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Introduction

In January 2018, I gave a presentation to the Vancouver Area Network of Drug Users (VANDU) on Canadian drug arrests, administration of justice arrests, and prison statistics. As a result of VANDU’s interest, I created this report: Drug Use, Arrests, Policing, and Imprisonment in Canada and BC, 2015–2016. This report is intended to provide VANDU, as well as other drug user unions and activists, access to the same information and statistics that were provided in the presentation, and more.

Although the news media has been vocal about the decrease in cannabis arrests in 2016 (even though the decrease is quite small), little attention has been given to the increase in possession arrests for other criminalized drugs. Canada is currently experiencing the worst drug overdose death crisis in its history. Given the extent of the crisis, it begs asking why possession arrests for heroin, methamphetamine, and “Other Drugs” (listed by Statistics Canada as fentanyl, opioid prescriptions, etc.) are increasing across Canada. In response to the drug overdose death crisis and in order to save lives, the police/RCMP should be directing people to drug substitution programs and overdose prevention sites, rather than arresting them for drug possession. In 2016, 73% of all drug arrests were for drug possession.

Background

In 1908, Canada enacted its first federal narcotic law. Since then, drug control has been expanding for over a century. Drugs like opium, heroin, cocaine, cannabis, and a host of others have been framed as evil and made illegal to use and sell. As a result, the people who use these drugs are labeled as criminal and as a danger to society. Harsh punishments, arrests, and prison time have been justified to stop people from using and selling criminalized drugs. For poor and working class people who use illegal drugs, prison time was—and continues to be—the norm.

Drug prohibition in Canada takes a primarily criminal justice system approach. In Canada, federal drug law and policies—controlled and enacted through the Canadian Drugs and Substances Act\(^1\) (CDSA)—criminalize a long list of drugs and hinder the
setting up of alternative services, like overdose prevention sites and drug substitution programs (e.g., heroin-assisted treatment). In 2012, the Safe Streets and Communities Act came into force. The Act includes harsh mandatory minimum penalties (prison time) for many non-violent drug offences. Rather than framing drug use as a social, cultural, and public health matter (as is the case with alcohol and tobacco), some drugs have been made illegal and their possession framed as a criminal matter. Drug prohibition and the arrest of over 3 million Canadians for drug offences over the last century have not lowered drug use or addiction rates; rather, drug prohibition has fuelled an illegal drug market and stalled the creation of health and harm reduction programs that counter drug overdose deaths, Hepatitis C, and HIV/AIDS epidemics. It is often diverse, poor, working class, racialized people and their families and communities that bear the brunt of drug prohibition in Canada.
From the 1920s until the 1960s, the concept of the “criminal addict” kept Canada from creating publicly-funded drug treatment and drug substitution programs. The term criminal addict implied that people addicted to illegal drugs were criminals first and “addicts” second. It was argued that addicts would continue to be criminals even if they were provided drug treatment or drug substitution programs. Therefore, publicly-funded drug treatment was not set up and nor were drug substitution programs. It was not until the 1960s and 1970s that publicly-funded “abstinence-based” drug treatment services were set up. And, it was not until 1961 that doctors in Canada were legally allowed to prescribe methadone as a substitution drug.

The term “criminal addict” is no longer used; however, people who use criminalized drugs continue to be legally and socially discriminated against. People who use illegal drugs are not more “criminal” but are criminalized, meaning that drug prohibition (i.e., drug laws and policies) fuels systemic legal and social discrimination, and shapes the lives of people who use illegal drugs and their criminal justice encounters at every level (i.e., policing, arrest, sentencing, prison, and release).

Drug Use Rates in Canada

In Canada, drug use is estimated through the Canadian Tobacco, Alcohol and Drugs Survey (CTADS). Every two years, the survey is conducted by Statistics Canada on behalf of Health Canada. The survey compiles information on tobacco, alcohol, and other drug use by Canadians 15 years and older. Surveys like CTADS can provide some insight into drug use trends over time.²
However, the CTADS has many limitations. Survey results are based on more than 15,000 telephone interviews conducted across Canada. People who do not have phones are not included (although for the first time in 2015, people with cell phones were included). People who refuse to provide personal information to a government agency are also excluded from survey results. Regional surveys of specific populations, such as homeless youth, provide a more nuanced picture of drug use.

National surveys report daily drug use, past month drug use, past year drug use, and lifetime drug use. It is reported that outside of some prescription drug use, men use more drugs than women.

**Drug Use Rates**

**Alcohol**
Alcohol is Canada’s favoured drug. In 2015, 77% of Canadians surveyed drank alcohol. Over their lifetime, 91% of Canadians have consumed alcohol.

**Tobacco**
2015 marked the lowest national smoking rate in recorded history. Only 15% of Canadians reported using a tobacco product in the last month, for example smoking cigarettes (13%) or cigars/pipes (2%). The low rate of cigarette smoking in Canada is the result of public health education campaigns. Interestingly, over 27% of Canadians surveyed stated that they were former cigarette smokers. In contrast, in the mid-1960s, half of Canadians smoked tobacco in cigarette, pipe, or cigar form.

**Cannabis**
Cannabis is Canada’s most popular illegal drug. It is estimated that 12% of Canadians used cannabis in the year 2015 (15% of men and 10% of women). However, 45% of people surveyed used cannabis at some point throughout their lifetime—also known as “lifetime use.”

**Cocaine**
About 1.2% of Canadians surveyed used cocaine/crack in 2015. Lifetime use is 8.3%.
**Speed and Methamphetamine**
About 0.2% of Canadians surveyed used speed or methamphetamines (meth) in 2015. Lifetime use is 2.7%.

**Ecstasy**
About 0.7% of Canadians surveyed used ecstasy in 2015. Lifetime use is 6.2%.

**Heroin**
Surveyed heroin use rates from 2015 were insignificant and did not register. Lifetime use is 0.4%.

**Prescribed Pain Relievers**
Prescribed pain relievers refer to psychoactive pharmaceutical drug use.

- 13.1 percent of the Canadian population used a pain reliever in 2015.
- 0.2 percent of the Canadian population used pain relievers to get “high” in 2015. Among people who use illegal narcotics, the number is 1.7%.
- 0.3 percent of Canadians “abused” pain relievers in 2015 (this number includes those who used pain relievers to get high). Among people who use illegal narcotics, the number is 2.2%.

Although the Government of Canada uses the terms “abused” and “high” in the CTADS, it does not provide a definition for either term, even though the terms are used in survey questions and survey results.

