

Crime reported by police serving areas where the majority of the population is Indigenous, 2018

by Mary Allen

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Crime reported by police serving areas where the majority of the population is Indigenous, 2018: Highlights

- In 2018, there were 182 police services or detachments in Canada that were responsible for serving populations where over half the residents were Indigenous. For ease of readability, these are often referred to as “Indigenous communities” in this article. It is important to note that the communities served by these police services do not represent all Indigenous communities in Canada.
- For most of these police services, 75% or more of the population they served were Indigenous. This specific set of small communities represents 21% of the Indigenous population of Canada (or 1% of the total Canadian population), based on information on the population that identified as First Nations people, Métis or Inuit in the 2016 Census of Population, or that lived on reserve.
- The median population served by these 182 police services was fewer than 1,500 individuals. Overall, 88% of the population of these communities was Indigenous. Most of the populations served lived in a rural area (91%), and 71% lived in the northern regions of the provinces or in the Territories. Over two-thirds (72%) of the population in these Indigenous communities lived in remote areas.
- These 182 police services reported some of the highest rates of crime among the about 1,200 police services and detachments in Canada. This study explores the nature and extent of the police-reported crime in these Indigenous communities.
- In 2018, police-reported crime rates for these Indigenous communities were six times higher than crime rates reported by police services that served primarily non-Indigenous populations.
- The higher crime rates reported by police serving these Indigenous communities can be mainly attributed to greater levels of mischief, common assault, and disturbing the peace. These three offences accounted for a relatively small share of police-reported crime in non-Indigenous communities (23%), but more than half (58%) of crime reported in Indigenous communities. Mischief and disturbing the peace are offences which may be more likely to come to the attention of police in smaller communities. They may also be affected by differences in police practices with respect to the use of provincial violations and municipal by-laws for this type of behaviour.
- Crime rates among Indigenous communities varied by province and territory. The highest rates were reported in Indigenous communities in the Northwest Territories, Saskatchewan, Yukon, and Newfoundland and Labrador. The lowest rates of crime reported in Indigenous communities were in British Columbia and Ontario.
- Violent crime rates reported by Indigenous communities were almost nine times higher than those primarily serving non-Indigenous communities. Most of the difference between these rates can be attributed to higher rates of common assault.
- Police-reported crimes in the Indigenous communities studied were more likely to be solved (cleared) than in non-Indigenous communities (66% versus 37%). However, of those that were cleared, crimes in Indigenous communities were less likely to result in a criminal charge being laid than those in non-Indigenous communities (35% versus 70%), with the most notable difference among non-violent property crimes such as mischief (10% versus 59%).
- Unlike non-Indigenous communities where the highest rates of individuals accused of crime are limited to youth and young adults, rates of accused in Indigenous communities in this study were generally higher among adults than youth, and were notably high among older adults. This may be related to higher levels of risk factors among the older Indigenous population, including childhood trauma, experience in residential schools, mental health issues, and heavy drinking. Among younger populations, there is little difference in these factors between Indigenous and non-Indigenous individuals.

Crime reported by police serving areas where the majority of the population is Indigenous, 2018

by Mary Allen, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics

Levels of crime and victimization in First Nations, Métis and Inuit communities are a concern in Canada. Self-reported data have repeatedly shown high rates of victimization among individuals who identify as First Nations people, Métis or Inuit (Boyce 2016). Similarly, police-reported data consistently shows high rates of homicide among Indigenous peoples compared to the rate for non-Indigenous victims (Roy and Marcellus 2018). The National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG) provided an in-depth examination of violence against First Nations, Métis and Inuit women, girls and 2SLGBTQQIA people and called for action to address the root causes behind Canada's staggering rates of violence against them (Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls 2019). This report also raised concerns around the treatment of Indigenous peoples in the criminal justice system both as victims and as accused individuals. Information from Canadian correctional services has shown that Indigenous peoples are notably over-represented among offenders in correctional services (Malakieh 2019). Recently, there has also been much public discussion about the relationship between police and Indigenous peoples, with calls to address systemic racism in policing (British Columbia 2020, Canada, Parliament 2020a, Canada, Parliament, 2020b).

In parallel, there has been much discussion of the ongoing impact of colonization on First Nations people, Métis and Inuit in Canada, particularly regarding the effects of socioeconomic marginalization, trauma, and intergenerational violence on life outcomes as well as on substance use, mental health, delinquency and associated criminal behaviour (Aguar and Halseth 2015, Anderson 2015, Capobianco et al. 2003, Kumar and Nahwegahbow 2016, Oliver et al. 2016, *R. v. Gladue* 1999, *R. v. Ipeelee* 2012). Many Indigenous people in Canada face challenging social and economic circumstances which can be a factor in criminal behaviour, and may also have an impact on the ability of both accused and victims to navigate the criminal justice system.

Research on victimization has pointed to risk factors such as child maltreatment, substance use, mental health, homelessness, and neighbourhood disorder. Indigenous people are more likely to self-report each of these key factors (Boyce 2016). These are also factors that have been associated with offending, and recognizing their impact is important in understanding crime among these populations (See Text box 2). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission has drawn attention to the challenges of crime experienced in Indigenous communities and the issue of over-incarceration as part of the legacy of the residential schools (Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2015). This history was also noted in the 1999 Supreme Court decision in the case of *R. v. Gladue* (the "Gladue decision"), which ruled that judges "must give attention to the unique background and systemic factors which may have played a part in bringing the particular offender before the courts" (*R. v. Gladue* 1999). In spite of this decision, however, there is still concern about how Indigenous individuals are treated by the criminal justice system. In particular, there has been considerable concern about their continued over-representation in correctional institutions (Office of the Correctional Investigator 2020) as well as a renewed focus on police practices.

Much of the research previously available examines issues facing the Indigenous population in general. Less information has been published, however, on the experience of crime at a community level, within Indigenous communities. Although statistics consistently show that police services serving Indigenous communities report some of the highest rates of crime in Canada (Statistics Canada n.d.a), there has been little detailed analysis to examine the nature of crime in these communities.

Building on previous studies that looked at crime in regions with relatively large Indigenous populations,¹ this *Juristat* uses data from the Uniform Crime Reporting Survey (UCR) to examine the nature and extent of crime reported in 2018 by 182 police services or detachments that were identified in this study as serving populations where over half the residents were Indigenous. For most of these police services, 75% or more of the population they served were Indigenous, that is, they identified as First Nations people, Métis or Inuit in the 2016 Census of Population, or lived on reserve. The focus of this article is to identify those offences which account for much of the difference between rates of crime when compared with police serving predominantly non-Indigenous populations. In addition, the article presents information on the socioeconomic conditions of these communities as well as contextual information on other challenges faced by Indigenous peoples in Canada which may help in interpreting the crime experienced in these communities.

It is important to note that the communities identified as Indigenous for this study are not representative of crime experienced by Indigenous populations in general. Rather, they are a small set of communities including villages and reserves that are relatively small, generally rural, and often remote, and they represent only a small proportion of the Indigenous population of Canada (See the Indigenous communities examined in this study section). However, for ease of readability, in this article, the communities served by police services serving majority Indigenous populations are sometimes referred to as "Indigenous communities".

The term "Indigenous" is used throughout this article when referring to the Indigenous population (First Nations people, Métis or Inuit) served by a police service (estimated from Census data on Aboriginal identity, reserve locations and other administrative data sources).^{2, 3}

Indigenous communities examined in this study

Method

The Uniform Crime Reporting Survey collects detailed information on all criminal incidents reported by police services and detachments in Canada. Information about the specific location of incidents (such as on-reserve) or the Indigenous identity of accused and victims is not consistently reported by police.⁴ Therefore, in order to examine crime affecting Indigenous communities, this study identified police services where more than half of the population they served was Indigenous.

To delineate these police services for the purposes of this analysis, information was gathered from the 2016 Census of Population and verified by various administrative sources to identify police services and detachments where over 50% of the population they serve identified as First Nations people, Métis or Inuit in the 2016 Census of Population, or lived on reserve. For a detailed description of this method see the Data sources and concepts section).

This method identified 182 police services or detachments serving majority Indigenous populations. In total, 1,167 police services reported to the Uniform Crime Reporting Survey (UCR) in 2018. For ease of readability, in this article, the communities served by these 182 police services are sometimes referred to as “Indigenous communities”.

Limitations

It should be noted that some police services may serve more than one community or location, including both Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities. Moreover, it is important to note that the communities served by these 182 police services do not represent all Indigenous communities in Canada. For example, many small Indigenous villages or reserves are served by police in adjacent, primarily non-Indigenous rural centers, and others may be policed by municipal police based in larger non-Indigenous cities, and, as such, were included as part of the “non-Indigenous” communities in this study.

Due to the nature of the police-reported data, this study cannot specifically examine crimes committed on reserve, compared to crimes committed off reserve. While this study was able to identify police services which serve reserves, and can estimate the percentage of the population living on reserve (using 2016 Census of Population data), the UCR does not have sufficient information to identify where crimes occurred (on or off reserve) (See the Data sources and concepts section). In the Provinces, where reserves are located, 130 police services served areas with majority Indigenous populations. Most of these (114 police services) served reserves, and 94 police services served communities where over half of the population lived on reserve. Over half of these 114 police services (64) served populations living both on and off reserve; another 50 of them served only reserve populations. Overall, the police services identified a serving majority Indigenous populations in this study served 70% of the total population living on reserve in Canada.

Characteristics of the communities served by police services in this study

While comparisons are made between police services serving areas with majority Indigenous populations and those serving majority non-Indigenous populations, it should be noted that there are notable differences in the populations and locations of the communities served by these two comparison groups. For example, all of the police services serving majority Indigenous populations were generally small, while those serving non-Indigenous populations included large municipal police services. These and other differences should be considered in the interpretation of the findings.⁵

Based on information from the 2016 Census of Population, the 182 police services and detachments identified in this analysis as serving Indigenous communities served 21% of the Indigenous population in Canada. Overall, the total population served by the 182 police services accounted for about 1% of the population of Canada. The police services in this study are therefore a very specific and small subset of Indigenous communities and do not represent Indigenous populations in general, particularly the growing majority of Indigenous people who live in urban areas.

Most of the police services serving Indigenous communities in this study were Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) detachments (139 detachments); seven were Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) detachments, and 36 police services were First Nations self-administered police services (See Text box 1).⁶

Nationally, an estimated 88% of the population served by these 182 police services were Indigenous (identified as First Nations people, Métis or Inuit in the 2016 Census of Population, or lived on reserve). This proportion varied by province and territory, ranging from 71% in British Columbia, 75% in Yukon, and 77% in Alberta to 100% in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Quebec (See the Data sources and concepts section). These proportions show that although this study uses a greater than 50% cut-off to identify police services serving primarily Indigenous populations, most have much higher proportions. For 149 of the police services or detachments identified as serving Indigenous communities, 75% or more of the population was Indigenous.

The populations served by police services serving Indigenous communities are very different from the non-Indigenous communities they are compared to in this study. Of the 182 police services identified as serving majority Indigenous populations,

168 served rural areas, of which 141 were remote.⁷ Most (91%) of the population of the Indigenous communities in this analysis lived in a rural area, and 71% lived in the Provincial North or Territories (134 police services). Over two-thirds (72%) of the population in the Indigenous communities in this study lived in remote areas. In contrast, 85% of the population of the non-Indigenous communities in this analysis lived in urban areas; 5% lived in the North; and 3% lived in remote communities.

Indigenous communities in this study also tended to be much smaller than non-Indigenous communities, with a median population of less than 1,500 inhabitants. Most (160) police services serving Indigenous communities in this study served fewer than 5,000 people. In contrast, the median population served by police services in the comparison group for this study (non-Indigenous communities) was about 9,500.⁸ Almost two-thirds (63%) of the population in these non-Indigenous communities were served by police services serving populations of 100,000 or more.

In spite of these general differences, it is important to note that the Indigenous communities in this study are not homogenous. Some are close to larger urban areas, many are remote. Their populations are also varied, representing the diversity of First Nations people, Métis and Inuit, with a range of cultural differences and historical experiences. Despite these differences, there remain shared factors common to all three groups, namely the historical oppression, discrimination, and socioeconomic marginalization which often play a role in various social and health inequities.

Text box 1 **Approaches to addressing crime in Indigenous communities**

In the context of high rates of victimization and ongoing discussions about the experience of Indigenous individuals in the criminal justice system, a wide range of policies and strategies have been developed to help reduce crime in Indigenous communities. These generally tend to be programs designed to address broader social issues through community involvement. Communities often seek to manage at-risk behaviours, criminal offending and violence through mental health and substance use programs, youth programming, family violence initiatives, or community restrictions related to alcohol use.

There are also a variety of community-based justice programs available in many Indigenous communities. These include diversion programs for offenders, sentencing alternatives such as justice circles, family and community mediation, victim support, and offender-reintegration services. Many communities have developed restorative justice programs, such as community justice committees, as a means of diverting offenders away from the formal court system, especially for minor offences. These restorative justice programs are particularly relevant in smaller communities where offenders and victims (and police) often know each other, and where individual crimes have an impact on the community overall. Restorative justice programs seek to repair the harm done by the offender, offer healing for victims and the community, restore relationships, and reintegrate the offender into the community and prevent re-offending. They include a variety of alternative measures such as victim offender mediation, family group conferencing, and sentencing circles. Community justice committees, for example, facilitate discussions between the offender and victim(s), encourage offenders to take responsibility for their actions and find ways for them to make restitution. Resolutions may include community service, counseling or addiction treatment. Where these are available, offenders may be diverted to these programs with or without being charged by police, and referrals may occur pre-trial or as part of sentencing. It is worth noting, however, that not all communities have the resources or expertise available to provide various types of programming.

Another way that communities seek to take control of their own justice matters is through direct involvement in the policing of their communities often supported by the federal government's First Nations Policing Program (FNPP). This program provides funding for police services in Indigenous communities. The communities are responsible for governing the police service through a police board, band council, or other authority (Lithopoulos and Ruddell 2011). Some communities (36 in this study) have self-administered First Nations police services: 21 are in Quebec, another 9 are in Ontario, and the remaining 6 are in the western provinces. Most FNPP agreements, however, support RCMP detachments working with community consultative groups through "community tripartite agreements" which involve the federal government, provincial or territorial governments, and the Indigenous community.

