The Effects of Citizen Monitoring on the Police: An Examination of Citizen Monitoring and Police Use of Justified Force

by

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Abstract

Citizen monitoring of police officers is an area of increasing importance in law enforcement research. The most powerful weapon against police misconduct is rapidly becoming the cellular phone and other hand held photography and videography devices. The practice of recording the police conducting their work either properly or improperly and subsequently uploading the footage onto the Internet has had marked effects on members of the force. Monitoring and surveillance are known to have a significant impact on individuals and their resulting actions (Campbell and Carlson, 2002). This study offers an examination of surveillance on the police population.

Through the use of a qualitative approach, the present study explores the impact citizen monitoring has on police officers. The study addresses officers' perceptions of citizen monitoring, and the impact the interviewees felt it had on their use of justified force. Guided by the question: "What impact does citizen monitoring have on police use of force, and would body worn cameras (BWC) serve as a means to mitigate this impact?", this exploratory study found that indeed, the officers interviewed may be impacted by citizen monitoring, and further, that a great deal of uneasiness exists within the force around the potential adoption of BWC technology.

Keywords: social media, technology, body worn cameras, police decision making; use of force

This thesis is dedicated to my family, without whom I would be lost.

Acknowledgements

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List of Acronyms

APD   Abbotsford Police Department

BWC   Body Worn Cameras

CCTV   Closed Circuit Television

CED   Conducted Energy Device

DPD   Delta Police Department

ERT   Emergency Response Team

FIDO   "Fuck It, Drive On"

IMIM   Indecent Management Intervention Model

JIBC   Justice Institute of British Columbia

LAPD   Los Angeles Police Department

NWPD   New Westminster Police Department

NUFF   National Use of Force Framework

PI   Primary Investigator

PTAC   Physical Training and Control Tactics

PMPD   Port Moody Police Department

RCMP   Royal Canadian Mounted Police

REB   Research Ethics Board

SFU   Simon Fraser University

TPS   Toronto Police Service

VPD   Vancouver Police Department

WVPD   West Vancouver Police Department

All it takes is for you to end up in an 11 second YouTube clip, and you live on in infamy for as long the media wants you to, and perhaps longer. And when I say the risk is there—it is. It is a profession that I absolutely love but I am very happy to be looking at it in the rear view mirror. If I had a son or daughter that was thinking about making a career choice, I wouldn't steer them in that direction. In fact, I'd probably try and steer them in a different direction.

Participant 5

Chapter 1. Introduction

On October 23rd, 2013, Elizabeth McQueen was driving across the Cambie Street Bridge in Vancouver, British Columbia. She saw an emotionally disturbed individual weaving through traffic, pursued by several police officers. McQueen watched as the individual, who, according to McQueen, appeared to have a mental illness, walked backwards with his hands up as the police approached him. Police officers tackled the man, and McQueen reported that one officer punched him. The Vancouver Police Department issued a statement suggesting that the individual appeared agitated and under the influence of an illicit substance. While they suggested that officers were required to act quickly in order to prevent the individual from harming himself or someone else, McQueen remains adamant that the level of force that was applied was in excess of anything justifiable. McQueen filmed the episode with her cellular telephone (Williams, 2013).

The most powerful weapons against police misconduct are rapidly becoming the cell phone and other hand held photography and videography devices. The practice of recording the police conducting their work either properly or improperly and subsequently uploading the footage onto the Internet has had marked effects on members of the force (Murphy, 2014). Officers acting inappropriately have been suspended, dismissed, and exposed to intense public scrutiny as a result of citizen monitoring. Recent anecdotal information suggests officers, particularly new recruits, are profoundly impacted by impromptu monitoring. Due to the increasing visibility of police, it is important to consider the role this monitoring has on officers and how it subsequently plays out in terms of society's reaction to crime. This reaction is an imperative component in the perpetuation and intensification of criminality and delinquency.

