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# Criminal Injustice: An Examination of Racial Profiling and Discriminatory Police Practices in Canada and the United States

## Abstract

The Black Lives Matter movement swept across the United States after the murders of black people at the hands of law enforcement. Not fully acknowledged in the media are the police brutality cases that have also occurred in Canada, a country that prides itself on tolerance, acceptance, and diversity. Police brutality is an unfortunate reality that stems from racial profiling, one of the many symptoms of historically oppressive institutions. In this paper, I will examine police coercion and racial profiling in Canada and the United States. This paper will employ a theoretical framework of conflict theory and minority threat hypothesis to provide a structural explanation of this discriminatory practice in both countries. The United States and Canada have histories of oppression, repression, slavery, and colonialism that have provided the foundation for and legitimized racial profiling. As demonstrated by the literature, racial profiling is an unfortunate reality for racial minorities and their communities. Racial minorities are subjected to disproportionate rates of searches, stops, arrests, and incarceration. Therefore, racial minorities often have unfavorable attitudes of police which undermine police legitimacy. Considering the changing demographics, racial profiling can be understood as an effort by the dominant class to assert their power and control over the powerless.

## Keywords

United States, Canada, Conflict Theory, Police Coercion, Racial Profiling

**Criminal Injustice: An Examination of Racial Profiling and Discriminatory Police  
Practices in Canada and the United States**

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JS 223: Comparative Criminology & Criminal Justice

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### **Abstract**

The Black Lives Matter movement swept across the United States after the murders of black people at the hands of law enforcement. Not fully acknowledged in the media are the police brutality cases that have also occurred in Canada, a country that prides itself on tolerance, acceptance, and diversity. Police brutality is an unfortunate reality that stems from racial profiling, one of the many symptoms of historically oppressive institutions. In this paper, I will examine police coercion and racial profiling in Canada and the United States. This paper will employ a theoretical framework of conflict theory and minority threat hypothesis to provide a structural explanation of this discriminatory practice in both countries. The United States and Canada have histories of oppression, repression, slavery, and colonialism that have provided the foundation for and legitimized racial profiling. As demonstrated by the literature, racial profiling is an unfortunate reality for racial minorities and their communities. Racial minorities are subjected to disproportionate rates of searches, stops, arrests, and incarceration. Therefore, racial minorities often have unfavorable attitudes of police which undermine police legitimacy. Considering the changing demographics, racial profiling can be understood as an effort by the dominant class to assert their power and control over the powerless.

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## **Criminal Injustice: An Examination of Racial Profiling and Discriminatory Police Practices in Canada and the United States**

Police officers are tasked with the mission ‘to protect and to serve’ their community. However, as seen in recent news, police are not always the wielders of public safety and social welfare as we frame them to be. Given the cultural and institutional issues that mar the system, the purported justice-oriented motives of policing are questionable. Contemporary policing has been in the limelight, highlighting issues within law enforcement that pervade the institution, including racial profiling and police misconduct. This is clear, for example, when we look at police brutality cases like Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown, George Floyd, Breanna Taylor, and Philando Castille. The public’s response to these murders elicited social activism and social movements that call for change, like the Black Lives Matter movement. This is especially the case for the United States, notorious for the disproportionate representation of minorities within the criminal justice system. However, it is important to remember that these tragedies and the Black Lives Matter Movement are not solely confined to the United States. Julian Jones and Latjor Tuel were also victims of violence by the carceral arm of the state, the Canadian police. Canada is a country that prides itself for its tolerance, multiculturalism, and inclusivity. The reality is, however, that Canada suffers from the same institutional problems as the United States. Both countries share histories of colonialism, anti-blackness, violence, and racism that continue to impact society today. Police brutality is an unfortunate reality that stems from racial profiling, one of the many symptoms of these historically oppressive institutions.

Racial profiling is a widespread social phenomenon that impacts the daily lives of racial minorities in the United States and Canada, warranting further investigation into how it

continues to operate in these countries. While some attention has been made in criminology research on discriminatory policing, there is still a lacuna in our general understanding of the underlying motivations and incentives for deploying such police practices. To fill this gap, this paper will examine the issue of police coercion and discriminatory policing. It will specifically investigate, using a conflict theory and minority threat framework, what racial profiling and discriminatory police coercion looks like in Canada and the United States and how it continues to be sustained.