The term “harm,” according to the Government of Canada and CTADS, refers to “drug-related harms [that] include harms in any of the following 8 areas: physical health; friendships and social life; financial position; home life or marriage; work, studies or employment opportunities; legal problems; difficulty learning; and housing problems.”

3
Drug Overdose Deaths in Canada

It is estimated that in 2017, there were **4,000 preventable drug overdose deaths** across Canada. In April 2016, the province of British Columbia (BC) declared a public health emergency—yet drug overdose deaths continue to rise. In BC alone, there were over 1,420 preventable drug overdose deaths in 2017. These deaths stem from drug prohibition (harsh drug laws and policies) that limits access to safe, legal, unadulterated drugs (in contrast to drugs of unknown quality bought on the illegal market at inflated prices). Drug prohibition also restricts and limits access to harm reduction programs, such as heroin-assisted treatment, safe injection sites, and overdose prevention sites that allow injection, smoking, sniffing, and oral drug use. In order to stem preventable drug overdose deaths, drug user unions and activists call for an immediate expansion of harm reduction services and access to safe, legal, unadulterated drugs; an end to drug prohibition; and the decriminalization/legalization of possession for personal use of all illegal drugs.

Vancouver, National Day of Action, February 21, 2017 (permission from Canadian Drug Policy Coalition)
Policing and Drug Offences

Police-Reported Crime and Arrests

As discussed in the Introduction, since 1908, Canada has enacted a number of drug Acts criminalizing the use of specific drugs, such as the non-medical use of heroin, cocaine, and cannabis. The CDSA, passed in 1996 by Prime Minister Jean Chrétien’s government, is Canada’s current regulatory drug Act. Drug offences such as possession, trafficking, importation and exportation, and production all fall under the CDSA. Drug charges resulting from the CDSA accounted for 5.5% of all crime in Canada in 2016.

At the end of each year, police services throughout Canada report all incidents of crime in their area—including drug arrests—to Statistics Canada. Statistics Canada then collates the arrests and makes them public. The police-reported crime statistics are analyzed by Statistics Canada to provide a picture of how many arrests occur nationally and in each crime category by city, province, and territory.

Unfortunately, the information that we can access about drug arrests from Statistics Canada is quite limited. Every couple of years Statistics Canada produces a Juristat report on drug-related offences, providing additional information. However, the last Juristat report on drug-related offences described offences in 2014. Thus, more detailed information is not available for 2015 and 2016. This report uses the most recent arrest statistics and rate per 100,000 population statistics available from Statistics Canada.

Annual police-reported crime statistics and Juristat reports on drug crimes do not include race and ethnicity for drug arrests; therefore, it is difficult to see which groups of people are targeted for drug arrests. It is only following a drug arrest, when

**Canadian police services reported 95,417 Controlled Drugs and Substances Act (CDSA) offences (arrests) in 2016, representing a rate of 263 per 100,000 persons.**
“offenders” move through the criminal justice system, that data on race and ethnicity is gathered. The impact of drug arrests in relation to race and ethnicity becomes more apparent in prison statistics. Prison statistics do include a breakdown of race and ethnicity and other important variables. For example, we know that the overwhelming majority of people in prison are poor and undereducated and that Indigenous and Black people are overrepresented in prison at both the provincial and federal levels.

Statistics Canada provides annual data on drug crime, including total drug arrests and drug charges. In this report, I focus primarily on drug arrests and administration of justice arrests. I do so because a sole focus on total drug charges makes invisible the trauma of arrest and encounters with law enforcement. In addition, focusing solely on total drug “charges” also makes less visible the fact that only the most serious offence is listed in annual statistics. Therefore, if a person is arrested initially for cannabis possession, and a greater amount of cannabis is found following a search incidental to that arrest that results in a more serious trafficking charge, only the most serious incident of the two will be included in the total statistics compiled. Therefore, the initial cannabis possession arrest will not be included in the total cannabis possession arrest category compiled by Statistics Canada.

Also, within Statistics Canada’s “total persons” charged category, cannabis possession charges that are withdrawn or stayed are not included in the total. Yet, these entries and supposedly ‘dropped charges’ will still show up on a criminal record check (Canadian Police Information Centre [CPIC]). A criminal record can prevent an individual from travelling to the United States or other countries, bar participation in certain occupations, cause dropped charges to be seen as equivalent to a conviction, and result in questioning about the underlying circumstances of the dropped charge.

Further, when a charge is stayed by the Crown or prosecution, as opposed to by the Court as a judicial stay, the charge can be revived within the year and the person can be prosecuted for the original charge or for charges that were stayed. Lawyer John Conroy—experienced in constitutional, criminal, and administrative law—refers to these stays and withdrawals as the “prejudicial consequences of non-convictions.” He also notes that arrests do not disappear even when a person is not charged, as police
now keep a record of all encounters and arrests on their digital databases—some of which are shared with foreign countries and the United States, in particular (e.g., PRIME). This digitally kept information includes those charges that are stayed and withdrawn, unless a person manages to formally and successfully request that their name be erased from the database.

Factors that Influence Police-Reported Crime

There are many factors that influence police-reported crime statistics. First, an incident must come to the attention of the police. The police must either see a crime take place, or suspect a crime, or someone must call the police about a suspected crime.

Also, there are differences between individual police services (e.g., resources and priorities) which can have an effect on police-reported crime. For example, certain crimes like impaired driving and drug offences are affected by a police service’s enforcement practices. Some police services devote more resources to these specific types of crime. In addition, social factors can influence arrests in neighbourhoods, cities, and provinces. For example, moral reformers (in and outside of policing) can call on law enforcement to crack down on specific types of crime. Police may profile visible poor drug users and those who congregate or use and sell on the street (instead of those in homes in wealthy areas). In Canada, Black and Indigenous people and youth are also profiled by law enforcement. The consequences of illegal drug use are linked to social status; people from poor and marginalized communities are much more likely to be severely criminalized, arrested, and imprisoned. So too are cannabis legalization and medical cannabis activists.
Drug Arrests in Canada

To provide some context about drug arrests in Canada over time, in **1954**, there were only **212 drug convictions** (89% were possession charges). None of the 212 convictions were related to cannabis. Today, the majority of drug arrests are still for possession. In **2016**, there were **95,417 drug arrests** (with a rate of 263 per 100,000). Of these arrests, 73% were for drug possession. 46% of all arrests were for cannabis possession.