The present study examines the impact civilian surveillance has on police officers' use of justified force. The study addresses whether officers are less likely to use necessary and legitimate force when faced with the possibility of being subject to citizen surveillance. Surveillance is known to have a significant impact on individuals and their resulting actions

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(Campbell and Carlson, 2002); however, the impact of surveillance on the police population has not yet been examined. Because of this apparent lack of research in this increasingly relevant issue, this study sought to answer the question: "What impact does citizen surveillance have on police use of force, and would body mounted cameras serve as a means by which to mitigate this impact?" Based on studies detailing the profound ways in which human behaviour is altered in response to surveillance (Campbell and Carlson, 2002; Snyder and Gangestad, 2000) it was anticipated that police encounter similar experiences. It was hypothesized that police officers will describe feeling apprehensive about using justifiable force due to increasing citizen surveillance.

Research looking at police use of force is continually being produced. Similarly, research examining surveillance in general is prevalent. Despite this, studies that discuss the impact these issues have on one another have yet to be conducted. Were there a better understanding of the effects of citizen monitoring of police within police circles, it is likely policy changes, including widespread changes to the current training procedures would be made. Due to the introduction and proliferation of information technology, surveillance capabilities have increased dramatically in recent years. Before an in-depth examination of citizen monitoring and the impact it has on police officers can take place, it is crucial to examine notable literature on surveillance, self-surveillance and the use of force.

I think, in one regard, being a police officer in uniform is like being a Disney character at a Disney theme park once you walk out those doors. They talk about it a lot in the management literature—you'll hear a lot about the way they condition the people who wear the mascots—they have to be 100% on and smiling and in character the moment they come out the door. Any slip up is enough to get them fired.

<div align="right">Participant 8</div>

Chapter 2.   Literature Review

2.1. Use of Force

2.1.1.   Historical Context

Police officers possess a significant, and some would say inordinate, level of authority over the general population. Use of force lies at the root of their profession (Biitner, 1970), and thus, a great deal of literature attempts to understand when and why officers resort to using force (Bayley and Garofalo; 1989; Biitner, 1970; Black 1976, 1980; Terrill, 2001).

Police use of force is a component of police work that generates repeated debate. The concept of limiting the application of force to something short of lethality has been discussed throughout the history of modern policing with varying degrees of success (Whitson, 2010; p. 11). For more than a century, police officers on patrol in the Americas have been armed with riot batons or truncheons and/or a firearm (Lewar and Schofield, 1997; p. 87). Trained dogs and horses have been used to frighten and disperse rioters, and to apprehend individual subjects. Kinetic impact rounds such as rubber bullets and beanbag flexible batons evolved during the late 1960s and early 1970s as a less than lethal use of force technology. During the 1980s, police officers began deploying personal devices, such as pepper spray, and conducted energy devices (CEDs) (Whitson, 2010; p.14). Today, a growing number of technologies continue to be developed by the police and corresponding agencies in the operational contexts of corrections, crowd control, single aggressor, and pursuit management.

While police officers currently have clear and concise expectations that have been laid out for them from the beginning of their training process, police officers working during the 19th century had few guidelines to structure their work environment. Furthermore, according to Walker (1998), hostility towards the police was commonplace at that time. Citizens had little respect for the police, and expected them to be corrupt and brutal, which, ironically, they were

forced to become due to the public's perception of them and their resulting actions towards them (Alpert, 2004). Youth gangs were known to taunt officers and throw rocks at them, while adults would wilfully fight back against the police when being arrested (Alpert, 2004).

Today, there exist clear limits to the level of force generally deemed justified. The training of officers is a critical component of modern policing, and should an officer on the force deviate from what he or she has been trained to do, internal or external investigators are brought in to evaluate the situation (Walker, 2001). Because early North American police officers "served the purpose of violently repressing strikes, maintaining order among the working class, ensuing racial oppression, and controlling threatening populations", excessive force was tolerated within the various police departments if the means justified the ends (Alpert, 2004; p. 7).

By the turn of the century, however, police departments came under attack by social and political reformers who claimed to be a part of the progressive movement (Alpert, 2004). Members of the movement wanted to remove the political influence from policing, and further, they felt that police use of force was due to corruption within the political sphere. Greene and Alpert (1999) suggested that by removing the police structure and function from the relevant cities' political apparatus, police use of force would eventually be used in moderation, and only when absolutely necessary. This shift in use of force standards occurred between the 1920s and the 1960s, and during that time certain initiatives were brought in, including those that increased hiring and opportunities for advancement, improved training, and initiatives to regulate police practices (Greenberg, 1976).