### **Theoretical Framework**

This paper employs structural, macro-level theories to help explain the emergence of and the pervasive nature of discriminatory policing: conflict theory and minority-threat. Conflict theory, originally developed by Karl Marx, believes we are in a perpetual state of conflict among the classes in society due to the limited resources, status, and power available (Chamlin, 1989). These resources are disproportionately divided along class lines. Crime is a result of this class conflict, and society is shaped by the competing interests of the different classes. This dictates social order whereby these social groups vie for dominance to protect and maintain what is most beneficial to them. According to conflict theory, the dominant, most powerful groups control lawmakers and law enforcement, the apparatus of the state. Institutionalized laws are said to serve the interests of those most privileged, and the police are tasked with controlling and suppressing any threats to these interests. According to Marx, power is equated to resources in a capitalist society (Rummel, 1977). That is why it is of interest to the dominant class to maintain economic stratification to secure legal order in favor of this group. These differences in power and economic resources allow economic elites to have the capacity to achieve their aims. In turn, the law, police, and other governmental agents act as

coercive tools to promote the interests of powerful groups and to exploit the powerless.

The concept of ‘threat’ is integral to this theoretical perspective. Culturally dissimilar groups to the dominant class, like ethnic and racial minorities, are perceived as a threat to the status quo of inequality instituted by those in power. White people perceive the proportion of non-white individuals in the community as an indicator of a crime problem and attach criminal stereotypes to non-whites (Petrocelli, Piquero, & Smith, 2003). As a result, the criminal justice apparatus is employed by the dominant class, in this case, White people, as a tool to restrain and limit the powerless. This perspective aligns with the ‘minority threat hypothesis’, a concept derived from conflict theory. The ‘threat hypothesis’ postulates that a growing minority population is deemed as a threat to White people, and they must take action to ascertain their power and reduce this threat. The increase in the minority population exacerbates racial disparities as those in power try to establish social control over this ‘threatening’ population (Zane, 2017). According to Blalock (1967), this threat can come in two different forms: (1) economic and (2) political threat. Minorities are perceived as an economic threat as they compete for jobs, housing, and other economic resources, threatening the economic well-being and dominance of White people. As minorities strengthen their political power, they are seen as a threat to the political hegemony of White people.

In this paper, both ‘conflict theory’ and the ‘minority threat hypothesis’ will be employed as the theoretical framework to help explain the similarities and disparities between contemporary discriminatory policing in Canada and the United States. With this framework, current policing practices are understood as a result of the perceived threat that minorities and other underprivileged communities pose to those that hold the majority of power and resources in both countries. According to these theories, the police are the apparatus to which the state,

controlled by the dominant group, controls these threats. In this way, policing practices are a result of this racial and class conflict among the various groups. For the United States and Canada, histories of oppression, slavery, repression, and colonialism lay the foundation for racial profiling. These histories demonstrate the long-standing conflict between Whites and racial minorities over power and resources. The United States and Canada harbor racial conflicts that force the dominating class to utilize law enforcement to assert their power and control over the underprivileged class. With similar histories, both countries have law enforcement agencies that exploit the powerless – racial minorities– and victimize them to reinforce the ruling class’s dominance and white supremacy.

### **Literature Review**

#### **Race and Ethnicity in Canada and the United States**

The United States and Canada are countries known for their heterogeneity and multicultural population, composed of various racial, ethnic, cultural, and religious groups. This is especially true for these countries, given past and recent patterns of immigration, which continues to heavily influence the demographic makeup of the United States and Canada. Looking at population changes, it is evident that both North American countries are steadily becoming cultural mosaics. In the United States, Whites were initially the largest demographic group, followed by Black people (Barbieri & Ouellette, 2012). However, these distributions changed since 1980, with the proportion of Whites decreasing as Black, Asian, and other races increased. The Hispanic population has increased from 14.6 to 50.5 million over the last thirty years, with a steady growth of over 50% over each census period. Furthermore, Hispanics are considered the fastest-growing ethnic group over the last thirty years. The United States is also projected to be a ‘majority-minority’ nation, with the population of non-white Americans



surpassing white Americans (Craig, Rucker, & Richeson, 2018). Canada, on the other hand, defines racial and ethnic minorities differently because the notion of origin is used rather than a racial or ethnic group. The Canadian census, instead, categorizes racial groups as ‘visible minorities’, which encompasses individuals, other than Aboriginal people, who are non-white in race or color (Samuel & Basavarajappa, 2006). Like the United States, those reporting as a visible minority grew from 1981 to 2006 by more than 5 million, making up 16.2% of the total population (Barbieri & Ouellette, 2012). The visible minority population increased from 4.7% to 13.4% of the total population from 1981 to 2001. It is also important to note that Canada also has a large Aboriginal community, one that has suffered from colonialism and oppression, similar to the experiences of Indigenous Americans (Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2012). Overall, the changing demographics of Canada and the United States creates a diversity of culture, race, and ethnicity, urging us to examine and analyze changes in racial dynamics.