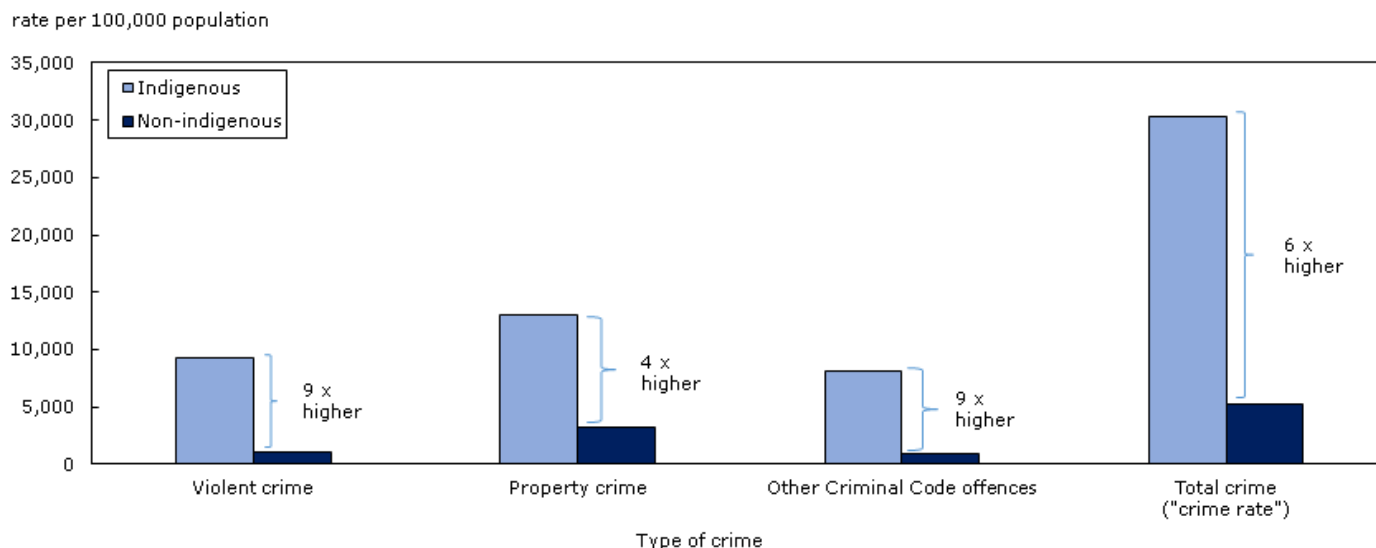
The Supreme Court decision in *R v. Gladue* in 1999 set out principles requiring that courts take the unique circumstances of Indigenous offenders into account in sentencing. The decision laid out a framework to help guide judges in sentencing Indigenous offenders. This led to the recommended use of "Gladue reports" which provide background information on an offender to assist in appropriate sentencing. In 2012, in *R. v. Ipeelee*, the Supreme Court reaffirmed and extended the Gladue decision, and also recognized that the system bore some of the responsibility for the offences discussed in the case (*R. v. Ipeelee* 2012 para 154-156). The Gladue decision also contributed to the development of specialized Indigenous courts in Canada. These courts bring an awareness of Indigenous issues into sentencing and incorporate Indigenous customs and traditions into the court process (April and Magrinelli Orsi 2013). British Columbia, for example, has First Nations courts in a number of communities (Dandurand and Vogt 2017). Developed with local First Nations and the justice system, these courts involve community Elders, and use healing plans and a restorative justice approach to dealing with Indigenous accused. Other provinces have also developed specialized courts for Indigenous accused persons. Saskatchewan, for example, has a Cree Court which provides circuit courts in Indigenous communities in the Cree language. These courts encourage community involvement in the court process and also incorporate traditional approaches to justice.

Police-reported crime in Indigenous communities

Rate of police-reported crime six times higher in Indigenous communities than in non-Indigenous communities

In 2018, police serving majority Indigenous populations reported an overall crime rate of 30,333 incidents per 100,000 population, or about 3 criminal incidents reported for every 10 people living in the community. This represented 133,419 criminal incidents, and accounted for 7% of all crime reported in Canada in 2018. By comparison, police serving non-Indigenous communities reported 5,191 incidents per 100,000 population, or about 1 incident for every 20 inhabitants. Crime rates were higher in Indigenous communities across all major crime categories (Table 1, Chart 1).

Chart 1
Rates of crime reported by police serving majority Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, 2018



Note: The category "Indigenous" refers to police services that served a population where more than 50% of the population they serve identified as Aboriginal in the 2016 Census, or lived on reserve. The category "Non-Indigenous" refers to those police services where the majority of the population did not identify as Aboriginal in the 2016 Census or did not live on reserve. See the section "Data sources and concepts" for an explanation of the method used to identify police services serving majority Indigenous populations. Rates are based upon the most serious violation in the incident. Populations are based on July 1st estimates from Statistics Canada, Centre for Demography.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Uniform Crime Reporting Survey.

Although accounting for a very small portion of the crime committed in Canada, the rates of crime reported by police that serve predominantly Indigenous populations in Canada are notably high. Of the 50 police services in Canada reporting the highest rates of crime in 2018, 47 served majority Indigenous populations. Moreover, over 9 in 10 police services serving majority Indigenous populations (169 police services) reported rates of crime above the national crime rate for Canada (5,488 per 100,000 population), with 147 reporting rates more than double the national rate.

Nationally, rates of almost all offences were higher in Indigenous communities with the exception of theft of \$5,000 or under from a motor vehicle, shoplifting (\$5,000 or under), and fraud⁹ (Table 2). This is not surprising as most of the Indigenous communities in this study are rural and these offences are much more common in urban areas (Perreault 2019).

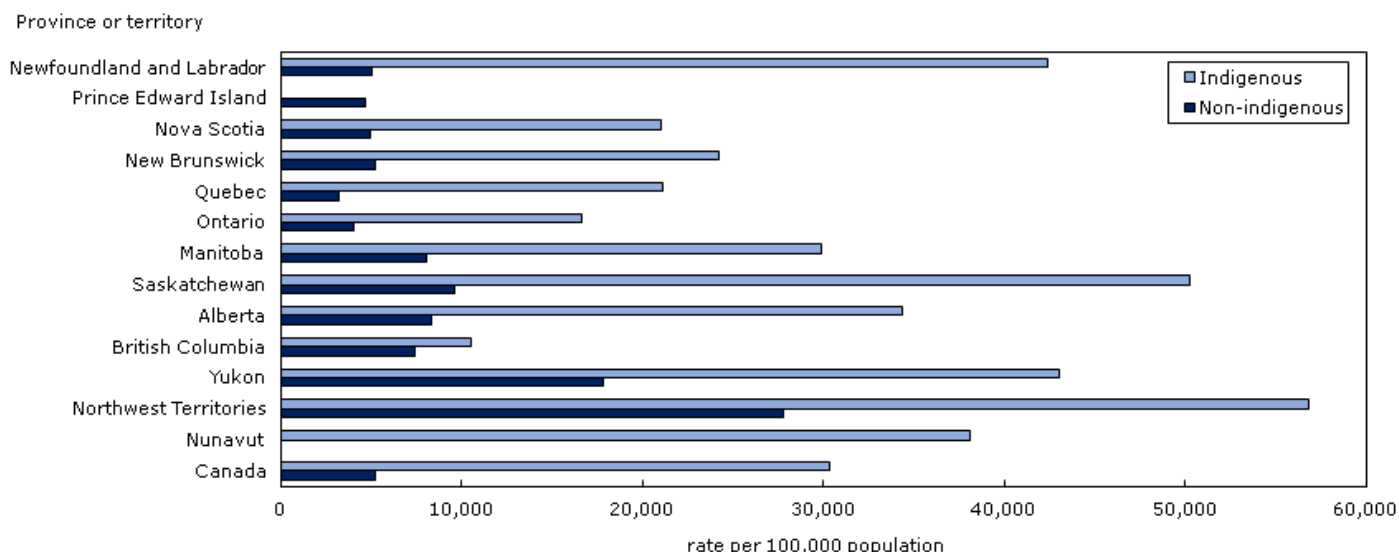
Most notably, rates of some of the most serious offences including homicide, major assault (levels 2 and 3),¹⁰ and violent firearms offences such as pointing or discharging a firearm with intent were particularly high in Indigenous communities. Overall, these more serious offences were relatively infrequent, representing 5% of criminal incidents in Indigenous communities and 3% in non-Indigenous communities.

Crime rates in Indigenous communities varied by province and territory

Crime rates reported by police services serving majority Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities varied by province and territory. The highest rates were reported in Indigenous communities in the Northwest Territories and Saskatchewan, while the provinces with the lowest rates of crime reported in Indigenous communities were British Columbia and Ontario (Chart 2). In all jurisdictions, rates of almost all categories of crime were higher in Indigenous communities. The only exception was British Columbia where rates of property crime were higher in non-Indigenous communities, primarily as a result of much

higher rates of theft of \$5,000 or under (specifically shoplifting or theft from a motor vehicle). This was the jurisdiction with the smallest difference overall between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities (Table 1).

Chart 2
Rates of crime reported by police serving majority Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, by province and territory, 2018



Note: The category "Indigenous" refers to police services that served a population where more than 50% of the population they serve identified as Aboriginal in the 2016 Census, or lived on reserve. The category "Non-Indigenous" refers to those police services where the majority of the population did not identify as Aboriginal in the 2016 Census or did not live on reserve. See the section "Data sources and concepts" for an explanation of the method used to identify police services serving majority Indigenous populations. Populations are based on July 1st estimates from Statistics Canada, Centre for Demography.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Uniform Crime Reporting Survey.

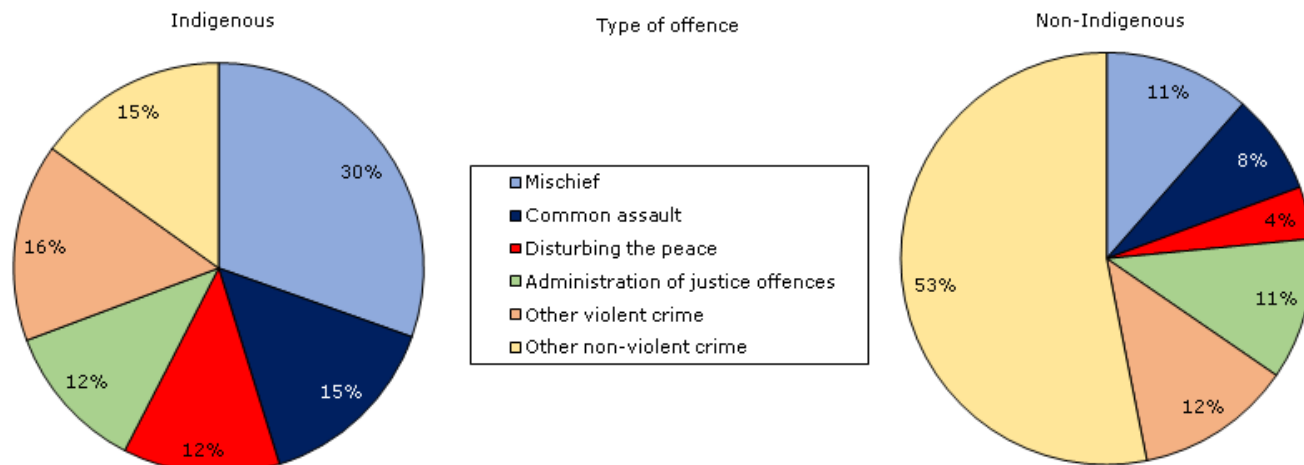
It should be noted that high rates in some jurisdictions may reflect differences in legislation or in police practices. For example, police may report some incidents (especially mischief and disturbing the peace) under provincial law or municipal by-laws where these are available, and, as such, are not included in the UCR crime data. In addition, geographic differences by jurisdiction may also play a role, especially in terms of the remoteness of communities and proximity to urban centres.

High rates of mischief, common assault, and disturbing the peace help explain the large differences in crime rates between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities

A substantial proportion of the difference in the crime rates between police serving majority Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations can be attributed to high rates of mischief, common assault, and disturbing the peace, which are often considered less serious offences. These three offences accounted for a relatively small share of crime in non-Indigenous communities (23%), but accounted for over half of crime (58%) reported in Indigenous communities (Chart 3).

Chart 3

Differences in rates of mischief, common assault, and disturbing the peace as a proportion of total crime reported by police serving majority Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, 2018



Note: The category "Indigenous" refers to police services that served a population where more than 50% of the population they serve identified as Aboriginal in the 2016 Census, or lived on reserve. The category "Non-Indigenous" refers to those police services where the majority of the population did not identify as Aboriginal in the 2016 Census or did not live on reserve. See the section "Data sources and concepts" for an explanation of the method used to identify police services serving majority Indigenous populations. Other violent crime includes all other violent offences, most frequently other assaults (levels 2 and 3 and assault against a peace officer), uttering threats, and sexual assault. Other non-violent crime includes all other property crime and other non-violent *Criminal Code* offences, most frequently theft of \$5,000 or under (including shoplifting), breaking and entering, fraud and motor vehicle theft (see Table 2). Rates are based upon the most serious violation in the incident. Populations are based on July 1st estimates from Statistics Canada, Centre for Demography.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Uniform Crime Reporting Survey.