In the 1960s, the "era of external regulation" began, wherein a new emphasis was placed on the reformation of police practices (Alpert, 2004). Significant controls were established over the police, and those controls came from organizations external to the police departments and to local political organizations (Skolnick and Fyfe, 1993). Increasingly, police were held accountable for their actions, especially if they deviated from what was taught during their initial training. The social reform movement of the 1960s and 1970s was a powerful force and it had sufficient backing from the populace to produce notable change within the various police forces.

During the 1980s, the understanding of police use of force was further bolstered because a definition and measurement of force was developed (Alpert, 2004). At first, a simple dichotomy was used to define force—a situation could either have force present, or it could have no force present. This definition progressed when use of force continuums were developed in which low levels of force were shown as being able to progress to use of deadly force (Garner et al., 1995; Alpert and Dunham, 1997; Terrill, 2000). Additionally, an "interactive model of police-citizen exchanges" was developed during this period. The advent of this interactive model later developed into the community based model of policing known today (Alpert, 2004).

2.1.2. Legal Justification

Over the past several decades, it seems Western society has increasingly expressed disapproval to the use of force. According to Alpert (2004), "on a nongovernmental level, there are severe penalties for fighting and bullying in schools and spanking is increasingly viewed as inappropriate parenting" (p.1). Intolerance to use of force is rising. While most occupations in the developed world encourage habits that limit the acceptable levels of force and physical control, the occupation of policing has retained its right to use physical force.

In Canada, police officers are mandated and empowered through various sections of the Criminal Code, Provincial Statutes, and department policies to maintain peace among individuals residing within their particular jurisdiction. Their duties have evolved through Common Law, which asserts that police officers should preserve the peace, enforce the laws, apprehend offenders, and protect lives and property. Because it is the responsibility of police officers to maintain public peace, they are also justified by law to use force, and, if necessary, to employ lethal force in particular situations. The general principal underlying use of force is that it should only be used when necessary, and in compliance with Section 7 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Justice Institute of British Columbia, 2011).

Use of force is a strategy employed by police to control unlawful actions and to avoid combative behaviour. The preferred strategies used by police are persuasion, advice, and warning. Through the use of succinct and forceful communication tactics, officers are often able

to gain the voluntary cooperation of subjects, and thus avoid employing use of force tactics. Hall and Butler (2008), indicate that a large majority of arrests by police officers are completed using advice, persuasion, and warning.

Nevertheless, there are situations in which police officers have little choice but to use force. On occasion, subjects will refuse to cooperate or be incapable of understanding as a result of a mental defect, or drug and/or alcohol induced psychosis. In these situations, police officers are required to apply physical force in order to coerce compliance with the law. Proportionality is a central concept used by police officers in order to determine the nature of force required in any given situation (Justice Institute of British Columbia, 2011). This concept relates to the "nature of resistance and the officer's need to control the behaviour, but does not take into account the nature of the offence at the heart of the matter" (Justice Institute of British Columbia, 2011; p. 13).

Proportionality relates directly to a tactic known as "the one plus one rule" which states that the officers involved in a situation respond at one level above the resistance attributed to the subject (National Institute of Justice, 2014). Despite the seeming clarity associated with the laws of proportionality and the one plus one rule, employing force on an uncooperative subject is often dynamic, rapidly evolving, and chaotic with no certainty of outcome (Hall and Butler, 2008).

Although police officers are granted the legal right to use force, excessive force has been and remains a pervasive issue within the field of criminal justice (Lee and Vaughn, 2010). Excessive force is defined as force which is "unreasonable, or unnecessary to accomplish a legal objective" (Kappeler, 2006; p. 80). Black (1976) argues that the application of force by police officers can be explained in terms of various types of social spaces in which the subjects of control are located. The subjects of control include individuals with lower socioeconomic status or marginal cultural status (Black, 1976). Research suggests that officers with particular psychological or biological traits, experiences, and attitudes have a greater propensity to engage in force (Brown, 1981; Muir, 1977; Worden, 1972).