Demonstrated by the differential categorization of racial/ethnic groups between Canada and the United States, race is a fluid concept. Race is a social construct whereby physical characteristics, including skin color and ethnicity, are imbued with non-neutral meanings linked to notions of inferiority and superiority within the socioeconomic hierarchy. It is a concept shaped by historical processes, which is clear when we examine the salience of race in the United States and Canada. For racial minorities in both countries, including Indigenous communities, the process of racialization is played out in their everyday lives. For example, Black people are heavily criminalized and associated with negative imagery and stereotypes perpetuating inaccurate beliefs about this community. In both the United States and Canada, both white and Black people were likely to attribute blackness to high criminality, aggression, and dangerousness (Welch, 2007). This is reflected in the overrepresentation of Black and

Indigenous Canadians as offenders rather than as victims in the media (Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2012).

With police conditioned to suspect Black people of wrongdoing, police view this demographic as symbolic assailants, whereby certain use of gestures, language and attire is recognized as a prelude to violence (Jones-Brown, 2007). In Canadian and American society, race acts as a proxy for certain characteristics, statuses, and qualities, representing the derogatory beliefs that have detrimental implications on ethnic minorities. The implications of this racialization of crime are almost devastating to minority communities, especially Black, Latino, and Indigenous groups, who are disproportionately overrepresented in the criminal justice system (Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2012). In addition, racial disparities in the criminal justice system are not only a contemporary phenomenon but can also be historically traced back to laws that support discriminatory practices. In the United States, for example, laws legitimized the colonization of native people, slavery and the slave trade, disproportionate incarceration rates of Black people, felony disenfranchisement, the convict-leasing system, and Jim Crow segregation policies (Kalunta-Crumpton & Ejiogu, 2012). These racial disparities in the treatment of offenders/suspects in the criminal justice system can be traced back to the governmental policies that create and reinforce discriminatory practices, which include racial profiling and discriminatory policing. Such discriminatory policies legitimized the economic, political, and social control that continues to oppress and suppress non-whites. These policies also codify into law such coercive practices. In 1996, the Supreme Court ruled, in *Whren v. United States*, that it is not unconstitutional for police to make investigative stops even if they lack probable cause or reasonable suspicion that a crime has taken place and instead use a traffic violation as a pretext (Weitzer & Tuch, 2002).

### **Racial Profiling and Discriminatory Practices**

Police have discretion, allowing them to make subjective judgements. These choices can be influenced by societal values, which can include biases surrounding race. This can include ‘profiling’ where a set of events, circumstances, and behaviors, combined with the officer’s experience, can raise suspicion, affecting the officer’s discretion in stop and arrest decisions (Smith, Tator, Henry, Smith, & Brown, 2006). ‘Racial profiling’ denotes a discriminatory aspect of profiling. This type of profiling occurs when an individual of a particular ethnic or racial group is subjected to greater surveillance and criminal justice than the average citizen (Wortley & Owusu- Bempah, 2012). When racial profiling occurs, the differential levels of law enforcement surveillance cannot be explained by individual differences in criminal or other illegal behavior. This type of discriminatory policing is defined as racial differences in police stops and search practices, in customs searches and interrogation practices, and in undercover operations that target specific racial communities. Over the past decade, racial profiling has been an important social issue that has received some attention in criminological research examining this discriminatory police practice in countries like the United States and Canada.