Over four in ten criminal incidents in Indigenous communities are mischief or disturbing the peace

In 2018, the rate of mischief was 15 times higher in Indigenous communities than in non-Indigenous communities (9,233 versus 597 incidents per 100,000 population) (Table 2). Mischief is a *Criminal Code* offence that covers a range of criminal behaviour, including various sorts of vandalism, such as graffiti, as well as destructive or obstructive reckless behaviour.¹¹ Almost one-third (30%) of all police-reported crimes in Indigenous communities was mischief compared to 11% in non-Indigenous communities. At the national level, the high rate of mischief reported in Indigenous communities accounted for a substantial part of the difference in crime rate between them and non-Indigenous communities.¹²

The penalty for this type of offence is generally low and differences across police services in how these are handled could be associated with higher police-reported levels in some areas than others. In some jurisdictions these behaviours may be dealt with as a provincial offence or municipal by-law infraction resulting in a ticket. For example, obstructive drunk behaviour may be treated under provincial public intoxication laws or municipal noise by-laws; graffiti is sometimes dealt with under municipal graffiti by-laws. When dealt with through provincial or municipal laws and by-laws, such infractions are not included in the crime rate. Provincial and municipal alternatives may be more readily available to police in non-Indigenous, particularly urban, communities, and this availability may contribute to the differences in rates seen between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities.¹³

The highest rates of mischief were reported by police serving majority Indigenous populations in the Northwest Territories, Newfoundland and Labrador, and Saskatchewan (Table 3). In contrast, much lower rates of mischief were reported in Indigenous communities in British Columbia, Quebec, and Ontario.

In 2018, 12% of police-reported criminal incidents in Indigenous communities were for disturbing the peace (4% in non-Indigenous communities). Disturbing the peace is a *Criminal Code* offence that involves causing a disturbance in or near a public place, including fighting, shouting, or using insulting or obscene language, public intoxication, or impeding or molesting other persons.¹⁴ Like mischief, it may also be dealt with under provincial or territorial laws (e.g. public intoxication) or municipal by-laws. Police serving primarily Indigenous communities in Canada reported 3,754 incidents of disturbing the peace per 100,000 population. This is almost 18 times higher than in non-Indigenous communities (213 per 100,000) (Table 2).

Together, mischief and disturbing the peace accounted for 43% of all criminal incidents reported in Indigenous communities in 2018 compared to 16% of crime in non-Indigenous communities. Notably, the proportion of all incidents that were mischief or disturbing the peace varied considerably by jurisdiction. These offences accounted for lower proportions of criminal incidents for Indigenous communities in Quebec (11%) and Ontario (24%), but comprised the majority of criminal incidents in Indigenous communities in Nunavut (62%), the Northwest Territories (58%), Newfoundland and Labrador (57%), and Yukon (53%). They also accounted for almost half of crime (48%) in Indigenous communities in both Saskatchewan and Alberta.

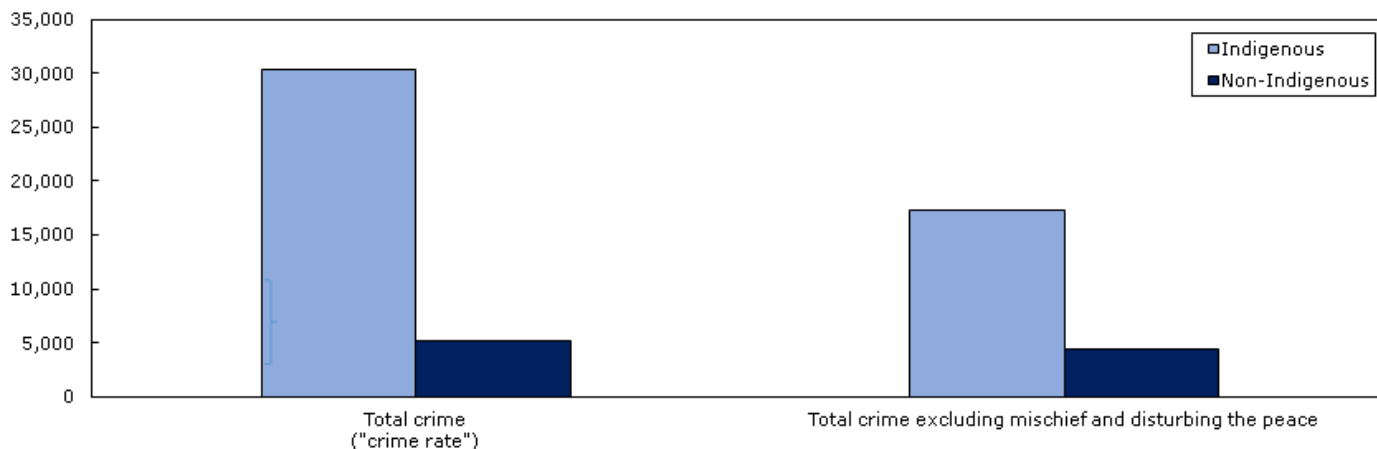
It is important to recognize that some of the difference in police-reported rates of mischief and disturbing the peace is a reflection of different police practices across jurisdictions. As noted earlier, some police services may be more likely to record incidents (especially of disturbing the peace) under related municipal or reserve by-laws (including violations of alcohol bans on reserve), or provincial or territorial statutes such as laws governing public intoxication or noise, which may result in a ticket. For example, the highest rates of mischief or disturbing the peace were reported by the RCMP whether serving Indigenous or non-Indigenous communities. Relatively lower rates were typically reported by the Ontario Provincial Police, the Sûreté du Québec, the Royal Newfoundland Constabulary and most municipal police services where there may be a greater tendency to use provincial or municipal alternative violations available in their jurisdictions.

Other factors that might influence the high rates of mischief and disturbing the peace include the small size of communities where incidents such as these may more readily come to the attention of the police. It is also important to note that these specific offences are related to mental health and substance use conditions, which are proportionally more frequent among Indigenous populations (Boyce et al. 2015).

The impact of these two offences on levels of crime reported in Indigenous communities is notable. When just these two offences are excluded from the calculation of the overall crime rate, the difference in rates of crime between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities is still large, but shrinks by almost half (48%) (Chart 4).

Chart 4
Impact of mischief and disturbing the peace on crime rates reported by police serving majority Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, 2018

rate per 100,000 population



Note: The category "Indigenous" refers to police services that served a population where more than 50% of the population they serve identified as Aboriginal in the 2016 Census, or lived on reserve. The category "Non-Indigenous" refers to those police services where the majority of the population did not identify as Aboriginal in the 2016 Census or did not live on reserve. See the section "Data sources and concepts" for an explanation of the method used to identify police services serving majority Indigenous populations. Rates are based upon the most serious violation in the incident. Populations are based on July 1st estimates from Statistics Canada, Centre for Demography.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Uniform Crime Reporting Survey.

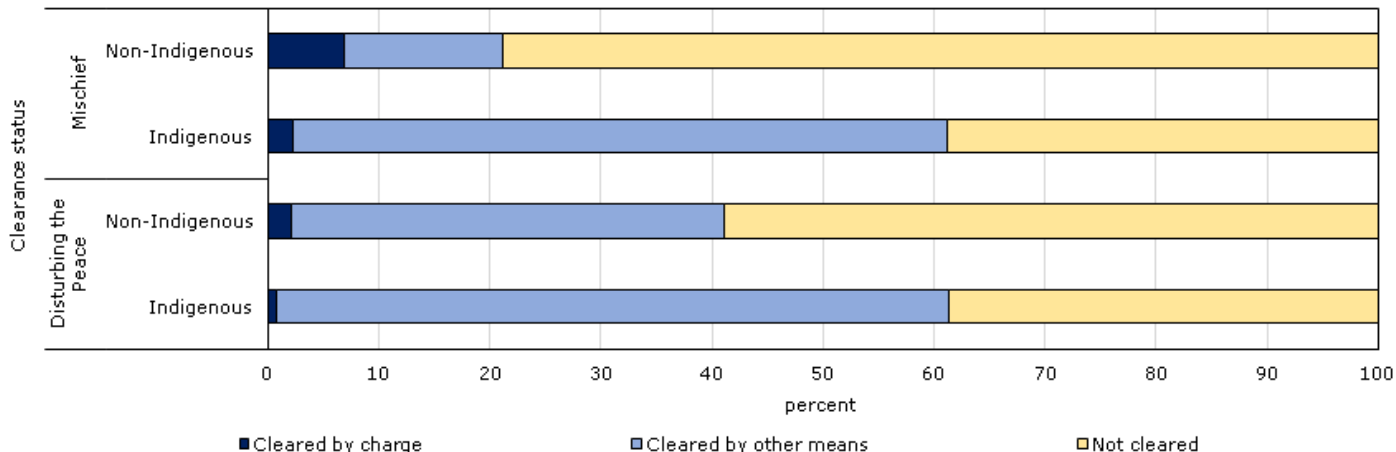
Incidents of mischief and disturbing the peace in Indigenous communities more likely to be solved, but rarely resulted in a charge

It is worth noting that, while rates of mischief and disturbing the peace were particularly high in Indigenous communities, these incidents were also more likely to be cleared (solved, with an accused identified), relative to non-Indigenous communities. Once cleared, however, these incidents were less likely to result in a charge, relative to non-Indigenous communities. In 2018, police serving primarily Indigenous populations were able to identify an accused (clear the incident) in 61% of mischief incidents, but only 4% of these cleared incidents resulted in a charge. In non-Indigenous communities, only 21% of mischief incidents were cleared, but a much higher proportion of these cleared incidents (32%) resulted in a charge.

It may be that this reflects differences in the nature of mischief in these communities, which can vary from graffiti for which an accused is generally not identified, to obstructive and damaging behaviour where the police are called in. In addition, incidents of a nature that might otherwise be dealt with as non-criminal infractions in other jurisdictions (such as bylaws related to noise or public intoxication) might not be considered serious enough to warrant charges. A similar pattern was seen for disturbing the peace (Table 4, Chart 5).

Chart 5

Percent of incidents of mischief and disturbing the peace cleared by charge or cleared by other means, by police serving majority Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, 2018



Note: The category "Indigenous" refers to police services that served a population where more than 50% of the population they serve identified as Aboriginal in the 2016 Census, or lived on reserve. The category "Non-Indigenous" refers to those police services where the majority of the population did not identify as Aboriginal in the 2016 Census or did not live on reserve. See the section "Data sources and concepts" for an explanation of the method used to identify police services serving majority Indigenous populations. For an incident to be cleared by charge, at least one accused must have been identified and either a charge has been laid, or recommended to be laid, against this individual in connection with the incident. For an incident to be cleared otherwise, an accused must be identified and there must be sufficient evidence to lay a charge in connection with the incident, but the accused is processed by other means.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Uniform Crime Reporting Survey.

Administration of justice offences six times higher in Indigenous communities

The rate of violations related to the administration of justice in 2018 were six times higher in Indigenous communities compared to non-Indigenous communities (3,548 versus 577 incidents per 100,000 population). Offences related to the administration of justice result from previous contact with the criminal justice system, and include offences such as failure to comply with an order, breach of probation, and failure to appear. These administrative offences are sometimes seen as the 'revolving door' of the justice system, since by definition most of these types of crimes are committed when an individual disobeys a pre-trial condition or sentence imposed for a previous offence, such as probation. In Indigenous communities, the most frequent administration of justice offences were failure to comply with an order (60% of these offences) and breach of probation (25%). These were also the most frequent administration of justice offences in non-Indigenous communities, (55% and 22%, respectively).

They are also considered a contributing factor in re-offending and a factor in the over-representation of Indigenous offenders in the corrections system. Recent reports have drawn attention to ways that unreasonable bail conditions exacerbate the number of administration of justice crimes, particularly with respect to remote communities and Indigenous peoples (Coady 2018; Dushman 2014; *R. vs Antic* 2017; Barnett et al. 2018).

Much of the difference in rates of these offences can be accounted for by the high proportion of Indigenous communities located in the North where rates of administration of justice offences were notably high in both Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities. The size and remoteness of many of these Northern communities may be a factor if they affect the ability of an accused to appear in court, report to a probation officer, or access required programming if services and programs are not readily available in their community.

Text box 2

Context of crime in Indigenous communities

There are many factors that influence police-reported crime statistics. First, an incident must come to the attention of police and be treated as criminal. Differences between individual police services, such as available resources or departmental priorities, policies and procedures can also have an effect on police-reported crime. As noted above, some police services, particularly those in larger non-Indigenous communities, may make greater use of municipal bylaws or provincial statutes to respond to minor offences such as mischief and disturbing the peace.

It is also important to acknowledge the circumstances of Indigenous communities in Canada, particularly the personal and socioeconomic effects of colonization and the residential school system which have been associated with trauma, mental health issues, substance abuse, intergenerational violence and suicidal thoughts (Capobianco et al. 2003, Carrière et al. 2018, Kumar and Nahwegahbow 2016, Anderson 2015). As the Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission notes: “traumatized by their school experiences, many succumbed to addiction and found themselves among the disproportionate number of Aboriginal people who come into conflict with the law” (Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2015, Vol. 5). More recently, there has been increasing concern about the similar impact on the large numbers of Indigenous youth in the child welfare system (Doucet and Pratt 2018, Ontario Human Rights Commission 2018).

The socioeconomic conditions of the Indigenous communities in this study are notably different from the average conditions of non-Indigenous communities in Canada.¹⁵ According to information from the 2016 Census of Population, individuals in the Indigenous communities in this study were much less likely to have completed high school. In addition, they were less likely to be employed and less likely to participate in the labour force, which may be tied to limited access to work opportunities in more remote communities. In turn, individuals in Indigenous communities were more likely to live in low-income families, with a relatively high proportion of the population in the bottom income decile.¹⁶ They were also more likely to live in crowded housing.¹⁷ These differences varied by jurisdiction (Table 5). Overall, these data show that the Indigenous communities in this study are particularly marginalized. For example, an examination of the 100 police services with the highest proportions of the population with the lowest incomes (in the bottom income decile), shows that 92 of them served majority Indigenous populations. A similar pattern is seen for high school completion.

The conditions faced by the Indigenous populations reflect factors generally associated with high levels of violence. Findings from the 2014 General Social Survey on Canadians’ Safety (Victimization) (GSS) found that high rates of victimization were related to factors such as experiencing childhood maltreatment, perceiving social disorder in one’s neighbourhood, experiencing homelessness, using drugs, or having fair or poor mental health, circumstances that are reported more often by Indigenous respondents (Perreault 2015, Boyce 2016).

Results from the same survey also show that the prevalence of childhood physical and sexual abuse is higher among Indigenous people. Two out of every five Indigenous people in Canada (40%) reported having been the victim of physical and/or sexual violence at the hands of an adult before they turned 15 (compared to 29% among non-Indigenous individuals). People identifying as Indigenous were also more likely than non-Indigenous to report that, as a child, they witnessed violence committed by a parent, step-parent or guardian against another adult (Buczycycka 2017). This finding, however, is only true for those aged 30 and over, and may be related, in part, to residential school experiences among the older population. According to the 2012 Aboriginal Peoples Survey, 9% of off-reserve First Nations people aged 20 years and older reported having attended a residential school at some point in their lives. Of those aged 55 years and older, 17% had attended a residential school (Rotenberg 2012). Proportions among those living on reserve are not available.