Black (1976), Brown (1981), Muir (1977), and Worden (1972) each provide explanations for excessive use of force. Additionally, studies (Fyfe, 1979; Fyfe, 1988; Geller and Scott, 1992; and Walker, 1993) identify causes of police use of excessive force as including environmental, organizational, and situational factors; further, studies find that certain administrative policies can ameliorate police misconduct. While these researchers seek to explain the occurrence of police force when its application is not justified, they do not discuss the use of force when it is, indeed, justified. Furthermore, the researchers do not examine incidents where there is an absence of force when it is justified. While certain officers abuse their ability to use force, others may underuse their legal, and often critical right to apply force. It is speculated that citizen monitoring may have an impact on police use, misuse, and underuse of justified force. Given this speculation, it is important that this topic be given the attention required for the healthy growth and maturation of the criminal justice system.

2.1.3.   Use of Force Models and Training Programs

Educating police officers about the use of force has been a focal point of discussions among police and academics since the beginning of the professional reform movement in the early 1990s (Paoline et. al., 2007). Certain factions are of the opinion that policing and use of force are best learned "on the job". Bayley and Bittner (1997) suggest "policing is more like a craft than a science, in that officers believe that they have important lessons to learn that are not reducible to principle and are not being taught through formal education" (p. 128). Contrarily, others (Paoline et. al., 2007; Worden and Catlin, 2002) stress that education has a profound impact on officers' correct use of force.

Models and graphics depicting use of force standards became a widespread training tool in the 1970s and 1980s (Hoffman, et al., 2004). While the early models were often too complex and proved to be somewhat ineffective, models developed in the 1990s were accepted, and some remain in circulation. In 1993, the Ontario Police College, in collaboration with use of force trainers and specialists from across the province, developed the Ontario Use of Force Options Model, which "integrated both force options and a generic decision-making process summarized as assess-plan-act" (Hoffman, et al., 2004; p.1). Due to the introduction of government-mandated use of force standards in Ontario, this model was soon seen as the new standard.

In 1999, the burgeoning success of the Ontario Use of Force Options Model led to the Ontario Police College, the Canadian Police College and the Royal Mounted Police to propose that a nationwide use of force model be developed as a means by which to "promote the consistency in use of force training, practice, and standards across Canada" (Hoffman, et al., 2004; p. 1). As a result, the National Use of Force Framework (Appendix A) was developed to assist in the training of officers and to be used as a reference when making decisions in the field. Furthermore, the model was intended to aid officers when explaining to others their course of action leading to the use of force. This circular model has six key principles that underlie the framework:

1. The primary responsibility of a peace officer is to preserve and protect life;

2. The primary objective of any use of force is to ensure public safety;

3. Police officer safety is essential to public safety;

4. The National Use of Force Framework does not replace or augment the law; the law speaks for itself;

5. The National Use of Force Framework was constructed in consideration of federal statute law and current law;

6. The National Use of Force Framework is not intended to dictate policy to any agency (Hoffman, et al., 2004).

While the National Use of Force Framework does not serve as a justification for officers to use force and does not prescribe specific response options appropriate to specific situations, it does help officers to understand how and why they may respond with force (Whitson, 2010; 18). Furthermore, it acts as a means to articulate use of force policy to the general public.

In provinces such as Ontario, municipal and provincial police chiefs must ensure that use of force training occurs in the context of the Use of Force Model as per the province's regulations. Furthermore, the training program must be consistent with the Ministry's approved use of force options, which include officer presence, communication, physical control, empty

hand techniques, impact weapons, conducted energy weapons, and firearms. The training program must be conducted by a use of force trainer certified by the Ministry, and the officers must receive an annual training refresher course (Ministry of Community Safety and Correctional Services, 2014).

