who were confident in the justice system and courts was higher than it was among non-visible minority, non-Indigenous people.

Chart 6
Confidence in the justice system and courts, by population group or Indigenous identity, provinces, 2020



E use with caution
 F too unreliable to be published
 * significantly different from reference category
 † reference category

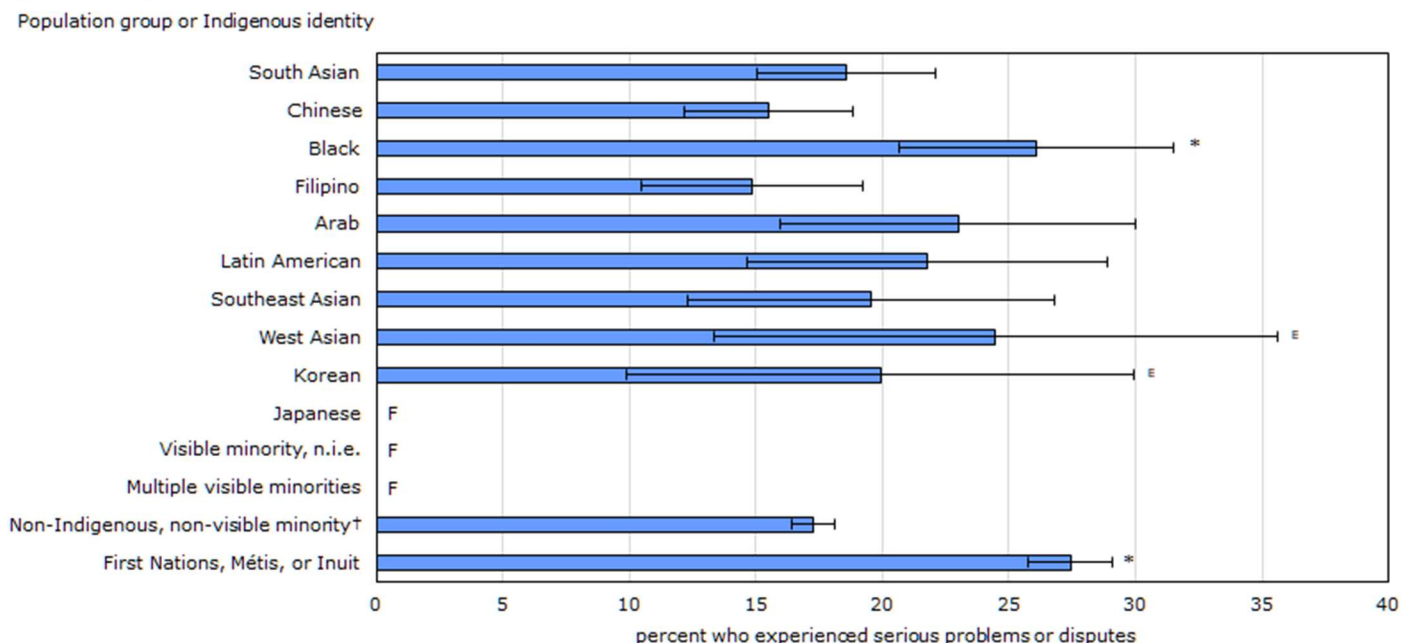
Note: n.i.e. = not indicated elsewhere. Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals and can be interpreted as such: if the survey were repeated many times, then 95% of the time (or 19 times out of 20), the interval would cover the true population value. Information on Indigenous identity and belonging to a population group designated as visible minority is captured in two separate questions. Having separate questions and variables encourages data users to take into account the differences between these groups, including in terms of their history, background, geographic distribution, and current conditions and situations. These distinctions should be considered when collecting data and planning, monitoring, and evaluating programs and services. For the purposes of this report, in order to have a consistent reference category across all sections, the questions on Indigenous identity and population group have been partially combined in order to create the category of "Non-Indigenous, non-visible minority". This category includes respondents who indicated they were not Indigenous people and provided responses to the question on population group which indicated that they are not a visible minority according to the *Employment Equity Act*.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey on Social Identity, 2020.

Previous analysis of the 2019 GSS on Victimization found that, on the whole, those belonging to a group designated as visible minority were less likely to believe their local police were doing a good job at five of the six aspects measured (Ibrahim 2020). More precisely, compared to the non-visible minority population, most ethno-cultural groups were less likely to state that police were doing a good job treating people fairly. The exceptions were Latin American, Filipino, and Arab people, where the proportions were similar to the non-visible minority population (Ibrahim 2020).

There were no statistically significant differences between the non-Indigenous, non-visible minority population and other ethno-cultural groups in terms of their experiences of serious legal problems or disputes in the past 3 years, with the exception of Black and Indigenous people as previously noted. Those belonging to other ethno-cultural groups designated as visible minorities reported experiencing serious problems or disputes in largely similar proportions, when compared with the non-Indigenous, non-visible minority population (Chart 7).