![Chart 1](chart.png)

**Chart 1**

**Police-reported drug offences and police-reported crime rate, Canada, 1977 to 2013**


Up until 2015, police-reported crime in Canada decreased over the preceding 30 years; however, drug arrests increased during the same time period. Since 2015, there has been a slight decrease in drug arrests across Canada, mostly due to a decrease in cannabis arrests.
Drug Arrest Rates in 2016

The total arrests in this section combine both youth and adult arrests for 2016.

- Canada: rate of 263 per 100,000 people (95,417 arrests)
- BC: rate of 452 per 100,000 people (21,507 arrests)
- City of Vancouver: rate of 351 per 100,000 people (2,355 arrests)
- Surrey: rate of 530 per 100,000 people (2,732 arrests)
- Kelowna: rate of 691 per 100,000 people (1,361 arrests)
- Northwest Territories: rate of 859 per 100,000 people (328 arrests)

The province of BC and City of Vancouver have high drug arrest rates compared to the national drug arrest rate. However, areas policed by the RCMP have high drug arrest rates compared to other police departments. For example, Kelowna and the Northwest Territories are policed by the RCMP: their drug arrest rates are 3 to 4 times higher than the national average.

Total Drug Arrests in Canada from 2015–2016:
- 2015: 99,827 arrests (rate of 278)
- 2016: 95,417 arrests (rate of 263 – a 5.5% rate decrease from 2015)

Men are three to five times more likely to be arrested for a drug offence than women (depending on the drug), reflecting women’s lower use of illegal drugs and involvement in the drug trade. For example, across Canada in 2016, 444 women (ages 19 and up) were arrested for possession of heroin. In contrast, in the same year, 1,362 men (ages 19 and up) were arrested for possession of heroin. However, as made clear in the section below on prisons, women who are arrested for a drug offence are far more likely than men to be sentenced to prison time.

**Today, the majority of drug arrests are still for possession. In 2016, there were 95,417 drug arrests (with a rate of 263 per 100,000). Of these arrests, 73% were for drug possession.**
Total Drug Arrests in BC:
- 2015: 22,132 arrests (rate of 471)
- 2016: 21,507 arrests (rate of 452 -- a 4% rate decrease from 2015)

Total Drug Arrests in City of Vancouver:
- 2015: 2,714 arrests (rate of 411)
- 2016: 2,355 arrests (rate of 351 – a 14.6% rate decrease from 2015)

Total Cannabis Arrests in Canada, BC, and the City of Vancouver
- 58% of all drug arrests in Canada in 2016 were for cannabis offences.
- Of all cannabis offences in Canada in 2016, 44,301 were people arrested for cannabis possession, compared to 49,949 in 2015. In 2016, 46% of all drug arrests in Canada were for cannabis possession.
- BC had 11,004 cannabis possession arrests in 2016 (compared to 12,563 in 2015). BC has the highest provincial cannabis possession arrest rate (231 per 100,000 people, a 13.4% rate decrease from 2015) in the nation, and the smallest decrease in rate from 2015–2016.
- The City of Vancouver had 961 cannabis possession arrests in 2016—a decrease from 1,149 arrests in 2015. In 2016, **40.8%** of all drug arrests in Vancouver were for cannabis possession.
Heroin Possession Arrests
In Canada, 2.2% of all drug arrests are for heroin possession. However, there are provincial and municipal differences.

Canada—32% rate increase from 2015 to 2016:
- 2015: 1,606 arrests (rate of 4.4)
- 2016: 2,143 arrests (rate of 5.9 – a 6% rate increase from 2015 to 2016). Heroin arrests and rates have steadily increased since 2010, when there were 464 arrests).

British Columbia—heroin possession arrests rising:
In BC in 2016, 7.2% of all drug arrests were for heroin possession.
- 2015: 1,139 arrests (rate of 24)
- 2016: 1,550 arrests (rate of 32.6 – a 34% rate increase from 2015)
City of Vancouver—heroin possession arrests rising since 2010:
In Vancouver, 9.4% of all drug arrests were for heroin possession.
- 2015: 217 arrests (rate of 32 per 100,000)
- 2016: 223 arrests (rate of 33—steadily rising since 2011, a 1% rate increase from 2015 to 2016)

Methamphetamine Possession Arrests
Rising steadily since 2010:
Canada—22% rate increase in meth possession arrests from 2015 to 2016:
- 2015: 6,193 arrests (rate of 17)
- 2016: 7,673 arrests (rate of 21, steady increase since 2010)

British Columbia—meth possession arrests increasing:
- 2015: 1,828 arrests (rate of 39)
- 2016: 2,153 arrests (rate of 45—a 16.3% rate increase from 2015, and a steady increase since 2010)

City of Vancouver—meth possession arrests rising since 2010, with a decrease in 2016:
- 2015: 381 arrests (rate of 57.7 per 100,000)
- 2016: 351 arrests (rate of 52.3—a 9% rate decrease from 2015)

Cocaine Possession Arrests
Canada
- 2015: 7,356 arrests (rate of 20.52)
- 2016: 7,056 arrests (rate of 19.45, a slight decrease since 2010, although numbers always remain in the 7,000 arrest range)

British Columbia—cocaine possession arrests hold steady:
- 2015: 2,068 arrests (rate of 44)
- 2016: 2,047 arrests (rate of 43, 21 fewer arrests than 2015)
City of Vancouver—cocaine possession arrests:
- 2015: 334 arrests (rate of 50.6)
- 2016: 325 arrests (rate of 48.4 — a 4% rate decrease from 2015)

Canada—Other Drugs* and Possession Arrests
*Includes fentanyl and other drugs. There was a 7% increase in arrests from 2015—2016.
Canada
- 2015: 7,086 arrests (rate of 19.7)
- 2016: 7,663 arrests (rate of 21 – a 6.8% rate increase from 2015)

British Columbia—Other Drugs Possession Arrests:
- 2015: 1,278 arrests (rate of 27)
- 2016: 1,575 arrests (rate of 33 – a 1.7% rate increase from 2015)

City of Vancouver—Other Drugs Possession Arrests:
- 2015: 95 arrests (rate of 14.4)
- 2016: 85 arrests (rate of 12.6 – a 12% rate decrease from 2015)

Canada---Ecstasy Possession Arrests
Canada
- 2015: 418 arrests (rate of 1)
- 2016: 255 arrests (rate of .7 – a 39.7% rate decrease from 2015)

British Columbia---Ecstasy Possession Arrests
- 2015: 173 arrests (rate of 3.6)
- 2016: 91 arrests (rate of 1.9 – a 48% rate decrease from 2015)

City of Vancouver---Ecstasy Possession Arrests
- 2015: 73 arrests (rate of 11)
- 2016: 27 arrests (rate of 4 – a 63% rate decrease from 2015)
Canada: Trafficking, Importation/Exportation, and Production

In 2016, 73% of all drug arrests were for drug possession. Below are listed arrests and rates for other drug offences. When a drug offence category is not included below, for example cocaine production arrests (0 arrests in 2015 and 2016), it is either because no arrests were reported or the total arrests were under 10, as with heroin importation/exportation (9 arrests in 2015 and 2016).