There is extensive research on racial profiling in the United States. Policing often involves nonconsensual stops, frisks, and detentions. Racial minorities, especially Black and Brown Americans are disproportionately subjected to superfluous police activity, enforcement, and surveillance (Piquero, 2008; Bowling & Philips, 2007). The concept of ‘driving while black’ is a trope that seems true for Black Americans, whereby being Black in America makes them more vulnerable to traffic stops (Harris, 1999). When looking at the data, this trope is an accurate representation, demonstrating the disproportionate amount of traffic stops where Black people are more likely to be stopped than White people (Cholas-Wood et al., 2002). This

finding makes sense, given that the number of traffic stops increased in areas where the proportion of Black residents was highest (Novak & Chamlin, 2012; Petrocelli, Piquero & Smith, 2003). When looking at self-report data, 72% of African Americans between eighteen and thirty-four reported being stopped by the police for their race, 37% reported being stopped more than once, and 15% more than ten times (Smith, Tator, Henry, Smith, & Brown, 2006). This also includes searches and seizures where Black and Latinx people are primarily looked at in drug searches, leading to a disproportionate number of them with contraband (Harris, 1999). Looking at such high rates, it would be assumed that criminal and traffic violations are more likely to be committed by a Black individual. However, this cannot be explained by differential offending. In New Jersey, for example, Black and White people were equally responsible for traffic violations, but 73.2% of stops and arrests were of Black people (Smith, Tator, Henry, Smith, & Brown, 2006).

The costs of such coercive policing falls heaviest on minority communities that are also exposed to the highest rates of crime (Huq & Rappaport, 2022). Such policing practices and increased contact with the police have further implications for communities of color: minorities are more likely to be arrested, prosecuted, convicted, and jailed/incarcerated (Harris, 1999). Even after controlling for extralegal and legal characteristics, a study by Engel and Calnon (2004) also finds similar outcomes: young Black and Latino males were more at risk of citations, arrests, searches, and use of force. Moreover, officers are more likely to arrest a Black person, especially in communities with greater White and Hispanic residents (Gaston, Brunson, & Grossman, 2020). A finding even more stark is the number of instances of police misconduct, specifically instances of police violence. According to a 1999 Bureau of Justice Statistics survey, Black and Latino people were more likely to say they received threats and

excessive force by police (Weitzer & Tuch, 2002). In this same survey, twice as many White as Black people considered searches of their person legitimate, and three times as many White as Black folk viewed searches of their vehicle as legitimate. Instances of police brutality were positively related to the presence of Black and Latino people as well as rates of inequality (Smith & Holmes, 2003; Holmes, 2000; Lersch, 1998; Jacobs, 1979).

It is important to note that it is difficult to gather statistical data regarding racial disparities, given that Canadian police are not required to record the race of the people they stop and search (Wortley & Tanner, 2004). This makes it difficult to employ police data in research analysis to see if racial profiling occurs, but evidence still demonstrates racial profiling through different forms of data, like self-report data. Similar to American minorities, Canadian minorities are disposed to equivalent patterns of racial profiling. For Black youth in Toronto, the number of stops and arrests ratios increased by 42.7% from 2001 to 2012, while arrests for White youth decreased in the same period, in line with declines in crime rates (Meng, 2017). Black youth, compared to White youth, are especially predisposed to being stopped and searched by police, indicating these youth are subject to racially-biased policing (Hayle, Wortley, & Tanner, 2016). Moreover, black Canadians were much more likely to report being stopped and searched by the police than respondents from other racial backgrounds (Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2011). Additionally, black respondents were more likely to report vicarious experiences with racial profiling. Not only does this occur to Black Canadians, but Indigenous Canadians also encounter the criminal justice system at similar rates. Indigenous people are more likely to encounter the police for reasons including law enforcement reasons, reasons unrelated to enforcement, and behavioral-related issues (David & Mitchell, 2021). These findings remain statistically significant even after controlling for other relevant factors. Black

and Indigenous Canadians are also disproportionately overrepresented among those arrested for drug possession (Owusu-Bempah & Luscombe, 2021). In cases of unnecessary police use of force, Black people are more likely to have police force used against them, resulting in a serious injury or death (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2018). This pattern has changed little since the early 2000s. Looking at the specific numbers, Black civilians made up 8.8% of the Toronto population yet represented 28.8% of police use of force cases, 36% of police shootings, 61.5% of police use of force cases that resulted in civilian death, and 70% of police shootings that resulted in civilian death.