Chart 7
Serious problems or disputes in the past 3 years, by population group or Indigenous identity, provinces, 2021



E use with caution
 F too unreliable to be published
 * significantly different from reference category
 † reference category

Note: n.i.e. = not indicated elsewhere. Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals and can be interpreted as such: if the survey were repeated many times, then 95% of the time (or 19 times out of 20), the interval would cover the true population value. Information on Indigenous identity and belonging to a population group designated as visible minority is captured in two separate questions. Having separate questions and variables encourages data users to take into account the differences between these groups, including in terms of their history, background, geographic distribution, and current conditions and situations. These distinctions should be considered when collecting data and planning, monitoring, and evaluating programs and services. For the purposes of this report, in order to have a consistent reference category across all sections, the questions on Indigenous identity and population group have been partially combined in order to create the category of "Non-Indigenous, non-visible minority". This category includes respondents who indicated they were not Indigenous people and provided responses to the question on population group which indicated that they are not a visible minority according to the *Employment Equity Act*.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Legal Problems Survey, 2021.

Summary

The everyday experiences and perceptions of Black and Indigenous people in Canada differ from those who are neither Indigenous people nor visible minorities in many ways. Data from the General Social Survey on Social Identity, the General Social Survey on Victimization, and the Canadian Legal Problems Survey each highlight some of these differences in terms of confidence in institutions, perceptions of and contact with police, and experiences of serious problems or disputes.

Perceptions of the police and other institutions were more negative among Black and Indigenous people. Black and Indigenous people were about twice as likely as non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people to state that they had little or no confidence in police. Linked to this, Black and Indigenous people more commonly felt that police were performing poorly at least one part of their job.

Indigenous people were more likely to have had contact with police in the previous 12 months, when compared with the non-Indigenous, non-visible minority population. Black people, on the other hand, had similar levels of police contact when compared with non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people.

In contrast to what was seen with perceptions of the police, Black people tended to be more positive than non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people in terms of the performance of Canadian criminal courts, in particular their ability to help victims and provide justice quickly. Indigenous people, who were much more likely to have had prior contact with Canadian criminal courts, had similar perceptions to non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people. The exception was the ability of the courts to ensure a fair trial for the accused, which Indigenous people perceived less favourably.

Serious problems or disputes were also considerably more common among Black and Indigenous people. In particular, problems related to discrimination were much more common among Black people. Indigenous people, in turn, were much more likely than non-Indigenous, non-visible minority people to cite serious problems or disputes with the police or justice system.

There was variation within the Black and Indigenous populations as well, reflecting the impact of other key individual characteristics. For example, Canadian-born Black people had far more negative perceptions of police than did Black immigrants. Indigenous women were more likely than Indigenous men to have experienced one or more serious problems or disputes in the past 3 years.

As more and more survey programs begin to prioritize the collection of sufficient data for disaggregation, and other sources internal and external to Statistics Canada begin to publish or share this information, further analysis of differential outcomes or experiences can be explored in order to better capture and understand the varied experiences of different groups in Canada.

Survey description

Canadian Legal Problems Survey

In 2021, Statistics Canada conducted the first cycle of the Canadian Legal Problems Survey (CLPS). The purpose of the CLPS is to identify the kinds of serious problems people face, how they attempt to resolve them, and how these experiences may impact their lives. The target population for the CLPS is the Canadian population aged 18 years of age and older living in one of Canada's 10 provinces, with the exception of those residing in institutions or living on-reserve.

Data collection took place from February to August, inclusively. Responses were obtained by self-administered online questionnaire or by interviewer-administered telephone questionnaire. Respondents were able to respond in the official language of their choice.

The sample size for the 10 provinces was 21,170 respondents. The overall response rate was 50.3%. Respondents in the sample were weighted so that their responses represent the non-institutionalized, off-reserve Canadian population aged 18 and older.

General Social Survey on Social Identity

In 2020, Statistics Canada conducted the General Social Survey (GSS) on Social Identity to provide an overall picture of Canadians' identification, attachment, belonging and pride in their social and cultural environment. The key components of the survey include the following topics: social networks, civic participation and engagement, knowledge of Canadian history, appreciation of national symbols, shared values, confidence in institutions, and trust in people. In addition, the survey also covers people's possible experiences of discrimination before and during the COVID-19 pandemic. The target population is all non-institutionalized persons and non-residents of First Nations reserves aged 15 years of age and older living in one of Canada's 10 provinces.

Data collection took place from August 2020 to February 2021, inclusively. Responses were obtained by self-administered online questionnaire or by interviewer-administered telephone questionnaire. Respondents were able to respond in the official language of their choice.

The sample size for the GSS on Social Identity was 34,044 respondents, with an overall response rate of 40.3%. Respondents in the sample were weighted so that their responses represent the non-institutionalized, off-reserve Canadian population aged 15 and older.

General Social Survey on Victimization

In 2019, Statistics Canada conducted the General Social Survey (GSS) on Victimization for the seventh time. Previous cycles were conducted in 1988, 1993, 1999, 2004, 2009 and 2014. The main objective of the GSS on Victimization is to better understand issues related to the safety and security of Canadians, including perceptions of crime and the justice system, experiences of intimate partner violence, and how safe people feel in their communities. The target population was persons aged 15 and older living in the provinces and territories, except for those living full-time in institutions.

Data collection took place between April 2019 and March 2020. Responses were obtained by computer-assisted telephone interviews (CATI), in-person interviews (in the territories only) and, for the first time, the GSS on Victimization offered a self-administered internet collection option to survey respondents in the provinces and in the territorial capitals. Respondents were able to respond in the official language of their choice.