Many drug trafficking arrests are for low-level selling. For example, some people who use heroin (or other criminalized drugs) may also sell the drug in order to pay for their use.

Canada: Trafficking, importation/exportation, and production

Total Cannabis trafficking arrests:
- 2015: 6,285 arrests (rate of 17.5 per 100,000 population)
- 2016: 5,825 arrests (rate of 16)

Total Cannabis importation/exportation arrests:
- 2015: 1,654 arrests (rate of 4.6)
- 2016: 1,800 arrests (rate of 5)
Total Cannabis production arrests:
- 2015: 3,039 arrests (rate of 8)
- 2016: 3,014 arrests (rate of 8)

Total Heroin trafficking arrests:
- 2015: 671 arrests (rate of 1.8)
- 2016: 786 arrests (rate of 2)

Total Heroin importation/exportation arrests:
- 2015: 105 arrests (rate of .29)
- 2016: 123 arrests (rate of .34)

Bayer’s Pharmaceutical Products, advertised in The British Medical Journal in 1899 (Wellcome Library, London)
Total Methamphetamine trafficking arrests:
- 2015: 1,800 arrests (rate of 5)
- 2016: 2,017 arrests (rate of 5.5)

Total Methamphetamine production arrests:
- 2015: 54 arrests (rate of .15)
- 2016: 50 arrests (rate of .14)

Total Cocaine trafficking arrests:
- 2015: 7,652 arrests (rate of 21)
- 2016: 6,828 arrests (rate of 18.8)

Total Cocaine importation/exportation arrests:
- 2015: 240 arrests (rate of .6)
- 2016: 314 arrests (rate of .8)

Total Other Drugs trafficking arrests:
- 2015: 3,962 arrests (rate of 11)
- 2016: 3,770 arrests (rate of 10.3)

Total Other Drugs importation/exportation arrests: Doubled since 2010
- 2015: 1,260 arrests (rate of 3.5)
- 2016: 1,342 arrests (rate of 3.7)

Total Other Drugs production arrests:
- 2015: 123 arrests (rate of .34)
- 2016: 121 arrests (rate of .33)

Total Ecstasy trafficking arrests:
- 2015: 141 arrests (rate of .3)
- 2016: 92 arrests (rate of .2)

Coca plant (permission from artist, Iain Mitchell Boyd)
Total Ecstasy importation/exportation arrests:
- 2015: 91 arrests (rate of .2)
- 2016: 96 arrests (rate of .2)

Total Ecstasy production arrests:
- 2015: 4 arrests (rate of .01)
- 2016: 8 arrests (rate of .02)

**British Columbia**

Total BC Cannabis trafficking arrests:
- 2015: 485 arrests (rate of 10 per 100,000 population)
- 2016: 457 arrests (rate of 9.6)

Total BC Cannabis production arrests:
- 2015: 410 arrests (rate of 8.7)
- 2016: 408 arrests (rate of 8.5)

Total BC Cannabis importation/exportation arrests:
- 2015: 63 arrests (rate of 1)
- 2016: 101 arrests (rate of 2)

Total BC Heroin trafficking arrests:
Heroin trafficking arrests have been rising since 2010.
- 2015: 276 arrests (rate of 5.8)
- 2016: 348 arrests (rate of 7.3 – a 23% rate increase since 2015)

Total BC methamphetamine trafficking arrests:
- 2015: 265 arrests (rate of 5.6)
- 2016: 232 arrests (rate of 4.8)

Total BC methamphetamine production arrests:
- 2015: 22 arrests (rate of 0.4)
- 2016: 16 arrests (rate of 0.3)
Total BC Cocaine trafficking arrests:
- 2015: 1,053 arrests (rate of 22)
- 2016: 964 arrests (rate of 20)

Total BC Cocaine importation/exportation arrests:
- 2015: 12 arrests (rate of .26)
- 2016: 27 arrests (rate of .57)

Total BC Other Drugs trafficking arrests:
- 2015: 319 arrests (rate of 6.8)
- 2016: 339 arrests (rate of 7)

Total BC Other Drugs importation/exportation arrests:
- 2015: 110 arrests (rate of 2.3)
- 2016: 117 arrests (rate of 2.4)

Total BC Other Drugs production arrests:
- 2015: 7 arrests (rate of .15)
- 2016: 14 arrests (rate of .29)

Total BC Ecstasy trafficking arrests:
- 2015: 29 arrests (rate of .62)
- 2016: 24 arrests (rate of .51)

City of Vancouver, BC

Total City of Vancouver Cannabis trafficking arrests:
- 2015: 34 arrests (rate of 5 per 100,000 population)
- 2016: 40 arrests (rate of 5.9 – a 15.7% rate increase since 2015)

Total City of Vancouver Cannabis importation/exportation arrests:
- 2015: 0 arrests
- 2016: 1 arrests
Total City of Vancouver Cannabis production arrests:
Down from 35 arrests in 2010.
- 2015: 12 arrests (rate of 1.8)
- 2016: 4 arrests (rate of .6)

Total City of Vancouver Heroin trafficking arrests increasing since 2010:
Since 2010, heroin trafficking arrests have been steadily increasing in Vancouver.
- 2015: 87 arrests (rate of 13)
- 2016: 93 arrests (rate of 13.8— a 5% rate increase since 2015)

Total City of Vancouver Heroin importation/exportation arrests:
- 2015: 1 arrests
- 2016: 2 arrests

Total City of Vancouver Methamphetamine trafficking arrests:
- 2015: 51 arrests (rate of 7.7)
- 2016: 32 arrests (rate of 4.7 – a 38% rate decrease from 2015)

Total City of Vancouver Methamphetamine production arrests:
- 2015: 3 arrests (rate of .45)
- 2016: 2 arrests (rate of .30)

Total City of Vancouver Cocaine trafficking arrests:
Decrease in arrests since 2010.
- 2015: 232 arrests (rate of 35)
- 2016: 169 arrests (rate of 25 – a 28% rate decrease since 2016)

Total City of Vancouver Cocaine importation/exportation arrests:
- 2015: 0 arrests
- 2016: 0 arrests
Total City of Vancouver Other Drugs trafficking arrests:
- 2015: 36 arrests (rate of 5)
- 2016: 33 arrests (rate of 4.9)

