

**More than a riot: Understanding the role of the police
in crowd disturbances and moving toward a theory
of police behaviour**

**by
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Abstract

Civil protests. Music concerts and festivals. Sporting events. Parades and other large-scale celebrations. While these events differ in terms of their purpose, they are fundamentally all the same: they draw large crowds of people into public spaces, and, in the interest of maintaining public safety, they all require the presence of the police to monitor and manage the behaviours of individual crowd members. Even though most of these large-scale public gatherings are peaceful, crowds' proclivity towards violence and destruction appears to be on the rise (Kaplan et al., 2020; Reid, 2020). According to the predominant theories and research on crowds and public-order policing, the manner in which the police respond to the crowd may play a role in influencing whether or not a crowd event ends peacefully (e.g., Wahlstorm, 2007). However, the inability of these theories and studies to account for discrepancies in the effectiveness of police approaches to crowd management across different events suggests there may be more to it than merely the police response that impacts the outcome of a crowd event. Using data collected from a sample of Vancouver police officers following the 2011 Stanley Cup riot, this dissertation explores some of the nuances associated with the policing side of crowd events in three separate, yet related studies. Focusing specifically on the events that transpired during the 2011 Stanley Cup riot, the first two studies explore police perceptions of the utility of the Meet-and-Greet crowd management strategy, and the potential influence the police officers themselves had on the effectiveness of this strategy during the riot. Examining police perceptions of the broader climate of policing around the time of the 2011 Stanley Cup riot, the final study explores the potential role that contextual factors play in shaping the policing of large-scale public events. By highlight some of the challenges and obstacles officers face when policing crowds, these studies may assist in deepening our understanding of public-order policing. This dissertation will outline some of practical and theoretical implications stemming from these results, as well as future directions for research focusing on the policing of large-scale public events.

Keywords: Policing; Crowd disturbances; Crowd management; Police Behaviour

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my two amazing kids, Elizabeth and James; I hope one day you read this and feel proud of your mom. To my husband, Ryan, and my incredible parents, I could not have done this without your encouragement and support. To my sweet Bear Bear for being the best writing companion. And to my Grams, Gramps, Gran and Papa, I hope this makes you so proud.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Large-scale public gatherings, defined as the congregation of mass numbers of citizens in confined spaces for hours or even days at a time (Barton & James, 2003), can take many different forms. Gathering for political purposes, some crowds form to demonstrate or protest to show their level of support for a specific cause, or their discontent with a particular issue/event. For instance, in response to the migration crisis occurring in the United States there have been several protests against the migrant detention/separation of families (McLaughlin & Chavez, 2019). Other events draw crowds by providing entertainment. Events that typically draw large crowds include sporting events (e.g., hockey, soccer or basketball games), music concerts/festivals (e.g., Coachella), and other celebrations (e.g., the Olympic Games, firework displays, parades, etc.). While the majority of these public gatherings typically begin and end peacefully, there have been a growing number of events that have devolved into a state of disorder and destruction.

Over the past several years, there have been numerous instances of violent protesting and rioting occurring across Canada and the United States. Described as a scene from a post-apocalyptic movie, for instance, the 2018 G7 Summit in Quebec City involved riot police armed with gas masks and batons responding to masked rioters who were angrily demonstrating by setting off fireworks and burning flags, harassing journalists, and taunting police (Feith, 2018; Paltsev, 2018). The 2010 G20 Riot in Toronto, Ontario resulted in more than 400 people being arrested for engaging in violence and property destruction (CBC News, 2010). The 2011 Stanley Cup riot that occurred in Vancouver, B.C. involved members of the approximately 100,000-person crowd erupting into violence, setting fires, and engaging in vandalism and looting (CBC News, 2011). Spurred on by racial tensions between the police and community members, some of the most destructive riots in the United States include the 2014 protests following the shooting death of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, the riots that ensued after Freddie Grey's funeral in Baltimore, Maryland, and, most recently, the police brutality protests in response to the death of George Floyd in May of 2020 (McLaughlin, 2020; McLaughlin et al., 2015; Yan & Ford, 2015). In all instances, the level of violence displayed by the rioters, coupled with the degree of property damage

were so severe they were either described as being akin to a war zone, or resulted in a true declaration of a state of emergency (Yan & Ford, 2015).

Similar situations have also plagued the United Kingdom and Europe. In February 2017, a demonstration over the alleged assault of a young man by police officers in Bobigny, a small northern suburb of Paris, turned violent. During the march, a few hundred demonstrators began smashing windows, vandalizing and looting businesses, setting cars and trash cans on fire, and attacking law enforcement personnel (Hutcherson & Mackintosh, 2017). In March 2018, an event held at King's College London was stormed by masked activists who reportedly smashed windows, threw smoke bombs, set off fire alarms, harassed guest speakers and audience members, and assaulted campus security guards (Turner & Horton, 2018). In Paris, France, the 2018 "May Day" rally, which involves labour and student unions marching for workers' rights, was marred by violence and destruction. A group of 1,200 anti-establishment activists, referred to as the "black bloc," set cars, a scooter and a bulldozer ablaze, caused damage to 31 businesses, and attacked police by launching projectiles (McNicoll, 2018).

All of these incidents of crowd disorder have the potential to wreak havoc on communities via property damage, and/or the creation or worsening of tensions between community members and/or citizens and the police. Property damage resulting from vandalism and looting can result in millions of dollars in damages and losses for local businesses. Approximately 60 businesses suffered as much as five million dollars in damages due to loss of merchandise and property damage resulting from the 2011 Stanley Cup riot (CBC News, 2011). It is estimated that the structural fires and looting that occurred during the 2015 Baltimore riots, which were prompted by the death of Freddie Grey, resulted in approximately nine million dollars in damages to more than 30 businesses (Toppa, 2015).

In addition to financial costs, crowd disturbances may have important social ramifications. Given the central role played by the police in the management of crowd situations, the actions taken by police during public disturbances oftentimes become the

crux of community strife. In certain instances, such as the 2011 Stanley Cup riot¹, police have received praise for the ways in which they responded to members of the crowd and handled the situation. More often, however, large-scale public events raise a number of questions and concerns regarding police conduct. Following the 2009 G20 summit demonstrations, for instance, Toronto police were criticized for using “unlawful and unjustified” tactics on protestors (Townsend, 2009, para 7). According to the police officers’ logbooks, officers hit demonstrators in the face, struck individuals with riot shields, and utilized a controversial crowd containment strategy known as “kettling”² (Townsend, 2009, para 7). In such instances, public criticism of questionable police behaviours often leads to allegations of police misconduct or even criminal conduct. Demands for remedial action usually equate to internal or independent reviews of police or, in exceptional cases, a public inquiry and/or civil litigation against the police (Carlson & Hameed, 2020). In relation to the G20 Summit, which was described as one of the “worst violations of civil liberties in Canada’s history” (Kassam, 2016, para 1), community members demanded the police be held accountable for their actions, and a review of police practices to ensure this type of police misconduct would not occur again in the future (Kassam, 2016).

In addition to being chastised for their use of force, police have been criticized for being ineffective in their response to crowd disturbances. Viewed as being negligent in their duties and underperforming, the police are sometimes scrutinized for their perceived lack of action in certain circumstances. In the aftermath of the 2011 August riots in London, police were blamed for being unable to control the riot within the first 48 hours. The Home Affairs Committee and the Police Federation review revealed that, in addition to an insufficient number of officers being deployed at the outset of the disturbance, there were severe communication failures and equipment shortages that prevented the police from being able to co-ordinate a response and mobilize officers to

1 Thank-you notes expressing gratitude for the work of the police during the Stanley Cup riot covered a Vancouver Police cruiser (Thomson, 2011).

2 Kettling is a controversial police tactic used to control crowds. It involves officers surrounding a group of people on all sides, and directing the group to a predetermined location. Once confined in these locations, officers control access to the location and determine how and when people are allowed to leave (Townsend, 2009).

hot-spots in a timely manner (BBC News, 2011; Townsend, 2011). After identifying problems with radio communications, accessibility of equipment, and timely deployment (i.e., early police visibility), an independent review of the 2011 Stanley Cup riot attributed the slow police response and escalation of the riot to what they deemed to be the Vancouver Police Department's incomplete pre-event planning and preparations (Furlong & Keefe, 2011; Howell, 2011).

Raising questions and concerns about police preparations and conduct often creates a situation wherein the public becomes wary of, or even hostile towards, the police. Diminishing levels of trust and confidence in the police serves to undermine police legitimacy and destabilize communities. The events following the death of Michael Brown in August 2014 in Ferguson, Missouri provide a clear illustration of the critical link between perceptions of police legitimacy and community unrest. Michael Brown, who was described as an unarmed African-American teenager, was shot and killed by a white police officer, Officer Wilson, on August 9, 2014 (Buchanan et al., 2015). This shooting, coupled by the grand jury's decision not to indict Officer Wilson, sparked several waves of civil unrest (BBC News, 2014; Buchanan et al., 2015; Davey & Bosman, 2014). Initially, the demonstrations focused on what community members perceived to be a pattern of police brutality against young black males in their community. Following the news that Officer Wilson would not be charged, however, the protests became more violent, with protestors charging police barricades, throwing glass bottles, smashing store-front windows and looting, and setting buildings and cars ablaze (BBC News, 2014). While the police refrained from discharging their firearms, they were dressed in riot gear and deployed smoke and gas to control the crowds. As time passed, the number and scale of public protests diminished; however, the one-year anniversary of the shooting death of Michael Brown ignited a new series of demonstrations in Ferguson and other cities around the world, including New York and London. In Ferguson, crowds initially gathered peacefully over the weekend to commemorate the killing of Michael Brown. As the protests grew in intensity, however, protestors began hurling projectiles at the police, and the events reached a climactic end with multiple gunshots being fired both at and by police (Swaine & Laughland, 2015). This feedback loop between public demonstrations and aggressive response from the police has created immense tension and mistrust between the police and the Ferguson community,

predominantly the African-American community members, as well as sparked nation-wide protests and debates regarding police behaviour (Davey & Bosman, 2014).

In the most extreme cases, the outcome of police-citizen interactions, especially those involving large-scale crowd disturbances, leads to demands for reviews of, and reforms to, police policy and practice. Following the shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson, for instance, serious accusations of racial bias sparked an investigation into police policies and practices. Finding a pattern or practice of unlawful and/or unnecessarily aggressive conduct within the Ferguson Police Department, including unconstitutional stops and arrests, as well as unreasonable use of force or compliance techniques, the Justice Department recommended a series of changes to the Ferguson Police Department's policies, practices and training to encourage the use of minimal force, reduce racial bias, and repair the community's trust in the police (United States Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, 2015). In the midst of the protests surrounding the 2009 G20 international summit in London, a local newspaper seller died shortly after being struck by a police officer's baton. Media coverage of the death sparked an inquest into the policing of this event, which, in turn, grew into a fundamental review of public-order policing across the United Kingdom (Stott et al., 2018). Citing the importance of police engaging in 'non-coercive' dialogue with crowd members, specialized police units, referred to as Police Liaison Teams, were developed. Premised on the logic that by providing police with the ability to avoid the use of undifferentiated force against crowds as a whole, these specialized teams, it is believed, will allow the police to build relationships of trust with crowd members (Stott et al., 2018). Comprised of Police Liaison Officers, these teams emphasize the use of communication and negotiation skills to resolve problems and create solutions.

Even with extensive revisions and reforms to various police practices, including a focus on de-escalation techniques through the adoption of low-profile approaches to crowd management (i.e., those emphasizing the importance of using communication and non-threatening behaviours to promote a more friendly and proactive style of policing) (Adang & Cuvelier, 2001; Gorringer et al., 2011; Whelan & Molnar, 2017), there are still instances where crowd events devolve into serious disorder. Prior to the 1999 World Trade Organization (WTO) protests in Seattle, for instance, the Seattle Police Department was committed to respecting the public's right to protest, and adopted a type

of low-profile policing, referred to as “negotiation-management”, to help control demonstrations by limiting the scope of protest activities (Gillham & Noakes, 2007). Despite a broad consensus that such negotiation-management approaches decrease the number and intensity of street clashes between police and the public, the approach proved unsuccessful during the 1999 WTO demonstration (Gillham & Noakes, 2007). The chaotic and unpredictable crowds necessitated that police resort to harsher dispersal tactics. The Vancouver Police Department (VPD) has also experienced mixed levels of success after implementing changes to its large crowd responses, which included the adoption of the low-profile, proactive crowd management approach known as “Meet and Greet” (Vancouver Police Department, 2017). While this approach has been utilized effectively in a variety of instances, including the city’s annual Celebration of Light fireworks display, the Meet and Greet approach proved ineffective when employed during the 2011 Stanley Cup Playoffs, as a riot ensued nearing the end of the final game of the series (Vancouver Police Department, 2011; 2017). Such inconsistencies in the outcomes of public gatherings suggest that current reforms to police policies and their practices have been unable to address all of the factors that are influencing these policing outcomes. Questions remain as to what, if anything, contributes to the effectiveness and utility of the police in crowd situations.

Despite a growing body of research, at present there remains insufficient empirical evidence from which to draw substantive conclusions about the nature of policing outcomes associated with public-order policing. The available research has been limited in terms of both methodology and scope. Much of what we know about crowds and the policing of crowd events stems from information collected directly from crowd participants and/or via ethnographic-type studies where the researchers make inferences based on their observations of events, and the actions/behaviours of crowd participants and law enforcement agents (e.g., Stott & Reicher, 1998; Gorringer et al., 2011; Stott et al., 2008). Due to a number of difficulties associated with gaining access to police as research subjects (e.g., departmental or legal restrictions on releasing sensitive information, a lack of willingness on the part of officers to participate) (Stott & Reicher, 1998), very few researchers have managed to gather and utilize data collected directly from police officers (Drury et al., 2003; Prati & Pientrantoni, 2009). Thus, the perspective and opinions of police officers are largely missing from the extant literature.

This limitation is especially true in the Canadian context. The majority of policing-related research, especially that concerning crowds and crowd disturbances, has been conducted through large research centres in the United States and the United Kingdom. As Canada lacks an established national centre for policing-related research, Canadian policing is shaped by the information gathered from the works of independent Canadian researchers or universities, or, more often, the results from international studies (Griffiths, 2014). Because most of the roughly 200 different policing agencies in Canada have not engaged in research processes, there remains little empirical evidence to support important Canadian policing processes and outcomes, including those associated with the policing of crowds.

The lack of access to police officers has also limited the focus of the research to the actual events that took place, namely the crowd's behaviours and police tactics, rather than the perceptions of those activities from the actual participants themselves, the most notable being the police. Missing are rigorous, in-depth assessments of not only those challenges the officers must face in relation to the actual event in question (e.g., the type of event and crowd members themselves, as well as the police approach to crowd management), but also those constraints imposed upon police by the broader environment. Certain environmental characteristics, including police policies and other organizational developments (e.g., changes in supervisory practices), the political climate and economy, as well as the characteristics of the people living and working within their jurisdictions (i.e., the demographic and personality characteristics, as well as the cultural habits of the citizens) may all impact police practices, including the police response to crowd situations (National Research Council, 2004). In order to properly inform policy, practice, and even theoretical frameworks, more research focusing on the intricacies and nuances of crowd policing is necessary.

With the goal of adding to the extant literature, the proposed research is designed to explore and examine some of the complexities associated with policing large-scale public events from the perspective of frontline police officers from a Canadian police agency. This dissertation will focus specifically on police perceptions of the effectiveness of the police approach to crowd management, what factors may help or hinder the overall success of the police response, as well as the broader challenges police officers encounter when policing large-scale public gatherings. Framed in

reference to the events surrounding the 2011 Stanley Cup riot, the data utilized for this research will consist of survey responses obtained from members of the Vancouver Police Union. The research will be carried out via the completion of three distinct, yet related, studies.

Prior to delving into the studies themselves, a brief summary of the main events that took place during the Stanley Cup riot will be provided. Chapter Two will provide the main details from the riot, as well as outline the significance of this event in terms of data collection. Following this summary, the data collection procedures that were utilized for all three studies will be outlined. The subsequent three chapters will then outline the purpose, methods, results, and conclusions specific to each of the three studies.

Chapter Three contains Study One, which is designed to address whether or not police officers believe that low-profile policing styles may be applied successfully in situations involving large, hostile crowds that pose a higher risk for violence and destruction. Following a review of the literature on the efficacy of policing approaches to crowd management, this chapter explores police officers' perceptions of the adequacy of the approach that was utilized during the 2011 Stanley Cup riot, the Meet-and-Greet approach. Because the 2011 Stanley Cup riot was perceived to be an unsuccessful event, the results of this study provide valuable insight into the strengths and limitations, as well as the challenges, associated with employing the Meet-and-Greet approach when policing a volatile crowd. This chapter will conclude with a discussion of the implications of these findings, as well as the limitations of this study and directions for future research on this topic.

Study Two, discussed in Chapter Four, is designed to further examine the factors that may aid or hinder the implementation of low-profile crowd management approaches. Specifically, this study explores whether or not there are different types of officers deployed to police crowd events, and, if so, whether or not these types of officers impact the success and/or failure of the police approach to crowd management. Examining the similarities and differences in the qualities and characteristics of the officers who participated in policing the 2011 Stanley Cup riot, this study determines: (1) whether or not there were different types of officers who were deployed to police this event, and, if so, (2) whether or not the different types of officers are differentially suited to employing certain policing strategies over others. The results will serve to highlight some practical

considerations for police, and the chapter concludes with future directions for this line of inquiry.

Study Three is detailed in Chapter Five. This study extends the research beyond the confines of the 2011 Stanley Cup to explore police behaviours more generally. Understanding that police organizations do not operate independently, but rather are influenced by the demands and requests of a wide variety of external constituencies, it is clear that the police are not entirely in control of their interactions with the public. Thus, practices such as crowd management may be influenced by more than the individual-level factors (e.g., the characteristics of the police officers themselves) and situational elements (e.g., the characteristics of the crowd and nature of the crowd event) that are specific to any single event. By exploring what officers perceive to be obstacles to performing their duties, this study reveals how certain contextual elements may play a significant role in shaping police attitudes and behaviours, as well as different policing outcomes (National Research Council, 2004). This chapter includes the results of the qualitative analysis of police officers' written statements pertaining to the nature of policework in Vancouver around the time of the 2011 Stanley Cup riot, followed by a discussion of the potential practical and theoretical implications of these findings.

Finally, Chapter Six presents the concluding remarks. This chapter emphasizes new directions for future research on public-order policing that may provide additional avenues for theoretical development.

Chapter 2. Providing Context: The Background and Data Collection Procedures

2.1. The Event: The 2011 Stanley Cup Riot

Occurring on June 15, 2011, the Vancouver Stanley Cup riot started just as the final game of the National Hockey League's (NHL) Stanley Cup Finals was drawing to a close. Taking place in the downtown core of Vancouver, British Columbia, the riot lasted for approximately five hours. For a complete summary of the events, please see the Vancouver Police Department's (2011) Review of the Stanley Cup riot. For the purpose of this dissertation, the main events and details are summarized below.

The final round of the Stanley Cup playoffs was being played between the Boston Bruins and the Vancouver Canucks. For this seven-game series, outdoor viewing areas were created in Vancouver's downtown core. With fans welcomed from all over the lower mainland, these outdoor viewing areas attracted quite large crowds: ranging from approximately 15,000 during away games (i.e., those played in Boston) up to 10,000 for the home games (i.e., those played in Vancouver). While these crowds were generally described as being well-behaved, on June 15, 2011, the nature of the crowd had changed. According to the police, there was a "different feeling to the crowd than had been present in [previous] games" (Vancouver Police Department 2011, p. 14).

With over 100,000 fans occupying the outdoor fan zones, the viewing areas were described as being overcrowded and understaffed (Vancouver Police Department, 2011). Compounding the problematic size of the crowd, it appeared as though many crowd members had come downtown with the intent to cause problems. High levels of intoxication and general belligerence amongst crowd members were evident early on. As the game was ending (nearing 1900 hours), conditions in the viewing areas rapidly deteriorated: numerous fights broke out, bottles were being thrown at the viewing screens, and cars were overturned and set ablaze. Undeterred by the early warnings and bullhorns, the crowd escalated to engaging in increasingly damaging behaviours. In addition to causing significant property damage and looting, members of the crowd were also responsible for assaulting police officers and members of the public (Vancouver Police Department, 2011). To regain control of the crowd, the VPD, along with the Public

Safety Unit (PSU) and additional uniformed squads, had to utilize harsher dispersal techniques, including smoke and gas (Vancouver Police Department, 2011). As midnight approached, the police had dispersed the majority of the crowd. By 0320 hours, the situation was under control and all officers stood down. The 2011 Stanley Cup riot was resolved without serious injuries or loss of life to the police or the public (Vancouver Police Department, 2011).

2.2. Vancouver's History of Riots and Changes to their Crowd Management Strategies

While the Stanley Cup riot is the most recent large-scale public disturbance, it is by no means the first incident of this type or scale to occur in the city of Vancouver. The Gastown riot in 1971, Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Summit Riot at the University of British Columbia in 1997, the "Riot at the Hyatt" in 1998, and the Guns N' Roses riot in 2002 are a few examples of the large-scale public disorder that have taken place in Vancouver. In terms of sports-related crowd disorder, prior to 2011, the 1994 Stanley Cup riot was the most notable event in Vancouver's history.

The connection between the 1994 and 2011 Stanley Cup riots stems from the fact that 2011 represented the first time since 1994 that the Vancouver Canucks had made it past the second round of the Stanley Cup Playoffs. This raised questions as to whether or not history was likely to repeat itself (Vancouver Police Department, 2011). Given that there was a riot following the final game in 2011, the events of the 1994 Stanley Cup finals have frequently been discussed in relation to the events that transpired during the final game of the 2011 Stanley Cup riot. Similar to 2011, in 1994 crowds of people congregated in bars and restaurants in the downtown core of Vancouver to watch the final game of the series. Following the Canuck's loss to the New York Rangers, people, many of whom were intoxicated and angry about the loss, flooded into the streets. As crowds began to gather at the intersection of Robson and Thurlow Streets, and the level of violence (e.g., fighting) and property damage (i.e., looting, mischief, and break-ins) escalated (Vancouver Police Department, 2011). Despite making thousands of arrests, the crowd's behaviour overwhelmed the initial police response. The VPD had to use tear gas to disperse the crowd, and the Crowd Control Unit had to be called in to assist the patrol officers.

Following the 1994 Stanley Cup riot, the BC Police Commission, the City of Vancouver and the VPD reviewed the events and made several recommendations to assist with the planning and preparations for future similar events (Vancouver Police Department, 2011). The recommendations suggested that police engage in more extensive and detailed event planning, provide officers with better training and equipment, and make improvements to communication. In the years since the 1994 riot, not only has the VPD met or exceeded these recommendations, they have also made significant advancements to their methods for responding to, and managing crowds (Vancouver Police Department, 2011).

To enable Vancouver to continue to host public events, the VPD developed a crowd management strategy that would ensure the safety of the public and allow for events to unfold as peacefully as possible. Beginning in 2006, the VPD adopted a proactive crowd management strategy known specifically as “Meet and Greet” (Vancouver Police Department, 2017). While this approach still requires a high level of officer visibility to deter trouble, it is premised on the idea that, by smiling, engaging with the community, being positive and welcoming, and having early interaction with crowds, officers will help to create a more positive atmosphere and reduce the potential for the situation to escalate (Vancouver Police Department, 2011, 2017). Despite being utilized for a number of years to effectively circumvent trouble in a variety of situations involving large crowds, including Vancouver’s downtown entertainment district (i.e., Granville Street), the annual Canada Day Celebration of Light fireworks, and the 2010 Winter Olympics³, the Meet and Greet approach proved much less effective during the 2011 Stanley Cup riot.

³ The 2010 Winter Olympics, in particular, was seen as an enormously successful event. With the exception of some vandalism and protesting on the first two nights, the Olympics were largely free of disorderly conduct (Vancouver Police Department, 2011). As VPD officers facilitated crowd movements, posed for pictures, and smiled at, shook hands with, and high-fived crowd members, the VPD were praised for creating a safe, happy and family-friendly atmosphere (Chu, 2010; Vancouver Police Department, 2011).

2.3. Significance of the 2011 Stanley Cup Riot

As Vancouver had not experienced an incident of this scale for approximately 17 years (i.e., since the 1994 Stanley Cup riot), the 2011 Stanley Cup riot created an opportunity to re-evaluate the police response to large-scale public gatherings in Vancouver. In addition to event-specific questions and concerns, including: Were the police prepared? What factors impaired the police response? and, What else could have been done to prevent the riot? The apparent lack of motivation for the riot coupled with the degree of violence displayed by the rioters also raised queries about the broader social dynamics taking place in Vancouver. Are citizens in Vancouver prone to violence? Is there potential for the police to have to face more crowd violence? Providing a window into various elements of policing, the 2011 Stanley Cup riot created an unique opportunity to obtain insight into the challenges and hardships faced by officers tasked with policing large-scale public events in Vancouver.