The sample size for the GSS on Victimization was 22,412 respondents, with a response rate of 37.6%. Respondents in the sample were weighted so that their responses represent the non-institutionalized Canadian population aged 15 and older.

Data limitations

With any household survey, there are some data limitations. The results are based on a sample and are therefore subject to sampling errors. Somewhat different results might have been obtained if the entire population had been surveyed.

For the quality of estimates from the CLPS, the GSS on Social Identity, and the GSS on Victimization, the lower and upper bounds of the confidence intervals are presented. Confidence intervals should be interpreted as follows: if the survey were repeated many times, then 95% of the time (or 19 times out of 20), the confidence interval would cover the true population value.

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Notes

^E use with caution

1. The *Employment Equity Act* defines visible minorities as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour". The visible minority population consists mainly of the following groups: South Asian, Chinese, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Arab, Southeast Asian, West Asian, Korean and Japanese.

2. Information on Indigenous identity and belonging to a population group designated as visible minority is captured in two separate questions. Having separate questions and variables encourages data users to take into account the differences between these groups, including in terms of their history, background, geographic distribution, and current conditions and situations. These distinctions should be considered when collecting data and planning, monitoring, and evaluating programs and services. For the purposes of this report, in order to have a consistent reference category across all sections, the questions on Indigenous identity and population group have been partially combined in order to create the category of "Non-Indigenous, non-visible minority". This category includes respondents who indicated they were not Indigenous people and provided responses to the question on population group which indicated that they are not a visible minority according to the *Employment Equity Act*, which is the basis for the current question on population group used in the General Social Survey and the Canadian Legal Problems Survey.

3. "Other African origins, not included elsewhere" includes mostly general responses (e.g., 'African'), as well as a few more specific African responses (e.g., 'Saharan') that have not been included elsewhere in the ethnic origin classification.

4. The specific survey question asked respondents to indicate their level of confidence in each institution on a scale from 1 (no confidence at all) to 5 (a great deal of confidence). For the purposes of analysis, those who responded 1 or 2 are considered to not have confidence, and those who answered 4 or 5 are considered to have confidence. Percent calculations include those who responded 3, as well as missing or not stated responses.

5. The survey questionnaire specified 18 categories of problem, as well as an "other" category where respondents could indicate problems that did not fit into any of the above categories.

6. For analysis of findings from the 2021 Canadian Legal Problems Survey, see Savage and McDonald 2022.

7. For more background and full results from the first Canadian Legal Problems Survey, see Savage and McDonald 2022.

8. The measure used in the Canadian Legal Problems Survey differs considerably from that used in the General Social Survey (GSS). The GSS asked about discrimination or unfair treatment in the past 5 years, without any stipulation or further qualification that it was perceived as serious or as a situation that needed to be resolved. In contrast, the CLPS asked respondents to include only those experiences that were serious or difficult to resolve. While the prevalence of discrimination

between the two surveys varied as a result of these differences, the results generally followed a similar pattern. For information on discrimination as measured by the 2019 GSS, see Cotter 2022.

9. In addition, the General Social Survey on Social Identity and the Canadian Legal Problems Survey excluded the population living on-reserve.

10. The specific survey question asked respondents to indicate their level of confidence in each institution on a scale from 1 (no confidence at all) to 5 (a great deal of confidence). For the purposes of analysis, those who responded 1 or 2 are considered to not have confidence, and those who answered 4 or 5 are considered to have confidence. Percent calculations include those who responded 3, as well as missing or not stated responses.

11. Due to sample size, estimates for Inuit from the General Social Survey on Social Identity are not possible.

12. See Text box 1 for more information.

13. This category includes problems or disputes related to getting social or housing assistance, receiving Old Age Security, Guaranteed Income Supplement or other government assistance payments, or problems with the amount received.

14. Due to sample size, disaggregated data for population groups designated as visible minority cannot be published.

15. This difference is not statistically significant. Due to sample size, reasons for not taking action cannot be published for Black and other visible minority people.

16. The measure of poverty is based on the Market Basket Measure, Canada's official poverty line. Like the Canadian Legal Problems Survey, this measure is not currently available in the Territories or on reserve.

17. In the initial model, the categories for ethno-cultural group were Black, Indigenous, other group designated as visible minority, and non-Indigenous, non-visible minority. In the initial model, there was no significant difference between other group designated as visible minority and non-Indigenous, non-visible minority; therefore, these categories were collapsed into one reference category in subsequent models.

Detailed data tables

Table 1
Confidence in institutions, by population group or Indigenous identity, provinces, 2020