In British Columbia, the 1981 Police Act Regulation governs all police officers (other than RCMP recruits). All police officers recruited for the service at independent municipal departments receive their training at the Justice Institute of British Columbia (J.I.). The J.I. trains incoming officers in overall use of force theory and practice, including use of weapons. During their time at the J.I., "police recruits receive approximately 90 hours of Physical Training and Control Tactics (PTAC)" (Police Services Division, 2010; p. 2). In 2009, the Police Services Division undertook a multi-phase review of police training at the J.I. The purpose of the review was to evaluate the training of recruits as well as the training of advanced officers by reporting on the major issues within the current context of police training, examining governance models and identifying strategic directions for future police training, as well as assessing the existing J.I. curriculum (Police Services Division, 2010). While the evaluation would have illuminated current understanding of training programs, it was suspended due to lack of funding.

Officers employed by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) undergo a slightly different training process. The recruits, or "cadets", as the RCMP refers to them, receive training at a centralized location known as Depot. There they receive use of force training consistent within the context of the RCMP Incident Management Intervention Model (IMIM). The model was designed to align with the National Use of Force Framework (NUFF), in that it uses similar vocabulary and common approaches (RCMP, 2009). The IMIM (Appendix A) is based on the following principles:

1. The primary objective of any intervention is public safety;

2. Police officer safety is essential to public safety;

3. The intervention model must always be applied in the context of a careful risk assessment;

4. Risk assessment must take into account the likelihood and extent of life loss,

injury and damage to property;

5. Risk assessment is a continuous process and risk management must evolve as situations change;

6. The best strategy is the least intrusive intervention necessary to manage risk;

7. The best intervention causes the least harm or damage (RCMP, 2014).

Using this model as a reference point, cadets are taught use of force techniques in a variety of different simulated circumstances, with the hope that when faced with these situations on the streets, they will know what level of force should be employed.

Regardless of the method depicting use of force policy or the specific use of force training program, there are two common themes surrounding the majority of models and training procedures (Whitson, 2010; 18). First, the models act as training aids to officers during their initial and concurrent training. Second, there is no requirement to sequentially escalate from one force option to the next. Police officers should select the best option learned during training given all the circumstances.

2.2. Police Visibility

2.2.1. The Progression of Visibility

The police are considered "by far the most visible of all criminal justice institutions" (Chermak and Weiss, 2005; p. 502). Because of the power police officers have, visibility is an important component of their occupation. Their visibility helps determine how they appear to the public and it can contribute to both the success and the downfall of individual police officers, and, on occasion, entire police agencies. Originally, police visibility was almost entirely primary, based on direct observations and experiences by the public (Goldsmith, 2010). Prior to the advent of mass media, primary visibility, the most direct and comparatively unmediated form of visibility, was dominant among police officers and the general public. According to Brodeur (2010), primary visibility is a defining feature of policing. Uniformed patrol officers, by nature, are meant to be visible, and in that way they are tied to public perceptions of the police profession.

Given that the public are prone to judge the police based on their visible actions, a principal concern of police departments is the management of appearances of the officers and the impressions they generate (Manning, 1999).

The development of mass circulation newspapers, and, later, television and Internet, led to secondary visibility. Secondary visibility refers to images and accounts of policing experienced through the consumption of mass media. The emergence of secondary visibility meant that policing became increasingly observable through the publication of photographic and narrative materials (Goldsmith, 2010). It is through this form of visibility that awareness of police activities began to extend beyond the realm of "direct experience". Goldsmith (2010) states that "people often far removed from particular settings could be made aware of policing activities and thus be able to enter into a moral assessment of those actions" (p. 914).

Recent widespread developments in visual recording technologies have contributed to the development of what is known as the new visibility (Goldsmith, 2010; Thompson, 2005). This era of new visibility has widespread implications on police visibility and accountability. Our society has evolved from a populace in which the viewer is central to a society in which every person has the opportunity to be a media producer (Mathiesen, 1997; p. 45). The media producer society is characteristic of a post broadcasting age. Here, pervasive viewing is supplemented by the emergence of technologies that have radically redistributed the means of recording and disseminating images and narratives. It is common for individuals to own or have access to privately owned video cameras or cellular telephones capable of recording digital footage. These devices allow the public to record police officers in action, and, further, allow the public to disseminate the recorded footage to wider audiences. Because of this widespread cell phone ownership and social media access, the general public is able to bypass traditional gatekeepers of the synopticon.