Experiencing child maltreatment and its consequent trauma is associated with later mental health and substance use disorders which tend to be higher among Indigenous populations. Information from the 2012 Canadian Community Health Survey—Mental Health (CCHS—MH) showed that 67% of Canadians aged 18 and older with a mental health or substance use disorder had experienced at least one form of childhood maltreatment, at least once, before the age of 16, which was significantly higher than those Canadians aged 18 and older without a disorder (45%) (Boyce et al. 2015).¹⁸ At the same time, there is concern that many communities lack mental health services that are accessible, culturally appropriate and adequately resourced (Boksa et al. 2015, Nelson and Wilson 2017).

A recent report found that First Nations people, both on and off reserve, had twice the rate of acute care hospitalizations for mental and behavioural disorders. These were most frequently substance-related disorders which were 7 times higher among on-reserve, and 4 times higher among off-reserve First Nations populations compared to non-Indigenous people (Carrière et al. 2018). High rates of mental health disorders among Indigenous people are a serious concern, associated with high rates of suicide, health issues, and victimization, as well as delinquent behaviour.

Text box 2 — end**Context of crime in Indigenous communities**

Mental health issues have been shown to increase the likelihood of criminal behaviour and police contact. A study on mental health and contact with police found that individuals with a mental or substance use disorder, or who perceived a need for help with their emotions, mental health or substance use, had increased odds of contact with police, even when controlling for other factors (Boyce et al. 2015). Similarly, the study of Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) showed a strong relationship between childhood maltreatment and substance abuse, and it found that offenders had substantially higher rates of almost all types of childhood maltreatment compared to a control group (Reavis 2013).

Substance use generally is also associated with criminal behaviour and may be an important factor in offences such as mischief, disturbing the peace and assault, as well as breach of conditions. Information from the 2014 GSS on Victimization shows that Indigenous people are more likely to abstain from drinking: with 31% reporting that they did not drink in the year prior to the survey compared to 25% for non-Indigenous people. However, among those who do drink, Indigenous individuals were more likely to be heavy drinkers: 9% reported binge drinking (more than 5 drinks on one occasion) at least 5 times in the previous month compared to 5% of non-Indigenous drinkers.

The report on *Police-reported crime in Inuit Nunangat* (Charron et al. 2010) found that alcohol restrictions are associated with the variations in the police-reported crime rates between communities in Inuit Nunangat. In fact, crime rates were significantly higher in communities with fewer alcohol restrictions. The impact was particularly noticeable for rates of mischief and disturbing the peace.

All of these factors, size and location of communities, as well as socioeconomic conditions, and individual circumstances such as a history of trauma, and mental health or substance use issues, have been associated with contact with police. In addition, the nature of policing in these small communities may also play a role in how incidents come to the attention of police and how they are dealt with. All combined, therefore, they are likely key factors in rates of crime in Indigenous communities which have to deal with the impact of colonization, the trauma of the residential schools, and challenging community conditions.

High rates of police-reported violent crime in Indigenous communities, particularly common assault

Violent offences accounted for 3 in 10 crimes (30%) reported by police serving majority Indigenous populations compared to 2 in 10 crimes (20%) in non-Indigenous communities. Police serving primarily Indigenous communities reported 9,220 incidents of violent crime per 100,000 population in 2018, almost nine times higher than those primarily serving non-Indigenous communities (1,047 per 100,000 population). Most of the difference between these rates can be attributed to higher rates of common assault, which was the most frequent violent offence for both community types (Table 2).

Common assault 11 times higher in Indigenous than in non-Indigenous communities

The rate of common assault (level 1) reported by police serving majority Indigenous populations was 11 times higher in Indigenous communities than in non-Indigenous communities (4,481 versus 409 incidents per 100,000 population), and represented half (49%) of violent crime compared with 39% of violent crime in non-Indigenous communities. The rate of major assault (levels 2 and 3) was also much higher (Table 2). Both common assaults and major assaults were more likely to be cleared in Indigenous communities (81% versus 72% for common assault; 83% versus 72% for major assaults), but, when cleared, they were less likely to result in a charge (53% versus 65% of cleared incidents for common assault; 75% versus 84% for major assaults).

Rate of non-spousal police-reported family violence in Indigenous communities was sixteen times higher than in non-Indigenous communities

In both Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities, the perpetrator in police-reported violent incidents was most often either a friend or acquaintance of the victim or an intimate partner other than a spouse. However, individuals in Indigenous communities were proportionally more likely than those in non-Indigenous communities to be victimized by family members other than a spouse (25% versus 13%), a greater number of victims being victimized by extended family members such as a grandparent, uncle, aunt or cousin. Overall, the rate of non-spousal family violence was 16 times higher in Indigenous communities, with the largest differences for major assault and common assault (Table 6, Table 7). The high rate of violence at the hands of extended family members may be partly related to differences in living arrangements in Indigenous communities. According to the GSS on Victimization, 15% of Indigenous individuals lived with extended family members (other than a child or spouse) compared to 8% in the non-Indigenous population. In addition, individuals in the Indigenous communities in this study were more likely to live in crowded housing.¹⁹

The rate of intimate partner violence was 10 times higher in Indigenous communities than in non-Indigenous communities. This includes violence where the perpetrator was a current or former spouse or another intimate partner. In particular, the perpetrator was more likely to be an intimate partner other than a spouse such as a current or former boyfriend or girlfriend in Indigenous communities. The proportion of victims in Indigenous communities victimized by a stranger was smaller (8% versus 26%), which is expected given the realities of small communities where people are more likely to know one another and strangers are few. That said, rates of victimization by a stranger were still over twice as high in Indigenous communities (652 versus 244 per 100,000 population).

Rate of sexual assault in Indigenous communities was six times higher than in non-Indigenous communities

Police serving majority Indigenous populations reported 463 incidents of sexual assault per 100,000 population compared to 73 per 100,000 in non-Indigenous communities. In both cases, sexual assault level 1 accounted for over 97% of these incidents.²⁰ It is important to note that the GSS on Victimization showed that only 5%^E of self-reported sexual assaults experienced by Canadians aged 15 years and older in 2014 were brought to the attention of police, which means that figures reported by police are likely an underrepresentation of the true extent of sexual assault in both Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities.

In addition to sexual assaults, sexual crimes specific to children such as sexual interference, invitation to sexual touching and sexual exploitation are of particular concern in light of the impact of child physical and sexual abuse on the cycle of intergenerational violence (Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2015).²¹ The overall rate of these child-specific sexual offences (per 100,000 inhabitants) was seven times higher in Indigenous communities than elsewhere.²²

Children under age 18 accounted for one-third (33%) of the population in the Indigenous communities in this study compared to 19% in non-Indigenous communities. When controlling for age, then, the rate of these sexual violations against children (per 100,000 children) in Indigenous communities was four times higher than in non-Indigenous communities, with the highest rates for victims aged 12 to 17.²³ Most incidents of sexual violations against children were for sexual interference, which accounted for 88% of incidents of sexual violations against children in Indigenous communities. In contrast, 68% of sexual violations against children in non-Indigenous communities were sexual interference. In non-Indigenous communities which may have greater access to the Internet, a much higher proportion of these crimes were for luring a child by means of telecommunication (17% versus 4% in Indigenous communities).

Text box 3

The nature of homicides in Indigenous communities was notably different from homicides in non-Indigenous communities

Homicides in Indigenous communities often perpetrated by a family member, rarely by a stranger

This study was also able to look at detailed characteristics of homicides in predominantly Indigenous populations using information from the Homicide Survey. In 2018, the Indigenous communities in this study reported 59 homicides, resulting in a rate about eight times higher in Indigenous communities than in non-Indigenous communities (13.4 versus 1.6 homicides per 100,000 population).²⁴

Victims of homicides in Indigenous communities were more often female (36%) compared to victims in non-Indigenous communities (24%). The median age of victims was slightly younger in Indigenous communities (32 vs. 34 years).

Individuals accused of homicide in 2018 were slightly older in Indigenous communities (median age 30 compared to 28 in non-Indigenous communities). As with violent crime generally, when an accused was identified, homicides in Indigenous communities were more likely to be perpetrated by a family member (48% versus 31%) than in non-Indigenous communities. Homicides were rarely committed by a stranger in Indigenous communities (2%, equivalent to one accused, compared to 22% in non-Indigenous communities).²⁵

Homicides less often pre-meditated in Indigenous communities

In terms of the type of homicide, motives and methods, the nature of homicides reported by police serving majority Indigenous populations was notably different from homicides in non-Indigenous communities. While almost half (48%) of homicides in non-Indigenous communities were first-degree murder (pre-meditated), this was not the case in Indigenous communities where 17% were first-degree murder. Instead, 58% of homicides in Indigenous communities were second-degree murder and another 25% were manslaughter (compared to 41% and 10%, respectively, in non-Indigenous communities). That being said, rates of all types of homicide were higher in Indigenous communities than elsewhere.

Text box 3 — end**The nature of homicides in Indigenous communities was notably different from homicides in non-Indigenous communities**

Homicides in Indigenous communities were more likely to result from an argument or quarrel or from frustration, anger or despair (70%) than in non-Indigenous communities (48%).²⁶

In 2018, homicides in Indigenous communities were most commonly committed through beatings (39%), stabbings (35%), or shootings (14%). In contrast, shootings were the most common cause of death for homicides in non-Indigenous communities (42%), while stabbings and beatings accounted for a lower proportion (29% and 17%, respectively). Most (94%) of the individuals accused of homicide in the Indigenous communities in this study had consumed alcohol, drugs or some other substance prior to the incident. This was also the case for many of the accused in non-Indigenous communities.²⁷

In contrast, homicides in non-Indigenous communities were more likely to be gang-related: For 7% of homicides in non-Indigenous communities (44 homicides), police had evidence that they were gang-related and another 18% (109 homicides) suspected to be gang-related.²⁸ In Indigenous communities, 93% of homicides were recorded as non-gang-related; the other 7% (4 homicides) were suspected to be gang-related.

In 2018, four in five (81%) homicides in Indigenous communities were cleared (solved) by police and three in four homicides (75%) resulted in a criminal charge (compared to 65% cleared in non-Indigenous communities, and 60% of homicides cleared by charge). Accounting for the difference in clearance rates, in both types of community, 92% of cleared (solved) homicides resulted in a charge.

In 2018, the majority of homicide victims (53 out of 59 victims) and of individuals accused of homicide in Indigenous communities (49 out of 54 accused) were identified by police as Indigenous.

It is important to note that the data in this article on homicides in Indigenous communities does not represent all homicides involving Indigenous victims or accused in Canada. More information on all Indigenous homicide victims can be found in *Homicide in Canada, 2018* (Roy and Marcellus 2018).

Clearance and charging rates**Crimes reported by police serving majority Indigenous populations were more likely to be solved and have an accused identified by police**

Crimes reported by police serving majority Indigenous populations were more likely to be cleared (solved) and have an accused identified by police. In 2018, about two-thirds (66%) of criminal incidents were cleared in Indigenous communities compared to just over one-third (37%) in non-Indigenous communities. This was partly the result of the high volume of cleared incidents of mischief in Indigenous communities. Apart from these non-violent crimes, clearance rates were also higher in Indigenous communities for violent crime (79% versus 63%) (Table 4).

One possible reason behind this difference is the relative size of the communities served by police because clearance rates for most crimes tend to be higher in small communities where more crimes and information about those crimes come to the attention of police (Hotton Mahony and Turner 2012). The median population served by police in Indigenous communities was less than 1,500 compared to about 9,500 in non-Indigenous communities.

Accused charged less often in Indigenous communities, often because complainant requested that no further action be taken

Once cleared, however, crimes in Indigenous communities were half as likely overall to result in a charge (35%) than those in non-Indigenous communities (70%) in 2018.²⁹ This was the case for most types of crime: violent (58% versus 68%); property (10% versus 59%); and other *Criminal Code* offences (44% versus 79%). The offences where cleared incidents in Indigenous communities were more likely to result in a charge than in non-Indigenous communities were other federal statutes, *Criminal Code* traffic offences, and sexual offences.³⁰

The most frequent reason for an incident to be cleared without a criminal charge was that the complainant requested that no further action be taken, which was proportionally over three times more common in Indigenous communities than non-Indigenous communities (35% versus 10%). Among violent crimes, the complainant requested that no further action be taken in 32% of cleared incidents in Indigenous communities compared to 16% in non-Indigenous communities. Over half (53%) of

property offences where an accused was identified were cleared in Indigenous communities as a result of the complainant requesting that no further action be taken (compared to 14% in non-Indigenous communities).

For violent offences where information on victims was available, it was more common for the victim to request that no further action be taken in Indigenous communities than in non-Indigenous communities in almost all incidents.³¹ However, it was more often the case when the perpetrator was a family member other than a spouse (child, parent, sibling or extended family member) (46% versus 22% in non-Indigenous communities). When it was a friend or casual acquaintance, many victims still requested no further action (42% and 37%, respectively, compared to 25% and 21% in non-Indigenous communities).³² Even when the perpetrator was a stranger, the victim was twice as likely to request that no further action be taken in Indigenous communities (21% versus 12%). In incidents of intimate partner violence, however, where the perpetrator was a spouse or former spouse or other intimate partner, the victim requesting that no further action be taken was less frequent in both types of communities, possibly due to pro-charging policies in domestic violence situations (11% versus 6% in non-Indigenous communities).³³

One factor which might explain the high number of complainants who request that no further action be taken in Indigenous communities is that they do not want their family members to get in trouble with the law or they prefer to deal with the matter by themselves or within the community rather than through the criminal justice system (Jerome 2019). In addition, the relative remoteness of these Indigenous communities may also play a role. High proportions of uncharged incidents are cleared in this way in the Territories and in remote communities elsewhere, regardless of whether the community was primarily Indigenous.³⁴ Another factor may be that victims do not want to proceed if it means they have to leave their communities to attend court. It may also be the case that there is a greater burden on the victim and their families, both economic and personal, if the perpetrator is charged and has to leave the community for court or incarceration, especially where the accused is a family member, particularly if they are the main provider for their families.