	Population group or Indigenous identity ¹											
	Black			First Nations, Métis, or Inuit			Other group designated as visible minority			Non-Indigenous, non-visible minority [†]		
	95% confidence interval			95% confidence interval			95% confidence interval			95% confidence interval		
	%	from	to	%	from	to	%	from	to	%	from	to
Confidence in institutions												
Police												
Not confident ²	21*	16	28	22*	17	28	11	9	13	11	10	11
Confident ³	54*	48	60	52*	46	58	66*	63	68	70	68	71
Justice system and courts												
Not confident ²	16	12	22	30*	25	36	10*	8	11	16	15	17
Confident ³	54	48	60	37*	32	43	6*	65	70	53	52	54
School system												
Not confident ²	9	6	13	20*	16	26	10	8	11	11	11	12
Confident ³	61	55	67	45*	40	51	66*	63	68	57	56	58
Federal Parliament												
Not confident ²	13*	9	19	31*	26	37	11*	10	13	21	20	22
Confident ³	52*	46	59	28*	24	33	60*	57	62	41	40	42
Banks												
Not confident ²	15	11	21	22	17	27	10*	9	12	17	16	18
Confident ³	57	50	63	46	41	52	63*	61	66	52	51	53
Major corporations												
Not confident ²	29	24	36	38*	33	44	21*	19	23	32	31	33
Confident ³	32*	27	38	20*	16	24	42*	39	44	26	25	27
Local merchants and business people												
Not confident ²	14*	9	19	11*	7	17	8*	7	10	5	4	5
Confident ³	54*	48	60	62*	56	68	57*	54	59	69	68	70
Canadian media												
Not confident ²	15*	11	19	32*	27	37	14*	13	16	22	21	23
Confident ³	47*	41	53	30*	26	35	47*	45	49	40	39	41

* significantly different from reference category (p < 0.05)

† reference category

1. Information on Indigenous identity and belonging to a population group designated as visible minority is captured in two separate questions. Having separate questions and variables encourages data users to take into account the differences between these groups, including in terms of their history, background, geographic distribution, and current conditions and situations. These distinctions should be considered when collecting data and planning, monitoring, and evaluating programs and services. For the purposes of this report, in order to have a consistent reference category across all sections, the questions on Indigenous identity and population group have been partially combined in order to create the category of "Non-Indigenous, non-visible minority". This category includes respondents who indicated they were not Indigenous people and provided responses to the question on population group which indicated that they are not a visible minority according to the *Employment Equity Act*, which is the basis for the current question on population group used in the General Social Survey and the Canadian Legal Problems Survey.

2. Includes those who responded 1 or 2 to the question "Using a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 means No confidence at all and 5 means A great deal of confidence".

3. Includes those who responded 4 or 5 to the question "Using a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 means No confidence at all and 5 means A great deal of confidence".

Note: Percent calculations include those who responded 3 to the question "Using a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 means No confidence at all and 5 means A great deal of confidence" as well as missing or not stated responses; for that reason, displayed percentages do not sum to 100. Reflects data from those living in the provinces only as the General Social Survey on Social Identity was not collected in the three territories.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey on Social Identity, 2020.

Table 2
Perceptions of police performance, by population group or Indigenous identity, Canada, 2019

	Population group or Indigenous identity ¹											
	Black			First Nations, Métis, or Inuit			Other group designated as visible minority			Non-Indigenous, non-visible minority [†]		
	95% confidence interval			95% confidence interval			95% confidence interval			95% confidence interval		
	%	from	to	%	from	to	%	from	to	%	from	to
Perception of local police												
Enforcing the laws												
Police do a good job	45	36	53	38*	32	44	39*	36	42	49	48	50
Police do an average job	26	18	35	43*	36	49	35	32	38	33	31	34
Police do a poor job	2*	1	5	10*	7	14	7*	6	9	5	4	5
Don't know	25*	18	34	9*	7	13	19*	17	22	14	13	14
Promptly responding to calls												
Police do a good job	43	34	52	37	32	43	37*	35	40	41	39	42
Police do an average job	22	15	31	30	24	36	25	23	28	26	25	27
Police do a poor job	6	3	10	16*	12	21	8	6	9	7	6	8
Don't know	27	20	36	17*	13	22	29*	27	32	26	25	28
Being approachable and easy to talk to												
Police do a good job	41*	33	50	45*	39	50	40*	37	43	52	51	54
Police do an average job	20	13	28	31*	25	37	28*	25	31	23	22	24
Police do a poor job	12	7	21	8	6	12	7	6	9	6	5	6
Don't know	25	18	33	16	12	21	24*	22	27	19	18	20
Providing information on crime prevention												
Police do a good job	39	32	48	37	31	43	30*	27	33	39	38	40
Police do an average job	20*	15	27	27	22	32	34*	31	37	31	29	32
Police do a poor job	15	9	25	16*	12	21	12*	10	14	9	9	10
Don't know	23	16	31	20	15	26	24*	22	27	21	20	22
Ensuring safety of citizens												
Police do a good job	49	40	58	42	36	48	37*	34	40	47	45	48
Police do an average job	29	21	38	34	28	41	34	31	37	32	31	33
Police do a poor job	6	3	11	11*	8	16	8*	6	10	5	4	5
Don't know	15	10	22	12*	9	17	21*	18	23	17	16	18
Treating people fairly												
Police do a good job	30*	23	39	40	34	46	34*	31	36	45	43	46
Police do an average job	25	18	33	28	23	34	30*	28	33	25	24	26
Police do a poor job	20*	12	31	15*	11	19	9*	8	11	7	6	7
Don't know	22	17	29	17*	12	23	27*	25	30	24	22	25

* significantly different from reference category (p < 0.05)

† reference category

1. Information on Indigenous identity and belonging to a population group designated as visible minority is captured in two separate questions. Having separate questions and variables encourages data users to take into account the differences between these groups, including in terms of their history, background, geographic distribution, and current conditions and situations. These distinctions should be considered when collecting data and planning, monitoring, and evaluating programs and services. For the purposes of this report, in order to have a consistent reference category across all sections, the questions on Indigenous identity and population group have been partially combined in order to create the category of "Non-Indigenous, non-visible minority". This category includes respondents who indicated they were not Indigenous people and provided responses to the question on population group which indicated that they are not a visible minority according to the *Employment Equity Act*, which is the basis for the current question on population group used in the General Social Survey and the Canadian Legal Problems Survey.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey on Canadians' Safety (Victimization), 2019.