Examples of the emergence of the new visibility are prevalent. One of the more widely known instances remains the 1991 beating of Rodney King by the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD). Although the video was recorded privately, it was broadcast through traditional media outlets and produced widespread public criticism. The Tasering death of Robert Dziekanski in 2007 at the hands of the RCMP is another example of policing's new

visibility. The incident was captured by a bystander's cell phone and was subsequently posted on YouTube. This footage was used in the investigation and proved detrimental to the officers involved in the situation, as their testimonies failed to mirror the evidence captured on tape. According to Thompson (2005), the visibility of actions and events is not just the outcome of leakage in systems of communication and information flow that are increasingly difficult to control, it is also an explicit strategy of individuals who know very well that mediated visibility can be a weapon in the struggles they wage in their day-to-day lives (p.31).

The footage captured as a result of policing's new visibility often produces criticism. There are, however, examples of incidents captured on film that are frame police actions in a favourable light. The North Hollywood Shootout of 1997 is an example of such an incident. Captured and broadcasted live for the entire world to see, the bank heist was one of the longest and bloodiest events in the history of American policing (Orlov, 2012). The footage showed the police officers involved risking their lives and suffering grievous bodily harm to protect the lives of innocent people. The police did nothing to influence the live footage, but rather, were simply doing their jobs. Police officers often perform heroic acts such as those displayed in the North Hollywood Shootout. However, it seems as though footage showing these positive police interactions are aired less frequently than those showing negative interactions.

2.2.2. *Modern Western-style Police Visibility*

The operational attributes of modern Western-style policing contribute to the visibility of police officers, and cause it to be somewhat easier for the public to monitor police actions, and execute citizen monitoring. Paperman (2003) notes that putting police into recognizable uniforms and marked police vehicles not only assists their operational effectiveness, but also contributes to their visibility and shaped their image as public officials. The development of these visible markers drew attention to police and reinstated their lawful authority over the general public. In this sense, their visibility has been a positive functional development. Despite this, public exposure of misdeeds or neglect is heightened because of police visibility, and has the potential to reflect negatively upon the police as an organization. This can, in turn, lead to the police being held to account collectively as well as individually for actions revealed in the footage (Goldsmith, 2010).

2.3. Surveillance

2.3.1. The Concept of Surveillance

Bentham (1791) introduced a new and technologically advanced prison design, which he called the "Panopticon". Bentham's prison schema was introduced as a way to provide an effective and efficient means of controlling a large prison population. Drawing on Bentham's work, Foucault (1977) used the Panopticon to conceptualize the function of surveillance in modern institutions, including the prison system.

According to Foucault (1977), effective invisibility of authority is the critical component of the theoretical Panopticon, and of the panoptic model. While the Panopticon was never constructed, the panoptic model produces a self-monitoring subject based on the threat of an omnipresent possibility of surveillance. If an individual within a given population engages in unsanctioned behaviour, the individual will be confronted and punished without hesitation. While Bentham (1791) likely anticipated that his model would apply strictly to prison populations, the panoptic model has been applied in schools, public settings, and within workplaces. Essentially, the panoptic model can be applied wherever subjects can be discharged, reprimanded, or denied privileges should they fail to appropriately monitor their behaviour. Foucault (1977) notes that this model fashions the autonomous individual into a disciplined and rational subject, which will "assure the automatic functioning of power" (p. 201).

Because surveillance is a central tool in modern capitalist society (Campbell and Carlson, 2002), it has a role in the functioning of police organizations. While police are traditionally seen as the agents that carry out surveillance within society, citizen surveillance has caused police departments, and, specifically, front-line officers, to be the objects of surveillance themselves. Examination of the effects surveillance has on individuals, and the ability of individuals to engage in self-monitoring is an area of study where little research has been conducted. This increased scrutiny on the part of the civilian population has likely had a marked impact on officers; however, its impact has not been studied extensively.