Total City of Vancouver Other Drugs importation/exportation arrests:
- 2015: 2 arrests
- 2016: 3 arrests

Total City of Vancouver Other Drugs production arrests:
- 2015: 0 arrests
- 2016: 1 arrests

Collecting Statistics on Drug Arrests in the City of Vancouver

The Vancouver Police Department (VPD) provides Crime Incident & Crime Rate Statistics on their website. Yet, they do not include drug arrests. Some police departments, like the Winnipeg Police Department, do provide information on drug arrests on their website (e.g., a monthly breakdown of all types of crime, including drug arrests and administration of justice offences, not just violent crimes). The VPD 2016 Annual Report, published in May 2017, included some drug offence statistics. Strangely, and without explanation, the numbers provided in the Report are inaccurate and do not reflect Statistics Canada’s 2016 total drug arrests for Vancouver. The VPD claims that the total number of drug arrest in 2016 is 1,545. This number is 810 drug arrests fewer than Statistics Canada’s total drug arrest statistics for the City of Vancouver, which are calculated as totaling 2,355 drug arrest in 2016.

Unfortunately, in addition to omitting the number of drug arrests from their crime statistics, the VPD also does not provide any information on geographical location of drug arrests on their website. They enter Weekly Crime heat maps for Break & Enter (B&E) and Theft from Auto—but not drug arrests.

The VPD’s Crime Incident & Crime Rate Statistics provide a yearly compilation of crime categories from 2011 to 2017, including Attempted Murder, Sexual Offences, Robbery, B&E, Theft, Fraud, Prostitution, etc.—but not drug arrests.
The VPD also has Neighbourhood Statistics (e.g., Grandview-Woodlands, Hastings-Sunrise, Kerrisdale, etc.) for Sex Offences, Assaults, Robbery, B&E, etc.—but not for drug arrests.

**City of Vancouver Budget**
In 2018, the City of Vancouver allocated:
- 22% of its budget to policing
- 5% to parks and community services
- 4% to the Vancouver Public Library

**Administration of Justice Offences**
Administration of justice offences account for 1 in 10 of all offences in Canada. These offences include failure to appear, breach of a probation order, being unlawfully at large, failure to comply with an order, and escape from custody. From 2015–2016, there was a 12% rate increase in administration of justice offences across Canada.

For some people who use illegal drugs, administration of justice offences oftentimes snowball into prison time. In criminal court, about one third of all completed cases involve at least one administration of justice charge.\(^\text{10}\)

Administration of justice arrests in Canada are referred to as the “revolving door” of the criminal justice system. Even when the arrest rate remains stable or decreases slightly, the number of people charged following an arrest has increased, especially for women.\(^\text{11}\) Poor and marginalized illegal drug users are especially vulnerable to administration of justice arrests.

**Canada:**
- 2015: 179,271 arrests (rate of 500 per 100,000 persons)
- 2016: 203,265 arrests (rate of 560)

**British Columbia:**
- 2015: 19,194 arrests (rate of 409)
- 2016: 20,542 arrests (rate of 432)
City of Vancouver:

- 2015: 2,373 arrests (rate of 359)
- 2016: 2,800 arrests (rate of 417, arrests and rates rising since 2010 with the exception of 2013)

Breakdown of City of Vancouver’s 2,800 administration of justice arrests in 2016:

- 1,417 arrests – Breach of Probation
- 1,177 arrests – Failure to Comply with order (no contact order, area restriction or red zone conditions, or addiction counselling):
- 80 arrests – Failure to appear in court
- 15 arrests – Escape from prison
- 12 arrests – Escape from custody

Of 2,800 arrests there were 2,429 charges laid. Vancouver’s arrest rate for administration of justice offences in 2016 is below the national rate (see BC prison population and administration of justice offences below).

Prisons

In 2016, Canada’s incarceration rate was 115 persons in prison per 100,000. In comparison to the US, which has a rate of 698 persons in prison per 100,000, Canada’s rate is low. The incarceration rate in the US is the highest in the world, mostly due to drug convictions. However, compared to countries like Germany (78 persons in prison per 100,000), Japan (48 persons in prison per 100,000), and India (33 persons in prison per 100,000), Canada’s incarceration rate is considered high.

Prison Statistics

It is difficult to obtain the exact number of people sentenced to prison for a drug offence because Corrections Canada (federal prisons) and provincial corrections only keep track of the most serious offence designation of each prisoner. For instance, if you are sentenced for murder and drug possession, the drug possession charge will not show up in the statistics provided by federal and provincial governments. Thus, one
can assume that the majority of prison statistics for sentences for drug charges are non-violent.

In terms of federal prisons and sentencing for drug-related offences, Statistics Canada replied to my request with the following response:

“Offence data are very challenging to collect at a corrections level from the Adult Correctional Services Survey. The data are reported to CCJS [Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics] in aggregated form and the methods for determining the most serious offence differed across the country. It was not possible to implement a consistent standard for reporting the data. As a result, the offence data were not being collected or reported in a consistent fashion. The results were not comparable over time or across jurisdictions. For this reason, unfortunately, offence data are no longer available.” (February 6, 2018, email communication with Statistics Canada)

**British Columbia Provincial Jails (Two Years and Under)**

In BC, in the 2017 prisoner count, there were 2,733 provincial prisoners (2,545 men and 188 women); 46% of all women and 28% of all men, in provincial prisons in BC are Indigenous. In 2017, 11.6% of all women and 7.5% of all men, in provincial prisons in BC are in prison due to a drug charge. In the same year, 1.5% of all women and 1.4% of all men in BC prisons were in custody for an administration of justice offence. However, only the “most serious offence designation” is included in prison statistics. Due to their lack of severity, most administration of justice offences are unseen in prison statistics.

**Federal Prisons**

The following statistics provide a “snapshot” of one day during the 2014–2015 year:

- Correctional Service Canada (CSC) was regulating 22,958 “offenders.”
- 15,043 of prisoners were in federal custody (including temporary detainees).
- 7,915 were supervised in the community.