Table 3
Previous contact with police or criminal courts, by population group or Indigenous identity, Canada, 2019

Previous contact and reason(s) for contact	Population group or Indigenous identity ¹											
	Black			First Nations, Métis, or Inuit			Other group designated as visible minority			Non-Indigenous, non-visible minority [†]		
	95% confidence interval			95% confidence interval			95% confidence interval			95% confidence interval		
	%	from	to	%	from	to	%	from	to	%	from	to
Contact with police in past 12 months												
Yes ²	32	25	41	45*	39	51	28*	25	31	36	35	37
Public information session	3*	2	6	9	6	14	7	5	9	6	6	7
Work or volunteering	10	6	15	14	11	18	9*	7	11	13	12	14
Traffic violation	13	9	19	12	9	16	9*	7	10	11	10	12
As a victim of crime	4	2	8	7	5	11	4	3	5	4	4	5
As a witness to a crime	3*	1	6	8	6	12	3*	2	4	5	5	6
By being arrested	F	F	F	1	0.6	3	F	F	F	0.5	0.3	0.7
Due to problems with emotions, mental health, alcohol or drug use	F	F	F	3	1	6	F	F	F	0.7	0.5	1
Due to a family member's problems with emotions, mental health, alcohol or drug use	F	F	F	10*	7	14	2*	1	3	3	2	3
Any other reason	8	4	14	11*	8	16	5*	4	7	7	6	8
No	66	57	73	55*	49	61	72*	69	75	64	63	65
Overall perception of experience(s) with police³												
Positive	81 ^E	70	88	80*	72	87	85	80	89	89	87	90
Negative	19 ^E	11	30	18	12	26	15	11	20	11	9	12
Ever had contact with Canadian criminal courts												
Yes	17	11	25	37*	32	43	10*	8	11	22	21	23
No	78	69	86	63*	57	68	90*	88	92	77	76	78

^E use with caution

F too unreliable to be published

* significantly different from reference category (p < 0.05)

† reference category

1. Information on Indigenous identity and belonging to a population group designated as visible minority is captured in two separate questions. Having separate questions and variables encourages data users to take into account the differences between these groups, including in terms of their history, background, geographic distribution, and current conditions and situations. These distinctions should be considered when collecting data and planning, monitoring, and evaluating programs and services. For the purposes of this report, in order to have a consistent reference category across all sections, the questions on Indigenous identity and population group have been partially combined in order to create the category of "Non-Indigenous, non-visible minority". This category includes respondents who indicated they were not Indigenous people and provided responses to the question on population group which indicated that they are not a visible minority according to the *Employment Equity Act*, which is the basis for the current question on population group used in the General Social Survey and the Canadian Legal Problems Survey.

2. As respondents could mention as many types of contact as applicable, "Yes" category does not equal the sum of all of the types of contact.

3. Based on those who had contact with police in the past 12 months.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey on Canadians' Safety (Victimization), 2019.

Table 4
Perceptions of criminal courts, prisons, and parole system, by population group or Indigenous identity, Canada, 2019

Perception of criminal courts, prisons, and parole system	Population group or Indigenous identity ¹											
	Black			First Nations, Métis, or Inuit			Other group designated as visible minority			Non-Indigenous, non-visible minority [†]		
	95% confidence interval			95% confidence interval			95% confidence interval			95% confidence interval		
	%	from	to	%	from	to	%	from	to	%	from	to
Providing justice quickly												
Canadian criminal courts do a good job	20*	14	29	11	8	14	16*	14	18	8	7	9
Canadian criminal courts do an average job	23*	17	31	31	25	37	27*	24	30	31	30	32
Canadian criminal courts do a poor job	8*	4	14	35	30	41	16*	14	19	36	35	37
Don't know	46*	38	55	23	19	29	41*	38	44	25	23	26
Helping victims												
Canadian criminal courts do a good job	28*	21	36	15	11	19	19*	17	22	12	11	13
Canadian criminal courts do an average job	24*	17	34	32	26	38	28*	25	30	34	33	35
Canadian criminal courts do a poor job	6*	3	12	28	23	33	12*	10	14	23	22	24
Don't know	39	31	48	26	21	31	41*	38	44	31	30	32
Determining whether the accused person is guilty or not												
Canadian criminal courts do a good job	23	16	31	16	12	20	17	15	19	19	18	20
Canadian criminal courts do an average job	30	22	39	38	32	45	30*	27	32	37	36	38
Canadian criminal courts do a poor job	3*	1	6	17	13	21	8*	7	10	13	12	14
Don't know	42*	34	51	29	24	35	45*	42	48	31	30	32
Ensuring a fair trial for the accused												
Canadian criminal courts do a good job	26	19	34	21*	17	26	23*	20	25	28	27	29
Canadian criminal courts do an average job	28	21	37	35	30	42	27*	25	29	34	33	35
Canadian criminal courts do a poor job	3*	2	6	15*	11	19	7*	5	9	9	8	9
Don't know	40*	32	49	28	23	34	44*	41	46	29	28	31
Supervising and controlling prisoners												
Prison system does a good job	19	13	26	19	15	23	14*	12	17	20	19	21
Prison system does an average job	14*	9	23	30	24	36	17*	15	19	25	24	26
Prison system does a poor job	3*	1	6	12*	9	17	3*	2	4	8	7	9
Don't know	62*	52	70	39*	34	45	66*	63	69	48	46	49
Helping prisoners become law-abiding citizens												
Prison system does a good job	13	9	18	11	8	16	10	8	12	8	8	9
Prison system does an average job	19	12	28	23	18	30	15*	13	18	23	22	24
Prison system does a poor job	6*	4	10	27*	22	33	9*	7	11	20	19	21
Don't know	60*	50	68	38*	32	43	65*	63	68	48	47	49
Releasing offenders who are not likely to commit another crime												
Parole system does a good job	9	5	14	11	8	15	9	7	11	8	7	9
Parole system does an average job	20*	13	28	27	22	33	16*	14	18	27	26	28
Parole system does a poor job	8*	4	16	23	19	28	9*	8	11	18	18	19
Don't know	61*	52	69	39*	33	45	65*	62	68	46	45	48