2.4. The Current Research: Data Collection Procedures and Study Participants

The data utilized for this dissertation were collected as part of a project aiming to obtain police perspectives on crowds and approaches to crowd management. In the aftermath of the 2011 Stanley Cup riot, I worked with my senior supervisor, Dr. Garth Davies, to design a survey to capture Vancouver police officers' perceptions of several issues pertaining to policing the 2011 Stanley Cup riot specifically, as well as issues relating to crowds and approaches to crowd management more generally. Dr. Davies and I approached the Vancouver Police Union to obtain support for our research. After obtaining approval from the union, including their consent to contact their members, we mailed out the questionnaire to the members of the Vancouver Police Union. Of the

initial 1328⁴ questionnaires that were distributed in January of 2012, 460 were returned as completed by the end of March, 2012⁵.

The survey was designed to examine a variety of issues pertaining to crowd disorder and crowd management. In addition to exploring police perceptions of crowds and crowd management strategies more generally, the questionnaire contained items to capture issues that related directly to the 2011 Stanley Cup riot, including departmental preparations, officer deployment, training and feelings of safety, as well as factors that may have hindered the officers' ability to respond to the situation. Enclosed with the surveys was an information sheet explaining the purpose of the research (i.e., to assess police officers' views of the nature and dynamics of crowds, primarily as they pertain to the 2011 Stanley Cup riot), as well as directions for completing and submitting the questionnaire. Respondents were informed that participation in the study was completely voluntary and the confidentiality of any information provided was guaranteed. Limited demographic information was collected to help to ensure the anonymity of participating officers.

A total of 460 Vancouver police officers participated in this study. The general characteristics of this sample (Table 1) indicate that the sample is broadly representative of the Vancouver Police Department as a whole. Although female officers are represented, the respondents are largely male (73.0%). The majority of the sample held the rank of constable (79.8%, if Detective-Constable is included in this category), which is also the largest held rank in the department (88%). The respondents have a wide range of experience, from two to 34 years of service, with an average of approximately 15 years. This is slightly higher than the average years of service for the department, which is about 12 years.

4 At the outset, 1363 surveys were mailed out. However, due to address changes and errors, the number of surveys that were actually delivered was 1328.

5 The surveys were mailed out approximately seven months following the 2011 Stanley Cup Riot. The return rate of 35% is considered an exceptional response rate for this type of research (Davies & Dawson, 2015).

Table 1. Sample Demographics

Variable	<i>n</i> (460)	%	<i>n</i> (1363)	%
<i>Sex</i>				
Female	112	24.3	332	24.4
Male	336	73.0	1031	75.6
Missing	12	2.6		
<i>Rank</i>				
Constable	316	68.7	1205	88.4
Detective-Constable ^a	51	11.1		
Sergeant	73	15.9	146	10.7
Staff Sergeant			12	0.9
Missing	20	4.3		
<i>Years of Service</i>				
≤ 5 years	35	7.6	309	22.7
6-10 years	137	29.8	435	31.9
11-15 years	103	22.4	236	17.3
16-20 years	49	10.7	100	7.3
> 20 years	120	26.1	283	20.8
Missing	16	3.5		
Mean	14.7		12.0	

Chapter 3. **Meet and Greet or Meet and Defeat⁶**

3.1. Public-Order Policing: From Crowd Control to Crowd Management

In recent years, many areas have witnessed a growth in large scale public events, which create situations wherein mass numbers of citizens concentrate in confined spaces for hours to days at a time (Barton & James, 2003). While most of these public gatherings have been peaceful, problematic crowd events are becoming increasingly common. In the last five years in particular, the United States and Canada have experienced numerous instances of violent protesting and rioting. Some of the largest and most destructive events include: (1) the 2014 protest following the shooting death of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, which resulted in the county declaring an official state of emergency due to the extreme level of violence displayed by roughly 200 demonstrators (McLaughlin et al., 2015); (2) the 2009 and 2010 riots following the LA Lakers' championship, which included over 37 separate incidents of violence resulting in some serious injuries, and various forms of property damage (e.g., cars and garbage bins being set on fire, and broken windows) (Associated Press, 2010); (3) the G20 Riot in Toronto, Ontario in 2010, wherein more than 400 people were arrested for engaging in violence and property damage (CBC News, 2010); (4) the five- hour-long St. Patrick's Day riot which occurred in 2012 in London, Ontario, which was akin to a 'war zone' with hundreds of intoxicated holiday revellers setting objects on fire and attacking police and fire department responders (Maloney & Kauri, 2012); and (5) the 2011 Vancouver Stanley Cup Riot, wherein members of the over 100,000 person crowd spontaneously erupted into violence, looting, fire setting and vandalism (CBC News, 2011; Vancouver Police Department, 2011).

Given the growing salience of disorderly crowd situations, one of the most important challenges facing police executives is the need to prepare their departments

⁶ Originally published as: Davies, G., & Dawson, S.E. (2018). Spoonful of sugar or strong medicine: 'Meet and Greet' as a strategy for policing large-scale public events. *Policing and Society: An International Journal of Research and Policy*, 28(6), pp. 697-711.

for these major large-scale events (Police Executive Research Forum, 2011). Generally speaking, the successful policing of crowd events involves the police maintaining public order and enforcing laws, while also ensuring officer safety (Barton & James, 2003; Earl & Soule, 2006). To accomplish this, police executives must inform their members on how to approach and manage risks/danger and be prepared to respond to various stages of escalation in a crowd situation (Earl & Soule, 2006; Waddington & King, 2005). In addition to developing specialized units and stressing the importance of having the capacity to rapidly mobilize large numbers of police officers (Saari, 2009; Waddington & King, 2005), metropolitan police departments have developed and/or adopted specific tactical approaches for dealing with large crowd situations (Hogget & Stott, 2009; Wesley, 1957). While there are a multitude of different crowd control/management strategies, the available approaches can generally be classified into one of two broad/umbrella categories: the *high-profile* orientation and the *low-profile* orientations.

The *high-profile* orientation consists of reactive policing strategies, such as the NYPD's military-style Strategic Response Group (Heins, 2015), that rely on a more oppressive police presence. Focused on strict enforcement of laws, these approaches promote the use of strategic incapacitation (Gillham & Noakes, 2007; Wahlstorm, 2007). These strategies are predicated on the assumption that the forceful removal of problematic elements (e.g., fighters, agitators, etc.) and/or crowd leaders will prevent the crowd from escalating. To be successful, the police must act to prevent the arrival of, or remove disruptive influences as quickly as possible (Westley, 1957). In instances where the crowd is already out of control (i.e., some element of disorder has already taken place), these approaches require that police use more coercive policing tactics, such as the use of threats or brute force (e.g., a show of manpower, cavalry, tear gas, etc.) (Wahlstorm, 2007).

In contrast to the high-profile perspective are approaches that rely less on the use of force, and focus more on principles of negotiation, mediation, initiation, communication and sensing (i.e., assessing the crowd threat) (Adang & Cuvelier, 2001; Gorringer et al., 2012). Known variously as "negotiated management", "dialogue policing", "low-profile policing", "Meet and Greet", "The Madison Method", and "The Cardiff Approach", these approaches are based on the idea that if officers get to know

people in the crowd, then the crowd is less likely to become disorderly⁷. The point of these approaches is to use verbal devices, including a peaceful tone and other soft, non-threatening behaviours to put the crowd at ease and prevent or limit a sense of anonymity or unanimity among crowd members (U.S. Department of Justice, 2012; Westley, 1957). Essentially, these strategies require talking to the crowd with the objective of keeping it from becoming antagonistic. To be effective, in addition to assuming that the crowd is willing to cooperate, the police must display a positive attitude and be seen as protecting the crowd's interests (Gorringe et al., 2011).

In attempting to determine which policing strategies are best for managing large crowd situations and preventing the escalation of crowd violence, a small body of research has examined the relationship between the tactical approach adopted by police departments and the behaviour of crowds. Through their examinations of disparate crowd events, including the Goteborg European Union summit (Wahlstorm, 2007), the G20 summit in London (Gorringe et al., 2012), the 2009 Edinburgh NATO protests (Gorringe et al., 2011), London's 1999 J18 anti-capitalist riots (Cronin & Reicher, 2009), the 1999 "Battle of Seattle" (Waddington, 2007), and various European football tournaments (e.g., Adang & Cuvelier, 2001; Reicher et al., 2007; Stott, 2003; Stott et al., 2008), researchers have found a connection between low-profile/dialogue-based policing styles and non-violent crowd behaviour. Conducting a systematic analysis of police deployment and crowd behaviour during the 2000 European football championships, for instance, Adang and Cuvelier (2001) discovered that the use of high-profile policing was

⁷ As police agencies attempt to develop best practices for policing, not just in relation to crowds, but generally, they are increasingly following similar principles as those outlined in the low-profile crowd management strategies. Following principles of procedural justice, customer service-oriented models of policing allow agencies to decrease bias in policing and enhance community engagement (The Delta Police Department, 2018). The Delta Police Department (2018), for instance, developed the GLAD system to standardize how their officers interact with members of their community. The GLAD process of interaction involves (1) Greeting each customer by their name and the officer identifying him/herself; (2) Listening to the customer during the interaction and using active listening techniques; (3) explaining your actions and authority to resolve the situation (Action); and (4) providing police contact information, documenting the customer's contact information and following through with follow-up action (Disposition) (The Delta Police Department, 2018).

more strongly correlated with riot behaviour than was the low-profile strategy.⁸ They surmised that when police adopt an approach that requires officers to maintain distance, avoid informal interactions, and treat the crowd with wariness (i.e., high-profile policing), the likelihood of hostility amongst crowd members increases. Similarly, in their structured observational study of the Finals of the 2004 Union Europeenne de Football Association Football Championships in Portugal, Stott, Adang, Livingstone and Schreiber (2008) found that, while the levels of visible uniform police, riot police and riot vehicles were much lower than they had been for Euro2000, there nonetheless were no major incidents of crowd disorder. In a later study of Euro2004 in Portugal, Schreiber and Stott (2012) found that fans viewed the unobtrusive behaviour of police officers as contributing to the overall positive atmosphere of the event. Based on these findings, it has been argued that the success of the 2004 championships can largely be attributed to the low-profile policing style that was adopted by the cities hosting the tournament matches. According to Wahlstorm (2007), by using techniques that highlight negotiation with the crowd, police are able to be proactive in their response, and, thus, prevent situations where they are forced to respond to escalating crowd behaviours in a coercive manner.

Researchers have also found that, in addition to preventing the escalation of violence amongst crowd members, a dialogue-based policing approach may serve to improve relations between police and the public. In their study of the Smash NATO demonstration, Gorringer and colleagues (2011) discovered that non-uniformed officers acting as facilitators made crowd members feel comfortable. According to Gorringer, Stott and Rosie (2012), dialogue-policing provides police with the opportunity to correct police misconceptions, and, in turn, to build and sustain trusting relationships with crowd members. Moreover, by decreasing police use of force, this approach shows an increased level of departmental professionalism, which adds an element of legitimacy to police actions (Earl & Soule 2006, Gorringer et al., 2012, Hoggett & Stott, 2009).

⁸ Compared to low-profile policing, which involves an unprejudiced, preventive intervention strategy that is firm yet friendly with discreet police presence, high-profile policing is associated with large numbers of police who are dressed partly in riot gear and acting in a repressive and reactive manner (Adang & Cuvelier, 2001).

In response to lessons learned through this research, a number of police departments in Western Europe and North America have moved to adopt approaches to public-order policing that favour accommodation and negotiation rather than the use of overt force (Hoggett & Stott, 2009; Waddington & King 2005). Most recently, the emphasis for police agencies has been the adoption of de-escalation techniques (i.e., actions and strategies used to defuse a tense situation by reducing the level or intensity of the intervention) in police-citizen encounters (McFarlin, 2017). Despite their increased popularity, however, there have been a number of criticisms levelled against these policing approaches. In their examination of the reforms following the G20 summit in London, Gorrington, Stott and Rosie (2012) found that there can be significant challenges to implementing these strategies effectively. Dialogue officers may be ostracized from their colleagues for being “traitors”, as they are often viewed as supporting the crowd rather than their fellow officers. Additionally, they may also be condemned by crowd members as being “devious intelligence gatherers” (Gorrington et al., 2012, p.113). Thus, to be successful, dialogue will depend not only on what police do, but also on what they are seen to do, both by their peers as well as those within the crowd.

An additional criticism stems from the negative outcomes of certain events. More specifically, the perceived failure of low-profile policing strategies has raised questions concerning the extent to which these tactics can be applied effectively to more high-risk situations (e.g., Gillham & Noakes, 2007; Gorrington et al., 2011; Hoggett & Stott, 2009; Schreiber & Stott, 2012, Stott et al., 2012; Stott et al., 2008). In their street-level examination of the 1999 Seattle World Trade Organization protest in Seattle, for instance, Gillham and Noakes (2007) found that negotiated management may be problematic in situations where the crowd’s actions are unpredictable and confrontational, the crowd is “leaderless”, and the police are vastly outnumbered. Taken altogether, the research suggests that, although negotiated management may be successfully implemented in low-risk crowd situations, it remains unclear as to whether or not this approach could be applied effectively in situations involving larger, more radical/hostile crowds that pose a higher risk (Adang & Cuvelier, 2001; Baker, 2009; Gillham & Noakes 2007; Gorrington et al., 2012; Waddington & King 2005).

The extant research serves to highlight the relationship between policing strategy and crowd behaviour, as well as some potential challenges to employing a low-profile

policing approach in certain situations. Focused primarily on examining the events themselves, however, these studies have largely relied upon observational data and information obtained from crowd participants (Gillham & Noakes, 2007; Gorringer et al., 2011; Gorringer et al., 2012). Missing from this literature is a systematic, in-depth assessment of the strengths, limitations and overall effectiveness of low-profile policing from the perspective of those who are charged with using it: the police. Using the 2011 Stanley Cup Riot as a case study, the current research seeks to address this important gap in the literature through an exploration of police perspectives of the utility and effectiveness of a specific form of the low-profile approach, the *Meet and Greet* strategy. In addition to being a relatively recent event, the 2011 Vancouver Stanley Cup Riot provides an opportunity to explore what police think about this approach in the aftermath of an unsuccessful event. By obtaining valuable insight into the strengths and limitations of the Meet and Greet approach, as well as the challenges associated with employing this strategy when policing hostile crowds, this article aims to make a significant contribution to the emerging body of literature on public-order policing.

3.2. Methods

3.2.1. Measures and Analysis

The focus of this study was on the Vancouver police officers' perceptions of their approach to policing the Stanley Cup riot. A mixed methods approach was utilized to capture different measures of participants⁹ opinions about the utility of the Meet and Greet crowd management strategy. Quantitative data were compiled to obtain a broad measure of the officers' sentiment regarding the use of the Meet and Greet approach to policing large crowds. Participants were asked to rate their level of agreement with the following question: "Generally speaking, the Meet and Greet strategy is a good strategy for managing large public events in Vancouver."¹⁰ Using a 6-point likert-type scale,

9 The data used for this study were drawn from the entire sample of participants. Please refer to Table 1 in chapter 2 for the description of the sample's demographic characteristics.

10 Focused on broad issues related to policing crowds, this research project was not oriented toward the Meet and Greet philosophy, specifically. The questionnaire contained only one item that directly related to the Meet and Greet approach. This item was designed to obtain a broad

responses ranged from “Disagree Completely” (1) to “Agree Completely” (6). The qualitative component of this research is used to provide rich descriptive information about the Meet and Greet approach from the perspective of the police officers. To ensure officers were able to express their true opinions and provide sufficient detail, the qualitative data was derived from the officers’ responses to an open-ended meet-and-greet follow-up question. A qualitative content analysis was then used to identify and organize this data into a series of themes pertaining to the officers’ views of the Meet and Greet approach. Due to the exploratory nature of this study, an inductive approach was undertaken to identify the relevant themes that appeared to be meaningful to the officers. After importing the officers’ written statements into NVivo11 software, an open coding scheme was utilized to initiate the inquiry. I categorized all potentially relevant material by focusing on recurring words/phrases, as well as reference made to similar events. This initial coding was then followed by a more detailed search for meaningful patterns across the officers’ commentary. A number of themes that represent the officers’ thoughts, opinions and experiences in relation to the Meet-and-Greet approach emerged from the data. The findings from this qualitative analysis are illustrated with quotations from the surveys. In order to ensure confidentiality is maintained, respondents are identified only by their survey number (e.g., member 1).

3.3. Findings

As illustrated in Figure 1, a sizable majority of members (75.8%) believe that Meet and Greet is generally an appropriate strategy for policing large crowd events¹¹. However, qualitative analyses indicated that this support is highly contingent. There are a several factors, including the specific way it is implemented and the context of its application that can influence the perceived situational effectiveness of Meet and Greet.

assessment of what officers believe to be and would characterize as a “good” approach to policing crowds. The rest of the information about the Meet and Greet approach emerged only after the surveys were completed and the open-ended responses were analyzed.

11 Additional analyses were conducted to determine whether the officers’ opinions about the Meet and Greet approach differed based on the officers’ gender, rank and/or years of service. The results of these tests were not statistically significant. This suggests that the responses to this item are representative of the entire sample of officers.

An examination of the officers' written comments revealed perceptions that can be classified into four broad themes, which are explored below.

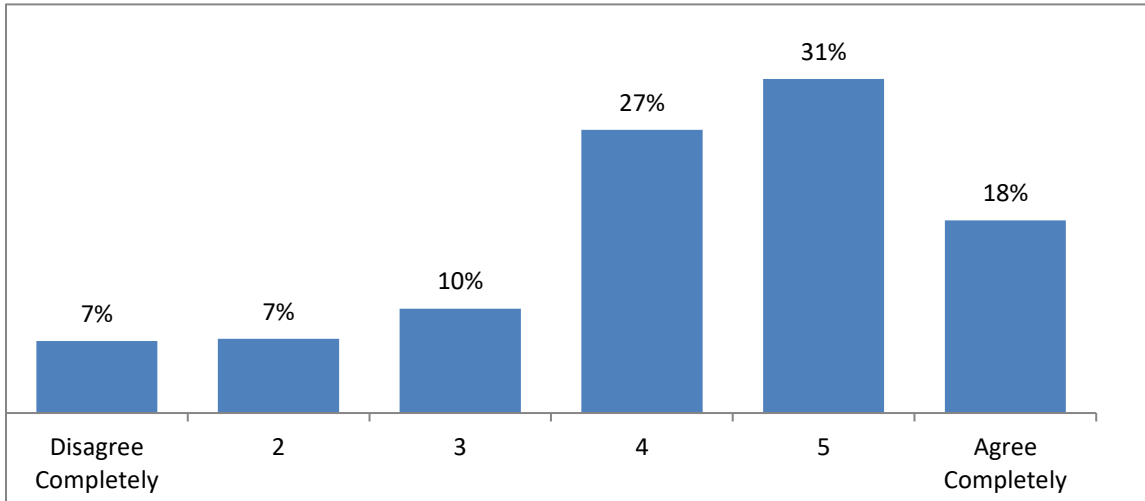


Figure 1. "Generally speaking, the Meet and Greet strategy is a good strategy for managing large public events in Vancouver"

1. *When Utilized properly, Meet and Greet is a good strategy for policing crowd events*

While a number of VPD members maintained that the Meet and Greet strategy is, in general, a good approach to policing large crowd events, many indicated that this strategy is only good insofar as it is carried out properly. Several expressed doubts about the extent to which this might occur.

"Meet and Greet" done properly works. Most officers do not know how to do it properly and do not know the objective of "Meet and Greet" (Member 259).

In addition to ensuring that the police have an adequate understanding of the major tenets of this approach, officers suggested that the success of the Meet and Greet strategy is highly contingent upon both the number of officers and timeliness of their deployment:

Meet and Greet is good when you know there are enough members to support the efforts if the crowds change dynamics (Member 17).

I think the Meet and Greet idea was a good one. I believe more officers on duty and doing just that would have helped (Member 289).

Meet and Greet works if you actually staff it properly and put the boots on the ground early enough (Member 85).

The "Meet and Greet" strategy worked during [the] Olympics because of the huge police presence; it might have worked for [the] Stanley Cup if we had deployed more police during the day and during [the] game (Member 170).

The officers' responses highlight a number of caveats underpinning the successful use of the Meet and Greet approach. Prior to implementing this strategy, officers need to be sufficiently prepared; they should be trained and briefed in relation to the event and their strategic response. Moreover, to allow for the strategy to be carried out properly, the department needs to ensure that an adequate number of officers are deployed to police the event.

2. Meet and Greet is okay as a starting point, but there needs to be an alternative approach when the situation escalates

Also recognizing the benefits of a Meet and Greet strategy, the second theme highlights the officers' view that, while Meet and Greet is a useful starting point, it should not be seen as a complete strategic response. As explained by one member, "the Meet and Greet should always be part of the strategy, not the only response" (Member 353). By coupling Meet and Greet with other crowd control tactics, the police will set a friendly yet firm stance, while simultaneously being prepared to deal with anything that might happen (Member 374).

According to many officers, not only does there need to be an alternative strategy in place to allow officers to deal with the situation as it escalates, the transition away from Meet and Greet to more decisive tactics must occur quickly:

No matter what we as a police organization cannot be caught with our pants down, we have to plan and spend the money preparing ahead of time as if the riot is going to happen, so when it does we are prepared. We can still do the Meet and Greet, but if and when things get out of control we need to be 100% ready for it and handle it (Member 335).

The public needs to see that the police are out and prepared. Members in riot gear need to be part of the Meet and Greet strategy (Member 208).

Meet and Greet worked initially, needs to be quicker transition to a more "hands on" approach when crowd demands it (Member 20).

Meet and Greet works to a point. We had to react quicker when it was past that point (Member 432).

Too much time was taken to transition from a "Meet and Greet" strategy to more of a policing/public order approach (Member 446).

A quick and seamless transition from Meet and Greet to enforcement tactics allows the police to respond to changes as they are occurring. The key, though, is determining when to make this transition (Member 345). As members explained, to be effective, the decisions about transitioning from a de-escalation process to law enforcement need to be made swiftly by management:

Meet and Greet early; however, decision to use force early was not done by management. Once riot started, much too slow to react (Member 391).

Leadership on the ground by commanders - too slow to react, difficult operational decisions (ex. Gas) were not made by commanders but rather front line members (Member 269).

3. *Meet and Greet is only appropriate for certain types of events*

Related to the second theme, some of the officers expressed the view that the Meet and Greet strategy should only be used in certain circumstances. As stated by one member, "Meet and Greet works well depending on the type of crowd" (Member 140). The officers' responses suggested that this strategy would be most effective when limited to situations involving peaceful, family-friendly crowds. Officers were more sceptical about the utility of Meet and Greet in instances where the crowd may be decidedly less peaceful:

Meet and Greet is good for well-intentioned peaceful crowds. Before game 7 all the police I spoke to believed there was going to be a riot if Vancouver lost (Member 61).

The Meet and Greet (high 5's) was a poor way to deal with crowds which grew more aggressive with each game (Member 261).

Meet and Greet works for peaceful happy crowds. It is not appropriate for riot squad officers to do this (Member 445).

Meet and Greet strategy works well with crowds not under the influence of alcohol, once alcohol is introduced crowds generally become irrational and violent and need immediate control (Member 118).

Officers further noted the importance of treating each event as a unique situation. Drawing comparisons between the 2011 Stanley Cup riot and the Olympics, it became apparent that different events will draw different types of crowds. Although lessons may be learned from previous events, officers need to be equipped with an event-specific strategic response plan:

Meet and Greet was great for the Olympics not for this crowd, in fact, it was a horrible strategy (Member 9).

VPD leadership was seduced, as was city leadership, with the Olympic experience. Hockey is young men, testosterone and booze (Member 208).

4. The Meet and Greet approach promotes disorder and undermines police legitimacy

In stark contrast to the abovementioned three themes, there was a vocal subset of officers who believed that the Meet and Greet approach is a completely ineffective strategy for policing large crowd situations. In their anecdotes, police highlighted three primary reasons for the failure of the Meet and Greet strategy. First, they suggested that rather than providing a means for managing crowds, Meet and Greet fosters lawlessness and disorder:

There are no ramifications for disorder in our city (in general). Our method of crowd control allows for acceptable levels of damage, disorder and lawlessness. I see it every time there is a protest! (Member 9).

Absolutely, the police let them get away with too much due to the Meet and Greet philosophy... People learn in school now to question authority...Vancouver has become out of control due to the left leaning society (Member 137).

In other cities (large USA) there would be more boots on the ground... Fewer boots forces police to prioritize their response. Failure to react to lawlessness reinforces the crowd's knowledge/belief that police are not able to cope. This continual cycle of inaction by police over and over has led many to believe that they have free reign, and little accountability (Member 85).

Second, members claimed that the Meet and Greet approach leaves officers unprepared. At the extreme end, some officers even claimed that the Meet and Greet

approach placed their lives in jeopardy. As one member commented, "I almost died because of the Meet and Greet philosophy" (Member 347). The police suggest that a more pro-active, law enforcement approach is necessary to quell troublemakers and prevent the escalation of violence in crowd situations:

The police need to go back to a crime prevention, investigation and apprehension model (Member 78).

The unprepared Meet and Greet does not work here! We see it all the time. Last two Stanley Cup finals two riots. I was right in the middle of the 1994 gong show. Woefully unprepared and not much better in 2011. Let's play hard ball next time. Let's surprise everyone with the way police should "really" respond and be ready to stop the hooliganization before we let it start (Member 76).