For federal prisoners (two years and up), CSC states that in 2015–2016, 18% of all prisoners were serving sentences for drug-related crimes.
Women in Federal Prison
Of those prisoners in federal prisons, only about 5% are women. However, a higher percentage of women are serving sentences for drug-related crimes than men. Women federal prisoners in Canada were almost twice as likely as their male counterparts to be serving time for drug-related offences, especially Indigenous and Black women. In 2015, almost 27% of female prisoners were serving time for a drug-related offence (compared to 16.7% of men).16 The “stigmatization of women who use drugs is highly racialized,” as are criminal justice encounters.17 It isn’t that Indigenous and Black women in Canada are more “criminal” than their white counterparts, but that they are criminalized—systemic discrimination, the legacy of slavery, racism, colonialism, and gendered violence shape their criminal justice encounters, including police profiling, arrest, sentencing, and overrepresentation in prisons. Racism, class and gender bias, and systemic discrimination are entrenched in Canadian institutions, policies, and practices.
Race and Federal Prison

- 9.3 percent of Indigenous offenders were serving a sentence for a Schedule II drug offence, compared to 19.4% of non-Indigenous offenders.
- Indigenous people make up only 4.3% of the Canadian population, but 38% of women prisoners are Indigenous.
- 26% of male prisoners are Indigenous.
- Black people make up about 2.9% of the Canadian population but 8.6% of federal prisoners.
- Across Canada, 54% of Black women sentenced to federal prison are serving time for a drug offence (1/4 are foreign nationals).

Cost

- On average, it costs $111,202 per year to incarcerate a man.
- It costs twice as much to incarcerate a woman.
- $4.6 billion is spent on prison costs in tax dollars per year.

Discussion

Criminalizing drug use is a costly approach for those people arrested, moving through the criminal justice system, and sentenced to prison. It also impacts families and communities, and costs taxpayers billions of dollars each year. In order to pursue drug
prohibition, billions of Canadian tax dollars are spent annually in order to fund prison costs, policing, courts, and criminal justice regulation. Around the world, people are moving away from punitive drug prohibitionist laws and policies. For example, in Portugal, personal possession of all drugs was decriminalized in 2001, and drug use and addiction rates did not increase; nor are they experiencing a drug overdose crisis. As discussed earlier in this report, rather than framing drug use as a criminal matter, Canada could understand drug use as a social, cultural, and public health matter (as we do with alcohol and tobacco). In August 2018, Canada plans to end cannabis prohibition (although the Cannabis Act includes some punitive criminal sanctions).

Drug prohibition and the arrest of millions of Canadians for drug offences—the majority for drug possession, not for trafficking or production—over the last century have not lowered drug use or addiction rates; rather, these policies have criminalized millions of people, increased policing and police budgets, infringed on human rights, fueled an illegal drug market, and hindered the creation of health and harm reduction programs that counter drug overdose deaths and Hepatitis C and HIV/AIDS epidemics. Canada is experiencing an unprecedented drug overdose death crisis. Now is the time to save lives by ending drug prohibition. The legal regulation of all drugs, not just cannabis, is long overdue.
Appendix A: Drug and Administration of Justice Arrests for the City of Nelson, BC

The city of Nelson has a high drug arrest rate compared to the national average. Their cannabis possession rate is also high compared to the national average. The city of Nelson has its own police department and a population of around 10,200 people.

**Total Drug Arrests for the City of Nelson:**
- 2015: 78 arrests (rate of 766 per 100,000 population)
- 2016: 90 arrests (rate of 878)

**Total cannabis possession arrests:**
- 2015: 53 arrests (rate 520)
- 2016: 58 arrests (rate 566 – a 8.66% rate increase from 2015)

**Total cocaine possession arrests:**
- 2015: 5 arrests (rate 49)
- 2016: 3 (rate 29)

**Total methamphetamine possession arrests:**
- 2015: 2 arrests
- 2016: 1 arrest

**Total heroin possession arrests:**
There were no heroin possession arrests in 2015 and only one arrest in 2016.

**Total Other Drugs Possession arrests, includes fentanyl:**
- 2015: 12 arrests (rate of 117)
- 2016: 12 arrests (rate of 117)

**Total cannabis trafficking arrests:**
- 2015: 3 arrests (rate of 29)
- 2016: 9 arrests (rate of 87)
The area outside of the City of Nelson is policed by the RCMP. Statistics Canada refers to this area as Nelson Rural.

While the City of Nelson only had only one cannabis production arrest in 2015 and none in 2016. Nelson Rural had three cannabis production arrests in 2015 and eight arrests in 2016.

**Total Administration of Justice Arrests for the City of Nelson:**

- 2015: 44 arrests (rate 432)
- 2016: 70 arrests (rate 683 -- a 58% rate increase from 2015).

The majority of administration of justice arrests in 2016 were for fail to comply with order (46 arrests) and breech of probation (15 arrests).

Administration of justice arrests and rates were higher in 2012. In 2012 there were 91 arrests at a rate of 886.
Appendix B: Drug and Administration of Justice Arrests for the City of Surrey, BC

Although cannabis and cocaine possession arrests decreased slightly in Surrey, BC, heroin and methamphetamine possession arrests have increased.

**Total Drug Arrests for the City of Surrey:** rising since 2010, with a slight decrease in years 2011 and 2012

- 2015: 2,709 arrests (rate of 535 per 100,000 population)
- 2016: 2,732 arrests (rate of 530)

**Possession arrests**

**Total cannabis possession arrests:**

- 2015: 1,343 arrests (rate of 265)
- 2016: 1,269 arrests (rate of 246)

**Total cocaine possession arrests:**

- 2015: 235 arrests (rate of 46)
- 2016: 185 arrests (rate 35.9)

**Total methamphetamine possession arrests:** rising since 2010

- 2015: 228 arrests (rate of 45)
- 2016: 273 (rate of 53—a **17.8% rate increase from 2015**)

**Total heroin possession arrests:** rising since 2010

- 2015: 192 arrests (rate of 38)
- 2016: 273 (rate of 54—a **43% rate increase from 2015**)

**Total Other Drugs Possession arrests, includes fentanyl:** rising since 2014

- 2015: 224 arrests (rate of 44)
- 2016: 225 arrests (rate of 43.7)
Trafficking, importation/exportation, and production arrests

In Surrey cocaine, methamphetamine, and heroin trafficking arrests have increased.