See notes at the end of the table.

Table 4 — end
Perceptions of criminal courts, prisons, and parole system, by population group or Indigenous identity, Canada, 2019

Perception of criminal courts, prisons, and parole system	Population group or Indigenous identity ¹											
	Black			First Nations, Métis, or Inuit			Other group designated as visible minority			Non-Indigenous, non-visible minority [†]		
	95% confidence interval			95% confidence interval			95% confidence interval			95% confidence interval		
	%	from	to	%	from	to	%	from	to	%	from	to
Supervising offenders on parole												
Parole system does a good job	13	9	19	11	8	15	9	8	11	9	8	9
Parole system does an average job	20	13	29	25	19	31	16*	14	19	23	22	25
Parole system does a poor job	5*	3	8	23	19	28	9*	7	11	19	18	20
Don't know	60*	51	68	41*	35	47	65*	62	68	49	47	50

* significantly different from reference category ($p < 0.05$)

† reference category

1. Information on Indigenous identity and belonging to a population group designated as visible minority is captured in two separate questions. Having separate questions and variables encourages data users to take into account the differences between these groups, including in terms of their history, background, geographic distribution, and current conditions and situations. These distinctions should be considered when collecting data and planning, monitoring, and evaluating programs and services. For the purposes of this report, in order to have a consistent reference category across all sections, the questions on Indigenous identity and population group have been partially combined in order to create the category of "Non-Indigenous, non-visible minority". This category includes respondents who indicated they were not Indigenous people and provided responses to the question on population group which indicated that they are not a visible minority according to the *Employment Equity Act*, which is the basis for the current question on population group used in the General Social Survey and the Canadian Legal Problems Survey.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey on Canadians' Safety (Victimization), 2019.

Table 5
Serious problems or disputes in the past 3 years, by type of problem and population group or Indigenous identity, provinces, 2021

Type of problem	Population group or Indigenous identity ¹											
	Black			First Nations, Métis, or Inuit			Other group designated as visible minority			Non-Indigenous, non-visible minority [†]		
	95% confidence interval			95% confidence interval			95% confidence interval			95% confidence interval		
	%	from	to	%	from	to	%	from	to	%	from	to
Experienced at least one serious problem	26.1*	20.8	31.9	27.4*	25.7	29.2	18.9	17.0	20.9	17.2	16.4	18.1
A large purchase or service where you did not get what you paid for and the seller did not fix the problem	4.8	2.5	8.3	3.6*	2.9	4.4	2.5	1.8	3.4	2.6	2.3	3.0
Your employer or job, excluding personal injuries	5.1*	2.9	8.3	3.7*	3.0	4.5	1.9	1.3	2.7	2.3	2.0	2.7
A personal injury or serious health issue due to work conditions, in a commercial establishment, in a traffic accident, or any other public place	2.7	1.2	5.2	3.7*	3.0	4.4	2.1	1.5	2.8	1.6	1.3	2.0
Your neighbourhood, such as vandalism, property damage, threats, or excessive noise	3.9	1.7	7.5	5.3*	4.5	6.2	4.0	3.1	5.0	3.8	3.4	4.3
Your house, rent, mortgage, or rent owed to you	F	F	F	1.8	1.3	2.3	2.6*	1.9	3.3	1.4	1.1	1.7
Debt, collecting money owed to you, excluding rent and housing issues	7.3*	4.3	11.6	4.4*	3.7	5.3	2.8	2.0	3.7	2.3	2.0	2.7
Obtaining social or housing assistance, old age security or guaranteed income supplement or other government assistance	F	F	F	2.6*	2.0	3.2	1.2	0.8	1.9	1.0	0.8	1.2
Obtaining disability assistance	F	F	F	1.9*	1.5	2.5	0.6	0.3	1.1	0.9	0.7	1.1
Immigration, refugee status, or sponsoring a family member's application to immigrate to Canada	2.5*	1.1	4.6	F	F	F	1.8*	1.2	2.5	0.1	0.1	0.2
Contact with the police or other part of criminal justice system involving being stopped, accused, charged, detained, or arrested	F	F	F	2.5*	2.0	3.2	0.9	0.5	1.5	1.2	0.9	1.5
Contact with the police or other part of criminal justice system as a victim or witness of crime	F	F	F	3.8*	3.1	4.5	1.2*	0.7	1.8	1.8	1.5	2.2
Breakdown of family or relationship, excluding child custody	3.7	1.8	6.9	3.4*	2.7	4.1	1.4	0.9	2.2	1.7	1.4	2.1
Child custody or other problem involving parental responsibilities	F	F	F	2.9*	2.3	3.6	0.8	0.4	1.4	1.1	0.9	1.4
A will or taking care of financial or health issues for a person unable to do so for themselves	F	F	F	2.5*	1.9	3.1	1.1	0.7	1.8	1.6	1.4	1.9
Poor or incorrect medical treatment	F	F	F	5.1*	4.2	6.0	2.8	2.1	3.8	2.9	2.5	3.3
Civil court proceedings or a letter threatening legal action over a civil matter	2.4	1.1	4.6	1.7	1.2	2.2	1.1	0.6	1.8	1.3	1.0	1.5