Simply put, we are taking too much abuse, when we should be using force and putting out the fire. We cannot always be nice, be nice until it's time not to be nice! After all, we are the police not boyscouts (Member 84).

Finally, identifying a political undertone to policing, some officers expressed the view that Meet and Greet is more of a public relations strategy than a public-order policing strategy:

Because we are afraid to take any action that may be perceived as confrontational. The "high fives" approach is bullshit. There has to be a distinct separation and understanding between our role as police officers rather than acting like restaurant hostesses (Member 431).

It feels as though the upper management of VPD are more concerned about the "optics" of the front line officers looking friendly or non-confrontational, instead of keeping the officers safe and uninjured (Member 23).

Management must accept they may get some negative media play from robust, early, pro-active action against the kind of minor incidents that can trigger full-blown disorder. They need to be more mindful of the bigger picture and how quickly decisions must be made (Member 366).

City officials support large gatherings with this "Meet and Greet" BS. Police are here for a purpose. Thinking that "high fiving" police will make people in large gatherings less likely to cause problems is a joke. The chief wants to be everyone's friend. This doesn't work when people are hell bent on causing problems (Member 271).

3.4. Discussion

The responses from VPD members suggest that the policing of large-scale public gatherings is a complex task. Given the diversity in police perceptions, it is evident that there may not be one single best method for managing hostile crowd situations. The perceived strengths and weaknesses of the Meet and Greet approach suggest that there is still room for improvement regarding overall operational plans geared towards crowd management. Despite the fact that these findings reflect the views of a single police department following a specific event, they provide some important insight that may be useful for other police departments facing similar situations. Recognizing that the Meet and Greet strategy can be effective when done properly, for instance, the respondents highlighted the importance of adequate preparation and training for dealing with problematic crowd dynamics.

According to Waddington (2007), in order for a dialogue-based approach to be effective, there must be a favourable communication context in place. Police need to be embedded within the crowd and actively seeking to liaise and cooperate with credible crowd members (Schrieber & Stott, 2012; Vancouver Police Department, 2011). Preparations, therefore, should focus on orienting officers towards preserving the peace and facilitating the legitimate objectives of the crowd (Waddington, 2007). This will require that officers be briefed, in advance, of their roles and responsibilities in all stages of a crowd event (Berkley & Thayer, 2000). Moreover, to ensure officers have an adequate level of knowledge regarding the principles of the Meet and Greet strategy, officers should also have access to strategic training. As Hoggett and Stott (2009) explain, with negotiated management techniques being used more often, police education needs to be updated to reflect this shift. Officers will need to learn techniques for de-escalation and mediation as they become core values of police services.

Identifying issues that may hinder the implementation of the Meet and Greet approach, VPD officers also highlight the importance of strategic planning. As stated by Berkley and Thayer (2000), and Davies and Dawson (2015), effective policing requires the development of a comprehensive strategic response plan. Including as many imaginable “what-if” scenarios as possible, this plan must address any potential obstacles that police may encounter (Davies & Dawson, 2015; Waddington, 2007).

Singling out alcohol consumption, the presence of large numbers of aggressive young men, and a lack of sufficient police officers as major issues in the 2011 Stanley Cup Riot, VPD members suggest that the success or failure of the Meet and Greet strategic response may be, in a large part, dependent on two factors: the crowd and the police. In their decisions regarding whether or not to include a Meet and Greet strategy in future events, then, the department should pay careful attention to the type of crowd the event is likely to attract, as well as the deployment of their police officers.

According to Davies and Dawson (2015), given that not all public-gatherings are created equally, there should not be a one-size-fits-all approach to public-order policing. Instead, the style of the approach should be based on the characteristics of the event. A low-profile policing approach has shown to be effective in situations involving relatively peaceful, family-oriented crowds (e.g., Adang & Cuvelier, 2001; Gorringer et al., 2012; Stott, 2003; Stott et al., 2008; Wahlstorm, 2007). Attributed largely to the positive atmosphere during the 2010 Winter Olympics, for instance, the Meet and Greet approach was deemed a huge success in that context (Vancouver Police Department, 2011). However, the failure of this same approach in Game 7 of the Stanley Cup Playoffs indicates that a pure Meet and Greet approach may not be appropriate in situations involving aggressive and intoxicated crowd members. Guided by the officers' remarks, a more effective strategy would include greater police presence, and a zero-tolerance approach to alcohol and early indications of trouble. A useful comparison, for example, would be the Symphony of Fire¹² celebrations that are held each year in Vancouver. Using a combination of friendlier Meet and Greet principles with more firm crowd control tactics, such as monitoring entrance points and confiscating alcohol, provides the police with a method to deal effectively with disorderly crowd members. In essence, by understanding the nature of the crowd, the department is in a better position to create an appropriate and effective strategic plan.

12 The Symphony of Fire (also known as the Celebration of Lights) is an annual, multi-night fireworks competition and exhibition in Vancouver that attracts up to 1.4 million people each year (Davies & Dawson, 2015). Drawing, young, intoxicated partygoers who were interested in creating mischief and engaging in public violence, this used to have a very negative reputation.

In addition to acknowledging the problems posed by the crowd, the department must recognize the importance of deployment in the overall success of their strategic response. Evidenced by members' comments, ensuring that a sufficient number of officers are both deployed and on standby to police the event is absolutely crucial. According to Davies and Dawson (2015), having insufficient numbers of officers limits their abilities to deter troublemakers, respond to early indications of disorder, and effectively react to escalating levels of violence. More importantly, without adequate police presence, officers' safety may become jeopardized (Davies & Dawson 2015). The effectiveness of the police response, therefore, is contingent upon there being enough officers to support the effort (Member 17).

Aside from sheer numbers, the department needs also to consider the types of officers that will be deployed to police the event. As previously stated, Meet and Greet is conceived of as an all-or-nothing approach premised on the idea that all police officers will act in a manner that is congruent with the principles governing this friendly and interactive policing strategy (Vancouver Police Department, 2011). This requires that police not only be aware of these principles, but also agree with them and believe that they will work. Essentially, to be effective, you have to have the right type of officers to police these crowd situations (Berkley & Thayer, 2000; Westley, 1957). In the present case, as indicated by Figure 1, there is a notable minority of officers that hold generally negative views of Meet and Greet. Thus, it is very possible that some officers themselves may act as impediments to the successful implementation of Meet and Greet. This potential divide in officer attitudes may have contributed to the escalated levels of violence that were seen in Game 7.

To prevent and/or respond to unruly crowd members, it is recommended that police departments take all steps necessary to ensure that their officers represent a united front. In addition to general training and preparation, it is suggested that departments assess the qualities and characteristics of their members prior to deploying them. According to Westley (1957), appropriate personnel (i.e., those officers with the correct characteristics for policing large crowd situations) will have adequate training, experience, confidence, and a positive attitude and connection with the crowd (i.e., must be seen as friendly and protecting the crowd's interests). In addition, these officers should be versatile (i.e., be able to provide hospitality and superior service, and, at the

same time, be able to respond aggressively to law-violators), and have exceptional communication skills, patience and restraint (Berkley & Thayer, 2000).

Although the police officers highlighted a number of potential caveats to the successful implementation of the Meet and Greet approach, underlying their collective narrative was the sentiment that what transpired during the 2011 Stanley Cup involves issues that were operating at a higher level than the frontline. At the root of what appeared to be a miscalculated approach to crowd management during the final game of the 2011 Stanley Cup Playoffs is a breakdown in leadership. By suggesting that the riot could have been prevented by better planning at every level, including pre-event, resource management, early intervention, as well as the direction and plan of action at the onset of the riot (Member 152), the officers point to deficiencies at various levels of leadership. Several officers believed that the complete lack of, or inadequate levels of communication and single leadership over front line officers from senior management was problematic (e.g., Member 160; Member 264). As one officer noted:

I can't speak to the command level - although they could have declared the riot earlier - but immediate leadership (i.e., from a SGT to the constables) was dismal from lack of discussing riot/operational plans to management during (Member 26).

Outside of the role of departmental players, officers also suggest that other executives may have played a part in the creating the outcome of the final game of the 2011 Stanley Cup Playoffs. As one officer noted, "there is much more involved – government, budget, city planners" (Member 219). The failure in the police response was perceived to lie "somewhere between senior VPD, city and provincial managers" (Member 180). As one member explained, "riot preparation/budget was dictated by city hall. [However,] VPD should have pressed for a proper police plan and resources" (Member 213).

Even amongst those who did not attribute the outcome of the 2011 Stanley Cup riot to failures in leadership itself, there was an acknowledgement that there were important gaps in the chain of command:

We have some great leaders, but more thought should be put into who is responsible for operational decisions. An officer with an officer background, little 'street credibility' and little operational experience is not the best choice and results in poor decisions (Member 234).

Low-profile crowd management strategies such as Meet and Greet offer a flexible approach to dealing with large crowds; however, to be effective, all officers must operate according to the principles of the approach, and work as a collective. In order for officers to know when and how to adjust their tactics to respond to changes in the crowd's behaviour, it is, therefore, essential that there is a strong chain of command. It is likely that during the Stanley Cup riot, the lack of a complete operational plan, and absence of strong leadership to guide frontline officers through the various stages of the riot left officers in the position to develop response strategies on the fly. Relying on their training and personal experiences rather than the direction and communications from upper management prevented officers from responding to the changes in the crowd's behaviour as a unified front.

In addition to identifying some potential challenges associated with implementing the Meet and Greet approach, the officers' commentary elucidates an extremely important cautionary note about police legitimacy in relation to the friendlier approaches to crowd management. According to the most prominent theory of crowd dynamics, the elaborated social identity model (ESIM), one of the primary causes of crowd conflict is police legitimacy (Stott & Reicher, 1998). Specifically, if the crowd perceives the actions taken by the police to be illegitimate, they are more likely to actively resist police action (Drury et al., 2003) by engaging in various forms of violence and/or property damage. Typically, illegitimate forms of police action include the presence of a large number of police in riot gear, and police use of excessive amounts of force, including the use of hard tactics (e.g., batons, bean bag guns, etc.) (Adang & Cuvelier, 2001). By decreasing the level of aggression displayed by police, it is argued that the negotiation-based approaches will result in an increase in the perceived level of legitimacy of police actions (Earl & Soule, 2006; Gorringer et al., 2012; Hoggett & Stott, 2009). Contrary to expectations, however, the officers' responses suggest that the use of low-profile approaches may actually provide a more subtle avenue for undermining police legitimacy:

...the police let them get away with too much due to the Meet and Greet philosophy... People learn in school now to question authority... (Member 137).

Failure to react to lawlessness reinforces the crowd's knowledge/belief that police are not able to cope. This continual cycle of inaction by police over

and over has led many to believe that they have free reign, and little accountability (Member 85).

Contrary to the high-profile approaches, which have been found to compromise police legitimacy by evoking feelings of fear and anger amongst crowd members who perceive that they have been treated harshly and unfairly (Drury et al., 2003), the officers suggest that the Meet and Greet approach may serve to diminish their authority by making them appear soft and/or incapable of responding. Their responses reveal that, in situations where the Meet and Greet strategy is employed ineffectively, the perceived lack of police action against unruly conduct may result in a decrease in the crowd members' level of respect for officers, which may, in turn, encourage crowd members to engage in disorderly conduct.

The significance of this possible link between police legitimacy and low-profile policing is that it may extend far beyond a single event. The officers' discourse elucidates the potential for the relationship between the police and the public to deteriorate as a result of the ineffective use of the Meet and Greet approach. The police officers suggest that there has been a subtle shift in the balance of power coinciding with the change to more low-profile policing techniques. Describing a new generation of people who learn to question authority, the officers indicate that the use of soft crowd management strategies creates a situation where there are no consequences for disorderly conduct, which may, over time, lead to a decrease in the public's level of respect for police authority and legitimacy. This raises a serious concern for police officers in large crowd situations: given that police are vastly outnumbered, effective crowd policing necessitates the use of a legitimate tactical approach that encourages voluntary compliance from the majority of the crowd members (Cappitelli, 2012). The question becomes, if the Meet and Greet approach actually serves to undermine the legitimacy of the police response, how will police be able to use it effectively in the future to manage disorderly crowd situations?

3.5. Conclusions

The recent increase in problematic public gatherings has forced police departments to re-assess their methods for dealing with crowds. Although a low-profile policing strategy has become increasingly favoured by police agencies, questions still

remain as to how this approach can be used more effectively in all crowd situations. Contributing to the extant literature, this study provides rich and valuable insight into an important element of public-order policing: the police response. By exploring what was perceived to be an unsuccessful implementation of the Meet and Greet approach from the perspective of the police, this study was able to shed light onto some of the strengths of this approach, as well as to reveal some of the potential caveats to this strategy's effectiveness. In addition, the findings from this study also point to the potential consequences associated with the improper implementation of the Meet and Greet approach. Useful for informing police departments, the results provide an opportunity to improve upon the implementation of this crowd management method, and increase its effectiveness for use in future crowd situations.

In the years following the collection of the information utilized for this study, it is imperative to recognize the vast number of improvements made by the Vancouver Police Department in terms of developing and adopting best practices. Recognized as being a leader in policing, the VPD has demonstrated a commitment to updating organizational policies and practices to reflect global best practices, as well as the community's needs (Wiebe, 2016). For instance, acknowledging that the safety of all involved in police-citizen interactions is the paramount priority, the Vancouver Police Department has focused on the development and implementation of de-escalation training and techniques (Wiebe, 2016). The idea behind de-escalation strategies is that they provide for a means to obtain peaceful resolutions in potentially volatile situations without the need for police officers to utilize force by teaching officers techniques for using time, space and communication to find an alternative solution (McKenna, 2020; Wiebe, 2016). Although developed primarily to improve outcomes related to police encounters with persons living with mental illness, the concept of de-escalation extends beyond this particular context; de-escalation is becoming the foundation for guiding all police practices.

In relation to crowd events specifically, the VPD continues to increase its support for special events being held in the city of Vancouver, including lawful demonstrations/protests wherein people are exercising their democratic rights and freedoms (The Vancouver Police Department, n.d.). In order to ensure the safety and security of event-participants, the general public and first responders, the VPD is

committed to being proactive. The department has created an entire unit, known as the Planning Assessment Team, which is devoted entirely to assisting in the planning, security, staffing deployment, and traffic control for special events held in Vancouver (The Vancouver Police Department, n.d.). A dedicated police planner is assigned to each event. In addition to creating the policing plan for the event, including arranging the necessary police resources, the police planner acts communicates with individuals/organizers known to be involved in planning or coordinating the event (The Vancouver Police Department, n.d.).

Despite these laudatory efforts made by the VPD to continuously improve their policies and practices, the results from this study still hold merit. Considered to be in line with best practices, the VPD's approach to crowd management, including the Meet and Greet strategy, has not been the focus of review and/or revision. Based on the officers' comments, however, there may be some caveats to the effectiveness and utility of the Meet and Greet approach that are worth further consideration. Most notably, the officers highlight some challenges associated with implementing the Meet and Greet approach, including preparing officers for a tactical shift away from the more friendly elements of the approach to those methods necessary to allow officers to respond to escalating levels of disorder. Ensuring the Meet and Greet approach will be implemented and executed successfully in the future, therefore, may still require some more careful consideration in terms of operational planning.

It is also important to acknowledge that this study is not without its limitations. As stated in Davies and Dawson (2015), given that data collection was completed *post hoc*, there is a risk of telescoping¹³. In addition, due to the study's design, Meet and Greet was not a central focus of the questionnaire. As such, the authors were limited to drawing information about officers' perceptions of the Meet and Greet approach from a few discrete items. Moreover, it is recognized that, because this study focuses on police

13 Telescoping refers to inaccurate or incomplete participant recollections of event details, and is more likely to be a factor in situations where the time lapse between the event and participation in the study is extensive (Drury & Stott, 2001). In this case, the time between the event and survey (seven months) is not excessive. More importantly, providing officers with time to reflect upon the event in question may have improved their memories and solidified their opinions.

perceptions of a specific, and perhaps unique event, the views presented here may not be representative of all police departments and/or all public-order policing events. Similar to other studies relying on qualitative data and analytic techniques, it may be difficult to make broad generalizations about these findings (Barton & James, 2003). As such, researchers should use caution when making inferences from this study's results.

To conclude, although this study represents an important step in obtaining a better understanding of the effectiveness of low-profile policing methods, more research is required. Given that problematic crowd events are becoming an increasingly common feature of policing, future research should continue to examine how police are responding to these events as a means of improving crowd management strategies and tactics. This requires the development of a larger number of indicators to measure police perceptions of crowd management techniques, including the Meet and Greet approach. Multiple items may help to uncover different dimensions of the officers' perceptions. In addition, it would be prudent for researchers to examine police perspectives in a wider array of crowd events, and to conduct longitudinal studies to gather such perspectives before, during and after large-scale events.

Chapter 4. How they do it, or who does it?¹⁴

4.1. Introduction

Ranging from peaceful public gatherings to violent riots involving thousands of citizens, crowd events present numerous challenges to police, most notable the effective management of crowd members. Regardless of the situational specifics, policing large crowd events requires a comprehensive operational and strategic plan that highlights preventive tactics and pro-active policing responses. While there are a variety of approaches to crowd management and control, there remain two over-arching responses that are currently utilized by police departments: high-profile tactics and low-profile methods. More reactive in their orientation, high-profile approaches rely on a highly visible police presence and the use of strategic incapacitation (i.e., arrest and force) to remove problematic elements (e.g., fighters and crowd agitators) from the crowd and de-escalate situations (Gillham & Noakes, 2007; Wahlstrom, 2007; Whelan & Molnar, 2017). Conversely, low-profile strategies use more proactive tactics geared toward preventing crowds from becoming antagonistic. These approaches focus more on verbal and non-threatening behavioural tactics involving initiation, communication, negotiation, mediation, and assessing the threat posed by the crowd (Adang & Cuvelier, 2001; Gorrige et al., 2012). By relying less on the use of force and arrest, and more on the cooperation between police and crowd members, soft policing approaches are geared toward greater tolerance of community demonstrations (Whelan and Molnar, 2017). Whilst there remains some debate in the literature pertaining to the relative effectiveness of these various approaches in different types of crowd situations (see Adang & Cuvelier, 2001; Cronin & Reicher, 2009; Davies & Dawson, 2017; Ericson & Doyle, 1999; Fernandez, 2008; Gorrigne et al., 2012; Reicher et al., 2007; Sheptycki, 2005; Stott, 2003; Stott et al., 2008; Wahlstorm, 2007), there has been a shift away from the more rigid high-profile approaches towards the use of more low-profile crowd

¹⁴ Originally published as: Dawson, S.E., & Davies, G. (2020). Who's policing the crowd? A typology of officers who policed the 2011 Stanley Cup riot. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*, 14(4), pp. 962-976.

policing strategies and tactics (Whelan & Molnar, 2017). Despite there being many positive outcomes associated with the use of these softer policing approaches, however, research suggests that departments may face certain challenges while trying to implement these strategies.

4.2. Literature Review

A small body of research has examined the utility of low-profile approaches, and the findings indicate that such strategies may prevent the escalation of violence amongst crowd members, as well as improve relations between the police and the public by building trust amongst community members and adding an element of professionalism and legitimacy to police actions (see Adang & Cuvelier, 2001; Earl & Soule, 2006; Gorringer et al., 2011; Gorringer et al., 2012; Hoggett & Stott, 2009; Schreiber & Stott, 2012; Stott et al., 2008). In their study of Euro2004 in Portugal, for instance, Schreiber and Stott (2012) learned that the success of this championship was largely attributable to the fact that the fans believed that the unobtrusive behavior of the police created a very positive atmosphere for the tournament. In addition to promoting legitimacy and trust, low-profile strategies have been shown to encourage common bonds and identification with the police (Stott et al., 2008). The importance of creating feelings of similarity between the police and the crowd is the impact it has on the crowd's behavior. In line with the tenets of the Procedural Justice Theory, the more individuals perceive their treatment by the police as being fair (i.e., promoting their legitimate goals), the more likely they are to cooperate and comply with police directives (Stott et al., 2008; Tyler, 1990).

Notwithstanding these positive outcomes, however, there exist a number of factors that may hamper the implementation and, therefore, the effectiveness of these softer policing approaches. According to Waddington (2007), for instance, in order for a negotiation-based crowd policing method to be effective, the police need to act and be viewed by crowd members in a particular manner; that is, the police must be seen as actively seeking to liaise and cooperate with crowd members. By liaising with crowd members, research suggests that the police are in a position to better understand the group identities of those they are policing, which, in turn, provides the police with the opportunity to facilitate the crowd's legitimate goals more effectively (Stott et al., 2008).

In addition to public perceptions, the success of low-profile crowd management techniques appears to be linked to how well the strategic response plan matches the specific event being policed (Davies & Dawson, 2018; Gorringe & Rosie, 2008). According to Gorringe and Rosie (2008), given that interactions between the police and the public create a history of accumulated experiences that will inform how the two parties identify and act/react towards one another, the employment of policing approaches must be sensitive to the local context (i.e., location). Low-profile policing has been shown to be quite effective in low-risk crowd situations, namely those comprised of relatively peaceful, family-oriented individuals and groups (e.g., Adang & Cuvelier, 2001; Gorringe et al., 2012; Vancouver Police Department, 2011; Wahlstorm, 2007). Utilizing the low-profile Meet and Greet¹⁵ approach during the 2010 Winter Olympics, for instance, members of the Vancouver Police Department were praised for facilitating crowd movements, and for posing with, smiling at, and shaking hands with crowd members; these behaviours were perceived to have contributed to a safe, happy and family-friendly atmosphere (Vancouver Police Department, 2011). Conversely, low-profile approaches present far greater challenges when they are employed in high-risk situations involving more hostile crowds. In their examinations of the 1999 Seattle World Trade Organization protest in Seattle (Gillham & Noakes, 2007) and the 2011 Vancouver Stanley Cup riot (Davies & Dawson, 2018), researchers discovered that it is difficult to implement soft policing approaches when the crowd is confrontational from the outset. In instances where the crowd's actions are unpredictable and the police are outnumbered, it may not be feasible for the police to employ a differentiated tactical response to deal with unruly crowd members. Thus, it is arguable that attempting to implement a low-

15 In 2006, the Vancouver Police Department (VPD) implemented significant changes to its large crowd responses, which included the adoption of a proactive crowd management approach referred to as "Meet and Greet" (Vancouver Police Department, 2017). Emphasizing public safety first, this approach incorporates a friendly yet professional policing style (Vancouver Police Department, 2017). Focused on promoting responsible celebration and lawful demonstration, this approach requires that officers smile, engage the community, be positive and welcoming, be visible and have early interaction with crowds and line-ups, and exercise restraint in the use of force (Vancouver Police Department, 2011; 2017). While this approach was initially implemented to calm situations in Vancouver's downtown entertainment district (i.e., Granville Street), Meet and Greet has also been applied to many large-scale events, including the annual Celebration of Light fireworks display and the 2010 Winter Olympics (Vancouver Police Department, 2011).

profile approach in certain types of high-risk situations may lead to an escalation in the crowd's behaviour, wherein crowd members become violent and/or unmanageable.

Despite the potential issues associated with implementing a low-profile approach in high-risk crowd situations, there have been instances where such approaches have been associated with more favourable outcomes. In their study of the 2004 European Championships in Portugal, for instance, Schreiber and Stott (2012) found that low-profile policing can be utilized successfully in instances where the crowd is deemed "high risk". Based on their semi-structured observations of the crowds of German fans and the police, the authors discovered that, despite the game being categorized as 'high risk', the officers refrained from arriving in riot gear and instead patrolled the crowds wearing plain clothes or normal uniforms. Although ready to utilize differentiated interventions to control problematic fans, the police made every effort to facilitate the lawful behaviour of fans (Schreiber & Stott, 2012). Overall, this style of policing was found to promote amicable interactions amongst the fans, as well as positive relations between the police and fan groups. The potential for such dramatically different outcomes for the same style of policing in similar circumstances suggests that there may be more than only the nature of the crowd that impacts the success or failure of the policing approach. Given that police officers are responsible for the execution of the policing approach, it is plausible that the officers may play an important role in the development of the crowd's behaviour, and, ultimately, in the overall success and/or failure of a crowd event (Stott & Reicher, 1998).

Regardless of the type of crowd, in any large-scale public event police officers are vastly outnumbered by crowd members. As part of the implementation of any form of crowd management strategy, therefore, proper deployment of a sufficient number of officers is crucial (Davies & Dawson, 2015). As noted by Davies and Dawson (2015) in their survey study of 460 Vancouver police officers, without adequate numbers of officers it is difficult to be proactive and deter troublemakers. This, in turn, enables a crowd situation to escalate quickly and become dangerous for both crowd members and the police. In addition to sheer numbers, though, it appears that there may also be a connection between effective crowd management and the deployment of the right types of officers to police the crowd event (Berkley & Thayer, 2000; Davies & Dawson, 2018; Westley, 1957). Low-profile policing strategies are premised on the idea that the officers

tasked with policing the crowd will act in a manner consistent with the principles governing the approach. Managing a crowd using a negotiation-based, soft policing approach requires that the officers possess certain qualities and characteristics, including being confident and adaptable in their response (i.e., be able to differentiate between crowd members to respond assertively to law-violators, while at the same time provide quality service to peaceful crowd members), as well as having a positive attitude and connection with the crowd, and displaying excellent communication skills, patience and restraint (Berkley & Thayer, 2000; Westley, 1957). Developing such skills and techniques not only requires that police receive adequate training, but also that their preparations include sufficient briefing pertaining to officer roles and responsibilities during all stages of a crowd event (Berkley & Thayer, 2000).