Total cannabis trafficking arrests:
- 2015: 67 arrests (rate of 13 per 100,000 population)
- 2016: 64 arrests (rate of 12)

Total cannabis production arrests:
In 2010 there were 212 cannabis production arrests.
- 2015: 20 arrests (rate of 3.9)
- 2016: 13 arrests (rate of 2.5)

Total heroin trafficking arrests:
Since 2010, heroin trafficking arrests have more than doubled.
- 2015: 42 arrests (rate of 8)
- 2016: 56 arrests (rate of 10.8 – a 31% rate increase from 2015)

Total methamphetamine trafficking arrests:
- 2015: 25 arrests (rate of 4.9)
- 2016: 28 arrests (rate of 5.4)

Total cocaine trafficking arrests:
- 2015: 204 arrests (rate of 40)
- 2016: 218 arrests (rate of 42 – a 5% rate increase from 2015)

Total cocaine importation/exportation arrests: 5 arrests in 2015, 7 arrests in 2016

Total cocaine production arrests: 0 arrests in 2015 & 2016

Total Other Drugs trafficking arrests, includes fentanyl:
- 2015: 70 arrests (rate of 13.8)
- 2016: 47 arrest (rate of 9.3)
Total Other Drugs importation/exportation arrests, includes fentanyl:
- 2015: 18 arrests (rate of 3.5)
- 2016: 27 arrests (rate of 5.2 – a 47.6% rate increase from 2015)

Total Ecstasy trafficking arrests:
- 2015: 8 arrests (rate of 1.5)
- 2016: 10 arrest (rate of 1.9)

**City of Surrey – Total Administration of Justice Arrests:**
The majority of 2016 arrests are for fail to comply with order (977) and breach of probation (524).
- 2015: 1,675 arrests (rate 330)
- 2016: 1,624 arrests (rate 315)
Appendix C: Drug and Administration of Justice Arrests for the City of Victoria, BC

**Total Drug Arrests for the City of Victoria**: steady decrease in arrests since 2010
- 2015: 598 arrests (rate of 578 per 100,000 population)
- 2016: 419 arrests (rate of 399.9 – a 30% rate decrease from 2015)

**Possession arrests**

**Total cannabis possession arrests**: steady decrease in arrests since 2010
- 2015: 213 arrests (rate of 205.9)
- 2016: 134 arrests (rate of 127.8 – a 37% rate decrease from 2015)

**Total cocaine possession arrests**: steady decrease in arrests since 2010
- 2015: 96 arrests (rate 92.8)
- 2016: 53 arrests (rate 50.5 – a 45% rate decrease from 2015)

**Total methamphetamine possession arrests**: steady increase in arrests since 2010, right up until 2016
- 2015: 102 arrests (rate of 98.6)
- 2016: 73 (rate of 69.6 – a 29% rate decrease from 2015)

**Total heroin possession arrests**:
- 2015: 55 arrests (rate of 53)
- 2016: 48 arrests (rate of 45.8 – a 13.8% rate decrease from 2015)

**Total Other Drugs possession arrests, includes fentanyl**:
- 2015: 21 (rate of 20)
- 2016: 25 (rate of 23.8)
Traffic, importation/exportation, production arrests

Total cannabis trafficking arrests:
- 2015: 11 arrests (rate of 10.6 per 100,000 population)
- 2016: 11 arrests (rate of 10.5)

Total cannabis production arrests:
Down from 20 arrests in 2010.
- 2015: 4 arrests (rate of 3.8)
- 2016: 1 arrest (rate of .95)

Total heroin trafficking arrests:
- 2015: 28 arrests (rate of 27)
- 2016: 22 arrests (rate of 21)

Total methamphetamine trafficking arrests:
- 2015: 19 arrests (rate of 18)
- 2016: 10 arrests (rate of 9.5 – a 48% rate decrease from 2015)

Total cocaine trafficking arrests:
- 2015: 42 arrests (rate of 40.6)
- 2016: 35 arrests (rate of 33 – a 17.7% rate decrease from 2015)

Total Other Drugs trafficking arrests, includes fentanyl:
- 2015: 4 (rate of 3.8)
- 2016: 6 (rate of 5.7)

Total City of Victoria administration of justice arrests: The arrest rate is double Vancouver’s in 2016. The majority of 2016 arrests are for fail to comply with order (404) and breach of probation (416).
- 2015: 896 arrests (rate of 866)
- 2016: 847 arrests (rate 808)
Appendix D: Drug and Administration of Justice Arrests for the City of Montréal, Quebec

**Total Drug Arrests for the City of Montréal:**
CANSIM Table 252-0076, March 7, 2018
The City of Montreal’s drug arrest rate is lower than Vancouver, BC’s. The City of Vancouver’s drug arrest rate in 2016 was 351 per 100,000 population.
- 2015: 5,717 arrests (rate of 287 per 100,000 population)
- 2016: 5,844 arrests (rate of 290)

**Possession arrests**
**Total cannabis possession arrests:**
- 2015: 1,360 arrests (rate of 68)
- 2016: 1,454 arrests (rate of 72)

**Total cocaine possession arrests:**
- 2015: 200 (rate of 10.5)
- 2016: 203 (rate of 10)

**Total heroin possession arrests:**
- 2015: 21 (rate of 1)
- 2016: 21 (rate of 1)

**Total methamphetamine possession arrests:**
- 2015: 17 arrests (rate of .85)
- 2016: 18 arrests (rate of .89)

**Total Other Drugs possession arrests, includes fentanyl:** steady increase since 2010
- 2015: 538 arrests (rate of 27)
- 2016: 670 arrests (rate of 33 – a 23% rate increase from 2015)
Total ecstasy possession arrests:
- 2015: 24 arrests (rate of 1)
- 2016: 16 arrests (rate of .79)

**Total trafficking, importation/exportation, and production arrests**

Total cannabis trafficking arrests:
- 2015: 769 arrests (rate of 38)
- 2016: 758 arrests (rate of 37)

Total cannabis importation and exportation arrests:
In 2015, cannabis importation and exportation arrests *rose dramatically* in Montreal.
- 2014: 5 arrests (rate of .25)
- 2015: 1,196 arrests (rate of 60)
- 2016: 1,196 arrests (rate of 59)

Total cannabis production arrests:
- 2015: 59 arrests (rate of 2.9)
- 2016: 44 arrests (rate of 2)

Total cocaine trafficking arrests:
- 2015: 163 arrests (rate of 8)
- 2016: 123 arrests (rate of 6)

Total cocaine importation/exportation arrests:
- 2015: 49 arrests (rate of 2)
- 2016: 48 arrests (rate of 2)

Total heroin trafficking arrests:
- 2015: 20 arrests (rate of 1)
- 2016: 22 arrests (rate of 1)
Total heroin importation/exportation arrests:
Dramatic rise in arrests since 2010.
• 2014: 2 arrests (rate of .10)
• 2015: 45 arrests (rate of 2)
• 2016: 44 arrests (rate of 2)

Total methamphetamine trafficking:
• 2015: 10 arrests (rate of .5)
• 2016: 6 arrests (rate of .3)

Total Other Drugs trafficking, includes fentanyl:
• 2015: 252 arrests (rate of 12)
• 2016: 222 arrests (rate of 11)

Total Other Drug importation/exportation, includes fentanyl:
• 2015: 855 arrests (rate of 42)
• 2016: 856 arrests (rate of 42.5)

Total Ecstasy importation/exportation arrests:
• 2015: 80 arrests (rate of 4)
• 2016: 80 arrests (rate of 4)

Administration of Justice Arrests for the City of Montréál
All of the statistics below are from Statistics Canada, CANSIM Table 252-0051, February 19, 2018.