See notes at the end of the table.

Table 5 — end
Serious problems or disputes in the past 3 years, by type of problem and population group or Indigenous identity, provinces, 2021

Type of problem	Population group or Indigenous identity ¹											
	Black			First Nations, Métis, or Inuit			Other group designated as visible minority			Non-Indigenous, non-visible minority [†]		
	95% confidence interval			95% confidence interval			95% confidence interval			95% confidence interval		
	%	from	to	%	from	to	%	from	to	%	from	to
Harassment	3.7	1.6	7.2	5.5*	4.7	6.5	2.7	2.0	3.6	2.8	2.4	3.2
Discrimination	8.0*	5.0	12.0	6.5*	5.6	7.5	4.5*	3.6	5.6	2.0	1.6	2.3
Any other issue	F	F	F	0.8	0.5	1.1	0.5	0.2	1.1	0.5	0.4	0.7
Did not experience a serious problem	65.4*	59.1	71.4	66.4*	64.5	68.2	73.5	71.3	75.6	75.3	74.3	76.2

F too unreliable to be published

* significantly different from reference category (p < 0.05)

† reference category

1. Information on Indigenous identity and belonging to a population group designated as visible minority is captured in two separate questions. Having separate questions and variables encourages data users to take into account the differences between these groups, including in terms of their history, background, geographic distribution, and current conditions and situations. These distinctions should be considered when collecting data and planning, monitoring, and evaluating programs and services. For the purposes of this report, in order to have a consistent reference category across all sections, the questions on Indigenous identity and population group have been partially combined in order to create the category of “Non-Indigenous, non-visible minority”. This category includes respondents who indicated they were not Indigenous people and provided responses to the question on population group which indicated that they are not a visible minority according to the *Employment Equity Act*, which is the basis for the current question on population group used in the General Social Survey and the Canadian Legal Problems Survey.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Legal Problems Survey, 2021.

Table 6
Actions taken or reasons for not taking action to resolve most serious problem or dispute in the past 3 years, by population group or Indigenous identity, provinces, 2021

Actions taken to resolve most serious problem	Population group or Indigenous identity ¹											
	Black			First Nations, Métis, or Inuit			Other group designated as visible minority			Non-Indigenous, non-visible minority [†]		
	95% confidence interval			95% confidence interval			95% confidence interval			95% confidence interval		
	%	from	to	%	from	to	%	from	to	%	from	to
Took action												
Yes	86 ^E	76	93	86	84	89	86	81	89	88	86	90
No	14 ^E	7	24	13	11	16	14	11	19	12	10	14
Type of action taken²												
Searched the internet	44 ^E	31	58	42*	38	46	60*	54	66	49	46	52
Contacted the other party involved in the dispute	49 ^E	36	62	45	41	49	41*	35	47	49	46	52
Obtained advice from friends or relatives	50 ^E	37	63	58*	54	61	56*	50	62	49	46	52
Contacted a legal professional	28 ^E	17	40	34	31	38	27*	22	33	36	33	39
Contacted a court or tribunal	10 ^E	4	19	10	8	13	9	6	14	9	7	10
Contacted a community centre or community organization	18 ^E	9	30	15*	13	18	10	7	15	10	9	12
Contacted a government department or agency	12 ^{E*}	6	22	28*	25	32	16*	12	21	22	20	25
Contacted a labour union	F	F	F	6	4	8	3	1	5	5	4	6
Other type of action	9 ^{E*}	3	19	16	14	19	15	11	19	18	16	20
Reasons for not taking action³												
Did not think anything could be done about it	F	F	F	56	46	66	F	F	F	51	43	59
Did not know what to do or where to get help	F	F	F	18	11	28	F	F	F	18	13	25
Uncertain of rights	F	F	F	14	8	22	F	F	F	7	4	12
Thought it would take too much time	F	F	F	12	7	19	F	F	F	14	9	21
Thought it would cost too much	F	F	F	15	9	22	F	F	F	12	7	17
Afraid of negative consequences	F	F	F	17	11	25	F	F	F	13	8	20
Thought it would make things worse	F	F	F	22	15	30	F	F	F	17	11	24
Felt other party was right	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
Process would be too stressful	F	F	F	24	16	34	F	F	F	16	11	23
Help was too far away or too hard to reach	F	F	F	9	5	16	F	F	F	8	4	14
Had a previous problem and knew there was no use in seeking help	F	F	F	15	9	23	F	F	F	7	4	12
Too ashamed or embarrassed	F	F	F	12*	7	20	F	F	F	4	2	8
Other reason	F	F	F	22	13	33	F	F	F	23	16	30