According to the 2014 GSS, among Indigenous victims, when the incident came to the attention of police, only half (49%^E) of victims said that they had reported it themselves. It is therefore possible that some of the victims of police-reported crimes in Indigenous communities who did not report the crime themselves may be less likely to cooperate with police. This is reinforced by the fact that, according to the GSS, Indigenous individuals were more likely than non-Indigenous individuals to have not very much or no confidence in the police (Boyce 2016).

Characteristics of individuals accused of crime in Indigenous communities

High rate of individuals accused of crime among older populations in Indigenous communities particularly for mischief and disturbing the peace

There were notable differences in the age profile of individuals accused of crime in Indigenous communities compared to non-Indigenous communities. Historically, rates of accused in Canada have tended to peak in late adolescence and then decline (Allen 2016). Research shows that this inverse relationship between age and criminal activity has been seen in most countries and time periods, with some variations (Ulmer and Steffensmeier 2014). As a result, age has typically been seen as an important factor in rates of crime, and it has often been assumed that the high rates of crime in Indigenous communities can be somewhat explained by the fact that these populations tend to be much younger. However, this was not found to be the case in this study. Instead, the higher rates of accused in 2018 in the Indigenous communities in this study were driven in part by crimes committed by older individuals, specifically mischief and disturbing the peace offences.³⁵

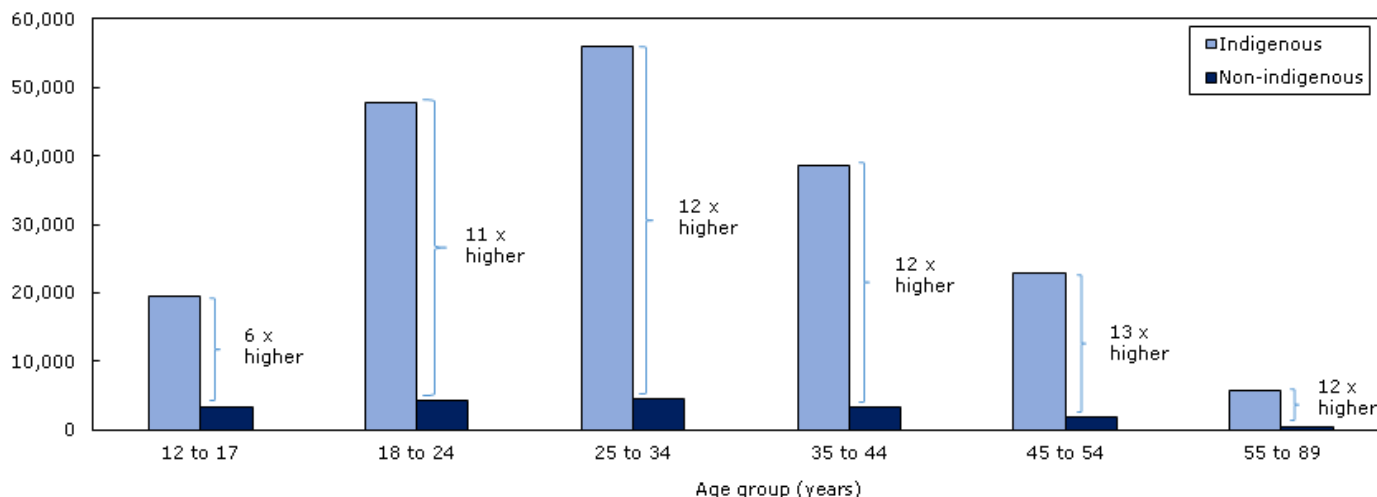
Although rates of individuals accused of crime reported by police serving majority Indigenous populations were notably higher at all ages than in non-Indigenous communities, they show a notable variation from the age-crime relationship seen elsewhere. While rates of youth accused were 6 times higher in Indigenous than in non-Indigenous communities, rates for adult age groups were over 10 times higher. Moreover, rates of accused in Indigenous communities were still higher even among 45 to 54-year olds than among youth (Table 8, Chart 6).

However, it is worth noting that accused rates among youth were higher in Indigenous communities than in non-Indigenous communities.

Chart 6

Rate of criminal offending by age group of accused, police serving majority Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, 2018

rate of accused per 100,000 population



Note: The category "Indigenous" refers to police services that served a population where more than 50% of the population they serve identified as Aboriginal in the 2016 Census, or lived on reserve. The category "Non-Indigenous" refers to those police services where the majority of the population did not identify as Aboriginal in the 2016 Census or did not live on reserve. See the section "Data sources and concepts" for an explanation of the method used to identify police services serving majority Indigenous populations. Includes accused aged 12 to 89 years. Children under the age of 12 cannot be charged with a criminal offence. Rates are calculated on the basis of 100,000 population at each age. Populations are based on July 1st estimates from Statistics Canada, Centre for Demography. Includes all *Criminal Code* offences, excluding traffic offences.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Incident-based Uniform Crime Reporting Survey (UCR2).

Mischief and disturbing the peace most common crime committed by older accused

Less serious offences explained some of the high crime rates among the older age groups. In particular, the rate of non-violent offences (property and "other *Criminal Code* offences") was notably high among 45 to 54 year olds in Indigenous communities primarily as a result of high rates of mischief and disturbing the peace in those age groups.

Rates of mischief and disturbing the peace were notably high among older age groups in Indigenous communities. In fact, while mischief and disturbing the peace accounted for 34% of youth crime in Indigenous communities, this proportion increased with age, representing 57% of crime committed by 45 to 64 year olds. In non-Indigenous communities, these offences accounted for 12% of youth crime, a proportion which changed little by age (15% by age 45 to 64).

These high accused rates among older populations, particularly mischief and disturbing the peace, may be partly explained by differences in risk factors for youth and older Indigenous populations, such as having experienced child maltreatment (including experience in residential schools), which is associated with mental health issues, substance use and increased contact with police (Boyce et al. 2015). Recent studies have noted that while there were large differences in rates of child maltreatment among older Indigenous people relative to their non-Indigenous counterparts—this difference was not present among the younger population. Among younger people between the ages of 15 to 29 years, no statistically significant differences were found between Indigenous and non-Indigenous individuals in terms of having suffered physical and/or sexual abuse before the age of 15 (24% and 23%). Instead, differences in the prevalence of child abuse were found only for those aged 30 or above: Indigenous people in this older age group were considerably more likely than their non-Indigenous counterparts to have been victimized as children (48% versus 31%) (Burczycka 2017).

In addition, possibly related to this difference in childhood trauma, health indicators show that First Nations (off-reserve) and Inuit populations were more likely to report heavy drinking than non-Indigenous populations.³⁶ However, this was the case only for older drinkers 25 to 44 years old and 45 years and older. There was no significant difference in the rate of heavy drinking for youth and young adults (aged 12 to 24) (Statistics Canada n.d. b). This is notable as alcohol use is associated with criminal behaviour (Permanen et al. 2002).

Other factors may also explain high accused rates for older populations in these communities. Research suggests that life transitions such as completing education, getting a steady job and starting a family are tied to an "ageing out" of criminal behaviour. However, involvement in the justice system—particularly incarceration and long sentences—has been shown to disrupt these transitions into the adult roles associated with desistance from crime and is associated with repeat offending (Massoglia and Uggen 2010). In addition, incarceration increases contact with a criminalized peer group and can aggravate mental health issues (Holman and Zeidenburg 2013).

Rate of females accused of crime higher in Indigenous communities relative to non-Indigenous communities

Previous research has drawn attention to the over-representation of Indigenous women in correctional services (Malakieh 2019). Similarly, the police-reported data in this analysis showed that females accounted for a greater proportion of those accused of crime in Indigenous communities compared to non-Indigenous communities (31% compared to 25%). As a result, while the accused rate among males was 11 times higher in Indigenous communities than in non-Indigenous communities, it was 16 times higher for females. The rate of females accused was higher in Indigenous communities for all categories of crime. As with accused overall, this was driven by high rates among older individuals as the age-crime curve for females in Indigenous communities was very similar to that of males.

Text box 4

Measuring over-representation of Indigenous offenders in the correctional system

There has been much discussion about the over-representation of Indigenous peoples in the criminal justice system and particularly in correctional services. Unfortunately, current data on correctional services do not support an examination of the corrections experiences of offenders from the Indigenous communities in this analysis.

Information on admissions to correctional services have been used to provide an indication of Indigenous over-representation. However, this data does not actually provide a measure of how many individuals are in corrections at a certain point in time. Instead admissions are counted each time an individual begins or moves to a new type of custody or community supervision. The same person can therefore be included several times in the admissions counts whenever the individual moves from one type of supervision to another, thereby providing an indication of the flow of persons through the correctional system. The amount of this activity may differ for Indigenous and non-Indigenous offenders.

The development of the new Canadian Correctional Services Survey (CCSS) will allow Statistics Canada to produce better, and more detailed indicators on individuals in correctional services, as well as improved statistics on the overrepresentation of Indigenous persons in the Canadian correctional system. Statistics Canada also plans to release a *Juristat* in 2021 focused on overrepresentation of Indigenous persons in correctional services.

Summary

To build on existing research and shed more light on crime experienced in Indigenous communities, this study examined the nature and extent of crime reported by the relatively small subset of police services and detachments that serve a population where more than 50% of residents were Indigenous. The rates of police-reported crime experienced in these communities in 2018 were typically very high compared to crime in non-Indigenous communities. Much of this difference can be attributed to high rates of mischief and disturbing the peace, offences which may be more likely to come to the attention of police in smaller communities. Rates of these offences may also be affected by differences in police practices with respect to the availability and use of provincial violations and municipal by-laws for this type of behaviour.

Studies have demonstrated that crime and victimization are often associated with mental health issues, alcohol misuse, intergenerational trauma, and adverse socioeconomic conditions, all of which are more frequent among Indigenous populations.

It is worth noting that, unlike non-Indigenous communities where the highest rates of individuals accused of crime are limited to youth and young adults, accused rates in Indigenous communities in this study were higher among adults than youth. This may be related to higher levels of risk factors among the older Indigenous population, including childhood trauma, residential school experiences, and the effects associated with these such as mental health and substance use issues.

The method used in this study to identify police services serving majority Indigenous populations provides a way to broaden statistical understanding of crime experienced among a selected group of predominantly indigenous communities. In the future, other new research methods that link data from multiple sources (such as police, courts, corrections as well as the Census, health data and other sources) could also improve our understanding of crime in these communities as well as the experiences of Indigenous individuals with the criminal justice system.

Data sources and concepts

The Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Survey

The UCR Survey was developed in 1962 with the cooperation and assistance of the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police. UCR Survey data reflects reported crime that has been substantiated through police investigation from all separate federal, provincial, and municipal police services in Canada. There are currently two versions of the UCR Survey: aggregate and incident-based microdata.

Uniform Crime Reporting (aggregate) Survey

The aggregate UCR Survey includes the total number of offences, by most serious violation, reported by police in the survey year. It also includes a count of offences cleared by charge or cleared otherwise and persons charged (by gender and by adult/youth breakdown) during the survey year. It does not include victim or incident characteristics. Coverage of the UCR Survey in 2018 was at 99.9% of the caseload of all police services in Canada. Data does not reflect revisions to 2018 data published in October 2020.

Incident-based Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR2) Survey

The Incident-based UCR2 Survey captures detailed information on individual criminal incidents reported to police, including characteristics of victims, accused persons and incidents. Coverage of the UCR2 Survey for 2018 represented 99.6% of the population in Canada. Many of the police services not reporting to the UCR2 are First Nations services, many of which are in Quebec. Overall, the data from the UCR2 survey for 2018 covers 90% of the police services identified as serving Indigenous populations and 85% of the population. Data does not reflect revisions to 2018 data published in October 2020.

Homicide Survey

The Homicide Survey collects police-reported data on the characteristics of all homicide incidents, victims and accused persons in Canada. Whenever a homicide becomes known to police, the investigating police service completes the survey questionnaires, which are then sent to Statistics Canada. There are cases where homicides become known to police months or years after they occurred. These incidents are counted in the year in which they become known to police. For incidents involving more than one accused, only the relationship between the victim and the closest accused is recorded.

Indigenous identity is reported by police to the Homicide Survey and is determined through information found with the victim or accused person, such as status cards, or through information supplied by victims' or accused persons' families, the accused persons themselves, community members, or other sources (i.e., such as band records). Forensic evidence such as genetic testing results may also be an acceptable means of determining the Indigenous identity of victims.

Most serious violation: Criminal incidents are categorized by the most serious violation occurring in the police-reported incident. One incident can involve multiple offences. Counts presented in this article are based upon the most serious offence in the incident as determined by a standard classification rule used by all police services.

Provincial North: Provincial North encompasses the northern regions of Newfoundland and Labrador, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia. South refers to the southern regions of these provinces as well as Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Rural: Rural police services are those where the majority of the population lives outside of a census metropolitan area (CMA) or census agglomeration (CA). Urban police services are those where the majority of the population lives within a CMA or CA. A CMA or a CA is formed by one or more adjacent municipalities centered on a population centre (known as the core). A CMA must have a total population of at least 100,000 of which 50,000 or more must live in the core. A CA must have a core population of at least 10,000. To be included in the CMA or CA, other adjacent municipalities must have a high degree of integration with the core as measured by commuting flows derived from previous census place of work data, where 50% or more of the population commutes into the core. It should be noted that information was not available for all police services to determine whether they were rural or urban.

Remote: Communities are classified as remote based on a remoteness index that takes into account distance and access to larger population centers and selected services such as health services, social assistance, banking and legal services, and retail (Alasia et al. 2017). For this analysis, a police service is considered remote where the majority of the population served lives in a CSD with a remoteness index of 0.4 or greater. It should be noted that information was not available for all police services to determine whether they were remote.