Like the United States, the consequences of increased contact with Canadian law enforcement implicate visible minorities and subject them to greater encounters with the criminal justice system. The 1995 Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System demonstrates these findings. In the Commission's report, they find that White people are less likely to be detained before trial than Black folk, incarcerations of Black Canadians for drug trafficking rose by 1,164%, and the number of Black people admitted to Canadian correctional facilities increased by 204% (Smith, Tator, Henry, Smith, & Brown, 2006). For Aboriginal Canadians, they are also overrepresented in the correctional system. In 2016/2017, Aboriginal people represented 28% of admissions to provincial/territorial correctional services and 27% of admissions to federal correctional services despite only composing 4.1% of the total Canadian adult population (Malakieh, 2018). The proportion of Indigenous admissions to adult custody has been steadily increasing for over ten years. The differential treatment of racial minorities in the United States and visible minorities in Canada in the criminal justice system imply discriminatory police practices that pervade the institution. When understanding these findings, it is important to look at the larger implications this

treatment can have on communities of color in both countries. To be specific, it is imperative that we try to grasp how racial profiling impacts community-police relations and police legitimacy.

### **Perceptions of Police and Police Legitimacy**

Such negative experiences with police, as described in the previous section, highlight the salience of both direct and vicarious experiences with the police. To understand the impact that racial profiling and police coercion has on police-community relations and police legitimacy, we must first look at the discrepancies among racial groups and their perceptions of police. According to the literature, there is a racial divide in police perceptions, with racial minorities expressing more negative, unfavorable, or distrustful perceptions than white people (Brown & Benedict, 2002; Garofalo, 1977). For example, racial minorities in the United States are aware of the differential treatment their communities face compared to white people and believe that their communities are treated less fairly than White people in dealing with police (Weitzer & Tuch, 2002). Especially for individuals, who are most likely to be a racial minority, that experienced racial profiling themselves or vicariously, they had significantly reduced satisfaction with the police, and held less favorable attitudes towards law enforcement. Similar findings can also be found when looking at visible minorities in Canada. In the 2020 Canadian General Social Survey, one in five Black and Indigenous respondents reported having little or no confidence in the police, which is double the proportion among non-visible minorities (Cotter, 2022). Overall, Canadian minorities demonstrated negative perceptions of the ability for local police to treat community members fairly and to be approachable.

As evidenced by the literature, racial profiling has led to minority cynicism and mistrust towards the criminal justice system in the United States and Canada. The consequences of these

racial profiling beliefs are varied and wide-ranging (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2003). With distrust and doubt in the criminal justice system and the police, people are less likely to cooperate with law enforcement. Situations between civilians and law enforcement could also escalate quickly as individuals may respond inappropriately to police out of mistrust or retaliation for perceived injustices. A hostile environment can also create safety concerns for officers and community members. Lastly, there could be the possibility of civil unrest when mistrust of the criminal justice system goes unchecked. Without much public support, especially from racial minorities, police legitimacy, and police-community relations are at risk of deterioration. In turn, police are unable to carry out their role of ‘protecting and serving’ their communities with legitimacy because they lack community support and favorable perceptions needed to create positive relations with the community.

The cynicism and mistrust towards police can extend further, even creating the fear of the possibility of encounters with police escalating to an instance of police brutality. For Black and Latino people compared to White people in the United States, these demographics demonstrate measures of fear or worry about experiencing police brutality (Pickett, Graham, & Cullen, 2021; Graham, Haner, Sloan, Cullen, Kulig, & Jonson, 2020). Black people were five times more likely than White people to report experiencing this worry, and Latino people were more than four times more likely than White people to report worry as well. This fear, mistrust, and concern for one’s safety when it comes to law enforcement officers can undermine the legitimacy of the police.

### **Discussion**

As the literature demonstrates, both the United States and Canadian residents, especially minorities, are often subject to discriminatory policing and racial profiling. In applying conflict



theory and the minority threat hypothesis, several studies have disproved its applicability in cases of racial profiling and police coercion (Ruddell & Thomas, 2015). However, this paper demonstrates that these theories help to explain why minorities in the United States and Canada are subjected to heightened surveillance and policing, even despite having equal rates of offending as White people.

Changing demographics show a growing minority population in the United States and Canada, even with a projection that this demographic will surpass the current majority, White people. The astronomical growth in the minority population for both countries poses a threat to the current majority. The majority dominate various institutions, including political institutions that employ the police as integral to law enforcement. To assert the majority's interests, coercive and discriminatory policing practices are employed to ensure the powerless status of racial minorities. Further, the racialization of crime that frames racial minorities as symbolic assailants legitimizes the targeting of racial minorities by law enforcement and the practice of racial profiling. Through policing practices like racial profiling, racial inequality, and economic stratification continues to be reinforced as the growing population of racial minorities continues to pose a supposed threat to the interests of the privileged and powerful.