Since 2014, administration of justice arrests decreased in Montréál. Most arrests are for failure to comply with order and breach of probation.

Total administration of justice arrests in the City of Montréál: decrease in arrests since 2013
• 2015: 8,520 arrests (rate of 428 per 100,000 population)
• 2016: 7,518 arrests (rate of 373)
Fail to comply with order:
- 2015: 3,785 arrests (rate of 190)
- 2016: 3,330 arrests (rate of 165 – a 13% rate decrease from 2015)

Breach of probation:
- 2015: 4,115 arrests (rate of 206)
- 2016: 3,581 arrests (rate of 177.7 – a 14% rate decrease from 2015)

Failure to appear:
Montreal failure to appear arrests and rates are very low compared to municipalities outside Quebec. For example, in the City of Toronto, ON, in 2016 there were 936 failure to appear arrests (rate of 32.5), compared to no arrests in Montreal in the same year.
- 2015: 2 arrests (rate of .10)
- 2016: 0 arrests (rate of .00)
Appendix E: Drug and Administration of Justice Arrests for the City of Toronto, Ontario

Total Drug Arrests for the City of Toronto:

- 3,929 arrests (rate of 138 per 100,000 population)
- 3,440 (rate of 119 – a 13.9% rate decrease from 2015)

Possession arrests

Total cannabis possession arrests:
- 2015: 1,607 arrests (rate of 56.8)
- 2016: 1,266 arrests (rate of 44 – a 22% rate decrease from 2015)

Total heroin possession arrests:
- 2015: 74 arrests (rate of 2.6)
- 2016: 72 arrests (rate of 2.5)

Total methamphetamine possession arrests:
- 2015: 120 arrests (rate of 4)
- 2016: 158 arrests (rate of 5.4 – a 9.3% rate increase from 2015)

Total cocaine possession arrests:
- 2015: 581 arrests (rate of 20.5)
- 2016: 559 arrests (rate of 19.4)

Total Other Drugs, including fentanyl, possession arrests:
- 2015: 140 arrests (rate of 4.9)
- 2016: 130 arrests (rate of 4.5)

Total ecstasy possession arrests:
- 2015: 27 arrests (rate of .95)
- 2016: 7 arrests (rate of .24 – a 74.5% rate decrease from 2015)
Total trafficking, importation/exportation, and production arrests

Total cannabis trafficking arrests:
- 2015: 263 arrests (rate of 9.3)
- 2016: 327 arrests (rate of 11 — a 22% rate increase from 2015)

Total cannabis importation/exportation arrests:
- 2015: 11 arrests (rate of .3)
- 2016: 14 arrests (rate of .4)

Total cannabis production arrests:
- 2015: 78 arrests (rate of 2.7)
- 2016: 54 arrests (rate of 1.8 — a 31.9% rate decrease from 2015)

Total heroin trafficking arrests:
- 2015: 56 arrests (rate of 1.9)
- 2016: 43 arrests (rate of 1.5)

Total heroin importation/exportation arrests:
- 2015: 5 arrests (rate of .18)
- 2016: 6 arrests (rate of .21)

Total methamphetamine trafficking arrests:
- 2015: 59 arrests (rate of 2)
- 2016: 58 arrests (rate of 2)

Total methamphetamine production arrests:
- 2015: 4 arrests (rate of .14)
- 2016: 2 arrests (rate of .07)

Total cocaine trafficking arrests:
- 2015: 711 arrests (rate of 25)
- 2016: 602 arrests (rate of 20.9 — a 16% rate decrease since 2015)
Total cocaine importation/exportation arrests:
- 2015: 13 arrests (rate of .46)
- 2016: 22 arrests (rate of .76)

Total Other Drugs trafficking arrests, including fentanyl:
- 2015: 109 (rate of 3.8)
- 2016: 77 (rate of 2.6)

Total Other Drugs importation/exportation arrests, including fentanyl:
- 2015: 4 arrests (rate of .14)
- 2016: 12 arrests (rate of .42)

Total Other Drugs production arrests, including fentanyl:
- 2015: 7 arrests (rate of .25)
- 2016: 4 arrests (rate of .14)

Total ecstasy trafficking arrests:
- 2015: 26 arrests (rate of .9)
- 2016: 11 arrests (rate of .3)

Administration of Justice Arrests in the City of Toronto
CANSIM Table 252-0077, March 7, 2018.
Since 2014, administration of justice arrests increased in Toronto. Most arrests are for failure to comply with order, failure to appear, and breach of probation.

Total administration of justice arrests in the City of Toronto:
- 2015: 6,794 arrests (rate of 240 per 100,000 population)
- 2016: 8,041 arrests (rate of 279.5 – a 16% rate increase from 2015)

Fail to comply with order:
- 2015: 3,226 arrests (rate of 114)
- 2016: 3,759 arrests (rate of 130.7 – a 14.5% rate increase from 2015)
Fail to appear:
- 2015: 957 arrests (rate of 33.8)
- 2016: 936 arrests (rate of 32.5)

Breach of probation:
- 2015: 2,193 arrests (rate of 77.5)
- 2016: 2,840 arrests (rate of 98.7 – a 27% rate increase from 2015)
References


2 All data on drug use rates are from the Government of Canada:


4 Statistics Canada. (2018, February 18). Incident-based crime statistics, by detailed violations, CANSIM Table 252-0051, Table 252-0081. Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Government of Canada. Additional information on drug arrests and charges can be found through the Canadian socioeconomic database (CANSIM) for Statistics Canada. Drug arrests and charges data are available there. All of the statistics on drug arrests in this report are drawn from CANSIM unless otherwise stated.


7 Winnipeg Police Department: http://www.winnipeg.ca/police/AboutTheService/stats-reports/Stats2017-08.pdf


11 Ibid.


13 BC Corrections Branch Ministry of Justice (2017, October 19; 2018, March 8), Strategic Operations Division, Data request. BC: Author.


18 **Correctional Service Canada**: http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/publications/005007-3024-eng.shtml


21 Indigenous refers to First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples.