Detailed method for identifying police services serving majority Indigenous populations (“Indigenous communities”)

A police service is identified as serving a majority Indigenous population if over 50% of the current year population (ex. 2018) can be estimated to be Indigenous. The Indigenous population served is based on information on the Census subdivisions

(CSDs or portions thereof) served by the police service or detachment. Estimated Indigenous populations for each CSD are calculated as follows and then rolled up to the police service level.

The total Indigenous population referred to here is the estimate of individuals living on reserve (CSD) plus an estimate of the population in non-reserve CSDs (or portion of the CSD served) based on the proportion who identified as First Nations people, Métis or Inuit in the 2016 Census of Population. This approach adjusts for the fact that some reserve populations did not respond to the 2016 Census. Using only information on Aboriginal identity from the 2016 Census, these police services served 20% of the total First Nations people, Métis and Inuit population. It should be noted that this estimate does not take into account any differential population growth over the period between 2016 and 2018 nor does it take into account small non-Indigenous populations living on reserve. However, information was provided by Statistics Canada’s Centre for Indigenous Statistics and Partnerships to identify reserve CSDs where non-Indigenous populations are considerable (such as in the British Columbia Lower Mainland). These were excluded from the reserve-based identification of Indigenous populations.

The sensitivity of the 50% cut-off is small is expected to have only limited impact. Most of the police services in the study served populations with high proportions of Indigenous residents. Only a few police services were close to the 50% cut-off and had small populations: 7 police services served populations that were between 50% and 55% Indigenous, and represented 6% of the total population served by police services serving majority Indigenous populations in this study. Similarly, 9 police services fell just below the cut-off, serving populations that were between 45% and 50% Indigenous. If they had been included above the cut-off they would have accounted for 7% of the total population served by police services serving majority Indigenous populations in this study.

Indigenous population of police services classified as serving majority Indigenous populations (“Indigenous communities”)

Overall, 88% of the population served by police services classified as serving predominantly Indigenous populations identified as First Nations people, Métis or Inuit, or lived on a reserve, according to the 2016 Census of Population. As shown in the table below, the proportion of the population estimated to be Indigenous varies by jurisdiction for both types of police service.

Preliminary analysis carried out in the development of the method for identifying police services serving majority Indigenous populations showed that it was not feasible to carry out analysis distinguishing First Nations, Métis and Inuit communities. There were not enough police services identified as serving majority Métis populations to provide reliable analysis. Moreover, outside of Nunavut, there were also insufficient numbers of police services identified as serving Inuit communities to support analysis.

It is worth noting that all police services in Nunavut serve majority Inuit populations. Data for Nunavut is available in Table 1, Table 3, and Table 5 of this report. Most of the police services identified as serving majority Indigenous populations outside of Nunavut served majority First Nations populations.

Text table 1
Percentage of the population that is estimated to be Indigenous, by type of police service, 2018

Province or Territory	Police services serving majority Indigenous populations	Police services serving majority non-Indigenous populations
	percent	
Newfoundland and Labrador	96	8
Prince Edward Island	...	2
Nova Scotia	100	5
New Brunswick	100	4
Quebec	100	2
Ontario	94	2
Manitoba	88	13
Saskatchewan	85	13
Alberta	77	6
British Columbia	71	6
Yukon	75	20
Northwest Territories	81	25
Nunavut	91	...
Canada	88	4

... not applicable

Note: The total Indigenous population referred to here is the estimate of individuals living on reserve plus the proportion of the population in non-reserve Census subdivisions (CSDs) who identified as First Nations, Métis or Inuit in the 2016 Census of Population (see above).

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Uniform Crime Reporting Survey.

The police services in this study are not representative of police serving the majority of the Indigenous population in Canada. Overall, the 182 police services in this study served 21% of the Canadian population that identified as First Nations people, Métis or Inuit, or who lived on reserve, according to the 2016 Census. The vast majority of Indigenous individuals in Canada are served by a “non-Indigenous” police service as defined by this study. Coverage of the Indigenous population by police services varied considerably by jurisdiction.

Text table 2

Percentage of the total Indigenous population that is served by police services identified as serving majority Indigenous populations, 2018

Province or Territory	percent
Newfoundland and Labrador	16
Prince Edward Island	...
Nova Scotia	10
New Brunswick	9
Quebec	32
Ontario	16
Manitoba	31
Saskatchewan	26
Alberta	13
British Columbia	8
Yukon	23
Northwest Territories	77
Nunavut	100
Canada	21

... not applicable

Note: The total Indigenous population referred to here is the estimate of individuals living on reserve plus the proportion of the population in non-reserve Census subdivisions (CSDs) who identified as First Nations, Métis or Inuit in the 2016 Census of Population (see above).

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Uniform Crime Reporting Survey.

No information available specific to crimes committed on reserve:

This study does not provide measures of crime committed on reserve as opposed to in off-reserve locations. Although a large proportion of the population living on reserve are included in the Indigenous communities in this analysis, 30% of Canada’s reserve population are served by non-Indigenous police services.³⁷

Because the UCR is collected from police services, it is not able to provide specific measures of crime occurring on reserve. While this study was able to identify police services which serve reserve populations, and can estimate the percentage of the population living on reserve (using 2016 Census of Population data), the UCR does not have sufficient information to identify where crimes occurred (on or off reserve). This is particularly relevant to smaller First Nations communities/villages where the population lives both on and off reserve within the same community boundaries and is served by the same police force.

Overall, 62% of the population served by the 182 police services and detachments identified as serving majority Indigenous populations lived on reserve.

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Notes

^E use with caution

1. In a study of police-reported crime in Inuit Nunangat, Charron et al. 2010 found higher crime rates in communities without alcohol restrictions ("open communities") particularly for rates of mischief and disturbing the peace. Another study showed that police-reported crime in northern regions is both notably higher and different in nature than in the South (Allen and Perreault 2015). A more recent study found that violent crimes against young women and girls in the Provincial North and Territories were not only higher in the North than in the Southern Canada, but were also more severe in nature (Rotenberg 2019).

2. Indigenous populations include First Nations, Métis and Inuit populations. Due to the complexities of the method used in this analysis, separate analysis of these three groups is not possible.

3. The term Indigenous is also used where information refers to specific surveys that collected information using the term Aboriginal, notably, Aboriginal identity from the 2016 Census of Population, the Aboriginal identity of victims and accused from the Homicide Survey, and information on Aboriginal victims from the 2014 General Social Survey on Canadian's Safety (Victimization).

4. Information collected by the Uniform Crime Reporting Survey on characteristics of individuals accused of crime is limited to the age and gender of the accused, relationship of accused to victim, and an Aboriginal indicator. However, information on the Aboriginal identity of accused is not consistently reported.

5. It was not possible to control for these differences and compare only to a similar group of non-Indigenous communities as the number of non-Indigenous communities with similar characteristics was too few for meaningful analysis.

6. In Quebec, all of the police services identified as serving Indigenous communities were First Nations self-administered police services.

7. Communities are classified as remote based on a remoteness index that takes into account distance and access to larger population centers and selected services such as health services, social assistance, banking and legal services, and retail (Alasia et al. 2017).
8. Non-Indigenous communities include police services classified as non-Indigenous that had zero population (e.g. railway police and highway traffic detachments). These are not included in the calculation of the median.
9. This is true for all fraud, including identity theft and fraud.
10. Major assaults include assault with a weapon or causing bodily harm (level 2) and aggravated assault (level 3).
11. According to the *Criminal Code* “Everyone commits mischief who wilfully (a) destroys or damages property; (b) renders property dangerous, useless, inoperative, or ineffective; (c) obstructs, interrupts or interferes with the lawful use, enjoyment or operation of property; or (d) obstructs, interrupts or interferes with any person in the lawful use, enjoyment or operation of property” (*Criminal Code* s. 430). As such, mischief includes various sorts of vandalism.
12. The difference in rates of mischief represented 34% of the overall difference in the crime rate.
13. In some Indigenous communities where alcohol is banned on reserve, police may use bylaws under the *Indian Act* to address offences that might be reported elsewhere as mischief or disturbing the peace.
14. Disturbing the peace is specifically defined in the *Criminal Code* as “a disturbance in or near a public place (not in a dwelling) by (a) fighting, screaming, shouting, swearing, singing or using insulting or obscene language, (b) by being drunk, or (c) by impeding or molesting other persons” (*Criminal Code* s. 175).
15. Information on the socioeconomic conditions of communities were produced at the police service level for this study using data from the 2016 Census of Population (See Table 5).
16. The economic family after-tax income decile group is based on total of income in 2015 from all sources, including employment income, income from government programs, pension income, investment income and any other money income. The deciles divide the population ranked by size of adjusted after-tax family income into 10 groups of equal size. The population in the bottom decile is the one that falls in the lower 10% of the adjusted after-tax family income distribution.
17. Crowded housing is based on the number of persons per rooms in a private dwelling. In Canadian research, a house is generally considered “crowded” when there is more than one person per room.
18. It should be noted that the GSS analysis examined characteristics of victimization of Indigenous individuals 15 years of age and older across Canada, not just for those people in predominantly Indigenous communities.
19. Crowded housing is based on the number of persons per rooms in a private dwelling. In Canadian research, a house is generally considered “crowded” when there is more than one person per room.
20. Level 1 sexual assaults typically involve violations of a sexual nature without a weapon or evidence of bodily harm, such as unwanted touching or other non-consensual bodily contact for sexual purposes.
21. Incidents involving both a sexual violation specific to a child and sexual assault (level 1) are classified by the most serious violation of the sexual violation specific to a child.
22. For definitions of these offences, see sections 151, 152 and 153 of the *Criminal Code*.
23. This calculation was based on an adjusted rate calculated as the number of incidents for every 100,000 children (under age 18). The rate presented in Table 2, as with all other rates, is calculated for the total population (all ages).
24. Information in this section is based on the 2018 Homicide Survey.
25. In 11 out of the 59 homicides in Indigenous communities, no suspect was identified. In non-Indigenous communities, no suspect was identified or the relationship was reported as unknown, for 223 of the 592 homicides reported.
26. Where a motive was identified (56 homicides in Indigenous communities and 469 in non-Indigenous communities).
27. No reliable comparison is available for the non-Indigenous communities as information from police serving these communities for this variable is not available for 34% of accused. This was the case for 6% of accused in Indigenous communities.
28. Includes all homicides committed by, and for the benefit of a criminal organization. The accused person and/or the victim involved in the homicide must be a member or a prospective member of an organized crime group or street gang or somehow be associated with an organized crime group or street gang (e.g. “turf wars”, a “hitman” working for a gang, a victim who is killed for unpaid debts owed to a gang or an organized crime family). Includes homicides of innocent bystanders who are killed as a result of gang-related disputes.
29. The percentage of cleared incidents resulting in a charge is calculated based on the clearance and charge rates presented in Table 4. They are not presented separately in the table.
30. Other federal statutes include violations under the *Indian Act*.

31. The only exception was where the relationship with the accused was based on an illegal activity or where the victim was a person in a position of trust or authority to the accused and was not a family member. These are included in 'Other person known to victim'.

32. Note that friend includes roommates and acquaintance includes neighbours.

33. The Final Report of the Ad Hoc Federal-Provincial-Territorial Working Group Reviewing Spousal Abuse Policies and Legislation provides the following information on pro-charging policy in Canada: "From 1983 to 1986, federal and provincial Attorneys General and Solicitors General adopted policy directives that required police and Crown prosecutors to charge and prosecute all incidents of spousal abuse where there were reasonable and probable grounds to believe that an offence had been committed [...] Their specific application to spousal abuse cases played a pivotal role in helping to make a critical distinction between the criminal justice system's treatment of spousal abuse as a 'criminal matter' and its historical treatment of spousal abuse as a 'private matter'." (Ad Hoc Federal-Provincial-Territorial Working Group 2003)

34. Communities are classified as remote based on a remoteness index that takes into account distance and access to larger population centers and selected services such as health services, social assistance, banking and legal services, and retail (Alasia et al. 2017).

35. If the crime rates for Indigenous communities are age-adjusted to reflect the age distribution of non-Indigenous communities, the difference between the rates of accused in Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities is still notably large, decreasing only from being 12 times higher, to 11 times higher. It is also worth noting that the gap between accused rates is considerably higher than the difference in crime rates as a result of the high clearance rates in Indigenous communities that mean that a relatively higher number of accused are identified.

36. Heavy drinking is defined as 5 or more drinks on one occasion, at least once a month over the previous year.

37. 'On reserve' refers to the population in six census subdivision (CSD) types legally affiliated with First Nations or Indian bands, i.e., Indian reserve (IRI), Indian settlement (S-É) (except for the four Indian settlements of Champagne Landing 10, Klukshu, Two Mile and Two and One-Half Mile Village and Kloo Lake located in Yukon), Indian government district (IGD), terres réservées aux Cris (TC), terres réservées aux Naskapis (TK) and Nisga'a land (NL).

Detailed data tables

Table 1
Police-reported crime rate, police serving majority Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, by province and territory, 2018

Province or Territory	Total crime – "Crime rate"		Violent crime		Property crime		Other Criminal Code offences	
	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous rate	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous
Newfoundland and Labrador	42,407	4,993	8,996	1,228	23,407	2,664	10,004	1,102
Prince Edward Island	...	4,678	...	1,005	...	2,967	...	706
Nova Scotia	21,058	4,981	5,433	1,243	10,458	2,819	5,167	919
New Brunswick	24,174	5,226	8,766	1,296	10,013	3,012	5,394	918
Quebec	21,138	3,167	13,279	983	3,722	1,759	4,137	425
Ontario	16,593	4,054	6,049	874	6,793	2,602	3,751	578
Manitoba	29,892	8,026	9,825	1,475	12,166	5,151	7,900	1,400
Saskatchewan	50,258	9,578	11,540	1,502	25,134	5,539	13,584	2,537
Alberta	34,359	8,281	7,921	1,238	16,918	5,285	9,520	1,758
British Columbia	10,534	7,378	3,202	1,150	4,177	4,775	3,156	1,453
Yukon	43,028	17,795	10,355	3,356	19,822	8,700	12,850	5,739
Northwest Territories	56,844	27,792	13,265	4,086	27,824	13,788	15,755	9,917
Nunavut	38,119	...	8,722	...	16,473	...	12,923	...
Canada	30,333	5,191	9,220	1,047	13,029	3,223	8,084	921

... not applicable

Note: The category "Indigenous" refers to police services that served a population where more than 50% of the population they serve identified as Aboriginal in the 2016 Census, or lived on reserve. The category "Non-Indigenous" refers to those police services where the majority of the population did not identify as Aboriginal in the 2016 Census or did not live on reserve. See the section "Data sources and concepts" for an explanation of the method used to identify police services serving majority Indigenous populations. Crime rates are based upon *Criminal Code* incidents, excluding traffic offences. See Table 2 for a list of offences included in the total violent crime, total property crime and total other *Criminal Code* offences categories. Counts are based upon the most serious violation in the incident. One incident may involve multiple violations. Rates are calculated on the basis of 100,000 population. Populations are based upon July 1st estimates from Statistics Canada, Demography Division.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Uniform Crime Reporting Survey.