... not applicable

^E use with caution

F too unreliable to be published

* significantly different from reference category (p < 0.05)

† reference category

1. Information on Indigenous identity and belonging to a population group designated as visible minority is captured in two separate questions. Having separate questions and variables encourages data users to take into account the differences between these groups, including in terms of their history, background, geographic distribution, and current conditions and situations. These distinctions should be considered when collecting data and planning, monitoring, and evaluating programs and services. For the purposes of this report, in order to have a consistent reference category across all sections, the questions on Indigenous identity and population group have been partially combined in order to create the category of "Non-Indigenous, non-visible minority". This category includes respondents who indicated they were not Indigenous people and provided responses to the question on population group which indicated that they are not a visible minority according to the *Employment Equity Act*, which is the basis for the current question on population group used in the General Social Survey and the Canadian Legal Problems Survey.

2. Percent calculations are based on respondents who indicated they took action to resolve their most serious problem.

3. Percent calculations are based on respondents who indicated they did not take action to resolve their most serious problem.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Legal Problems Survey, 2021.

Table 7
Financial, health, and social impacts of most serious problem or dispute in the past 3 years, by population group or Indigenous identity, provinces, 2021

	Population group or Indigenous identity ¹											
	Black			First Nations, Métis, or Inuit			Other group designated as visible minority			Non-Indigenous, non-visible minority [†]		
	95% confidence interval			95% confidence interval			95% confidence interval			95% confidence interval		
	%	from	to	%	from	to	%	from	to	%	from	to
Financial, health, and social impacts												
Financial impacts												
Yes	54 ^E	42	66	49	46	53	50	44	56	48	45	50
Had to borrow money from friends or relatives	20 ^E	10	34	33*	29	37	26	20	33	20	17	23
Had to put expenses on credit card	46 ^E	32	60	40*	35	44	43*	35	50	33	30	37
Borrowed money from the bank	F	F	F	12	9	15	18*	13	24	11	9	13
Borrowed money from a credit or loan agency	F	F	F	12*	9	15	5	3	9	6	4	8
Had to take out a mortgage or remortgage	F	F	F	3	2	5	5	3	9	3	2	5
Had to spend savings	61 ^E	46	75	49	45	54	51	44	58	49	45	52
Had to declare bankruptcy	F	F	F	3	1	5	F	F	F	2	1	4
Had to miss payment on bills or pay them late	26 ^E	14	42	34*	29	38	22	16	28	19	16	22
Other financial impact	F	F	F	6	4	9	6	3	10	7	5	9
No financial challenges related to most serious problem ²	46 ^E	34	58	48	44	52	49	43	54	51	48	54
Socio-economic impacts												
Yes	32 ^E	21	45	34*	31	38	30	25	35	29	27	32
Caused or contributed to losing job	F	F	F	15	12	18	15	11	19	12	10	14
Caused or contributed to losing housing	F	F	F	10*	8	12	5	3	9	6	4	7
Applied for employment insurance	13 ^E	6	24	9	7	12	13	9	17	10	8	12
Applied for a housing subsidy	F	F	F	5*	4	7	F	F	F	3	2	4
Applied for another type of social assistance	F	F	F	10*	8	13	4	2	7	5	4	7
Caused an insurance claim	F	F	F	8	6	10	9	6	13	9	7	11
No socio-economic challenges related to most serious problem	63 ^E	50	74	59*	55	62	66	60	71	66	63	68
Health or social impacts												
Yes	86 ^E	75	93	85	82	88	81	76	85	83	81	85
Physical health problem(s)	27 ^E	17	38	38*	35	42	29	24	34	34	31	36
Mental health problem(s)	41 ^E	29	53	56*	52	59	44	39	50	45	42	48
Social, family, or personal issues	35 ^E	24	48	49*	46	53	43	38	49	39	36	41
Extreme stress	72 ^E	59	82	76	72	79	66*	61	71	73	71	76
No health challenges related to most serious problem	14 ^E	7	25	14	12	17	19	14	23	16	14	18

^E use with caution

F too unreliable to be published

* significantly different from reference category (p < 0.05)

† reference category

1. Information on Indigenous identity and belonging to a population group designated as visible minority is captured in two separate questions. Having separate questions and variables encourages data users to take into account the differences between these groups, including in terms of their history, background, geographic distribution, and current conditions and situations. These distinctions should be considered when collecting data and planning, monitoring, and evaluating programs and services. For the purposes of this report, in order to have a consistent reference category across all sections, the questions on Indigenous identity and population group have been partially combined in order to create the category of "Non-Indigenous, non-visible minority". This category includes respondents who indicated they were not Indigenous people and provided responses to the question on population group which indicated that they are not a visible minority according to the *Employment Equity Act*, which is the basis for the current question on population group used in the General Social Survey and the Canadian Legal Problems Survey.

2. This category includes those who said there were no costs associated with their most serious problem.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Legal Problems Survey, 2021.