2.3.2. Self Monitoring

Foucault's interpretation of the panoptic model requires a participatory component—one that is known as self-monitoring (Campbell and Carlson, 2002). In order for the existence of external surveillance to be effective there must be some element of self-monitoring present within the components of the panoptic model. While it has not been explored, it can be argued that since all members of society employ self-monitoring to some extent, police officers, inevitably, do as well. Theories of self-monitoring (Snyder, 1974; 1979; 1987) stipulate that there are meaningful differences in individuals in terms of the extent to which they can and do engage in expressive control. Snyder and Gangestad (2000) note that some individuals, out of concern for the situational appropriateness of their expressive self-presentation, monitor their behaviour and "regulate their self presentation for the sake of desired public appearances" (p. 530). These individuals are classified as "high self-monitors" (Snyder and Gangestad, 2000; p. 530) due to their highly responsive behaviour to social and interpersonal cues. "Low self-monitors" (Snyder and Gangestad, 2000; p. 530), however, are less likely to feel a need to appear situationally appropriate. Given their responsibility and position of authority, police officers must engage in high levels of self-monitoring, and thus, can be seen as fitting into the category of "high self-monitors".

Individuals self-monitor to differing degrees based on the extent to which they value, create, cultivate, and project social images and public appearances (Snyder and Gangestad, 2000). While research employing Synder's self-monitoring scale provides empirical support (Snyder and Swann, 1976, Zanna, Olson and Fazio, 1980), the support granted to his theoretical approach has not been unequivocal. An alternative explanation of self-monitoring is offered by Ajzen, Timko, and White (1982), who suggest that "this alternative interpretation is derived from a social psychological theory of human behaviour—the theory of reasoned action" (p. 427). According to their theory, the immediate antecedent of a person's behaviour is his or her intention to perform the behaviour in question. This behavioural intention is, in turn, a function of the person's attitude toward the behaviour and perceived social pressure or cultural norms (Ajzen, Timko and White, 1982).

The attitudinal component noted by Ajzen et al. is of particular importance in the consideration of the examination of the phenomenon of citizen monitoring and police use of justified force. Based on literature (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1973, 1977; Ajzen, Timko and White, 1982; Snyder and Gangestad, 2000), attitudes towards behaviours are found to be effective indicators of corresponding intentions and behaviours. According to this logic, attitudes towards particular behaviours, such as citizen monitoring and justifiable use of force, would predict corresponding actions for both low self-monitors and high self-monitors. Based on these theoretical understandings, one can assume that by assessing police officers' attitudes towards self-monitoring in respect to the phenomenon of citizen monitoring, their subsequent lack of use of justifiable force will be better understood.

2.3.3.   *Citizen Monitoring*

The cellular telephone camera is seen as having achieved critical mass in the general population given that it can go almost anywhere and capture images of almost anything (Goldsmith, 2005). Compared to fixed closed circuit television (CCTV) cameras and traditional television news cameras, cellular telephones enjoy a much wider distribution, a more diverse ownership, and overall greater mobility. Footage from these devices can be disseminated at a rate faster than was possible in previous decades, and can easily be linked from one person to hundreds of thousands around the world through wireless transmission to websites like YouTube because of the Internet. Once captured, the Internet offers a "generative" system that takes away a fundamental means of controlling the flow of information and images from those who have traditionally possessed a strong control of their image management, such as the police (Li, 2009).

This form of monitoring is one that has been bolstered by the emergence of the era of new police visibility (Goldsmith, 2010). Technological advancement and development has led to an increasingly interconnected world—one in which novel issues are continually brought to the attention of the general public. In 2013, for example, eight police officers working in South Africa were charged with the murder of twenty-seven year old taxi driver, Mido Macia. Macia was handcuffed to a police cruiser and subsequently dragged through the streets of the town where he had allegedly parked his taxi in a manner that interrupted the flow of traffic (Hastings, 2014).

The incident was captured on a bystander's cellular telephone. This clip was posted on the Internet, and within a short period of time individuals around the world had viewed the video. It was, ultimately, because of the video clip that the police officers' wrongdoing was exposed. They have since been charged with murder (Hastings, 2014).