Altogether, these forms of police coercion harm police-community relations and, in turn, police legitimacy. Police, then, do not 'serve and protect' the interests of minority communities and, instead, diminishes the quality of life for community members and prevents any access to power or resources. The strain put on both relations and legitimacy further any cooperation or collaboration between local police and minority community members, preventing any strides in crime prevention and public safety.

### **Policy Implications**

Inaction against racial profiling can have a profound effect on the lives of racial minorities in the United States and Canada. To address this issue, several policy changes are recommended: minority recruitment and promotion, police screening, training, data collection, and legislation. It is important that the police force mirrors the communities they serve. Specifically, law enforcement should be as diverse as the communities they surveil. That is why police agencies should make an effort to recruit minorities as well as promote them. If possible, police officers can be assigned to the communities where they were raised, given that they know and understand the local community members. Furthermore, minority officers would have the knowledge to understand local dynamics and to better interact with the minority community and deal with their problems fairly and respectfully. Minority officers should also be promoted to upper management to have a positive impact on police culture and practices. This would have symbolic value and provide opportunities to discuss how to heal the relationship between the police and minority communities.

Traditional police recruitment entails intensive psychological testing and thorough background checks. This excludes considering any biases that future officers may have against racial minorities. It is important that police agencies screen potential officers for racial bias or past experiences with ethnic diversity. Further, training is also an integral part of creating positive change in police culture and practices. There is a need for improved anti-bias training, especially one that is required for new recruits and current officers. For experienced officers, periodic additional training throughout their careers is essential as well. Following training, officers should be evaluated on their knowledge of civil rights, bias, and race relation issues.

Moreover, it is current practice for several jurisdictions within the United States where

police officers are required to record the racial backgrounds of citizens they decide to stop and search. Research incorporating this official police data yielded results consistent with racial profiling. Unlike the United States, Canada does not require officers to note racial backgrounds, which has largely been resisted by Canadian officers. Collecting this data will allow further research into racial profiling and allow the formulation of solutions to this form of discriminatory policing.

Currently, there are no federal laws in Canada nor the United States that prohibits random stops and similar practices on the basis of race, which lie at the core of police racial profiling. It is crucial that we pass legislation that prohibits and attempts to eliminate racial profiling by law enforcement agencies. Legislation should also allow the federal government or individuals to sue for civil suits. Furthermore, criteria for when an officer approaches an individual in a non-arrest scenario should be set, as well as explicit prohibition on using race to form the basis for selecting a suspect, victim, or witness. Both formal and informal quotas for ticketing, charges, arrests, or stops, and questions should also be prohibited as quotas incentivize pretextual stops where racial profiling can occur.

### **Conclusion**

As demonstrated, racial profiling is a prevalent issue throughout North America. The Black Lives Matters movement in the United States and Canada demonstrates the deep harms that continue to afflict pain on minority communities. Deep histories of oppression, repression, colonialism, and slavery continue to impact racial dynamics today, especially between law enforcement and the communities they are meant to serve. With the minority population of the United States and Canada slowly surging beyond the white population, changing demographics in both countries have cultivated a threat against the ruling class, jeopardizing their ability to

fulfill their interests. In response to this threat, law enforcement serves as the apparatus to protect the interests of the dominant class. This is reflected in the racial profiling and discriminatory practices of law enforcement that continue to subjugate minority communities, especially those who are Black, Brown, and Indigenous. The sustenance of racial profiling practices in law enforcement warrants further policy implications. Evidently, there is still hope in ending racial profiling, but only if the United States and Canada continue their efforts to address these issues. To make amends for the historical harms both countries have put on minorities, the United States and Canada must create and employ institutionalized solutions that will address the ills of discriminatory policing and police coercion. Future research should investigate Native American treatment by police and instances of racial profiling and police brutality, given the high frequency of these instances within the Canadian Aboriginal community. Furthermore, collecting police perspectives on police brutality and police coercion will help us to understand a different perspective, one which comes from the individual actors themselves. Lastly, examining the history of racial profiling and policing in Canada will help to illuminate our understanding of contemporary policing in this country.

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