The literature on police perceptions of crowds also suggests that previous experience with crowd situations may play a role. In their survey study of 353 Italian police officers, Prati and Pietrantonio (2009) found a link between exposure to crowd conflict and officers' perceptions of the composition of the crowd. They revealed that greater exposure to dangerous crowd situations was associated with stronger views about the dichotomous nature of crowds (i.e., a relatively peaceful majority and a violent and influential minority), which, in turn, was connected to the officer's support for more coercive policing tactics.

Linked closely to experience, studies also suggest that officers' ranks and genders may have an impact on their perceptions of crowds and/or ability to perform their duties in situations involving crowds. Drury Stott and Farsides (2003), for instance, found that constables are more likely than higher-ranking officers (e.g., sergeants and inspectors) to view the initiation and escalation of public disorder as stemming from the crowd rather than police activities. The authors suggest that the difference between ranks may be related to their perceived and/or real differences in workload, job conditions, pay, and relations with the public (e.g., contrary to sergeants and inspectors, constables tend to work on the frontlines and deal with crowd members and conflict situations more directly) (Drury et al., 2003). Male and female officers may also view and/or respond to crowd situations differently. As Dawson and Davies (2017) discovered, while male police officers tend to believe crowds pose a homogenous threat that must be swiftly controlled by police, female officers are less inclined to view the

crowd as being solely responsible for the initiation of the disturbance, and, thus, less likely to promote the use of a rigid police response. In terms of their preferences for response styles, male police officers, who often prioritize physical attributes (e.g., strength), tend to favour a more authoritarian-style policing approach while carrying out their duties. Female officers, on the other hand, are usually recognized more for their interpersonal and listening/communication skills. Employing more proactive and soft policing styles, female officers are less likely to utilize excessive force, and, thus, thought to be better at defusing violent confrontations (Christie, 1996; Glasser, 2017; Lonsway et al., 2003; Woolsey, 2010).

The characteristics of the officer and skills he/she possesses, therefore, may play a crucial role in the success or failure of the strategy employed for policing crowd events. Given the central role played by police officers in the control and management of crowd members, it is important that police departments are able to identify and deploy those officers who are best suited to employing the policing tactics/approach deemed appropriate for the specific type of event in question. The purpose of the current study is to explore what types of police officers are tasked with policing large crowd events. Utilizing a sample of officers who were involved in the 2011 Vancouver Stanley Cup riot, this study will explore the similarities and differences between the on-duty officers and attempt to identify distinct groups of officers. Based on their group membership, this study will then determine whether or not different types of officers may be better suited to utilizing certain policing strategies.

4.3. Methods

4.3.1. Sample

The purpose of this study was to determine whether or not the types of police officers deployed to police the Stanley Cup riot were connected to the perceived effectiveness of the Meet and Greet approach. Only the qualities and characteristics of those officers who were actually involved in policing the Stanley Cup riot are of concern. Thus, although the research includes the responses from a total of 460 Vancouver police

officers, the sample for this particular study was restricted to a sub-sample of 228¹⁶ of the participating police officers who were deemed to be actively on duty during the 2011 Stanley Cup riot¹⁷.

4.3.2. Measures

Demographics. To ensure confidentiality, the survey collected limited demographic information from the participating officers. Those characteristics captured by the survey are sex, rank and years of service. The officers in the sample are largely male (approximately 80 percent) and hold the rank of Constable (about 75 percent). In terms of service, the officers have a wide range of experience, from three to 33 years, with the average being just under thirteen years (see Table 2).

16 Originally there were 246 respondents deemed actively on duty. However, 18 cases were deleted from the analysis due to extensive missing data on the portion of the survey dedicated to assessing officer perceptions of communication, deployment, equipment and training, as well as safety.

17 The survey originally asked respondents whether they were “on duty” the evening of the riot. However, due to the nature of the events during the riot, this question became more complex. First, there were some officers who, although not technically scheduled to work on June 15, 2011, came into work as the riot unfolded. Second, there were some officers who were on duty, but did not actually participate in the riot (e.g., they were assigned to work at the jail). As a result, a new variable (duty status) was created to capture active participation in the riot. Those who were actively on duty were those officers who were directly involved in policing the riot.

Table 2. Sample Demographics For Actively On Duty Officers

Variable	n(228)	%	\bar{X} (SD)
Sex			
Female	36	15.8	
Males	183	80.3	
Missing	9	3.9	
Rank			
Constable	170	74.6	
Detective-Constable*	13	5.7	
Sergeant	35	15.4	
Missing	10	4.4	
Years of Service			12.98(7.25)
Missing	9	3.9	

* Detective-Constable is not a formal rank designation; however, it reflects how officers identified themselves

Riot Variables. Given the lack of empirical and theoretical attempts to classify officers involved in crowd-policing, it was necessary to select a range of variables that would capture different aspects of police officers' qualities, as well as their experiences during a crowd disturbance. Four variables were chosen that represent the officers' perceptions of pre-riot preparations (operational plan briefing) and deployment (equipped for the riot), as well as their feelings pertaining to their level of training and safety during the riot. The responses were all measured using a Likert-type scale ranging from 1-6. The complete operationalization of these variables is provided in Table 3.

In terms of preparations and deployment, the officers perceived the operational plan briefing as well as the appropriateness of their riot equipment to be less than adequate (means of 2.46 and 2.79, respectively). Conversely, their opinions relating to their level of riot training and safety during the riot appeared to be more favorable, with officers feeling adequately trained (mean = 3.52) and generally more safe than unsafe (mean = 3.15).

Policing Approach. The literature suggests that the success or failure of a particular crowd policing strategy may rest, at least in part, on the type of officers deployed to police the event in question. To understand the link between the officers and the crowd policing approach, it was necessary to have a measure of the officers' perception of the crowd management technique utilized during the 2011 Stanley Cup riot. A variable focused specifically on the appropriateness of the Meet and Greet approach was selected to capture officer perceptions of the suitability of this specific type of soft crowd management strategy. Measured on a six-point Likert-type scale, this variable is used to gauge the degree to which officers believe the Meet and Greet strategy is a good crowd management approach. According to Table 3, in general, the officers do believe this approach is useful (mean = 4.21).

Table 3. Riot and Crowd Management Variables

Variable	Description	Anchor Points		$\bar{X}(SD)$	Missing	
		Low(1)	High(6)		n(228)	%
<i>Riot</i>						
Operational plan briefing	How would you characterize your briefing on the operational plan prior to Game 7?	Completely Inadequate	Completely Adequate	2.46(1.31)	2	0.9
Equipped for riot	Were you adequately equipped to deal with the riot?	Completely Inadequate	Completely Adequate	2.79(1.65)	3	1.3
Level of training	In your opinion, what is your level of training with regards to riot control?	Completely Inappropriate	Completely Appropriate	3.52(1.79)	2	0.9
Feelings of safety	In general, how would you characterize your feelings of safety during the riot?	Completely Unsafe	Completely Safe	3.15(1.40)	5	2.2
<i>Crowd Management</i>						
Meet and Greet	Generally speaking, the Meet and Greet strategy is a good strategy for managing large public events in Vancouver.	Disagree Completely	Agree Completely	4.21(1.45)	2	0.9

4.3.3. Statistical Analyses

A Ward's hierarchical cluster analysis¹⁸ was utilized to identify groups of officers on the basis of their crowd-policing preparations, skills and experiences during the riot. The four variables selected for this analysis are the riot variables: operational briefing, training, equipment and safety (see Table 3). The scores¹⁹ of the variables were utilized to calculate the squared Euclidean distance to the cluster means. After the cluster solution was identified, it was necessary to assess the internal validity of the groups. To accomplish this, ANOVA analyses were conducted with the cluster memberships as the independent variable and the four riot variables as the dependent variables. Significant F-values were utilized to ascertain the contribution of each variable to the overall cluster solution.

In an attempt to further understand the nature of the clusters, the cluster membership classifications were used in subsequent analyses with the demographic and crowd-policing approach data. Chi-square and t-tests were utilized to examine the differences between the clusters in terms of the officers' gender, rank and years of service. An additional t-test was then conducted as a means of exploring the relationship between the clusters and the officers' views pertaining to crowd management, specifically as they relate to the Meet and Greet approach employed for the Stanley Cup riot.

4.4. Results

4.4.1. Two Clusters of Officers

In order to determine the number of clusters produced by the hierarchical cluster analysis, the agglomeration schedule needed to be generated. Listing the distance

18 The Ward's hierarchical agglomerative clustering method works by minimizing the increase in the total within-cluster error sum of squares at each stage where clusters are being merged (see Everitt et al. (2011), and Rencher and Christensen (2012) for a more detailed discussion of the Ward's clustering technique).

19 The variables were measured utilizing the same scale (1-6), and therefore, the scores did not need to be standardized for this analysis.

coefficients for each stage of the clustering process, the agglomeration schedule provides a numeric summary of the merging of clusters (Yim & Ramdeen, 2015). The results from this agglomeration schedule were then displayed using a dendrogram. Providing a visual representation of the differences between clusters, the dendrogram was utilized to interpret the optimal number of groups (Yim & Ramdeen, 2015). Based on a heuristic inspection of the partitions in the branches of the tree diagram, it was determined that a two-cluster solution yielded the most clear and distinct groupings.

According to the group means (see Table 4), the two clusters can be differentiated based on the officers' level of satisfaction with their pre-riot preparations, as well as their experiences while policing the riot. The first, and largest cluster (n = 145) was labelled *Slightly Apprehensive Skeptics*, and represents a group of officers who were uncomfortable with public-order policing, who believed they were inadequately trained, briefed and equipped to deal with the riot, and who generally felt unsafe while policing the Stanley Cup riot. The second, smaller group, comprised of 75 respondents, classified as the *Good-to-Go Facilitators*, was the group of more confident crowd managers who appeared more satisfied with, and secure in both their riot preparations and on-duty experiences. These officers believed they were very well trained, adequately equipped for the riot, and generally felt safe while policing the event.

Table 4. Clusters of Officers

Variable	Cluster Membership \bar{X} (SD)		F	η^2
	Slightly Apprehensive Skeptics (n=145)	Good-to-Go Facilitators (n=75)		
Level of Training	2.54(1.38)	5.41(0.66)	287.752***	.569
Equipped for riot	2.03(1.14)	4.33(1.42)	169.746***	.438
Feelings of safety	2.64(1.16)	4.16(1.27)	79.290***	.267
Operational plan briefing	2.26(1.30)	2.88(1.22)	11.970**	.052

***p < .001; **p < .05

Bolstering this two-cluster solution, the ANOVA analyses revealed that all four of the riot variables contributed significantly to the groupings. The greatest distinctions between the clusters were driven by the officers' perception of their skills (i.e., training), the conditions of their deployment (i.e., the adequacy of their equipment), as well as their feelings of safety during the riot. Although there were significant differences between the groups in terms of the officers' perceptions of the appropriateness of the operational plan

briefing, both groups believed this element of their pre-riot preparations was less than adequate. This variable, therefore, contributed less to the overall distinctiveness of the two clusters.

4.4.2. Differences in Cluster Membership: The Characteristics of the Officers in Each Group

Testing for differences between the clusters on the basis of the officers' demographic characteristics, the chi-square and t-tests revealed that there were no significant differences between the clusters based on rank ($\chi^2(2) = .022$, $p = .989$, Cramer's $V = .010$) or years of service ($t(218) = .224$, $p = .823$, $d = .032$)²⁰. Both clusters consisted primarily of Constables (78.3% and 77.8% in clusters 1 and 2, respectively) averaging less than thirteen years of policing experience (see Table 5).

There were, however, significant differences between the clusters based on the officers' gender ($\chi^2(1) = 5.146$, $p = .023$, $\Phi = .156$). While the two clusters were comprised of both male and female officers, the likelihood of being in one cluster versus the other did appear to be partially dependent on being a female officer (see Table 5). Dominant in terms of sheer numbers, male officers were likely to be in clusters 1 (62.1%) and 2 (37.9%). Female officers, on the other hand, were almost completely confined to cluster 1 (82.4%).

²⁰ Post-hoc power analyses were conducted to evaluate the statistically insignificant findings and determine whether or not these results were due to insufficient sample sizes, or true non-meaningful differences (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2004). With a statistical power estimate of .0516 (5.16%), the chi-square analysis lacked sufficient statistical power to evaluate the relationship between the officers' rank and cluster membership ($N = 210$, $df = 2$, Cramer's $V = .010$, $\alpha = .05$). To achieve sufficient statistical power (i.e., a power coefficient of .80 or 80% (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2004)) to detect even a small observed effect (Cramer's $V = .10$), a sample size of 963 would have been required. Similarly, with a statistical power estimate of .0623 (6.23%), the t-test had extremely low statistical power for detecting a significant difference between the clusters in terms of year of service ($N = 210$, $d = .032$, $\alpha = .05$). Detecting a small ($d = .20$) effect size with sufficient power (.80) would have required a sample size of 393.

Table 5. Cluster Membership by Demographic Characteristics and Policing Approach

Demographic and Policing Variables	Cluster Membership		χ^2	<i>t</i>
	Slightly Apprehensive	Good-to-Go		
<i>Categorical Variables n(210)</i>	Skeptics	Facilitators		
Sex			5.146*	
Male	110	67		
Female	28	6		
Rank			0.022	
Constable	108	56		
Detective-Constable	8	4		
Sergeant	22	12		
<i>Continuous Variables $\bar{X}(SD)$</i>				
Years of Service	12.88(7.60)	12.66(6.29)		0.224
Meet and Greet	4.05(1.40)	4.67(1.37)		-3.130*

* $p < .05$

In terms of the policing approach, the results of the t-test revealed that the two groups of officers have significantly different views pertaining to the appropriateness of the Meet and Greet approach as a strategy for managing large crowds ($t(217) = -3.130$, $p = .002$, $d = .45$). Although neither group appeared to disagree with the overall utility of this policing method, the Good-to-Go Facilitators were generally more supportive of the Meet and Greet approach (see Table 5).

4.5. Discussion

The results from the cluster analysis reveal there were two distinct types of officers that were responsible for policing the 2011 Stanley Cup riot. The first group, representing the majority of the on-duty officers, were less confident their ability to deal with, and respond to, the unruly crowd. Generally ill-at ease during the event, these officers believed they were lacking in training, riot preparations, and equipment to deal with the situation. In contrast, the second cluster of officers felt more prepared, and had more positive views of their pre-riot preparations and riot-related skills, as well as their experiences while policing the crowd.

In terms of group composition, the demographic characteristics revealed that the two groups differed in terms of the officers' gender. While male officers were found in both clusters, female officers were predominantly identified as Slightly Apprehensive

Skeptics. These group demographics suggest that in cases involving unruly and/or violent crowds, female officers may be less confident in their training, briefing and abilities to respond to, and manage, crowd members. Often regarded for their superior interpersonal and communication skills (Christie, 1996; Glasser, 2017; Lonsway et al., 2003; Woolsey, 2010), female officers may have a higher degree of confidence in their ability to proactively defuse confrontation as opposed to retroactively responding to it.

Contrary to expectations, policing experience did not differentiate the two officer clusters. Findings from previous research have suggested that, due to perceived and/or real differences in workload, pay, duties and job conditions, as well as interactions with the public, there may be differences amongst officers based on their rank and/or level of experience (Drury et al., 2003). Based on the findings from the current study, however, differences amongst officers in terms of their confidence, level of preparedness and overall experiences while policing a crowd disturbance do not appear to be linked to the tenure of their career nor their rank status in the department. Constables, Sergeants and Detectives were equally as likely to be satisfied with their training, briefing, deployment and safety as they were to be unsatisfied. Furthermore, while the more confident and prepared Good-to-Go Facilitators appeared to have slightly more policing experience than those in the Slightly Apprehensive Skeptics group, both clusters averaged approximately 13 years of service. The lack of significance attributed to rank and years of service, in terms of their abilities to differentiate the clusters, must be interpreted with caution, however, as this finding may be a function of sample size and composition. Given the purpose of this study, the sample was limited to only those officers who were deemed to be actively on-duty during the 2011 Stanley Cup riot. Of those officers who were involved in the 2011 Stanley Cup riot, the vast majority held the rank of Constable (approximately 75%). As Sergeants are more often involved in the management and supervision of police operations, they may be less likely to be actively involved in policing from the frontlines (Drury et al., 2003). The lack of diversity in terms of years of service is also likely linked to the dominance of the rank of Constable in the sample. Holding the same rank, the majority of the officers are likely at a similar stage in their policing career. Thus, any potential differences between the groups of officers based on their rank and experience may have been masked by the size and composition of the current sub-sample of on-duty officers.

Taken together, the findings presented here suggest that while officers all wear the same uniform and work towards the same goal of ensuring the maintenance of public peace and safety (Vancouver Police Department, 2017), the officers deployed to police situations involving large, unruly crowds may not actually represent a single, cohesive group. Not only may officers differ in terms of their skillsets, they may also diverge in terms of their on-duty experiences in relation to policing crowd disturbances. Although interesting, finding differences amongst police officers is not surprising. Within any given department, police officers will be tasked with different duties and responsibilities. Depending on the unit to which they are assigned, officers may be charged with performing traffic duties, responding to domestic disputes, arresting offenders, attending and managing street disturbances, transporting offenders to court, investigating homicides, conducting body searches, and/or completing a variety of administrative duties. The diversity in their roles may result in some officers being relatively more (or less) exposed to high-risk and violent situations, such as those presented during crowd disturbances. Thus, over the course of their careers, it is likely that different officers will have disparate types and degrees of interactions with the public during these sorts of circumstances. Moreover, based on the nature of their specific duties, officers may also have been provided with varied forms of training and therefore developed unique skillsets.

4.5.1. Implications for Police Departments

The importance of developing the typology presented here lies in its capacity to inform the potential success or failure of policing approaches to crowd management. The differences between the two groups in terms of their opinions regarding the utility of the Meet and Greet strategy, for instance, may provide some insight into the perceived breakdown of this approach during the 2011 Stanley Cup riot. In doing so, this may further elucidate the nature of the relationship between policing and large-scale public events.

In their survey study of 460 Vancouver police officers following the Stanley Cup riot, Davies and Dawson (2015) discovered that the deployment of an insufficient number of officers was one of the most prominent issues facing police. Not only was the shortage of officers perceived to impact officers' safety during the riot, it was found to be

a significant impediment to the police response (Davies and Dawson, 2015). Given that police are outnumbered by crowd members, ensuring that a sufficient number of officers are deployed to police a large-scale event is imperative. Despite the importance of sheer numbers, however, the results from the current study suggest that the result of the Stanley Cup riot may have been affected by more than just the quantity of officers deployed.

Differences amongst the groups of officers in terms of their perceptions of the utility of the Meet and Greet approach indicate that it may not be appropriate to deploy all officers to police all types of crowd event situations. In line with other soft-policing approaches, the Meet and Greet strategy is conceived of as an all-or-nothing approach. To be effective, police need to present as a united front, which requires all police officers act in a manner that is congruent with the principles governing this approach (Vancouver Police Department, 2011). Based on principles of lawful justification, proportionality and intrusiveness, the Meet and Greet approach requires that police promote public safety using an approachable, professional style wherein police actions are the least intrusive possible and only pursued toward a necessary and legitimate policing objective (Vancouver Police Department, 2017). This often requires police be tolerant of the actions of demonstrators and exercise considerable restraint towards crowd members (Berkley & Thayer, 2000; Vancouver Police Department, 2017; Westley, 1957). If members of the force do not agree with the approach and/or lack the qualities required by the strategy, they are less likely to utilize it properly. This, in turn, will reduce the overall effectiveness of the approach.

Based on the sample of on-duty officers during the Stanley Cup riot, it appears that, rather than being a cohesive unit, the police were divided by their level of confidence and preparedness. The Good-to-Go facilitators, which represented the smaller group of officers, appeared to exhibit the traits coinciding with the Meet and Greet approach: adequate training and preparations, as well as confidence in their response. In stark contrast, however, more than half of the officers believed their training, briefing and equipment were insufficient for managing the situation as it unfolded. Generally less enthused about the use of the Meet and Greet approach, these officers may have lacked sufficient confidence in their ability to connect and communicate with the peaceful hockey fans, while also responding to the unruly and

violent members of the crowd. By deploying a large segment of officers who felt as though they were deficient in the qualities underpinning this type of soft crowd-policing approach, therefore, the Vancouver police department may have unknowingly limited their officers' ability to successfully implement the Meet and Greet Strategy during the 2011 Stanley Cup finals. Thus, rather than focus solely on volume, it may have been more effective for the department to have deployed fewer officers who were more adequately skilled and qualified.

Considering the individual components of the cluster solution, it appears as though operational planning, deployment and training are key factors that not only distinguish between officers who police crowd disturbances, but also impact the officers' perceptions of the utility of the crowd management strategy. In terms of operational planning and deployment, the more friendly, low-profile crowd policing strategies work best when officers are able to utilize discretion and employ multifaceted interventions wherein police are able to rapidly and assertively respond to threats against public order while simultaneously maintaining positive interactions with law-abiding crowd members (Berkley & Thayer, 2000; Schreiber & Stott, 2012; Westley, 1957). This requires that officers are committed to the operational plan and policing strategy, as well as secure in the equipment they are provided with to carry out their duties. As the current results indicate, officers who believe their briefing and deployment are inadequate are less likely to welcome the use of low-profile policing strategies. Lacking in preparations and armaments, these officers may have been unable to embrace the friendlier elements of the Meet and Greet approach while simultaneously responding to the escalating levels of violence as the riot progressed. This may have contributed to ineffectiveness of the overall approach during this specific event.

These results also suggest that, even more than briefing and equipment, the success or failure of a crowd management strategy may be affected most by the level of specialized training officers receive. The largest difference between the two groups stems from their opinions pertaining to the adequacy of their level of riot training. The officers who were more favourable toward the Meet and Greet approach and displayed more confidence in their abilities indicated that their level of riot training was near complete. As this group represents only one-third of the sample, however, it appears as

though only a small segment of the policing population receives training specific to situations involving crowds and crowd disturbances.

Recognizing the challenges associated with policing “high-risk” public gatherings, many police departments have formed specialized groups and/or units tasked with crowd control and management. In the United Kingdom, for instance, the Police Support Units (PSUs), which consist of officers who are equipped with protective equipment or riot gear and trained to use force to maintain and/or restore public order, are primarily responsible for public-order policing (Stott et al., 2018). Following a review of public order policing across the UK, additional specialized police units, known as Police Liaison Teams (PLTs) have been developed. Comprised of officers skilled in communication and negotiation, these units are designed for the purposes of resolving minor problems, as well as promoting perceptions of police legitimacy amongst crowd members (Stott et al., 2018). Similarly, in Canada, the VPD created the Public Order Group (POG), which includes horse, canine and bicycle patrol units, as well as negotiators working in tandem with the Public Safety Unit (Vancouver Police Department, 2017) to police all large-scale public events. Members of these units receive tactical training in techniques and methods focused on preventing the escalation of violence in crowd situations (Vancouver Police Department, 2017). Despite their development and design, however, these specialized forces may not, in and of themselves, prevent the escalation of violence in all situations involving large crowds. As evidenced by the current study, public events are policed by more than just the members of these specialized units. With more than half of the officers reporting an inadequate level of riot training, it would appear that the majority of officers charged with policing large-scale crowd disturbances may not be part of these specialized and highly trained task forces. Acknowledging the potential for any officer to respond to a situation involving confrontational and/or violent crowds, it is crucial that all officers receive training in crowd management techniques.

4.5.2. Limitations

Although this study provides a first step for identifying types of police officers involved in policing crowd events, it is not without its limitations. Given the lack of empirical and theoretical work in this area, selecting variables for the classification process was done on a purely exploratory basis. The included items captured specific

measures related to training, pre-event preparations, and experiences during the actual riot. Missing, however, were measurements relating to the officers' actions during the riot (e.g., interactions with members of the crowd), as well as previous exposure to high-risk situations. Additional, theoretically relevant variables were also absent from the current study. A measure of the officers' confidence in their own authority (i.e., self-legitimacy), which has been shown to influence police officers' commitment to procedurally just policing (Bradford & Quinton, 2014), may have contributed to the development of the officer typology and helped to further explain the differences in the officers' perceptions of the utility of the Meet and Greet approach. As a result, potentially important pieces of information, including the officers' perceptions of self-legitimacy, prior experiences with crowd events, their role during the riot (e.g., unit to which they were assigned, and post held during the riot), as well as their type and level of interaction with crowd members were unavailable for analysis.