Table 2
Police-reported crime for selected offences, police serving majority Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, 2018

Type of offence	Indigenous		Non-Indigenous	
	number	rate	number	rate
Total <i>Criminal Code</i> (excluding traffic)– "Crime Rate"	133,419	30,333	1,900,506	5,191
Violent crime	40,554	9,220	383,213	1,047
Homicide	59	13.4	592	1.6
Other violations causing death ¹	9	2.0	106	0.3
Attempted murder	27	6.1	780	2.1
Sexual assault - level 3 - aggravated	20	5	138	0
Sexual assault - level 2 - weapon or bodily harm	40	9	419	1
Sexual assault - level 1	1,975	449	26,149	71
Sexual violations against children ^{2, 3}	673	153	7,987	22
Assault - level 3 - aggravated	671	153	2,858	8
Assault - level 2 - weapon or bodily harm	6,125	1,393	47,654	130
Assault - level 1 - common assault	19,709	4,481	149,655	409
Assault peace officer	1,357	309	10,270	28
Other assaults	246	56	1,904	5
Firearms - use of, discharge, pointing	464	105	2,345	6
Robbery	402	91	22,048	60
Forcible confinement or kidnapping	247	56	3,198	9
Abduction	10	2	342	1
Extortion	93	21	4,571	12
Criminal harassment	932	212	18,644	51
Uttering threats	5,820	1,323	60,688	166
Threatening or harassing phone calls	1,339	304	16,303	45
Other violent <i>Criminal Code</i> violations	336	76	6,562	18
Property crime	57,309	13,029	1,180,015	3,223
Breaking and entering	5,315	1,208	154,497	422
Possess stolen property ⁴	813	185	23,085	63
Theft of motor vehicle	2,227	506	83,905	229
Theft over \$5,000 (non-motor vehicle)	281	64	19,832	54
Shoplifting (\$5,000 or under)	519	118	124,414	340
Theft of \$5,000 or under from a motor vehicle	597	136	191,959	524
Other theft of \$5,000 or under	4,837	1,100	208,986	571
Fraud (excluding identity fraud)	1,162	264	128,247	350
Identity fraud ⁵	175	40	19,409	53
Mischief ⁶	40,610	9,233	218,454	597
Arson	773	176	7,227	20
Other <i>Criminal Code</i> offences	35,556	8,084	337,278	921
Weapons violations	1,066	242	15,544	42
Disturbing the peace	16,510	3,754	77,868	213
Administration of justice violations ⁷	15,607	3,548	211,257	577
Other violations	2,373	540	32,609	89

See notes at the end of the table.

Table 2 — end
Police-reported crime for selected offences, police serving majority Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, 2018

Type of offence	Indigenous		Non-Indigenous	
	number	rate	number	rate
Criminal Code traffic violations	8,773	1,995	116,771	319
Impaired driving ⁸	7,226	1,643	63,367	173
Other <i>Criminal Code</i> traffic violations	1,547	352	53,404	146
Drug offences	3,231	735	80,252	219
Cannabis related	1,216	276	34,679	95
Cocaine related	901	205	13,424	37
Other drugs ⁹	1,114	253	32,149	88
Other federal statute violations	1,685	383	24,399	67
<i>Youth Criminal Justice Act</i>	360	82	4,463	12
Other federal statutes	1,325	301	19,936	54
Total - all violations	147,108	33,446	2,121,928	5,796

1. Includes, for example, criminal negligence causing death.
 2. Excludes sexual assaults against children and youth, which are reported as level 1, 2 or 3 sexual assault. Children under age 18 represent a much larger proportion of the population in Indigenous communities. As a result the difference in rates of sexual violations against children in this table is overestimated. See text for discussion of this.
 3. Includes sexual interference, invitation to sexual touching, sexual exploitation, luring a child via telecommunications/agreement or arrangement, and making sexually explicit material available to a child for the purpose of facilitating sexual offences against children/youth, and the offences of parent or guardian procuring sexual activity, householder permitting prohibited sexual activity, agreement or arrangement of a sexual offence against a child, and bestiality in the presence of or inciting a child (s. 160 (3)). Incidents of child pornography are not included in the category of sexual violations against children.
 4. Includes trafficking and the intent to traffic stolen goods.
 5. Includes identity theft.
 6. Includes altering/removing/destroying a vehicle identification number.
 7. Includes failure to comply with an order, failure to appear, breach of probation and other violations against the administration of law and justice.
 8. Includes alcohol- and drug-impaired operation of a vehicle, alcohol- and drug-impaired operation of a vehicle causing death or bodily harm, failure or refusal to comply with testing for the presence of alcohol or drugs and failure or refusal to provide a breath or blood sample. In some jurisdictions, including British Columbia, impaired driving incidents that meet the elements of the *Criminal Code* may be handled using a provincial statute. Also includes new impaired driving offences as per Bill C-46 "*An Act to amend the Criminal Code (offences relating to conveyances) and to make consequential amendments to other Acts*" which came into effect part way through 2018, including impaired driving due to alcohol and drug impairment combined, and unspecified impaired driving.
 9. Includes heroin and other opioids, methamphetamines (crystal meth), methylenedioxyamphetamine (ecstasy) and other controlled drugs and substances, as well as possession of precursors and equipment.
Note: The category "Indigenous" refers to police services that served a population where more than 50% of the population they serve identified as Aboriginal in the 2016 Census, or lived on reserve. The category "Non-Indigenous" refers to those police services where the majority of the population did not identify as Aboriginal in the 2016 Census or did not live on reserve. See the section "Data sources and concepts" for an explanation of the method used to identify police services serving majority Indigenous populations. Crime rates are based upon *Criminal Code* incidents, excluding traffic offences. Counts are based upon the most serious violation in the incident. One incident may involve multiple violations. Police-reported statistics may be affected by differences in the way police services deal with offences. In some instances, police or municipalities might choose to deal with some offences using municipal bylaws or provincial provisions rather than *Criminal Code* provisions. Rates are calculated on the basis of 100,000 population. Populations are based upon July 1st estimates from Statistics Canada, Centre for Demography.
Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Uniform Crime Reporting Survey.

Table 3
Police-reported crime rates for selected offences, police serving majority Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, by province and territory, 2018

Province or Territory	Major assault (levels 2 and 3)		Common assault		Sexual assault (levels 1,2, and 3)		Sexual violations against children ^{1,2}		Firearms - use of, discharge, pointing	
	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous
	rate									
Newfoundland and Labrador	1,150	101	5,403	492	427	61	142	20	0	9
Prince Edward Island	...	69	...	414	...	71	...	22	...	5
Nova Scotia	743	116	2,230	469	177	112	71	23	18	5
New Brunswick	1,686	130	5,158	536	405	74	101	25	34	11
Quebec	1,275	117	5,304	373	802	65	104	32	196	4
Ontario	1,001	110	2,906	344	497	74	118	15	50	6
Manitoba	2,363	272	4,890	542	377	95	198	32	79	11
Saskatchewan	2,407	256	5,731	616	437	94	147	26	175	20
Alberta	1,519	200	4,075	499	285	79	138	22	188	9
British Columbia	400	150	1,355	439	302	62	138	21	12	4
Yukon	1,846	429	5,263	1,710	513	176	68	61	0	19
Northwest Territories	1,533	386	7,974	2,341	512	224	229	27	49	13
Nunavut	1,159	...	4,573	...	453	...	224	...	65	...
Canada	1,545	138	4,481	409	463	73	153	22	105	6

Province or Territory	Robbery		Break and Enter		Motor vehicle theft		Mischief ³		Disturbing the peace	
	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous
	rate									
Newfoundland and Labrador	39	41	1,409	365	349	89	20,202	911	3,955	315
Prince Edward Island	...	14	...	277	...	83	...	927	...	211
Nova Scotia	35	32	867	278	354	92	6,229	633	2,212	121
New Brunswick	101	27	1,450	447	573	170	5,462	745	1,787	261
Quebec	40	39	742	308	97	149	1,850	279	430	3
Ontario	88	61	1,098	316	358	166	3,016	359	919	31
Manitoba	130	201	1,375	712	545	335	8,358	1,672	3,584	501
Saskatchewan	195	80	1,876	825	1,031	468	18,898	1,468	5,460	343
Alberta	90	80	1,058	733	956	539	12,025	939	4,622	321
British Columbia	20	50	699	523	253	252	1,668	900	1,867	831
Yukon	68	35	1,675	415	752	293	14,696	4,903	7,929	3,760
Northwest Territories	90	76	1,546	462	544	269	23,383	10,850	9,341	7,293
Nunavut	34	...	1,261	...	260	...	13,751	...	9,712	...
Canada	91	60	1,208	422	506	229	9,233	597	3,754	213

See notes at the end of the table.

Table 3 — end
Police-reported crime rates for selected offences, police serving majority Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, by province and territory, 2018

Province or Territory	Administration of justice offences ⁴		Impaired driving		Other Criminal Code traffic offences		Drug offences		Total Criminal Code (excluding traffic)	
	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous
Newfoundland and Labrador	4,769	588	1,305	235	103	71	595	162	42,407	4,993
Prince Edward Island	...	371	...	417	...	108	...	140	...	4,678
Nova Scotia	2,460	639	1,186	277	142	64	1,186	202	21,058	4,981
New Brunswick	2,933	476	1,450	234	270	83	1,045	204	24,174	5,226
Quebec	2,759	346	1,383	157	527	298	815	271	21,138	3,167
Ontario	2,424	458	878	96	361	98	732	143	16,593	4,054
Manitoba	3,614	715	1,369	174	206	70	798	149	29,892	8,026
Saskatchewan	6,760	1,924	3,377	390	619	235	973	210	50,258	9,578
Alberta	3,968	1,253	1,944	267	461	121	834	238	34,359	8,281
British Columbia	961	387	506	239	118	84	293	366	10,534	7,378
Yukon	4,272	1,640	2,153	1,270	342	165	820	378	43,028	17,795
Northwest Territories	5,322	2,346	3,663	969	387	117	809	413	56,844	27,792
Nunavut	2,716	...	1,091	...	104	...	273	...	38,119	...
Canada	3,548	577	1,643	173	352	146	735	219	30,333	5,191

... not applicable

1. Excludes sexual assaults against children and youth, which are reported as level 1, 2 or 3 sexual assault. Children under age 18 represent a much larger proportion of the population in Indigenous communities. As a result the difference in rates of sexual violations against children in this table is overestimated. See text for discussion of this.

2. Includes sexual interference, invitation to sexual touching, sexual exploitation, luring a child via telecommunications/agreement or arrangement, and making sexually explicit material available to a child for the purpose of facilitating sexual offences against children/youth, and the offences of parent or guardian procuring sexual activity, householder permitting prohibited sexual activity, agreement or arrangement of a sexual offence against a child, and bestiality in the presence of or inciting a child (s. 160 (3)). Incidents of child pornography are not included in the category of sexual violations against children.

3. Includes altering/removing/destroying a vehicle identification number.

4. Includes failure to comply with an order, failure to appear, breach of probation and other violations against the administration of law and justice.

Note: The category "Indigenous" refers to police services that served a population where more than 50% of the population they serve identified as Aboriginal in the 2016 Census, or lived on reserve. The category "Non-Indigenous" refers to those police services where the majority of the population did not identify as Aboriginal in the 2016 Census or did not live on reserve. See the section "Data sources and concepts" for an explanation of the method used to identify police services serving majority Indigenous populations. Crime rates are based upon *Criminal Code* incidents, excluding traffic offences. Counts are based upon the most serious violation in the incident. One incident may involve multiple violations. Police-reported statistics may be affected by differences in the way police services deal with offences. In some instances, police or municipalities might choose to deal with some offences using municipal bylaws or provincial provisions rather than *Criminal Code* provisions. Rates are calculated on the basis of 100,000 population. Populations are based upon July 1st estimates from Statistics Canada, Centre for Demography.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Uniform Crime Reporting Survey.

Table 4
Police-reported clearance rates for selected offences, police serving majority Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, Canada, 2018

Type of offence	Indigenous			Non-indigenous		
	Cleared by charge	Cleared otherwise	Total cleared	Cleared by charge	Cleared otherwise	Total cleared
	percent					
Total <i>Criminal Code</i> (excluding traffic)—"Crime Rate"	23	43	66	26	11	37
Violent crime	45	33	79	43	20	63
Homicide, other violations causing death and attempted murder	81	7	88	66	4	69
Sexual assault (levels 1, 2, and 3)	45	16	61	32	13	45
Sexual violations against children ¹	66	6	72	51	9	60
Major assault (levels 2 and 3)	62	21	83	61	12	72
Common assault - level 1	43	38	81	46	25	72
Other violent <i>Criminal Code</i> violations	35	39	73	36	20	56
Property crime	5	49	54	11	8	18
Breaking and entering	16	17	33	11	3	15
Shoplifting of \$5,000 or under	26	48	74	30	20	50
Other theft of \$5,000 or under	6	26	32	4	4	8
Mischief ²	2	59	61	7	14	21
Other property crime	18	21	39	15	5	20
Other <i>Criminal Code</i> offences	33	41	74	60	16	76
Disturbing the peace	1	61	61	2	39	41
Administration of justice violations	71	20	91	88	7	95
Other violations	35	34	69	37	15	52
<i>Criminal Code</i> traffic violations	40	6	46	49	10	59
Impaired driving ³	37	6	43	66	15	80
Other <i>Criminal Code</i> traffic violations	57	8	65	29	5	34
Drug offences	30	18	48	43	26	69
Other federal statute violations	49	32	82	23	58	81
<i>Youth Criminal Justice Act</i>	83	15	97	86	10	96
Other federal statutes	41	36	77	12	66	78
Total - all violations	25	40	65	28	12	40

1. Includes sexual interference, invitation to sexual touching, sexual exploitation, luring a child via telecommunications/agreement or arrangement, and making sexually explicit material available to a child for the purpose of facilitating sexual offences against children/youth, and the offences of parent or guardian procuring sexual activity, householder permitting prohibited sexual activity, agreement or arrangement of a sexual offence against a child, and bestiality in the presence of or inciting a child (s. 160 (3)). Excludes sexual assaults against children and youth, which are reported as level 1, 2 or 3 sexual assault.