In addition to the limited content of the analysis, the measurement of each construct may be considered a further limitation. Each construct was measured using a single indicator. Officers' qualities and characteristics were limited to two indicators of the officers' perceptions of the adequacy of their pre-riot preparations (i.e., briefing and training), as well two broad measures of their perceptions of their on-duty experiences (i.e., deployment and safety). In addition, the link between the officers and crowd policing approach was captured using a single variable measuring the officers' perception of the utility of the Meet and Greet approach. Missing from the analysis were measures of the officers' attitude toward and interactions with crowd members, as well as items capturing the officers' roles during the riot and their previous experiences with unruly crowds. Thus, while these variables provide a starting point for identifying differences amongst police officers on the basis of their riot preparations and on-duty experiences, as well as for understanding police attitudes in relation to a specific type of low-profile policing strategy, they are broad measures that capture only one element of what are likely complex, multidimensional constructs. The resulting classification scheme and link to the policing approach, therefore, require further empirical exploration and validation.

A final limitation concerns the timing of data collection. The survey was administered in the months following the 2011 Stanley Cup riot. Given that this event

raised many hard questions for both the department and its members, it likely evoked many negative feelings amongst police officers. The officers' responses to the items included in this study, therefore, may have been impacted by the type of event and the timing of the survey. Whether or not the same classification scheme would emerge using data collected from officers following the policing of a successful event remains to be seen.

4.6. Conclusion

Thought to improve the relationship between the police and public and contribute to the professionalism and legitimacy of the police, low-profile strategies have become increasingly popular methods for policing large-scale public gatherings. These approaches, however, have not always proved effective. The 2011 Stanley Cup riot, for instance, represents a perceived failure of a specific type of soft policing style, the Meet and Greet approach.

Instances in which more friendly crowd-policing strategies have been implemented unsuccessfully raise questions as to what impaired the police response and how police departments can utilize soft-policing approaches more effectively. The findings from this study suggest that a missing link in the relationship between the crowd's behaviour and the police response may be the police officers. Offering a first attempt at classifying officers based on their skills and experiences during a riot, this study identified an important dimension to the success or failure of a low-profile policing approach in a high-risk crowd situation. In doing so, this study provides information useful for police departments as they continue to improve upon their methods and techniques for crowd control and management. In addition to these important practical implications, this study highlights several avenues for future research.

Identifying a link between characteristics of police officers and perceptions of the Meet and Greet approach, the current findings point to the importance of incorporating information about the police in studies of crowd disturbances. While gaining access to police officers for research purposes has proved challenging (Drury & Stott, 2001; Whelan & Molnar, 2017), obtaining information about police officers and policing operations may provide important opportunities to advance our understanding of public-order policing and improve upon crowd management strategies and tactics. To further

the development of a typology of police officers and extend the current literature, it is recommended that researchers develop a larger number of indicators to measure the qualities and characteristics of police officers. For instance, background information may prove useful for differentiating amongst officers. As police agencies leave their requirements for educational attainment and vocational experience quite broad for recruitment purposes, police officers often come from a variety of backgrounds, with different types of personal and professional experiences. Officers may differ in terms of their level of education, the number and types of previous employment opportunities they have pursued, as well as their personal experiences (e.g., travel, volunteer work, involvement in sports or other activities, etc.). Having the potential to influence a police officer's proclivity towards embracing the core values of policing, adopting his/her training, and/or his/her level or type of engagement with his/her duties, the background characteristics of an officer may be important in terms of understanding the differences amongst police officers. Thus, by capturing different dimensions of police characteristics, skills, attitudes and behaviours, it may be possible to develop a more complete classification scheme.

Similarly, to more fully examine the relationship between the police and low-profile approaches, additional indicators capturing officers' perceptions of, and abilities to utilize low-profile approaches to crowd management, including Meet and Greet, should be incorporated into the analysis. Finally, given the exploratory nature of this current study, it is necessary to examine the validity of these findings using information gathered from larger samples of police officers from different departments, in the aftermath of a wider selection of events (i.e., both high and low-risk situations) with divergent outcomes (i.e., events that were considered to be policed successfully versus those that were deemed to be failures).

Chapter 5. **Beyond the Riot: Developing a Theoretical Framework to Explain Police Behaviours**

5.1. Introduction

The leading theory on crowd psychology, the Elaborated Social Identity Model (ESIM), and other complementary perspectives such as the procedural justice theory, explain the outcome of crowd events as the result of a complex series of interactions between the police and members of the crowd (Dawson & Davies, 2017). However, with the power and authority to make decisions and act based on their perceptions of the crowd's intentions and behaviours (Dawson & Davies, 2017; Reicher et al., 2007), it is the police and their response that tend to have the greatest impact on the outcome of a crowd event. More specifically, whether or not the police response is viewed as being legitimate by the crowd appears to be the primary factor impacting the crowd dynamics (Stott & Drury, 2000; Drury et al., 2003; Prati & Pietrantonio, 2009; Stott et al., 2008). For instance, when police are viewed as behaving in a manner considered to be illegitimate (e.g., using an undifferentiated/coercive response and imposing restraints on all crowd members), or as impeding the socially acceptable or legitimate actions of the crowd, the crowd is likely to unify around a shared sense of hostility and anger toward the police (Reicher et al., 2007). Essentially, the crowd's perception of whether or not the police are facilitating or oppressing the crowd's actions may directly influence the crowd's proclivity to escalate and engage in violent and/or destructive behaviours (Reicher et al., 2007; Stott & Reicher, 1998).

Despite acknowledging the important role police actions and reactions play in the chain of events, research remains less clear as to what causes the police to act or react in the ways they do in crowd situations. Why do some officers adopt procedural justice techniques while others do not? Why do some police officers engage in physical force while others appear to show more restraint? While it is likely that a wide range of factors play a role in police discretionary practices and behaviours, the research on police behaviours and decision-making processes has thus far been limited and theoretically underdeveloped (Ishoy, 2016). Therefore, in order to move toward a better understanding of policing outcomes in crowd situations, research on police practices and behaviours needs to be grounded within a sound theoretical context. The goal of this

study is to contribute to the development of a theoretical framework to explain policing practices and behaviours. Through an examination of police perceptions of the challenges associated with policing the 2011 Stanley Cup riot, this study will explore how the policing environment may influence police attitudes, decision-making processes and behaviours.

5.2. Literature Review

Unique insofar as the scale of the work performed, public gatherings still require police to engage in the same types of duties as “regular” police work. The police remain responsible for maintaining law and order and protecting the public via combatting and preventing crime, developing and maintaining partnerships with communities, diffusing volatile situations, and acting with sensitivity when dealing with vulnerable situations/individuals (Prospects, 2016). Thus, understanding the actions and decision-making processes of the police in crowd situations should be consistent with our comprehension of police behaviour more generally. Understanding police actions and responses in crowd situations, therefore, requires an understanding of the causes of police practices and behaviours more generally. Are the police trained or disciplined to behave in a certain fashion? Do the unique background characteristics of officers impact their enforcement practices? Do situational factors influence police behaviours? Do certain structural elements impose constraints on police decision-making processes?

There have been very few true theoretical frameworks developed and/or applied to explain police discretion and behaviours. Klinger (1997) attempted to account for variations in police behaviours across physical space through the development of an integrated theory of police behaviour. He proposed a multi-level perspective that accounts for the impact that specific elements of police organizations and communities have on the individual actions of police officers during their encounters with citizens. Klinger (1997) described the enterprise of policing as a network of geographically distinct units within which policework is controlled by political and administrative boundaries. Divided by territory, policing consists of distinct community-based work groups that vary based on size of the jurisdiction and number of patrol beats. The structure of that ecological community then intersects with the organizational structure of the police departments, which involves the administrative rules and regulations by which police are

controlled. Due to the spatial and temporal structures intrinsic in policework (e.g., irregular and varied interactions with citizens), however, patrol work does not lend itself easily to formal administrative oversight (Klinger, 1997). Instead, officers are constrained more by the informal elements of their organization (e.g., collective group norms). According to Klinger (1997), the level of autonomy officers possess coupled with the nature of the division of policework means police will be heavily influenced by their environment. The environment dictates the police workload and mandate. Thus, Klinger (1997) argued that the level of crime and social deviance occurring within each policing territory play a key role in determining how police perform their duties.

In order for police to determine the level of deviance and their appropriate response, Klinger (1997) identified four properties he believed operated as “rules” to help in the evaluation process. First is the composition of offenders and offenses. Officers will make evaluations based on their perceptions of the level and type of “normal” deviance occurring in a community. Officer working in areas characterized by higher levels of deviance view their area as being more deviant, come to perceive more types of deviance as being normal, and, thus believe less vigorous police action is necessary in most instances (Klinger, 1997). Second is the officer’s view about crime victim’s deservedness. In areas characterized by higher levels of crime, officers often perceive that the line between victim and offender gets blurred. With many victims engaging in deviant conduct or having been themselves a criminal, officers working higher crime areas tend to perceive crime victims as being less deserving of police intervention. Third is police cynicism. Driven by exposure to deviance and a lack of faith in the criminal justice system, police working in higher deviance areas often adopt the view that police action becomes futile. Finally, the fourth rule involves officer workload. As the level of deviance increases, so to do the number of calls for service. Areas with higher levels of deviance drain patrol resources, thus reducing officers’ ability to manage their workload (Klinger, 1997). According to this theory, through a rather straightforward evaluation of the level of deviance the “rules” surrounding this interpretation, variations in police activity should correspond with differences in community-level crime patterns.

Despite offering a rather straightforward approach to explaining police behaviours, this theory is not without flaws. The largest hurdle relates to the fact that the theory lacks empirical support. Sobol (2010), for example, examined the effect of officer

cynicism and workload on the vigour with which officers exercised their formal legal authority using data collected by the Project on Policing Neighbourhoods (POPN)²¹. Consistent with the theory, Sobol (2010) discovered that, in general, vigour is correlated with district crime, and district crime is correlated with officer cynicism and workload. However, when examining police organizations in individual cities, the types of relationships between these variables differed. While vigour was significantly correlated with workload and district crime associated with cynicism in Indianapolis, only workload and district crime had a relationship in St. Petersburg. These discrepancies suggest there may be other factors affecting police activity that are unaccounted for by this theoretical framework. Philips and Sobol (2012) used data collected from police officers in four police agencies in New York State to measure changes in respondents' judgment or decision-making processes. Examining the utility of different theoretical perspectives to explain variations in police behaviours, Philips and Sobol (2012) found some degree of support for Klinger's ecological theory. Consistent with Klinger's theory, their findings suggest that officers would be less likely to respond to low-level traffic violations when they are assigned to police high-crime areas. The researchers, however, caution that, because the results are based on officers' responses to a vignette, they may not be replicated in real-world situations. Furthermore, the study was unable to determine whether or not the theory would hold once temporal components were factored into the officers' decision-making schema (e.g., multiple calls for service, whether or not the situation occurred during a "busy" time of a shift, etc.) (Philips & Sobol, 2012).

The moderated empirical support suggests that there is room for improvement with this theoretical perspective. Some of the tenets of the theory require further consideration and refinement. The ecological theory assumes officers share a great deal of autonomy in performing their duties. However, as organizations differ in size and bureaucratic structure, the degree of officer autonomy is unlikely to be consistent across

21 The Project on Policing Neighbourhoods (POPN) was a large-scale study that involved direct observation of police in two different cities, Indianapolis, and St. Petersburg. Completing over 5,700 hours of observation focused on 12 selected police beats in each city, the data provided information on approximately 11,000 police-citizen encounters. In addition, patrol officers and field supervisors from each department were surveyed (National Research Council, 2004).

police organizations (Klinger, 2004). Officer behaviours may be controlled more or less-so depending on the department for which they work. Centred on the importance of the impact that the level of community disorder has on officer activities, this theory does not take into account the potential influence of factors that exist external to the communities within which police work (Klinger, 2004). There may be additional social or political factors that influence officers' conduct.

The "theory of institutionalized organizations" has been applied to police theory and research to recognize the relationship between policing contexts and police organizational structures and practices (Crank, 2003). According to this perspective, institutional organizations operate within complicated environments; each organization's structures and operational strategies are shaped by the values and beliefs that are held by different, and oftentimes conflicting, influential actors and entities (Crank, 2003). Police agencies are the quintessential institutional organization. Prevailing through the development and maintenance of legitimacy in the eyes of their sovereigns, police agencies adopt their operational and strategic decisions and design to mirror the values of the members of their various influential entities. Under pressure from government and legal officials/entities, as well as special interest groups and the general public, police must align their organizational policies and behaviours to meet the demands of public safety, due process, gender and racial equity, and public relations among a myriad of other values held by their constituencies. This theoretical framework has thus far only been utilized to explain the structure and functioning of police organizations (Crank, 2003). Katz (2001), for instance, found support for an institutional perspective when examining the development and expansion of a gang unit in a large Midwestern community. Katz (2001) discovered that the gang unit was created as a result of social and political factors, including community pressure to address the perceived gang problem; once established, the unit's response was driven by the need to acquire and preserve organizational legitimacy among the powerful influencers in the police department's environment.

Crank (2003) suggests that this perspective may be extended to explain the individual-level behaviours of officers. According to Crank (2003, p. 201), the institutional system of policing acts upon police officers by providing the "deep background" for their decision-making processes and behaviours. Although police officers will rationally

recognize and reflect upon their actions in any given situation, their actions take place within a broader value-based context. For instance, a police officer will determine the series of actions to take during a traffic stop by recalling his/her training, previous experience, and via the lessons from other officers (Crank, 2003). His/her actions will also be influenced by the nature of their organization, including the authority and responsibility awarded to police to make decisions about culpability and justice. Institutional values to deter crime and uphold the law underly all police actions, including conducting a traffic stop. Following this logic, it stands to reason that where an officer's core values fail to align with those of his/her police agency, problematic police behaviours may arise. Without empirical validation, however, the utility of this theoretical perspective as an explanation of police behaviour remains unknown.

Ishoy (2016) applied the theory of planned behaviour to examine police decision-making. The theory of planned behaviour states that behavioural outcomes are the result of intention/motivation and behavioural control (i.e., ability to perform an action) (LaMorte, 2019). More specifically, an individual's actual versus intended behaviours are believed to be influenced by three types of belief mechanisms: attitudes about a behaviour of interest (i.e., whether their evaluation of a behaviour is favourable or unfavourable), subjective and social norms governing a behaviour (i.e., the personal belief about how most people perceive the behaviour, and the customary codes of approval or disapproval for a behaviour derived from the broader cultural context), and perceived behavioural controls (i.e., the perceived level of difficulty of engaging in a behaviour in each situation) (Ishoy, 2016; LaMorte, 2019).

To explore variations in officer attitudes about enforcement actions, as well as the impact of situational and structural factors that are inherent in the decision-making process, Ishoy (2016) interviewed 25 police officers with varying levels of experience. The results showed that officers have varying opinions as to the general desirability of engaging in different enforcement activities (e.g., making an arrest), and this intention was impacted by the situational context (e.g., seriousness of the offense), and, to a lesser degree, their own personal opinions about the offense to which they were responding (Ishoy, 2016). In terms of subjective norms, Ishoy (2016) discovered that police did not appear to be particularly affected by their perceptions of how their behaviours would be viewed by their supervisors or co-workers. In terms of officers'

perceptions of their behavioural control, the information gathered from the interviews suggests that an officer's latitude for discretion is linked very closely to the legal seriousness of the offense; officers perceive their level of discretion to decrease as the severity of the offense increases.

Ishoy (2016)'s study discovered a potential link between the theory of planned behaviour and policework. However, because the study relied only on interview data, it remains unclear as to whether or not these results would be replicated when examining actual police behaviours. Furthermore, by acknowledging the complexity of policework, including the high-risk and dynamic environment within which it operates, Ishoy (2016) acknowledges that there may be problems when attempting to apply this theory to policing. The theory of planned behaviour does not account for the effect of factors such as fear, threat, mood or past experience on a person's intention and motivation. Moreover, because the theory inherently assumes that behaviour is the result of a linear decision-making process, it cannot account for changes to that process over time (LaMorte, 2019). Thus, this theory may not be able to account for the range of situational and contextual factors that may impact police decisions and enforcement practices.

Despite advancements in policing research, a complete theoretical explanation of police discretion and practices requires further development and finesse (Mastrofski, 2004). Based on the available research on policing, the theoretical framework for policing outcomes may be highly complex. There may be a host of different, and perhaps inter-connected, factors that may influence police decision-making and practices. On the one hand, there are the potential proximate factors that may shape police actions. These factors include the individual characteristics of the police officers themselves, as well as the elements of the situations in which police officers find themselves performing their duties. On the other hand, there are a number of structural characteristics believed to have a less direct relationship with police practices. The characteristics of the police organization, community factors, and the broader political environment may all exert a certain level of influence over different aspects of policework. To date, most of the research has focused on examining the relationship between police practice and different individual-level and situational factors.

Police are often hired and retained because they possess particular qualities, including being of high moral character (e.g., absence of criminal history), having an

acceptable personality (i.e., devoid of psychological deficiencies), embracing specific ideals (e.g., a commitment to public service), having a high level of education and training, as well as showing potential to develop skillsets necessary for policework (e.g., communication), being diverse (e.g., representing traditionally marginalized segments of the population based on race, gender and ethnicity), and having favourable predispositions toward the treatment of others (National Research Council, 2004). It is suggested that through various policing policies and programs certain officer characteristics, namely officer beliefs and attitudes, and their skills and knowledge, may be transformed, which, in turn, affects their practices.

The influence of officer characteristics on policing outcomes has not been extensively examined; however, based on the research that has been completed, the results indicate a weak connection between the two. In terms of whether or not police behaviours are influenced by the existence of a specific type of officer personality (e.g., authoritarian), the general culture of policing, or the development of officer cynicism, there is insufficient research and evidence to draw any meaningful conclusions (National Research Council, 2004). Similarly, although officer knowledge, skills, and their abilities tend to be associated with higher scores on performance tests, their value in predicting actual officer behaviours remains unknown (National Research Council, 2004).

In terms of training, experience, and education, the literature is sparse. Empirical examinations of the effects of training have been scant, and, thus, its effects on police behaviour remain unclear (National Research Council, 2004). In terms of officer experience, some studies suggest that years of service may impact certain police behaviours. DeJong, Mastrofski and Parks (2001), for instance, found that the amount of experience an officer had influenced their time spent problem-solving; officers with less than ten years of experience showed a greater proclivity to engage in problem-solving activities. Similarly, Engel (2002) found that officers with less experience spent more time per shift engaging in self-initiated activities, as well as problem-solving and community-policing activities. Whether or not the effect of years of experience is tied to other factors, however, remains unclear.

Based on the few systematic observational studies that have focused on the influence of education on police practices, the results are mixed. In examinations of police use of force, for instance, researchers have found that officers with higher levels

of education were significantly more likely to use less force (e.g., Rydberg & Terrill, 2010; Terrill & Mastrofski, 2002) or reasonable levels of force (e.g., Worden, 1996). However, Worden (1996) also noted that level of education did not differentiate amongst officers in terms of their use of excessive force. Using data derived from the POPN study, Rydberg and Terrill (2010), DeJong, Mastrofski and Parks (2001) and Mastrofski and colleagues (2000) found that college education had no effect on officers' likelihood of making an arrest, time spent on problem-solving, nor their responsiveness to citizens' requests to control other citizens.

With the advancement of equal employment opportunities and affirmative action, policing is becoming a more diverse workforce (National Research Council, 2004). Increasing the representation of minorities and females in policing is assumed to reduce police biases associated with officer race and gender. Based on the limited body of research available, however, there is little support for the existence of a relationship between race and gender and police behaviours (National Research Council, 2004). While exploring the link between officer race and officer behaviour, for instance, Sun and Payne (2004) found evidence of racial differences in police handlings of conflicts. Compared to White officers, Black officers were found to be more active in resolving conflict, as well as to engage in more coercive activities in their responses to interpersonal conflicts. However, much of the difference appears to be contingent upon additional neighbourhood characteristics. For instance, Black officers showed a greater inclination to provide support to citizens, but only when in predominantly Black neighbourhoods (Sun & Payne, 2004). Similarly, Rojek, Rosenfeld and Decker (2012) had found some distinctions based on officer race: compared to Black officers, White officers were more likely to stop and search Black citizens. Once the racial composition of the neighbourhoods was accounted for, however, they discovered that White officers were more likely to search White citizens when in Black-majority or mixed-race neighbourhoods. Referring to this as "out-of-place" policing, Rojek and colleagues (2012, p.1017) suggested that police suspicion is likely heightened by people who have the appearance of not belonging where they are seen.

Research on gender and police practice is scant. Work in this area fails to show any substantive relationship between officer gender and variations in policing behaviours such as making arrests, issuing citations, using force, and providing comfort to citizens

(e.g., DeJong, 2004; Terrill & Mastrofski, 2002). Although some observational studies have indicated that female officers have a higher proclivity for community policing and offering assistance (e.g., Engel, 2000), other studies found no difference between men and women (e.g., DeJong, 2004; Smith et al., 2005). To date, most studies reveal that individual-level characteristics do not show a reliable pattern in predicting officer behaviours (e.g., Smith et al., 2005; Terrill & Mastrofski, 2002). This failure to find a consistent link between individual-level officer characteristics and their practice suggests that officers' decision-making processes and behaviours may be more likely the result of external factors (National Research Council, 2004), including the immediate situational context.

Representing the forces that operate at the “tactical level” of police decision-making (National Research Council, 2004, p. 114), situational factors include both legal and extralegal influences. Legal factors include the seriousness of the offence or problem to which the police are responding, the evidence available to police, the nature of the relationships between the complainants and suspect, as well as the preferences (i.e., whether or not they want perpetrators arrested) and cooperation of complainants. Extralegal influences include the characteristics of the complainant (e.g., social class, race, gender, and their demeanour), the characteristics of suspects (e.g., social class, race, gender, sobriety, and their demeanour during the interaction), the visibility of the encounters (i.e., whether they occur in public or private, and whether or not there are bystanders/witnesses present), the numbers of officers at the scene, and the characteristics of the neighbourhood in which the encounter takes place. Varying from situation to situation, these circumstances are hypothesized to play a central role in shaping how officers act (National Research Council, 2004).

To date, the most rigorous studies have examined the influence of situational factors on police practices. Although the research is expanding in this area, most of the empirical work has focused on examining the impact of situational factors on police decisions to make arrests and use physical force (National Research Council, 2004). Based on the available research, police decision-making related to exercising their authority to control citizens is most heavily influenced by the legal factors present within a given situation (e.g., Black, 1971; Black, 1980; Lundman, 1994; Mastrofski et al., 1995; Mastrofski et al., 2000; Smith & Visher, 1981; Worden, 1995). The seriousness of the

reported incident, evidence of the wrongdoing, and the willingness of the complainant to request a controlling intervention are, in particular, regarded as the most influential factors. The likelihood that officers will exercise their authority to make arrests, use physical force or other methods of control during their encounters with suspected offenders increases with the strength of the evidence of criminal wrongdoing, as well as the severity of the offence (i.e., felony offence versus a lesser crime) (e.g., Mastrofski et al., 1995; Mastrofski et al., 2000). Second to the strength of the evidence, research has revealed that the preference of complainants tends to be influential on police actions when the offence is less serious, and/or when the complainants request for control is lower than making an arrest (e.g., Mastrofski et al., 2000; Smith & Visher, 1981).

Regarding the influence of extralegal situational factors, the research has found mostly weak and inconsistent effects (National Research Council, 2004; Riksheim & Chermak, 1993). For instance, while some studies have found a link between a suspect's demeanour toward police and police response, including making an arrest and utilizing physical force (e.g., Freidrich, 1980; Smith & Visher, 1981; Worden & Shepard, 1996), other studies have found that this connection is less straightforward (e.g., Lundman, 1994; Mastrofski et al., 1995) or non-existent (e.g., Mastrofski et al., 2000; Terrill & Mastrofski, 2002). Through their reexamination of previous works that utilized the Police Services Study (PSS)²² data, Worden and Shepard (1996) discovered that the likelihood of arrest increased for suspects displaying any form of disrespectful demeanour as compared to those showing police more deference. In contrast, however, utilizing data collected during ride-along observations on 451 non-traffic police-suspect encounters, Mastrofski, Worden and Snipes (1995) found that even though the likelihood of arrest rose in connection with the suspect's behaviour, this was only the case when

22 The Police Services Study (PSS) was designed to examine the effects of institutional arrangements on the delivery of police services. Various kinds of data were collected about 24 police departments in three metropolitan areas (Rochester, NY, St. Louis, MO, and Tampa-St. Petersburg, FL). These neighbourhoods were selected to ensure information was collected from a rough cross-section of organizational arrangements and residential service conditions (e.g., racial composition and wealth distribution) for urban policing in the United States. Observers, who accompanied patrol officers on approximately 900 patrol shifts, recorded information about 5,688 police-citizen interactions. The officers who were observed, as well as a sample of other officers were also surveyed (National Research Council, 2004; Worden & Sheppard, 1996).

the suspect's actions were illegal (i.e., refusing to comply with police orders, acting in a threatening manner or physically resisting police). Similarly, although Lundman (1994) found demeanour to be consistently linked with the likelihood of police making an arrest, the findings from his study suggest that the influence of suspect demeanour may be contingent upon how it is represented (e.g., as verbal statements versus degree of deference toward police).

Similarly, the victims' and complainants' demeanour toward police produced mixed effects (National Research Council, 2004). Some studies have found that it is more likely that police will utilize coercive actions, including making an arrest and using force, when citizens are seen as being disrespectful or irrational (e.g., Worden & Sheppard, 1996). Other researchers revealed that citizens who display any form of disrespect when requesting police assistance or action are less likely to receive a friendly or comforting response (e.g., Snipes, 2001) or to have their requests fulfilled (Mastrofski et al., 2000). However, in their examination of police discretionary use of procedural justice, Mastrofski and colleagues (2016) revealed that police discretion was not impacted by citizen's demeanour; even though displays of citizen disrespect toward an officer were associated with lower levels of police-provided procedural justice, this finding was not statistically significant.

The effect of citizen's personal characteristics on policing outcomes is inconclusive. If an effect is present at all, it appears to be highly contingent upon the type of police practice being considered (National Research Council, 2004). Some studies have revealed that race may affect an officer's decision to make an arrest, as well as their use of deadly and less-than-lethal forms of force, with the likelihood of these outcomes increasing for individuals who are Black (e.g., Smith & Visher, 1981; Terrill & Mastrofski, 2002; Worden, 1995). Conversely, other studies have found that Whites are targeted more harshly by the police than Blacks in certain neighbourhoods (e.g., Mastrofski et al., 2002). Moreover, additional research has revealed no race effect when examining variations in officer's demeanour or actions toward citizens or response to citizen's requests to control other citizens (e.g., Mastrofski et al., 1995). Similarly, studies examining the impact of citizen's gender on police actions have produced mixed results. Some research found that the likelihood for arrest did not differ by gender (e.g., Smith & Visher, 1981), while others suggest that males may have a greater chance of being

arrested by police or being on the receiving end of a coercive police action (e.g., Terrill & Mastrofski, 2002).

Moreover, the few studies that have examined the effects of the social class of both suspects and complainants on officers' behaviours provide mixed results. Although some research suggests that social class may influence officer use of force (e.g., Terrill & Mastrofski, 2002), as well as an officer's inclination to comfort citizens (e.g., Mastrofski et al., 1998), most of the research has failed to find evidence of a noteworthy connection between officer behaviour and citizen's social status (e.g., Mastrofski et al. 1995; Mastrofski et al., 2000; Snipes, 2001). It is surmised that the influence of citizen's individual-level characteristics may be intertwined with other situational factors, including the citizen's demeanour, seriousness of the offence, and strength of evidence (National Research Council, 2004).

The weak, inconsistent and/or incomplete connections between individual-level characteristics and situational factors with policing outcomes points to the need to look beyond the officers and their immediate circumstances to unearth the factors that may have greater explanatory power in terms of influencing police behaviours and discretion. Structural elements, including characteristics of the police organization, as well as community factors and the broader political climate (National Research Council, 2004) are believed to have important, albeit potentially less direct, effects on policing outcomes and decision-making processes. Thought to shape the workload of the police, organizational changes, including the introduction of new policies, the formation of new programs or police units, and changes to supervisory practices or structure, as well as elements that operate within the broader environment such as the state of the economy, political climate, and personal characteristics of the residents living in different communities, may exert control over the police by placing boundaries on police practices (National Research Council, 2004; Worden, 1995).

In terms of the influence the police organization has on police practices, the evidence is inconclusive. To date, research on the impact of the structural characteristics of the police organization, including the degree to which the decision-making authority is distributed throughout an organization (i.e., decentralized versus centralized decision-making), as well as the organization's level of complexity (i.e., job specialization, and hierarchical differentiation) is extremely limited. Due to difficulties associated with

measuring concepts such as decentralization and obtaining sufficient participation from members in police organizations, robust and reliable research on the decision-making structure of police-departments is not widely available (National Research Council, 2004). Due to a lack of empirical attention, there is insufficient evidence to draw any meaningful conclusions about the relationship between police practices and the police department's hierarchical structure (i.e., levels of rank and supervision), as well as the organization's functional differentiation resulting from the creation of job specialities (e.g., detective, patrol, crime analysis, etc.) and specialized units (e.g., gang unit) (National Research Council, 2004).

Even though research on the effect of structural changes across the entire organization is lacking, some studies have examined the influence of organizational characteristics on police behaviours on a smaller scale. There have been a few studies that have examined the role of front-line officer supervision on patrol behaviours (e.g., Engel, 2000; Engel, 2001; Engel, 2002). Using data collected for the POPN, Engel (2002) discovered that certain supervisory styles were associated with different types of police behaviours. For instance, officers with active supervisors (i.e., those characterized by higher levels of patrol and supervisory functions in the field) were more likely to spend time engaging in proactivity, problem-solving and community-policing activities during a shift. In addition, those officers with innovative supervisors (i.e., those who expect community-oriented activity from their front-line officers) were more likely to spend time doing administrative duties during a shift. Contrary to the style of supervision, research suggests that the specific preferences of supervisors are unlikely to elicit any sort of change in officer behaviours (e.g., Allen & Maxfield, 1983; Mastrofski et al., 1994). Studies examining more of the quantity of supervision have found that the mere presence of a supervisor was only likely to have a small effect on police behaviours, including making an arrest and time spent with citizens during an encounter (e.g., Allen, 1982; Smith, 1984). Thus, although there is some evidence to suggest that the quality of supervision impacts police behaviours, this relationship requires further exploration.

The one organizational feature that has received some empirical attention is the size of the police agency. According to the available research, this relationship between agency size and police practice is weak and potentially mediated by numerous other factors (National Research Council, 2004). There is some evidence to support the notion

that different sized police departments engage in different forms of policing (National Research Council, 2004). For instance, while larger departments tend to have higher arrest rates, and employ more aggressive officers who have a higher likelihood of utilizing physical force (e.g., Brown, 1981), smaller agencies have been found to have officers who have greater familiarity with their communities and provide more assistance to citizens (e.g., Parks, 1979). These relationships, however, may be influenced by the presence of additional factors. The link between agency size and arrest rates, for example, appears to vary by type of offence (National Research Council, 2004). Researchers discovered that officers in smaller departments actually exercise less discretion and show more inclination to enforce drunk-driving laws compared to those officers employed by larger departments (e.g., Mastrofski & Ritti, 1996). Researchers surmise that perhaps differences in officer enforcement may be, in part, due to officers in smaller departments being more influenced by, and responsive to, citizens' preferences and priorities (National Research Council, 2004). Therefore, although inconclusive, the available results do suggest that perhaps elements existing in the external environment may exert greater influence on police practice than the organizational features. As Reiss and Bordua (1967) explained, in dealing with a wide variety of external entities, including complainants, suspects, probation officers, attorneys, disgruntled citizens, business groups, city officials, and members from other police and emergency response services, police are not entirely in control of their interactions. Thus, in addition to the qualities of the police organization itself, the environmental context, including the nature of the tasks the police are called upon to respond to, the qualities of the external entities with which/whom the police have interactions with, and the broader social contexts in which these interactions occur may all play important roles in shaping police practices.

Examining factors existing outside of the police organizations themselves, some researchers have found possible connections between the legal and political environments and police behaviour. Court rulings and legislation for instance, are presumed to influence police practices by placing legal limits on the kinds of police actions that are permissible (Klinger, 2004). In terms of the influence of court rulings, evidence suggests their effects on police behaviours may be less immediate (National Research Council, 2004). Court rulings that restrict police actions are often initially met with resistance and non-compliance by police, who tend to be slow to adapting to new ways of doing things (National Research Council, 2004). Examining the effect of

legislation mandating the arrest of perpetrators in incidents involving domestic violence, Chaney and Saltzstein (1998) found that, in those situations where violence was threatened, police arrest patterns coincided with the directive outlined in the mandatory arrest laws.

The political undertone to policing is thought to be grounded in the development and maintenance of police accountability. It is surmised that politics may shape policework through the appointment and control of the police chiefs, control of police department budgets, and by placing constraints on the nature and development of police programs and operations. Contrary to expectations, some studies have found that efforts made by political leaders to alter police practices are often thwarted by police departments (e.g., Guyot, 1991; Scheingold, 1991). As Guyot (1991) noted, because the appointment of a new police chief involves considerable political considerations independent of police policy issues, and budgetary control of a department is limited due to the nature of policing functions and time constraints, a police chief enjoys considerable control over most of his/her organization's activities and operations. In his examination of the effects that different types of government may have on police practices, however, Langworthy (1985) found that political oversight can be quite potent. His results revealed that variations in arrest rates for different offence categories coincided with different forms of government. For instance, disorderly conduct arrests were higher in traditionally governed cities (i.e., those with mayor-council forms of government that elect local government representatives on partisan ballots) compared to good government cities (i.e., council-manager forms of government where local representatives are elected via nonpartisan ballots).

Additional research suggests that the characteristics of the political environment may be more influential in terms of police policy rather than police practice. Salzstein (1989), for instance, discovered that the presence of a Black mayor was significantly related to two police policies: (1) increased representation of Blacks among sworn officers and (2) the adoption of a civilian police review board; both of which were important considerations among Blacks in the community. In his case study of Mayor Giuliani's influence on police policy in New York, Greene (1999) discovered that Giuliani's appointment of Police Commissioner Bratton helped to align police policies with his campaign's promise of cracking down on threats to public order. Some of this research

goes so far as to suggest governments may leverage the police to create credit-claiming opportunities during election years. In her time-series analysis of two police departments, Meehan (2000) was able to demonstrate how a mayor was able to create and publicize a neighbourhood gang problem, which, in turn, prompted the police chief to develop specific programs to tackle the problem, including the implementation of a special gang car. This ultimately culminated in changes to police practices in the form of changes to the number of dispatch calls being classified as gang-related (Meehan, 2000).

Playing a role in the politics of policing, community organizations may also exert some control over police by placing pressure on governments to address police policy issues. In her examination of changes to policies surrounding civilian oversight, community policing and public order in Seattle, Washington and Oakland, California, Bass (2000) discovered that community activism played a pivotal role in getting issues related to police policies and practices onto a city's agenda. She noted, however, that community organizations influence is often restricted, as they are usually unable to participate in the policy response process (Bass, 2000).

Evidence of political clout has also been shown in the area of public-order policing. Government officials may be influential in creating fundamental shifts in the way police agencies handle public gatherings. According to McPhail, Schweingruber and McCarthy (1998), the movement away from an escalated force model to a negotiated management policy for policing protests in the United States can be linked to the federal government's critical commentary on the escalated force policy, as well as a series of Supreme Court decisions that create a body of public forum law advocating for the need for police to respond with maximum tolerance of First Amendment rights in places traditionally used for expressive activities. Similarly, in the United Kingdom, specialized police units were developed in response to the government's fundamental review of public-order policing. Following the death of a newspaper seller during the protests surrounding the 2009 G20 international summit in London, it was recognized that police need to engage in non-coercive dialogue with crowd members. The Police Liaison Teams, which were comprised of Police Liaison Officers, were designed to enable police to utilize communication and negotiation skills to resolve problems, and, thus, avoid the use of undifferentiated force against crowds (Stott et al., 2018).

The research on the connection between the broader political environment and police practice is extremely limited. However, from the evidence available, it is apparent that this relationship may be highly contextual; the nature and extent of political influence on either police policy or practice may rest on the character of the current political environment, as well as the occurrence of critical incidents. Thus, this relationship may be more or less apparent at different periods of time.

In light of recent events, including incidents of alleged police brutality involving members from minority groups and changes stemming from the global Coronavirus pandemic, there has been a surge in government interest and involvement in policing. In British Columbia, Canada, for instance, a massive reform to policing is underway. On July 8, 2020, the Legislative Assembly appointed the Special Committee on Reforming the *Police Act* with the intent of modernizing policing (Legislative Assembly of British Columbia, n.d.). Recognizing challenges associated with service delivery, evolving expectations of the police, the management and funding of police, as well as addressing systemic racism within British Columbia's police agencies, the goal of the Special Committee is to transform policing into an equitable and accountable service that meets the needs of all British Columbians (Legislative Assembly of British Columbia, n.d.). Several areas for redress have been identified, including, but not limited to: training for police on anti-racism; trauma-informed approaches and de-escalation techniques; funding for investigations and oversight of police forces; funding and training to expand the use of culturally appropriate; community-based restorative justice programs; and ending the discriminatory practice of street checks (Veresh, 2021). As the call for submissions pertaining to recommendations is ongoing, the nature of the changes to policing in British Columbia, as well as their potential impact on police practices, remain to be seen.

In an effort to identify the mechanisms and factors that determine how police make discretionary decisions, some researchers have discovered a connection between police behaviour, physical space, as well as community relations. In the first study to examine the spatial properties of police activities, Smith (1986) discovered that neighbourhood characteristics, including residential stability, crime rate, and racial heterogeneity were likely to impact different types of police practices. For instance, Smith (1986) found that police were more likely to make arrests in neighbourhoods

characterized by lower socioeconomic status, the likelihood of police stopping suspicious people increased in racially heterogeneous areas, and police were more likely to file official reports in Black neighbourhoods and those characterized as being unstable. Examining variations in arrest rates, Liska, Chamlin and Reed (1985) found certain urban characteristics, including income inequality, percentage non-White and levels of segregation to be significantly related to police crime control activity in terms of arrest rates for both personal and property crimes. Smith and colleagues (2005) found that, although neighbourhood characteristics were not likely to influence community policing activities, they did appear to impact the practices of traditional beat officers. Neighbourhoods characterized by high mobility, less stability and less affluence received more patrol from beat officers. Mastrofski, Reisig and McCluskey (2002) also discovered that police behaviour toward suspects changed in relation to the level of neighbourhood disadvantage; in areas characterized by high concentrations of disadvantage, police were more likely to behave in a disrespectful manner toward suspects.

Examining the influence of a neighbourhood's physical space, Smith, Novak, Frank and Lowenkamp (2005) found that neighbourhoods with more unassigned space (e.g., vacant areas, parking lots, etc.) tend to get more police attention due to a perceived need to provide more formal social control in more openly exposed public areas. Also thought to lack informal social controls, areas that attract large crowds tend to attract the attention of the police. Smith and colleagues (2005) also discovered that the type of neighbourhood may impact police behaviours due to the nature of calls to the police. Compared to residential areas, commercial locations may attract police attention because of the types of requests (e.g., business checks), as well as offerings of discounted services for officers working in the area. In residential areas, those characterized by higher levels of residential mobility were also shown to garner less attention from the police in terms of order maintenance, as well as service and community-oriented policing activities (Smith et al., 2005).

Using a more advanced statistical modelling technique, hierarchical linear modelling, Sun, Payne and Wu (2008) examined the individual and cross-level effects of neighbourhood, situational and individual variables on both coercive (i.e., making arrests, use of force and other mechanisms of compliance used to gain control over a situation), and non-coercive (i.e., supportive actions emphasizing physical and emotional

assistance to citizens) police behaviours. Their results indicate that officers do differ in terms of their coercive and non-coercive behaviours; however, officer characteristics and situational factors account more for officers' coercive actions rather than their non-coercive behaviours. Males, minorities and poor citizens were more likely to be subjected to coercive activities, and it was more likely that young, male and evening/night-shift officers would be the ones to utilize coercive measures (Sun et al., 2008). Neighbourhood disadvantage and citizen hostility were also shown to increase the likelihood that officers would engage in coercive activities. In terms of non-coercive behaviours, only one factor appeared to significantly impact this practice, officer unit. Officers who engaged in community policing were less likely to utilize noncoercive actions than those assigned to non-community policing units.

Community expectations of the police may also have the potential to impact the decision-making processes of the police. Provided that the police depend on informal patterns of social control to maintain order (e.g., cooperation of citizens), police behaviours are thought to be restricted by the prevailing moral consensus of society (Brown, 1981). The research in this area is extremely limited; however, there is some evidence to suggest that officers may be influenced by their desire to maintain positive public relations and uphold a good public image. Finckenauer (1976) completed a study wherein police recruits were asked to describe what they would do if they were placed in the same situation as the officer described in the written scenario they were provided with. Based on the recruits' responses, Finckenauer (1976) discovered that many of the decisions made by the recruits were based on their perceptions about what the community would accept as being a legitimate response.

5.3. Current Study

Despite a resurgence in interest in policing and police practices, a complete theory of police behaviour has yet to be developed. This is due, in part, to the field of research on police behaviours. This area of work has been limited for a number of reasons. First, due to the inability of researchers to gain access to police officers as research subjects, very few studies have been able to examine police practices directly (Klinger, 2004). Of those studies that have examined police behaviours directly, most of the information gathered has been collected via social observation of police in the field.

While considered to be less biased than police records, which are recorded for organizational purposes, observational data only provide information regarding immediate influences (e.g., situational factors), run the risk of introducing “reactivity” bias amongst police officers²³, and do not account for the perspectives of the officers themselves (National Research Council, 2004). Past studies have also been criticized for their tendency to focus on a narrow range of police practices, namely decisions about making an arrest and the use of force. Although important outcomes, because these types of situations often involve serious offences, officers tend to have lower levels of discretion, and thus, their behaviours are less likely to vary (Ishoy, 2016; National Research Council, 2004). Furthermore, despite providing evidence to support a link between police practice and some factors, including certain situational elements, there is a large portion of the variation in police behaviours that has yet to be accounted for. Despite receiving little in the way of empirical attention, broader contextual factors appear to show some promise in being able to explain differences in more than police policies. Perhaps these factors may help to further explain police attitudes and behaviours.

The current study aims to contribute to the literature by utilizing a new context to explore factors that may influence police attitudes and behaviours, and, ultimately, their actions while policing crowd situations. The goal of this study is to examine which, if any, broader contextual factors play a role in influencing police officers’ attitudes and behaviours. This will be accomplished by examining police officers’ perspectives of the nature of the policing climate around the time of the Stanley Cup riot. This study is important for two reasons. First, by utilizing the Stanley Cup riot as the backdrop for gathering data, it allows for information to be collected from a large number of officers who have all experienced the same event. This provides an opportunity to obtain valuable data about a shared experience. Second, as evidence suggests, the effect of experiencing negative events lasts longer than those associated with positive events (Baumeister et al., 2001). Thus, by gathering information from the police in the aftermath

23 Reactivity refers to the possibility of police altering their behaviours due to the presence of an observer (National Research Council, 2004). For instance, an officer may refrain from engaging in certain actions such as use of physical force, or may be more active with other actions, including stopping vehicles.

of a negative event, the riot, this study aims to identify some of the most salient factors impacting police and their perspectives pertaining to their practices.

5.4. Methods

5.4.1. Measures and Analysis

The data for this study include some of the more detailed pieces of qualitative information that were collected from the entire sample of Vancouver police officers. The data were derived from two broad, open-ended questions: (1) “It has been suggested that Vancouver may currently be characterized as having an undercurrent of ‘disorder’ or ‘lawlessness.’ Serious concerns about the behaviour of crowds during large events like the *Symphony of Fire* and the *Olympics* are routine. What is going on in Vancouver?” and, (2) “Do you have any further comments you would like to make” [in reference to the issues raised about the Stanley Cup riot, policing crowds, and policing in Vancouver]? A content analysis was employed to examine the data for emergent themes. There was an element of deduction in the thematic analysis, as the literature was relied upon to provide some avenues for identifying potentially important concepts used to explain police behaviours such as the political context. However, coinciding with the exploratory nature of this research, it was necessary to utilize the data itself to inductively identify the patterns and themes that appeared to be meaningful to the officers (Berg, 2009). Initially, an open coding scheme was utilized to provide a means for identifying similar words and recurring events (Berg, 2009). At this stage, I was able to categorize all potentially relevant material. Following this initial coding, a more careful and detailed search for meaningful patterns was completed (Berg, 2009). What emerged from the data were a number of related themes that represent the thoughts, opinions and experiences that were common among the participating officers.

The discussion of these themes will include some of the most inclusive quotes as exemplars. To preserve anonymity, this information is presented using generic codifications. During data entry, participants were assigned a survey number (e.g., Member 1). This number will be utilized to denote the source of exemplar quotes.

5.5. Findings: Context Matters

5.5.1. The Politics of Policing

In their statements about the nature of policework in the aftermath of the riot, one of the primary sources of contention revolved around the recent trend towards a more liberal political orientation in Vancouver. As one member noted, “a shift to more liberal attitudes combined with complacency and apathy make Vancouver a policing challenge. Individual rights are superseding the rights of society as a whole” (Member 15). Creating an environment of tolerance and placing a greater emphasis on individual rights, the adoption of this liberal attitude is perceived to be undermining the officers’ ability to effectively carry out their duties:

Over the last several years or decade, Vancouver has shifted from upholding discipline and consequences for law-breaking citizens to a climate or era of tolerance and leniency...police and government must not shy away or hesitate to enforce the law and exercise just, appropriate and lawful punishment on those persons who break the law. I am not talking about just physical force when it is necessary and justified, but also consequences whether it comes in the form of hefty fines, and incarceration (Member 39).

[Vancouver now has this] "left coast" attitude. Placating and apologetic civic governments. Civil rights groups that demand and promote "rights" without responsibility or accountability (Member 82).

Embracing this shift toward leniency, the courts are also seen as playing a particularly important role in generating an increasingly negative police work environment. There is a widespread belief that the courts are contributing to a diminishing level of respect for police officers via their failure to deliver justice through meaningful punishments:

The political culture in Vancouver has swung far "left" if you will. Today, there seems to be less accountability for one's actions, and an increase in one's "right" to do what they want and how they want...When you combine this anti-society/anti-establishment/anti-law attitude with no accountability and no legal consequences, you get a vocal minority leading a silent majority...In general, the courts have paved the way for showing no accountability for your actions, which compounds dramatically once a "person" has experienced our "justice system"... a revolving door that perpetuates lawlessness and a lack of respect for rule of law and rules of society (Member 73).

The officers also suggest that the apparent lack of support from the legal system may be contributing to a more dangerous work environment for street-level police officers. Rather than deterring individuals from engaging in deviant behaviour, the police propose that the courts may actually be encouraging poor behaviour via their reluctance to impose adequate legal sanctions:

Over the years there has developed a lack of respect for authority – police – and a greater willingness to be confrontational and belligerent with police officers, as people have no fear of repercussions. They know that, even if arrested, the courts will not mete out meaningful punishment... (Member 59).

The general sentiment among police officers is that the liberal political climate, which has become the dominant view in Vancouver, has had a detrimental effect on policework. The majority of the respondents agreed that the political culture, more broadly, and the specific attitude that 'everyone can do as they please' have contributed to an increase in violence against police officers.

5.5.2. Social Dynamics: A Change in the Relationship Between the Police and the Public

Coinciding with the transition in the political climate, police officers appear to be dealing with the negative side effects of a growing development in their social environment. In line with society's increasing interest in individual rights and freedoms, the police are now interacting with a new generation of citizens. According to one member (Member 183):

A new generation of citizens has emerged where the priority is about me and not about others or about civic pride... People are tolerant of their own short comings but easily point and ridicule those of others.

These changes in attitudes and priorities are thought to be most prominent among the youngest segment of the population. Raised with a different value system than their parents, members of the newest generation are characterized as being disrespectful, entitled, and lacking in personal accountability:

40 years of the school system and politicians saying "challenge authority" and "know your rights"... Children are not taught their responsibilities to society but dwell on "social justice" instead of the law (Member 78).

There is an unfortunate group of youth who are selfish and have no values or moral compass... People don't care about what is "right" or "wrong"...unfortunately people forget the bad people do and people are given unlimited chances to improve. There is no punishment/shame by society, schools, courts, parents (Member 138).

The significance of this perceived generational shift in attitudes and values is the impact it appears to have on the relationship between the police and the public. From the officers' discussions about their interactions with youthful members of the community, it became apparent that there has been a noticeable shift in the balance of power. Rather than being revered for their position, police are now being both verbally and physically challenged:

When I was young police were respected by youth. I feel this is changing. Youth challenge the police. It's a constant battle (Member 124).

I am not sure if it is only Vancouver. However, kids are challenging cops more and more with their apparent law knowledge. Example, you can't touch me, I know my rights! (drinking outside a bar) (Member 122).

[There is a] lack of respect for police and law enforcement...Parents? Where are your children? Instead of demanding respect, police are spit on and injured and the charges are minimal at best. This is very bad! (Member 24).

In addition to having their authority subverted by what they see as a generation of increasingly defiant and confrontational individuals, police officers seem to believe they are being undermined by citizens' increasing inability to take personal responsibility for their actions. As one of the officers explained:

In my opinion, people today are more concerned with police action or actions than acting as a law abiding citizen. There is an unfounded sense of entitlement in society and the "I can do what I want" attitude hampers this. People should be allowed to have fun/a good time. The problem is, is that people don't know when to stop and when confronted about their behaviour it's everyone else's fault and not their own (Member 355).

By diverting the attention away from the actual deviant act and focusing on the behaviour of the police instead, society has moved toward "blaming or finding fault with the police [instead of] blaming the criminals" (Member 14). Elaborating on this idea, one member wrote:

[I]n talking with non-police friends it appears our society has moved away from taking responsibility for actions. It is always someone else's fault. It

has evolved to the point that even the reaction or police response becomes the focus in the media not the actual deviant behaviour. Why does a person need to act legally when it can always be blamed on someone else? A generation ago it was unheard of that someone (especially a youth) would challenge authority, but it is rampant today... (Member 162).