2. Includes altering/removing/destroying a vehicle identification number.

3. Includes alcohol- and drug-impaired operation of a vehicle, alcohol- and drug-impaired operation of a vehicle causing death or bodily harm, failure or refusal to comply with testing for the presence of alcohol or drugs and failure or refusal to provide a breath or blood sample. In some jurisdictions, including British Columbia, impaired driving incidents that meet the elements of the *Criminal Code* may be handled using a provincial statute. Also includes new impaired driving offences as per Bill C-46 "*An Act to amend the Criminal Code (offences relating to conveyances) and to make consequential amendments to other Acts*" which came into effect part way through 2018, including impaired driving due to alcohol and drug impairment combined, and unspecified impaired driving.

Note: The category "Indigenous" refers to police services that served a population where more than 50% of the population they serve identified as Aboriginal in the 2016 Census, or lived on reserve. The category "Non-Indigenous" refers to those police services where the majority of the population did not identify as Aboriginal in the 2016 Census or did not live on reserve. See the section "Data sources and concepts" for an explanation of the method used to identify police services serving majority Indigenous populations. For an incident to be cleared by charge, at least one chargeable suspect has been identified and there is a charge laid against or recommended to be laid against this individual in connection with this incident. For an incident to be cleared otherwise, an accused must be identified and there must be sufficient evidence to lay a charge in connection with the incident, but instead the suspect is processed by other means such as warnings or cautions (for youth), the complainant declining to proceed, or departmental discretion. Police-reported statistics may be affected by differences in the way police services deal with offences. In some instances, police or municipalities might choose to deal with some offences using municipal bylaws or provincial provisions rather than *Criminal Code* provisions. Excludes police services not reporting to the UCR2 survey. Overall, the data from the UCR2 survey covers 90% of the police services identified as serving Indigenous populations and 85% of their populations.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Incident-based Uniform Crime Reporting Survey (UCR2).

Table 5
Selected characteristics of populations served by police serving majority Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, by province and territory, 2016

Characteristics	Newfoundland and Labrador		Prince Edward Island		Nova Scotia		New Brunswick		Quebec	
	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous
	percent									
Education										
High school completion ¹	62	85	...	88	73	88	74	86	58	87
Labour Force Status²										
Participation rate	58	59	...	66	41	61	55	62	59	64
Employment rate	39	50	...	58	33	55	34	55	49	60
Unemployment rate	32	15	...	12	21	10	38	11	18	7
Income in bottom decile³	9	9	...	10	52	11	44	11	16	9
Crowded housing⁴	8	0	...	1	6	1	3	0	13	1

Characteristics	Ontario		Manitoba		Saskatchewan		Alberta		British Columbia	
	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous
	percent									
Education										
High school completion ¹	64	90	54	87	61	89	67	89	72	90
Labour Force Status²										
Participation rate	54	65	46	67	50	69	56	72	54	64
Employment rate	44	60	37	63	39	65	46	66	44	60
Unemployment rate	19	7	21	6	22	7	18	9	19	7
Income in bottom quintile³	29	10	40	10	35	9	28	7	26	12
Crowded housing⁴	8	2	16	3	13	2	9	2	3	2

See notes at the end of the table.

Table 5 — end
Selected characteristics of populations served by police serving majority Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, by province and territory, 2016

Characteristics	Yukon		Northwest Territories		Nunavut		Canada	
	Indigenous	Non-indigenous	Indigenous	Non-indigenous	Indigenous	Non-indigenous	Indigenous	Non-indigenous
				percent				
Education								
High school completion ¹	72	91	68	90	59	...	62	89
Labour Force Status²								
Participation rate	68	76	66	82	68	...	55	65
Employment rate	52	70	55	77	54	...	44	60
Unemployment rate	24	8	16	6	22	...	20	8
Income in bottom quintile³	16	6	12	5	15	...	28	10
Crowded housing⁴	3	2	7	3	22	...	11	2

... not applicable

1. Includes those with a high school diploma or equivalent or any postsecondary certificate or degree. Information on education refers to the population 24 to 64 years of age.

2. Information on labour force status refers to the population 15 years of age and over. For information on labour force status concepts see the 2016 Census Dictionary. The reference period for labour market activity for the 2016 Census was the week of Sunday, May 1 to Saturday, May 7, 2016. Early enumeration was conducted in remote, isolated parts of the provinces and territories in February, March and April 2016. When enumeration has taken place before May 2016, the reference date used is the date on which the household was enumerated.

3. The economic family after-tax income decile group is based on total of income in 2015 from all sources, including employment income, income from government programs, pension income, investment income and any other money income. The deciles divide the population ranked by size of adjusted after-tax family income into 10 groups of equal size. The population in the bottom decile is the one that falls in the lower 10% of the adjusted after-tax family income distribution. The 10 groups were formed with the full population in private households of Canada, whether or not they reported income.

4. Crowded housing is based on the number of persons per rooms in a private dwelling. In Canadian research, a house is generally considered "crowded" when there is more than one person per room.

Note: For more information on these measures, please refer to the 2016 Census Dictionary. Excludes census data for one or more incompletely enumerated Indian reserves or Indian settlements. Using information on the CSD populations served by each police service in 2018, information from the 2016 Census was used to estimate socio-economic characteristics of populations served by police where the majority of the population they serve is Indigenous. The category "Indigenous" refers to police services that served a population where more than 50% of the population they serve identified as Aboriginal in the 2016 Census, or lived on reserve. The category "Non-Indigenous" refers to those police services where the majority of the population did not identify as Aboriginal in the 2016 Census or did not live on reserve. See the section "Data sources and concepts" for an explanation of the method used to identify police services serving majority Indigenous populations. Because these measures are calculated at a police service level, they will not match data published in the Census tables. This information should not be interpreted as representing all Indigenous communities or populations in Canada.

Source: Statistics Canada; Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Uniform Crime Reporting Survey, 2016 Census of Population.

Table 6
Characteristics of victims of police-reported violent crime, police serving majority Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, Canada, 2018

Characteristics	Indigenous		Non-Indigenous	
	rate	percent	rate	percent
Gender				
Male	6,040	40	878	47
Female	9,637	60	974	53
Total, gender¹	7,841	100	928	100
Age				
Under 12	1,729	5	343	5
12 to 17 years	8,441	11	1,727	12
18 to 24 years	14,948	21	1,834	18
25 to 34 years	16,601	29	1,611	24
35 to 44 years	11,728	17	1,229	18
45 to 54 years	7,386	11	866	13
55 to 89 years	2,479	6	325	11
Total, age²	7,841	100	928	100
Relationship of accused to victim				
Current or former spouse	683	9	111	12
Other current or former intimate partner	1,893	24	141	15
Parent	362	5	45	5
Other close family	604	8	50	5
Extended family	958	12	26	3
Friend or acquaintance	2,337	30	230	25
Other person known to victim	351	4	80	9
Stranger	652	8	244	26
Total, relationship³	7,841	100	928	100

1. Total rate includes victims where gender was unknown. Percent excludes victims where gender is unknown. Rates are calculated per 100,000 population aged 0 to 89.

2. Rates are calculated per 100,000 population in each age group.

3. Total rate includes all victims. Rates are calculated per 100,000 population aged 0 to 89. Percent excludes victims where the relationship to accused is unknown, including incidents where no accused has been identified (ex. unsolved homicides).

Note: The category "Indigenous" refers to police services that served a population where more than 50% of the population they serve identified as Aboriginal in the 2016 Census, or lived on reserve. The category "Non-Indigenous" refers to those police services where the majority of the population did not identify as Aboriginal in the 2016 Census or did not live on reserve. See the section "Data sources and concepts" for an explanation of the method used to identify police services serving majority Indigenous populations. Excludes victims where age is unknown or over 89. Excludes police services not reporting to the UCR2 survey. Overall, the data from the UCR2 survey covers 90% of the police services identified as serving majority Indigenous populations and 85% of their populations. Populations are based upon July 1st estimates from Statistics Canada, Centre for Demography.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Incident-based Uniform Crime Reporting Survey (UCR2).

Table 7
Rates of non-spousal family violence and intimate partner violence, by selected offence, police serving majority Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, 2018

Type of offence	Indigenous		Non-Indigenous	
	rate	percent	rate	percent
Non-spousal family violence¹				
Homicide, other violations causing death and attempted murder	3.8	0	0.5	0
Sexual assault (levels 1, 2, and 3)	121	6	10	9
Sexual violations against children ^{2, 3}	81	4	8	7
Major assault (levels 2 and 3)	395	21	17	14
Common assault - level 1	1,141	59	62	51
Other violent <i>Criminal Code</i> violations	182	9	23	19
Total violent offences	1,924	100	121	100
Intimate partner violence⁴				
Homicide, other violations causing death and attempted murder	6.4	0	0.5	0
Sexual assault (levels 1, 2, and 3)	53	2	13	5
Sexual violations against children ^{2, 3}	10	0	1	0
Major assault (levels 2 and 3)	513	20	36	14
Common assault - level 1	1,778	69	150	59
Other violent <i>Criminal Code</i> violations	216	8	51	20
Total violent offences	2,576	100	252	100

1. Victims of non-spousal family violence includes all victims where the perpetrator was identified as a parent, child, other immediate family, or extended family member.

2. Excludes sexual assaults against children and youth, which are reported as level 1, 2 or 3 sexual assault. Children under age 18 represent a much larger proportion of the population in Indigenous communities. As a result the difference in rates of sexual violations against children in this table is overestimated. See text for discussion of this.

3. Includes sexual interference, invitation to sexual touching, sexual exploitation, luring a child via telecommunications/agreement or arrangement, making sexually explicit material available to a child for the purpose of facilitating sexual offences against children/youth, and the offences of parent or guardian procuring sexual activity, householder permitting prohibited sexual activity, agreement or arrangement of a sexual offence against a child, and bestiality in the presence of or inciting a child (s. 160 (3)). Incidents of child pornography are not included in the category of sexual violations against children.

4. Intimate partner violence refers to violence committed by legally married, separated or divorced spouses, common-law partners (current and former), dating partners (current and former) and other intimate partners.

Note: The category "Indigenous" refers to police services that served a population where more than 50% of the population they serve identified as Aboriginal in the 2016 Census, or lived on reserve. The category "Non-Indigenous" refers to those police services where the majority of the population did not identify as Aboriginal in the 2016 Census or did not live on reserve. See the section "Data sources and concepts" for an explanation of the method used to identify police services serving majority Indigenous populations. Rates are calculated per 100,000 population aged 0 to 89. Excludes victims where age is unknown or over 89. Excludes police services not reporting to the UCR2 survey. Overall, the data from the UCR2 survey covers 90% of the police services identified as serving Indigenous populations and 85% of their populations. Populations are based upon July 1st estimates from Statistics Canada, Demography Division.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Incident-based Uniform Crime Reporting Survey (UCR2).

Table 8
Characteristics of persons accused of crime, police serving majority Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, 2018

Characteristics	Violent crime		Property crime		Other Criminal Code offences		Total crime	
	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous
rate per 100,000 population								
Gender								
Male	12,198	1,164	15,287	1,136	12,901	1,338	40,386	3,639
Female	5,224	318	7,844	455	5,930	420	18,997	1,193
Total, gender¹	8,819	739	11,672	795	9,513	876	30,004	2,410
percent								
Gender								
Male	71	78	67	71	70	76	69	75
Female	29	22	33	29	30	24	31	25
Total, gender	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
rate per 100,000 population								
Age								
12 to 17 years	6,242	1,233	8,390	1,368	4,845	654	19,477	3,255
18 to 24 years	14,807	1,303	17,629	1,442	15,426	1,644	47,862	4,389
25 to 34 years	16,948	1,261	20,770	1,485	18,168	1,868	55,887	4,614
35 to 44 years	11,007	984	15,149	1,053	12,506	1,306	38,662	3,343
45 to 54 years	5,783	592	9,861	571	7,361	666	23,005	1,829
55 to 89 years	1,422	190	2,445	156	1,853	151	5,721	497
Total, age²	8,819	739	11,672	795	9,513	876	30,004	2,410
percent								
Age								
12 to 17 years	9	12	9	13	7	6	8	10
18 to 24 years	24	18	21	19	23	20	23	19
25 to 34 years	35	27	32	30	34	34	34	31
35 to 44 years	19	20	19	20	19	23	19	21
45 to 54 years	10	13	13	11	12	12	12	12
55 to 89 years	4	9	5	7	5	6	5	7
Total, age	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

1. Total rate includes accused where gender was unknown. Percent excludes accused where gender was unknown. Rates are calculated per 100,000 population aged 12 to 89.

2. Rates are calculated per 100,000 population in each age group.

Note: The category "Indigenous" refers to police services that served a population where more than 50% of the population they serve identified as Aboriginal in the 2016 Census, or lived on reserve. The category "Non-Indigenous" refers to those police services where the majority of the population did not identify as Aboriginal in the 2016 Census or did not live on reserve. See the section "Data sources and concepts" for an explanation of the method used to identify police services serving majority Indigenous populations. Includes accused aged 12 to 89 years. Children under the age of 12 cannot be charged with a criminal offence. Excludes police services not reporting to the UCR2 survey. Overall, the data from the UCR2 survey covers 90% of the police services identified as serving Indigenous populations and 85% of their populations. Populations are based upon July 1st estimates from Statistics Canada, Centre for Demography.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Incident-based Uniform Crime Reporting Survey (UCR2).