5.5.3. Technological Advancements: The Growing Influence of the Media

Tied into their discussions of the changing nature of their relationship with the public, the police shed light onto their perception of the role of the media in the world of policing. The officers believe that negative press coverage contributes to the increasingly unfavourable attitudes and behaviours exhibited by the public towards the police. By portraying the controversial aspects of policing, the media is perceived to be actively working against the police:

The media has created a them versus us attitude in their reporting style, and only focus on negative police stories and ignore positive. The media wants to be impartial but they go the other way by attacking police image at all levels (Member 19).

This negative reporting is thought to lead to public misperceptions about policing, which, in turn, undermines the legitimacy of the police. Continuously painting a picture of the police as being “bullies” or “corrupt” lowers the public’s confidence in the police. As a result, the police have witnessed an increase in the number of complaints being made against them:

There is a systematic defamation of police by media. Most are naive to police duties and what is required to keep the public safe including use of force on all levels (open hand → taser → pistol). Most take media perspective at face value and don't think critically on own, thus police are seen as bullies who are quick to use force. People rebel against this and now question everything police do, not realizing vast majority of police interactions are resolved without force (Member 74).

I believe that the media is constantly painting a picture of police (especially VPD) as corrupt and always doing the wrong thing. When there is an officer shooting the media will use verbiage such as "Police gunned down". Also, with regards to the police complaints people are constantly trying to prove that the VPD officers are wrong... the complaints that are at times ridiculous yet they put police officers in a situation where they are guilty unless proven innocent... (Member 135).

While the media has always played a pivotal role in shaping public support for the police, with recent developments in media tools, mass media outlets' influence on the public may be getting even stronger:

Generation "crackberry" who are inseparable from their electronics (Member 111).

So we charge some folks with breaking some windows and setting fire to a car – is anything going to happen? We all know nothing, the media is always reminding us of this. Social media is the only thing that will have impact on the folks in question...which is pretty sad (Member 10).

5.5.4. Practical Implications for Police: Lowered Morale and Changes in Police Behaviour

Changes in Vancouver's political climate and social environment appear to have affected how members of the Vancouver Police Department perceive their world of policing. Feeling disrespected and unsupported, the police seem to have an increasingly dim view of their job. In addition to affecting their attitudes, police officers believe that this adverse work environment has had a drastic impact on their behaviour.

Guided by departmental rules and regulations, training and supervision, it is assumed that the police department is responsible for defining and controlling the behaviour of its officers (Prospects, 2016). According to the officers, however, they believe there are other factors influencing their actions, or lack thereof. With the advent of smart phones and other technological devices, the element of secrecy has been removed from policing (Kerr, 2014). In this new era of transparency, not only are the police being monitored by their departmental supervisors and upper management, their behaviour is also being overseen by the public. Accompanying this new attention, police are facing a greater degree of scrutiny and criticism for their actions. As Parent explains, compared to the past, where "officers would, more often than not, be given the benefit of the doubt. An officer would write a report following an incident and it would be taken at face value...Over the past decade there's been a trend where the public and the courts no longer automatically believe a police officer's version of events" (as cited in Kerr, 2014, para 3-4). Fearful of being reprimanded for their actions, police officers are becoming increasingly hesitant to engage in pro-active policing:

With cameras and video everywhere, law enforcement is constantly being questioned and scrutinized. Although this is not necessarily a negative, it has intensified this feeling of "entitlement" and led to an increase in lawsuits. The VPD has become much more aware of and concerned about "public opinion" and therefore hesitate to act (Member 241).

The government (court system) has taken power away from the police. Too many bleeding hearts in the city who constantly criticize the police and make it hard for the police to do their job. A police officer is going to be killed soon because the government and bleeding hearts make the police scared to act or else they will be sued etc... (Member 83).

Believing they are losing the freedom to make decisions and act as they deem necessary, police officers appear to be experiencing the consequences of a decline in their job autonomy. Feeling that they are unable to engage in decisive action, the officers explain how the expectations of their department, the public, the media and the courts are serving to place officers in increasingly dangerous situations. The perceived increase in occupational hazards, coupled with the lack of support from the media, public and government/legal offices, may be deterring officers from wanting to actively engage in their duties:

Officers are often afraid to act quickly and aggressively to stop potential problems due to immense and unrealistic expectations fuelled by the media. The intense scrutiny breeds complacency that will inevitably lead to serious injury or death to a frontline officer. Officers are people first and as such they will often [err] on the side of caution at their own peril. During the riots I did. I took abuse and injury because I was afraid to be raked over the coals by the media, some judge and especially the office of the public complaints commission (OPCC). The illusion of carrying a gun [equalling] power is entirely misleading. Media, the courts and especially the OPCC have successfully handcuffed the police...Why would anyone put themselves out there in this day and age? It will take someone getting killed for attitudes [to] change (Member 402).

5.6. Discussion

The results provide some insight that may prove useful to aid our understanding of, and ability to explain police actions and behaviour. While the questionnaire administered to the officers focused mostly on the events surrounding the Stanley Cup riot, the responding officers provided a wealth of information pertaining to the nature and realities of policing that extend beyond this single event. The results from these studies serve to add to our knowledge and understanding of Canadian policework. Focusing on

the challenges presented by the social and political environments, it became apparent that, when thinking about policing and the behaviour of police officers, it is imperative to keep in mind that policing does not exist in a vacuum. Policing operates in an inherently complex environment.

Police officers are required to complete a multitude of different, and often conflicting, tasks to be able to fulfil their mandate of maintaining law and order and protecting the public (Prospects, 2016). In addition to providing a visible presence to deter crime, responding to calls and requests from the public to assist at incidents, conducting patrol duties and investigations, and executing arrests, officers must diffuse volatile situations, and work in partnerships with the communities they serve (Prospects, 2016). In the case of public-order policing, officers must attempt to fulfil a number of these duties simultaneously as they attempt to keep the peace at public events, prevent and/or respond to any disorder or crime that may occur as part of the event(s), and maintain positive relationships with crowd members. While determining which task(s) will take precedence in any given situation, police must be conscious of, and try to balance the different, and often inconsistent, demands from a variety of influential entities, including their own organizations, relevant government officials, legal entities, as well as the public (Johnson, 2012). Evidenced by the officers' comments, entities within their broader environment may hold a tremendous amount of power in terms of shaping police attitudes, decision-making processes and, ultimately, their behaviours.

The political environment appears to play a role in shaping the policies, as well as the practices of the police. When considering the role of politics in policing, it is important to recognize that police organizations are not autonomous entities. Police organizations participate with other powerful actors in their institutional environment and receive directives and legitimacy from these actors (Crank, 2003; Martin, 2007; Worden & McLean, 2017). These authorities, which include government officials and legal entities, have the capacity to shape police policies and agendas through their development of expectations and/or requirements for how the police organization is structured (Worden & McLean, 2017). By placing pressure on police organizations through statutory, regulatory or judicial requirements or mandates, different levels of government (e.g., Federal, Provincial and Municipal, or Federal, State or local) may wield a great deal of control over the scope and range of police activities (Federation of

Canadian Municipalities, n.d.; Worden & McLean, 2017). For instance, officer conduct is managed through a highly structured, hierarchical legal framework that outlines the standards by which allegations of misconduct are to be investigated and handled (Martin, 2007).

In response to allegations of police misconduct, for instance, several government officials, legislators, and review boards in the United States have proposed amendments to existing protocols pertaining to officer use of force. Following two controversial police-shootings in New Haven and Wethersfield, Connecticut, Senator Gary Winfield proposed new legislation that would require a two-pronged test for use of force; not only would an officer need to have a reasonable belief that someone committed an offense, he/she would also need to select the type of force that would be deemed reasonable given the circumstances (Munson, 2019). Driven by the death of Stephon Clark by police in Sacramento, California in 2018, and championed by the Black Lives Matter movement, Assembly Bill 392 was proposed to place more strict limits on police use of lethal force by changing the standard for when it can be used from “when it is reasonable to when it is necessary” (Chabria & Luna, 2019, para 10).

Governments are also working towards addressing issues centered on race, mental health and policing in Canada. As a result of the Black Lives Matter movement, race issues in Canadian policing have been pushed to the forefront. Between April and June of 2020 six indigenous people were fatally shot by police in Canada (Graham, 2020), including Chantel Moore, who was killed by police New Brunswick during a wellness check, and Rodney Levi, who was shot and killed as officers attempted to remove him from a church minister’s barbeque (Graham, 2020). On March 10, 2020, Chief Allen Adam of the Athabasca Chipewyan First Nation alleged he was beaten by RCMP officers over an expired license plate, and in June, 2020, a Toronto police officer was accused of assaulting a nineteen-year-old who was alleged to have been stealing vehicles (Kutty, 2020). The racial undertones of these incidents raised questions and concerns about police practices in Canada (Kutty, 2020). Acknowledging that “there is systemic racism in Canada”, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has called for investigations into cases of police violence against minorities, especially those against Indigenous people (Graham, 2020, para 4). Although some steps have been taken to implement changes in policing, including advocating for all police officers and vehicles to be

equipped with cameras, and a new emphasis on the adoption of de-escalation techniques and conflict resolution skills (Graham, 2020; Ronson, 2019), there remains demand for governments to call for a public inquiry into police misconduct, discrimination and abuse of power (Kutty, 2020). In British Columbia, steps are being taken to address systemic racism through the modernization and reform of the *Police Act* (Legislative Assembly of British Columbia, n.d.). Some recommendations thus far include mandatory anti-racism training for officers (Veresh, 2021) and de-tasking the police and “offload[ing] some of the work we impose on the police to better-qualified and resourced outfits” (Kutty, 2020, para 12).

In addition to constraining police practice through policy and legislation, government entities also hold the power to be able to change the very nature of policing. Through funding, for instance, governments can constrain or even eliminate police services. The recent call to defund the police is a request to decrease the investment in policing services and instead invest greater capital into other government social services, including education and community development (Rushin & Michalski, 2020). If adopted, this could result in massive changes to police organizations, including reductions to the numbers of officers, as well as to police practices, including restricting the types of situations requiring a response from the police (Andrew, 2020; Ray, 2020). In line with the defund the police movement, some large municipalities in the United States have begun to divert funding away from police programs and, instead, reallocate the funds to community programs, including community programs for minorities (e.g., Los Angeles), and recreational and trauma-centres (e.g., Baltimore) (Ray, 2020). Other areas, including Minneapolis and Maryland have removed funding for certain policing activities, including training, and also removed specific policing tasks such as the student resource officers (Ray, 2020).

Although the call for defunding the police has extended into Canada, the movement has been adopted with varying degrees of vigour. Thus far, the only province to truly adopt “defunding” of the police has been Alberta. Edmonton’s city council cut police spending by just less than three percent of the \$388 million police budget over two years. Although no action has been taken thus far, in some provinces there is some support for reducing police funding. The chief of police in Winnipeg, Manitoba, two Toronto city councillors, as well as some of the Ottawa city council members have

supported the idea of reallocating police funding (Dawson, 2020). There appears to be less enthusiasm and/or hesitancy amongst leaders for diverting funds away from the police in Victoria and Vancouver, British Columbia, as well as the entire province of Saskatchewan (Dawson, 2020).

Most of the movement toward defunding the police in Canada has taken the shape of calls for police reform. Some cities are adopting new police models. In Surrey, British Columbia, for instance, the city is creating its own municipal police force to replace the RCMP. Similar calls to replace the RCMP are taking place in the Northwest Territories. Other cities and provinces are taking steps to address specific issues. As mentioned previously, in British Columbia the *Police Act* is being modernized to address varying issues in policing, including systemic racism, as well as the management and funding of the police (Legislative Assembly of British Columbia, n.d.). In Victoria, British Columbia, Police Chief Del Menak is set to review the gender and ethnic composition of the police force (Dawson, 2020). Mayors and chiefs across the province of Saskatchewan have embraced other policing reforms, including implementing body-worn cameras and creating an independent oversight body for police misconduct (Dawson, 2020). Discussions of piloting a body-worn cameras initiative in Nunavut have also been tabled (Dawson, 2020).

Although the policy and budgetary considerations may have important consequences for police, the officers also alluded to another feature of the political environment that may impact police attitudes and behaviours: the prevailing political party's ideological orientation. Generally speaking, more liberal governments are likely to emphasize individual rights and freedoms and promote the use of social supports to reduce instances of crime, whereas more conservative-oriented governments are likely to promote law enforcement through get tough on crime policies (Ren et al., 2008). Even though policies from both political ideologies have their merits in terms of impacting crime rates (Ren et al., 2008), it appears as though the police may perceive that some serve to support police while others undermine their efforts. Based on the officer commentary it appears as though more liberal orientations do not align with police perceptions of their mandate and duties. It is possible, therefore, that by influencing officers' perceptions about their utility and legitimacy, the prevailing political ideology

may influence officers' attitudes, decision-making processes, and ultimately, their behaviours.

Linked to the political environment, the social context also appears to play a key role in shaping officer attitudes and practices. The crux of policing is believed to rest on police relationships with members of their communities. In order for the police to be able to fulfil their duties and combat crime, preserve order and keep the peace between individuals within a community, the police rely heavily on the fact that the majority of the public will voluntarily comply with the desired order (Holh, 2011; Sargeant et al., 2012; Tyler, 1990). Effective policing, therefore, largely depends on the public's willingness to cooperate with police officers (e.g., report crime, provide information and evidence, and comply with police orders) (Holh, 2011).

Given the crucial role played by the public in police work, the perception that the police-public relationship is deteriorating may have important consequences for police officers. The quality of police-public interactions is thought to play an important role in influencing public trust of police (Worden & McLean, 2017). If the police-citizen encounters are negative, citizens' respect for police authority may diminish, as well as their level of trust in the police to be able to effectively enforce the law (Holh, 2011). Diminished levels of confidence in the police may lead more citizens to question police directives, and, thus, become less compliant with police orders. As the research on citizen demeanour suggests, citizens displaying more disrespectful behaviours may be more likely to receive a negative police response (e.g., Worden & Sheppard, 1996). In essence, if the public becomes less cooperative with the police, this may increase the likelihood that an officer will resort to some degree of physical force in an attempt to demonstrate his/her authority (McCluskey, 2003). The police response, may, in turn, further impact the public's perceptions of police legitimacy and their inclinations to show deference to the police (Sunshine & Tyler, 200). Extending this idea to large-crowd situations, the ESIM posits that when members of a crowd perceive actions taken by police to be illegitimate (i.e., too much of a formal response, or the use of excessive force), they are more likely to continue to actively resist police action (Drury et al., 2003).

The recent string of police-related deaths in the United States and Canada provides a pointed example of how the actions and reactions of the police can contribute to growing tensions between the police and the public. Starting in 2014 with the death of

Eric Garner in New York and the shooting death of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, there have been a series of high-profile cases of unarmed and/or non-violent black men being killed by law enforcement agents, including Walter Scott in South Carolina, Alton Sterling and Philando Castile in Louisiana and Minnesota, respectively, and, most recently, George Floyd in Minneapolis, Minnesota. In 2020, Canada was shaken by the fatal shooting deaths of several Indigenous and Black people by the police. Chantel Moore was shot and killed by Edmundston police in New Brunswick during a wellness check, a sixteen-year-old Indigenous girl was shot and killed by police in Winnipeg during a police pursuit (Malone et al., 2020), and D'Andre Campbell was shot in his family's home, in Brampton, Ontario (Nasser, 2020). Although the public recognizes that policing is a dangerous occupation, the actions of the police were perceived as being excessive given the circumstances. Raising concerns about police abuse of power and brutality, the actions of the police sparked widespread civil unrest. Around the world, citizens have gathered to not only protest against police brutality, but to call for action (O'Neil, 2016; Yan et al., 2016). Questioning the legitimacy of the police, the public have demanded reforms to police services, or even gone-so-far as to advocate for defunding or the complete abolition of the police (Levin, 2020; Rushin & Michalski, 2020). Whether it be through peaceful protesting, or engaging in physical aggression or violence toward the police, or by creating pressure on officials to reduce the investment in policing services, there has been a growing movement where citizens are taking a stand against the police.

The recent developments in the relationship between the police and the public has left communities at an unsettling crossroads. While the public wants justice preserved, they lack trust in the police to be able to administer said justice. Conversely, the desire to serve and protect, and actively pursue criminal events appears to be waning, as police officers appear to be increasingly wary of public unrest and the potential repercussions for their actions (Sutton, 2015).

Facing increasing levels of scrutiny and criticism in Canada and the United States, it appears as though more frontline officers are adopting what is being referred to as "de-policing" and/or limited action approaches. De-policing refers to police officers reacting to negative experiences by making the conscious decision to provide only a minimum level of service. More specifically, this means that, while officers will continue

to respond to calls for service from the public, they will actively avoid engaging in more proactive, self-initiated forms of policing, such as conducting targeted traffic stops, approaching persons of suspicion, and monitoring crime hot spots (Oliver, 2015; Sutton, 2015). In doing so, it is surmised that the likelihood of officer involvement in situations that present a higher risk for escalating and becoming confrontational will decrease. An example of this potential shift in police behaviour is the incident wherein a Chicago police officer was assaulted after refraining from drawing her weapon. While responding to a traffic accident, a female police officer was attacked and severely injured by an assailant who was believed to be under the influence of narcotics (Beck, 2016). A statement released on the officer's behalf claimed that the officer actively chose not to use her weapon during the incident, as she worried about the possible backlash of drawing her gun (Beck, 2016). This incident sheds light onto a potentially new reality for police officers: "Not only are their lives in jeopardy every time they make a stop, but when they are forced to take a combative suspect into custody, they face the possibility of prosecution" (Sutton, 2015, para 8).

Being an important source of information on the police, the media has long since been recognized for its role in legitimating policework, as well as acting as a 'watch-dog' by reporting on miscarriages of justice (Mawby, 1999). By promoting a certain image of the police, the media has the ability to influence public perceptions (Cooke & Sturges, 2009). Research suggests that fluctuations in the public's perceptions of police effectiveness and confidence in the police appear to coincide with how the media portrays police-citizen encounters (e.g., Garland, 2001; Graziano et al., 2010). According to the negativity bias theory, the quality of the police-citizen interaction will influence the public's sentiment toward the police, with negative events eliciting more salient, dominant and powerful responses as compared to positive events (Li et al., 2016). By reporting allegations against the police that serve to expose police brutality and corruption, therefore, the media may be contributing to lowered levels of public confidence in law enforcement (Garland, 2001). In the aftermath of widely publicized cases of police use of excessive force, for instance, citizens' level of support for the police declines as they are less likely to believe the police enforce the law fairly (Graziano et al., 2010).

With advancements in technology, the influence of the media may be changing. With the advent of social media, for instance, there has been a fundamental shift in the way we communicate. In addition to connecting people globally, social media allows people to stay in touch in real-time via casual observation (Qualman, 2011). Through the process of sharing pictures and/or videos, social media enables one person's story to become 'viral' (i.e., be shared and seen by hundreds or thousands of different people). Essentially, social media allows for information to be shared instantly and directly across a wider audience. In the policing world, this has meant that police-related news (e.g., arrests, takedowns, etc.) has the potential to become widespread public knowledge in mere moments. In addition to increasing the pace with which the police make headlines, social media has also prolonged police exposure to the public. With photos, stories and videos being shared and re-shared continuously on sites such as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube, the police have lost the ability to become 'yesterday's news.' Social media has effectively changed how the public receives information about the police. As Qualman (2011, p. 12) stated, "we no longer search for the news; rather, the news finds us."

Emboldened by negative media coverage and civil rights activists, some civilians have begun to actively protest against the police, and/or have resorted to using violence against police. Following the direction of social media, for instance, a group of high school students in Baltimore attacked and injured multiple police officers (Sutton, 2015). Meanwhile, five officers were shot and killed by a sniper during a protest in Dallas (O'Neil, 2016; Yan et al., 2016). The influence of social media is perhaps most apparent in the recent Black Lives Matter movement following the death of George Floyd. On platforms such as Instagram and Twitter, numerous videos and images of George Floyd's arrest and subsequent death were posted almost immediately. The short clips and images accompanied by specific hashtags created a powerful message that was disseminated at rapid speed not just across the nation, but around the world (Emont & Wen, 2020). Outraged citizens from all corners of the globe were able to connect through their respective social media channels to not only share their personal opinions, but to participate in coordinating protests and/or spreading protest narratives (Emont & Wen, 2020). In addition to the numerous protests held across the United States, demonstrators rallied to show their solidarity in places such as France, Munich, Denmark, Australia, and Canada. In Vancouver, Canada, a crowd comprised of upwards of 3,500 people gathered in front of the Vancouver Art Gallery on May 31, 2020 to

peacefully protest against police violence and White supremacy; in addition to chanting “Black lives matter” and “No justice, no peace”, the crowd held a moment of silence and raised their fists in the air to show their solidarity (Ross, 2020, para 3). In a more subtle manner, support for the Black Lives Matter movement has also been shown globally through the posting of black squares to people’s Instagram accounts (Emont & Wen, 2020).

The power of social media lies in its ability to generate and foster unity or division amongst the masses on important issues (Emont & Wen, 2020). In the case of the police, social media has been used to unite people against the police, and foster a narrative of police reform. Essentially being utilized by the public as a mechanism of police oversight, social media may be altering the very nature of the police-public relationship.

5.6.1. Theoretical Implications

The idea that the broader environment, including the social and political contexts, impacts the nature and dynamics of policework is not new. How we understand the relative importance of each external factor, as well as how different elements are connected to each other and to different policing outcomes, however, has yet to be fully realized. The findings from this study reveal some important potential relationships and highlight several points for considerations in terms of developing a theoretical framework to explain police behaviours.

In line with the theory of planned behaviour and theories of institutional organization, it appears as though external entities may play a large role in influencing not only the broader organizational elements of policing, but also more individual-level characteristics, including police perceptions of their decision-making processes and practices. Evidenced from the police commentary, elements within the social and political atmospheres are perceived by police officers to influence not only their authority and autonomy, but also the general climate within which they operate (e.g., being more or less favourable toward police). The political environment appears to create the overall climate for policing.

The series of events that transpired and ultimately resulted in the outcome of a riot during the final game of the 2011 Stanley Cup Playoffs exemplifies the impact of politics on policing. When discussing the reasons behind the riot, many officers believed that the police were not the problem:

The riot was not a failure of police - it was a success. Police ended the riot quickly and no significant civilian's injuries occurred. There are many contributory variables to a riot, the police cannot control all variables, only some (Member 378).

Once started, the riot was suppressed relatively quickly showing adequately of leadership not lack of (Member 143).

It was bound to happen either way. It cannot rest solely on leadership of the VPD, it is not that simple (Member 64). Although there should have been a better ops plan, leadership still responded well once the riot started (Member 80).

Instead, most officers drew the conclusion that the cause of the inadequate police preparations and response during the 2011 Stanley Cup Playoffs were largely due to "political interference and budgets" (Member 264):

Policing priorities have been supplanted by political priorities (i.e., staying within budget, optics of no fun city, etc.) both before and after the riot (Member 329).

Specifically, the decision to create the live sites, coupled with the lack of support for, and input from police from Vancouver's Mayor and city planners were seen as being key ingredients leading to the riot:

Mayor Robertson's ignorance in inviting 100,000 people to a fenced event that could easily be predicted to erupt into a full scale riot (Member 443).

Lack of preparation by city staff re: setting up the live sites, needed more input from police (Member 351).

Lack of support and funding by Vancouver politicians and outlying municipalities (Member 384).

The officers, however, suggest that the government's political clout to shape policing functions and outcomes may be largely dependent upon who represents the police at the highest levels of leadership. In particular, the chief of police appears to hold the power to succumb to or resist political interference:

I believe it is the responsibility of VPD's managerial staff or executives particularly the Chief Jim Chu, to defend their position with city hall regarding the resources, money, number of officers etc. to adequately prepare and respond to a potential riot. Money and expenses clouded the judgment of VPD's leaders and the Mayor (Member 39).

The chief should not agree to the live sites the way they were. The chief should have called out the Mayor and city manager for creating the conditions that led to the riot before and after it was obvious to me there was a very high risk of riot before it happened (Member 38).

A chief made a decision to save money and needs to be held accountable (Member 435).

In essence, political entities may exert influence over police by restricting police practices via budgetary considerations, as well as via the creation of certain conditions within the policing environment. The political climate and orientation of the presiding government party, therefore, appear to have the ability to shape not only police policies, but also departmental functioning and officer practices by influencing police leadership.

In addition to the direct effects of politics on police organizations, the political climate may also serve to influence policing by legitimizing or bolstering citizen perceptions of police. The movement towards more liberal political orientations is believed to be linked to a growing lack of respect for police by the public. The social context, namely the relationship between the police and the public, therefore, may be intimately tied to the political environment.

In terms of the connection between the social climate and police practice, it appears as though citizens may directly and indirectly influence police behaviours. Through their attitudes and actions during their encounters with police, citizens may illicit certain behavioural responses from police officers. However, they may also exert a powerful influence over police attitudes and decision-making processes via their use of social media. The ability to create and spread certain images of, narratives about the police on social media gives citizens a chance to shape future police-citizen encounters by influencing citizens' perceptions of the police, as well as the officers' calculus of the potential consequences of his/her actions.

In addition to highlighting the important role of context, the results from this study bring to light a potentially crucial factor that has been largely unacknowledged by the

research and theories attempting to explain police behaviours: time. Using verbiage such as “shift,” “over the years,” “today” and “decline,” the officers point to the fact that the socio-political environment is ever-changing. Any explanation for policing outcomes, therefore, must also acknowledge that the factors influencing police are dynamic rather than static. As the broader context within which policing exists is in a constant state of flux, police are in a position where they must react to new and different expectations and circumstances. Therefore, while the immediate situational factors (i.e., the seriousness of the offence or problem to which the police are responding, the evidence available to police, the characteristics of the complainant and suspects, the number of officers at the scene, etc.) present during any single event will undoubtedly play a pivotal role in shaping a policing outcome, it is important to recognize the fact that the immediate situation still occurs within a broader context. Within each single event, the situational factors, as well as the officers’ perceptions of the situation will be either directly or indirectly influenced by external factors, including the prevailing social and political climate.

In relation to time, the results from this study also highlight another potentially important theoretical consideration: the apparent reciprocal nature of the relationship between the police and their external environment. The results indicate that the police may be influenced by the broader social and political contexts; however, they also suggest that these environments may be highly susceptible to the influence of the police. It has been recognized that police departments are able to purposefully manipulate environmental conditions in order to promote certain programs or change the community’s willingness to cooperate with police (National Research Council, 2004). By engaging in certain activities such as working with community organizations, developing neighbourhood programs, and participating in the education of the public, police departments hope to influence important policing outcomes, including changes to the level of deviance in their communities (National Research Council, 2004). In addition to these more purposeful actions, however, it is also possible that the police may influence their environment unintentionally through the actions and behaviours of individual officers. During every police-involved encounter, the actions and behaviours of each officer or group of officers will impact, whether it be in a positive or negative manner, the elements/entities present within that immediate environment (e.g., the individuals with whom the police have a direct encounter, the bystanders, etc.). Moreover, with the

advent of social media, the impact of police behaviours rarely remains confined to the immediate situation. Police-citizen encounters can be widely broadcast and, thus, “experienced” by the masses. Police behaviours may lead to calls for immediate action taken against police, as well as reforms to certain police policies and practices. Thus, not only do police influence their immediate situational context, their actions and behaviours may influence their future practices and behaviours by effecting changes in their social and political environments.

Taken together, it appears as though police decision-making processes and behaviours may be, at least in part, a function of a complex action-reaction feedback loop. Elements existing within the broader social and political environments operate either directly or through various channels, including social media platforms, to influence police policies and practices. Within each police-citizen encounter, however, the actions/reactions of police will prompt judgments as to their legitimacy from those involved in the situation. Broadcasting these events and perceptions of legitimacy, social media platforms serve to evoke responses on a massive scale, and influence reactions within the broader social and political environments. Any changes occurring at the social or political level are then likely to reverberate back down to the police either indirectly, by influencing police organizational structures, or directly, by impacting officer attitudes and behaviours.

5.7. Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to broadly explore the nature and dynamics of policing from the perspective of front-line police officers. Identifying how new challenges continue to evolve as a result of the changing political and social environment in Vancouver, this study was able to provide valuable insight into the complexities and fragilities of policing large-scale crowd events, as well as police practices more generally. By teasing out some of the intricacies of policework, including the impact of context, these findings may have important practical and theoretical implications. In addition to informing police departments about the working conditions of their members, the results also highlight several important considerations that may assist in furthering the development of a theory of police behaviour. Acknowledging the importance of the broader context, as well as acknowledging the importance of time, this study may offer

another avenue for explaining and exploring the discrepancies in policing outcomes across time and space.

Despite its important findings and contributions, however, this study is not without its limitations. As participation in this study was voluntary, it is possible that specific points of view were represented at the expense of others. For instance, it may have been that only those officers with a strong or particular point of view, positive or negative, were inclined to participate in this study. Similarly, the emphasis on the negative elements of the policing environment necessarily restricted the type of information gathered from the participants. Although negative events and experiences are likely to elicit strong reactions (Baumeister et al., 2001), it is also likely that some officers had positive experiences during the 2011 Stanley Cup riot. The potential role that more positive influences have on police behaviours were not captured in this study. These limitations may be further compounded by the fact that the sample was limited to members from one police department. Given that different police forces operate in distinct geographical locations, under diverse departmental mantras it is possible that officers from different police agencies may have distinct/divergent experiences, and thus, views of the nature of their occupation and its associated responsibilities. For instance, in Greater Vancouver area of British Columbia, Canada, there are more than twelve different police agencies split almost equally amongst federal Royal Canadian Mounted Police detachments and municipal departments.

A final limitation relates to the scope of this research. Although this study elucidates the complexities associated with the broader environment, it was not able to examine the influence of organizational features on police attitudes/behaviours, nor provide insight into what role the police, themselves, have played in the perceived evolution of policing outcomes. While it is reasonable to presume the police organization will exert some authority over its members, the degree to which the police organization itself influences police behaviours either independently or connected to other external factors was not captured in this study. Similarly, although it is reasonable to presume that police will play an active role within each police-citizen encounter, the degree to which their actions influence the elements found within the immediate situation as well as those existing within the broader environment remains unclear.

Given the crucial role played by police in maintaining peace and order in society, gaining an understanding of the factors that influence police decision-making and actions is crucial. Not only may this information aid in the development of a theoretical framework to help explain police behaviours and guide future research, it may also allow for the creation and implementation of more effective policies, programs and procedures aiming to improve police practices. To continue with this type of research, similar studies should be conducted with different police departments that operate both within and outside of Vancouver. In addition, for comparative purposes, it would also be prudent for future researchers to examine the role of individual-level characteristics (e.g., age, gender, years of service, rank, etc.) on officers' perceptions and experiences. Perhaps there may be some important differences in terms of views and/or experiences based on the officers' gender, years of service, and rank/role in the department that may provide useful distinctions for specific types of attitudes and behaviours amongst officers.

Mirroring the results from the extant research, the findings from this study highlights the complex nature of policework. Thus, any theoretical framework designed to account for variations in police behaviours will likely involve a complicated series of interactions between multiple levels of factors. Researchers, therefore, should attempt to include individual-level, neighbourhood-level, organizational-level, and broader, societal-level variables into their examinations of police practices. Finally, it is imperative to acknowledge the importance of time in relation to policing; the context and climate within which police operate are liable to change periodically. Thus, to be able to examine the changing relationships between police and their environment, and the impact these changes may have on the attitudes, behaviours and decision-making processes of police officers, it is necessary to conduct longitudinal studies of police practices.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

There has been a surge in civil unrest around the world. In 2019 alone, approximately one quarter of the countries around the world witnessed a deterioration in stability (Reid, 2020). Due to socio-economic factors, including those associated with the coronavirus pandemic and police brutality, as well as various political issues (e.g., the anti-terror bill in the Philippines and the pro-democracy movement in Hong Kong), conflict and protests are predicted to increase in both number and intensity over the next couple of years (Kaplan et al., 2020; Reid, 2020). Recognizing the potential for crowd disturbances to negatively impact communities, as they occur with greater frequency it is essential that we are able to better understand not only the nature of crowd dynamics (i.e., why some crowds remain peaceful, while others escalate and become destructive and/or violent), but how to best prepare the police to respond to this growing plethora of diverse large-scale public events.

By examining both the event-specific elements involved in policing the 2011 Stanley Cup riot, as well as the broader issues, challenges and obstacles associated with policing crowd events from the perspective of frontline officers, this dissertation adds new and valuable information to the burgeoning literature on crowd policing. Evidenced from the current findings, a single approach to crowd management may not be effective. The same approach to crowd management may prove more-or-less effective in different situations. To increase the likelihood of their being successful, police preparations and response strategies should take into consideration event-specific elements and details, as well as the human element of these situations. The nature of the crowd itself, as well as the types of officers deployed to police the event may play a pivotal role in shaping the outcome of an event. The results also point to the importance of understanding the outcomes of crowd events in relation to the broader environmental context. Crowd situations are not isolated incidents. The status of the police-public relationship, the current political climate, as well as the state of technological advancements such as social media may influence the initiation of a crowd event, the behaviours of members of the crowd, as well as the practices of the police. Individually and collectively, the three studies may offer a more detailed and holistic view of the practicalities of public-order policing that may, in turn, make it possible to develop more effective policies for preventing/responding to disorderly crowd situations. The insights

provided by the police may also provide direction for the further development and testing of a theory of police behaviours and practices.

6.1. Moving Forward: The Future of Policing Research

Based on the available research, it has become increasingly apparent that the police have a profound impact on the outcome of a crowd event. The ability to prevent and/or effectively respond to crowd disorder, therefore, may be heavily contingent upon the ability of the police to develop and implement appropriate crowd management strategies. The question remains, however, what is the best approach for crowd management? “Iron fists or velvet rope, police crowd control strategies all seem to end in acrimony and criticism and, like a mob running riot, the need for answers is growing” (Lynett, 2012, para 4). Even though the research on policing and approaches to crowd management continues to grow, there remain many important questions that need to be addressed. Is it merely the style of the police approach to crowd management that determines whether or not a crowd remains peaceful or escalates and becomes violent? Is the effectiveness of the police approach impacted by the type of event? Do the characteristics of the police officers themselves, and/or the broader context within which the police operate play a role in how the police respond to a crowd? In order to properly inform policy, practice and even theoretical frameworks, more research focusing on the influence of situational, as well as the broader contextual factors on police policy, as well as policing outcomes is necessary.

This dissertation focused on the potential importance context in terms of police practices and behaviours. In addition to the current social and political environments, however, it may also be important to consider the impact of historical events on present-day and future policing outcomes. It would appear as though civil unrest and disobedience tends to be a recurrent issue for certain cities. In Boston, for example, there were riots following the Boston Red Sox’s winning their first World Series in 2004, and similar riotous behaviours were displayed by fans when the Red Sox repeated this win again in 2007 and once more in 2013 (Smith, 2018). Similarly, Los Angeles has experienced multiple instances of rioting in the aftermath of sporting events. Following the Los Angeles Lakers winning the National Basketball Association’s (NBA) championship in 2009, 2010, and then again in 2020, fans engaged in behaviours

ranging vandalism and looting to more serious forms of violence (Hayes, 2010; Smith et al., 2020). Vancouver's 2011 Stanley Cup riot came seventeen years after the 1994 Stanley Cup riot. Repetition suggests that, if a city experiences violent crowd behaviours it may be more likely to have further instances of such disorder in the future. The question remains, how does history exert its influence onto the unfolding of present-day events?

In Vancouver, it is possible that the 1994 Stanley Cup riot acted as an instigator for the 2011 Stanley Cup Playoffs. It has been well documented that the 1994 riot was a hot topic prior to the final game for the police as well as the public (Vancouver Police Department, 2011). It has been further suggested that perhaps the 1994 riot inspired those individuals who were believed to have come to Vancouver on June 15, 2011 with the intention of starting a riot. Prior to the start of the final game, groups of individuals were overheard making comments such as "whether we lost or whether we won, we will start a riot" (Vancouver Sun, 2016). It is unknown, however, how much of this apparent motivation to cause trouble can actually be tied directly to the 1994 riot. Noting that all riots are different, the Vancouver Police Department cautions against drawing too many parallels between the two events (Vancouver Police Department, 2011). The question still remains, would the 2011 riot have occurred if not for the 1994 riot? Given the potential for past events to influence present-day happenings, it would be prudent for researchers to take into consideration the historical context when examining or explaining crowd events and their outcomes.

This research points to another avenue requiring future consideration: advancements in technology. Social media has become an increasingly powerful influence in the realm of policing. In the last decade, the number of protests taking place around the globe has been on the rise. In 2019 in particular, there were an especially high number of protests happening on virtually every continent (BBC's Cut Through the Noise, 2019). This increase is thought to be due, in large part, to the influence of social media platforms (BBC News, 2019; Shah, 2019). The increased exposure to images and other visuals from protests via social media provides people with valuable information and inspiration for organizing and advancing their goals, as well as preparing for how to respond to police tactics (BBC's Cut Through the Noise, 2019; Shah, 2019). The result has been the mobilization of growing numbers across the globe who are protesting for

similar reasons (BBC News, 2019). Demonstrations over grievances in income inequality have taken place in Ecuador, Chile, Bolivia and Lebanon. Linked closely with the issue of inequality, many countries, including Lebanon, Iraq, Egypt and Bolivia are experiencing uprisings against alleged government corruption (BBC News, 2019). Calling for urgent action to curb climate change, protestors have gathered in countries including the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, Spain, Austria, France and New Zealand. Most notable with the climate change protests is the increasing presence of young people. Inspired by the sixteen-year-old Swedish activist Greta Thunberg, school children have led and participated in global climate strikes (BBC News, 2019).

While the more negative aspects of social media have been highlighted in this dissertation, it is also possible that this technology may have positive implications for policing and police behaviours as well. Social media may prove useful for intelligence gathering purposes (Crump, 2011). As individuals share information on popular social media sites, including Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter, police agencies are able to access and gather this information to be used to locate and/or interrogate suspects (Mackey & Courtney, 2016). Moreover, recognizing the power of social media to initiate crowd action may help police to gather information about future public gatherings such as where they will start, their purpose, the type of individuals who may attend, whether or not the event is intended to be a peaceful gathering, as well as the scale of the event. Used in this way, social media may allow for the police to be better equipped and prepared for crowd events. Furthermore, through our growing understanding of the influence that social media has on public opinion, it may also be possible for the police to utilize social media to regain public trust and promote/bolster police legitimacy (Crump, 2011). Through meaningful engagement, participation and value creation, the police department may be able to utilize media tools to listen to their citizens, as well as re-shape the conversation (Stevens, 2016). This may reduce tensions between police and the public and, therefore, reduce the number of negative interactions between police and the public.

It is believed that police departments are becoming more familiar and experienced with using social media (Crump, 2011); most police departments have incorporated social media into their communications strategies (e.g., Crump, 2011; Vancouver Police Department, 2011). However, relatively little is known about how

social media actually works as an intelligence gathering tool or as a medium for improving police-public relations (Crump, 2011; Bullock, 2017). With concerns over the complexities involved with implementing social media into the organizational framework of policing, it remains unclear as to whether or not social media can or will be implemented and utilized effectively as a tool for gathering information, and/or for facilitating interactions and collaborations with citizens (Bullock, 2017). Further research on this topic is required.

In addition to changes in social media, other advancements in technology may also shape the future of police policies and practices, including those associated with crowd management. Capturing the network of technologies that apply algorithms to large sets of data, artificial intelligence has the potential to assist with various aspects of police work (Joh, 2014). Increasing efficiencies and providing insights from big data, artificial intelligence has already begun to play a role in policing by shaping the ways by which the police respond to crime, including the identification of suspicious persons and places (Joh, 2014). Automatic plate readers, for instance, allow for the collection and identification of thousands of plates per second, while place-based predictive policing software enables the police to predict where crime is likely to occur in the future (Joh, 2014; Joh, 2019). Social-network analytic software allows for the police to forecast who is likely to be victimized.

Related to public-order policing, specifically, the most relevant advancement in technology appears to be facial recognition. By applying different algorithms to measure facial characteristics, facial recognition technology makes it possible to identify individuals out of a crowd of thousands (Joh, 2019). Taking this technology one step further, the development of Live Facial Recognition (LFR) will allow police to not only be able “to generate, analyze and act on ‘matches’ between automatically captured personal data (i.e., facial images) and records stored in a databased to conduct automated identity checks in public spaces,” they will be able to accomplish this in real time (Bradford et al., 2020). Facial recognition technologies have thus far only really been adopted by organizations in the United Kingdom; by applying a 128-point facial modeling software program to images captured by cameras placed strategically around the United Kingdom, police are attempting to use this technology to identify potential wanted felons in large public spaces (Mackey & Courtney, 2016).

Although praised for their abilities to enhance police surveillance capacities and automate their processes for identifying suspicious persons and activities, the influence of technology on policing may have some drawbacks. As police rely on surveillance systems to “watch” citizens, they may become less visible in their communities. Automated systems may decrease police transparency, raise concerns about privacy, and potentially impact the public’s level of trust in the police, as well as their perceptions of the legitimacy of police practices (Bradford et al., 2020). Furthermore, as artificial intelligence affords the police greater intrusive powers, it is important to consider what happens when these technologies make errors (Joh, 2014). Aside from potentially impacting public levels of trust in the police and perceptions of police legitimacy, there may also be serious implications for citizens, including wrongful arrest, detention, and jail time (Joh, 2014). Thus, in order to understand the costs versus the benefits of adopting these automated technology systems, it is imperative that researchers continue to examine how advancements in technology are shaping the world of policing.

One final consideration for future researchers stems from the series of events that have transpired as a result of the recent global coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic. By transforming a health problem into a social problem, the global coronavirus pandemic appears to have expanded the duties of the police. To flatten the curve and slow the spread of Covid-19, world leaders issued stay-at-home or shelter-in-place orders, which essentially restrict citizen’s activities to those deemed “essential” (White & Fradella, 2020). Although the intention was to obtain voluntary compliance with these orders, as the pandemic progressed and persisted, political leaders began to look to the police to formally enforce these lockdown measures. Where violations of the COVID-19 restrictions are classified as a misdemeanor offence, as in the state of Maryland, for instance, the police have been called up to issue fines or impose other sanctions (White & Fradella, 2020). Similarly, across Canada the virus containment rules, including mandating self-isolation for recent travelers, imposing physical distancing rules and closing non-essential businesses are starting to be enforced via emergency legislation, the Criminal Code and municipal by-laws; violations may result in fines and the risk of potential jail time (Luscombe & McClelland, n.d.).

Given their authority to use force against citizens, their ability to handle a wide-variety of non-criminal issues (e.g., peacekeeping and managing disputes and other

service-related tasks), as well as their mission to protect life, the police appear to be the most suitable entity for enforcing the COVID-19 orders (White & Fradella, 2020). By making public health orders a policing issue, however, the legitimacy of the police may be put in a perilous position. Due to the inconsistent and often conflicting information surrounding the pandemic, coupled with the vague guidelines outlined in the various lockdown orders, citizens are left confused as to the severity of the pandemic and the necessity of the government response (White & Fradella, 2020). Furthermore, the restrictions appear to negatively impact certain citizens more-so than others, namely those who are poor (Reicher & Stott, 2020a). This means that certain segments of the population may be at an increased risk for police intervention. If citizens do not agree with or feel unfairly affected by the government actions taken to curb the spread of COVID-19, they are more likely to view police involvement in enforcing COVID-19 restrictions as illegitimate (Reicher & Stott, 2020a, 2020b). How the police exercise their discretion in carrying out their powers and policies during this pandemic is crucial, as their efforts may impact police legitimacy (Reicher & Stott, 2020b). Provided that this pandemic is relatively new, the long-term effects it may have on policing remain to be seen.

6.1.1. Special Consideration: Research and The Canadian Context

One of the greatest contributions this dissertation makes to the literature is that it furthers our knowledge about Canadian policing. As research on policing-related issues continues to gain momentum, this work is generally focused on policing issues that are specific to the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and Australia (Griffiths, 2014). Although extremely informative, this information may not prove useful for guiding Canadian policing policies and practices. Canadian history, population demographics, and laws leave Canadian police officers to face some special circumstances and challenges. One of the most unique features of the Canadian policing landscape is its history with Indigenous peoples and its involvement in relation to the unique needs of Indigenous communities. Displaced from their lands and forced onto special reserves in often isolated areas, Indigenous peoples have become marginalized in Canadian society. As such, the Indigenous communities often confront distinctive problems that are more serious than those experienced by non-Indigenous communities (Parent & Parent, 2019). In addition to their over-representation in the criminal justice system and

disproportionately high incarceration rates, Indigenous people have a history of being discriminated against by the police (Parent & Parent, 2019). Several instances of police misconduct involving people of Indigenous descent have been recorded. The Ipperwash Crisis is one of the most notable incidents. In 1993, members of the Stony Point First Nation sought to assert their claim to land in the Ipperwash Provincial Park in Ontario that had recently been appropriated by the government. Seeking to remove the protestors, the Ontario government ordered the police to intervene (Salomons, 2009). On September 6, 1993 Dudley George, an unarmed Ojibwa man, was shot to death by an Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) sniper during a night raid (Salomons, 2009). A public inquiry into the events surrounding the death of Dudley George resulted in several recommendations, including prioritizing public education about land claim issues, creating an impartial body to oversee land claim settlements, establishing a formal consultation committee with major Aboriginal organizations in Ontario, and for the Ontario provincial government to relinquish control of Ipperwash Provincial Park to the Kettle and Stony Point First Nations (Parent & Parent, 2019; Salomon, 2009). In addition, the findings from the Ipperwash inquiry also highlighted the need for police training to incorporate Indigenous history, customs, traditions, legal issues and community dynamics. In doing so, police officers will be equipped to utilize communication techniques and tactical skills that will improve their abilities to successfully and peacefully interact with Indigenous peoples (Parent & Parent, 2019).

Despite a genuine desire to build positive relationships with Indigenous peoples and their communities, as well as taking steps towards adjusting police practices to address the unique cultural aspects of Indigenous people (e.g., incorporating culturally sensitive training) (Parent & Parent, 2019), there is still much work remaining to be done. A recent surge in Indigenous-led protests involving different communities taking a stance against a variety of activities, including the construction of the nation-wide natural gas pipeline, lobster fishing in New Brunswick, trophy hunting in Quebec, and the proposed residential subdivision in Ontario, places onus on the Canadian governments to actively engage in conflict resolution, which includes determining how to negotiate with Indigenous communities and intervene when protests cross legal lines (e.g., level and type of police intervention) (Noakes, 2020). Furthermore, as incidents of alleged police misconduct against Indigenous peoples are still occurring (e.g., in 2020 alone more than six Indigenous people died during an interaction with police) (Graham, 2020), a pressing

issue for Canadian governments and police agencies is how to address issues related to systemic racism and better serve and protect the Indigenous communities. As reforms to policing are underway (e.g., the modernization of the British Columbia *Police Act*), and community-based criminal justice services and programs are being developed to address the specific needs of Indigenous communities across Canada (Parent & Parent, 2019), research will be essential to evaluate the effectiveness of these new frameworks and models of policing.

Another distinctive feature is Canada's population demographics. Recognized as a multicultural nation, Canada's communities tend to be highly diverse. More than one-fifth of the Canadian population identifies as being a person of color, with South-Asian and Chinese representing the largest minority group (approximately 47%) followed by Black and Filipino, who make up approximately 16% and 10%, respectively, of the minority population in Canada (Catalyst, 2021). There is also a growing number of Canadians who belong to the LGBTQ+ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer) community; it is estimated that approximately 13% of the Canadian population identifies as a non-binary gender identity and/or sexual orientation (Fondation Jasmin Roy, 2017). One of the challenges for Canadian police services is to recruit officers who will be representative of the diverse communities for which they serve (Parent & Parent, 2019). With some police agencies opting employment equity practices to establish preference for hiring individuals from a target group, and others developing their own strategies to "encourage applications from qualified individuals from all cultures, backgrounds and walks of life", police services are actively seeking to diversify their recruitment practices (Parent & Parent, p. 146). As the make-up of police officers changes, it will be important to evaluate the impact this has on police services. Will increasing the representativeness of officers in relation to their communities enhance communications and the overall relationship between the police and their communities? Future research on this facet of Canadian policing is required.

Another possible avenue of research requiring a Canadian lens involves the changes in policing attributed to the global Coronavirus pandemic. The coronavirus has impacted every country worldwide; however, each country has responded to the virus in different ways. In Australia, for instance, the government's response to COVID-19 was swift and included quarantine practices, localized lockdown measures (e.g., the

temporary closure of non-essential businesses), mask wearing and rapid testing. With a high-level of compliance from citizens, Australia has been able to manage COVID-19 exposures and outbreaks without the use of formal enforcement (Child et al., 2020). In Canada, the response to slowing the spread of the virus has varied by province; however, in general, the response has included various bans on activities and lockdown measures. In British Columbia, along with general physical distancing protocols, restrictions have been placed on indoor dining (which was recently canceled until April 19, 2021), and mandatory self-isolation for recent travelers and mask wearing in public spaces have been introduced (Government of British Columbia, 2021). Due to concerns over lack of voluntary compliance, many of the abovementioned restrictions are being enforced by the police and other compliance and enforcement officials (e.g., community safety unit, conservation officers, etc.). Failure to comply with government orders can result in the issuance of a violation ticket accompanied by a fine (e.g., there is a \$230 fine for individuals who refuse to adhere to mask mandates in indoor public places, or for those who consume alcohol at a licensed premise after 11:00PM) (Government of British Columbia, 2021). As police are being required to address COVID-19-related incidents, it raises questions as to the impact this will have on their daily duties and responsibilities. How will police prioritize calls for service related to COVID-19? How will this new role for the police shape police-public relations moving forward? There is a need for research on the changing nature of policing in Canada post-pandemic.

6.2. Final Remark

In sum, despite the increased interest in public-order policing, there remains much work to be done. As policing continues to be shaped by societal shifts and advancements in technology, so-to will our understanding of police policies, practices and behaviours. By examining different police agencies around the world, and incorporating the dynamic elements of the policing environment into their research designs, however, researchers may be able to uncover and appreciate more of the complexities of police work, especially in relation to public-order policing.

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