The public's increasing ability to monitor streets and other public spaces, together with the Internet's function as a medium by which police use of force can rapidly be exposed, both contribute to individuals' increased motivation to share and spread awareness of police actions. In such instances, the footage posted on the Internet can "go viral", or experience rapid sharing on websites such as YouTube, Facebook, and Twitter (Goldsmith, 2010). According to Thompson (2005):

> Thanks to the media, these previously hidden practices and events had been given an entirely new status as public and, indeed, politically explosive events; the invisible had been made visible for all to see, even though the viewers were far removed from [where] these disturbing events had transpired (p.31).

While this new-found ability to propagate particular information has obvious benefits, it also comes with certain pitfalls. Because the concept of citizen monitoring is relatively new, understanding how to navigate this previously uncharted territory is something both the civilian population and the police body are currently grappling with.

Citizen surveillance of police is a phenomenon that, in some ways, defies the current understandings of the role dominant forces such as government bodies and law enforcement agencies have in their attempts to define and enforce deviance. Deviance as it relates to the police as active agents can be defined through the eyes of the citizens. Traditionally, those defining criminality have commanded a level of authority, however in the case of citizen monitoring, the judgment is handed off to people who are not in a position traditionally considered authoritative. Because of advances in technology, however, citizens have increased influence and a greater ability to induce social movement and designate what is deviant and what is not.

2.4. The Police's Response to Citizen Monitoring

Through the advent of ubiquitous, reasonably priced, technologically advanced personal recording devices, the citizen population enjoys the relatively new-found ability to monitor and to obtain evidence of police officers doing their job either correctly or incorrectly. Sterling (2013) states that by the end of 2014, 80% of North American citizens are expected to have cellular telephones with video capabilities. While citizen monitoring of law enforcement officials may have potential benefits, failure to capture "the whole picture" can have a negative impact on the police.

As a result of these negative consequences, several police departments around the world have adopted the use of body-mounted cameras (also known as body worn cameras, body worn video, or head cams). Before the emergence of body-mounted cameras, police departments introduced cameras embedded within the squad cars themselves. These were integrated into police work with the hope that they would contribute to better policing, increased accountability, and a more streamlined experience within the court system.

2.4.1. The History of Video Surveillance as a Counter Tactic by Police

Police have used video surveillance as a tool in their line of work since 1956 when cameras were first used to regulate traffic violations at stoplights (Roy, 2014). According to Norris, McCahill, and Wood (2004), in 1960, the first pan tilt cameras were employed to monitor crowds at Trafalgar Square in London. Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) cameras also became widespread during that era. Today, many large North American and European cities rely on CCTV to monitor the general population's behaviours (Nieto et al., 2002).

The installation of traffic light cameras, pan tilt cameras, and CCTV cameras is rooted in Rational Choice Theory. This theoretical perspective purports that, as a result of the presence of cameras, potential offenders will become aware of the fact that their behaviours and actions are being scrutinized. With this recognition, "the offender may come to associate criminality in that setting with a heightened risk of apprehension and prosecution" (Roy, 2014). According to Welsh and Farrington (2009), the presence of mechanisms of police surveillance have the

potential to provide offenders with the impression that the community values guardianship, and that potential targets are more difficult to breach than it may appear (Welsh and Farrington, 2009; Wilson and Kelling, 1982).

2.4.2.   The Emergence of the In-Car Camera

Given that police officers are arguably the most visible agency within the criminal justice system, it is reasonable to assume that they are, consequently, held to a high level of accountability. An additional mechanism of police surveillance that emerged in the 1960s was the in-car camera, or the dashboard camera. The first in-car camera that appeared in policing was merely a camera set up on a tripod that took up the entire passenger seat of a patrol car (IACP, 2004).

During the 1980s, the use of cameras became more common in the United States due to the development and subsequent introduction of self-contained visual recording systems (Roy, 2014). According to Westphal (2004), during the 1990s, public confidence in police was waning due to a large number of incidents wherein racial profiling was alleged. In order to restore public confidence in the police, and, further, in order to hold the officers accountable for their actions, proactive steps were established to stop biased policing (Westphal, 2004). While these advancements were widespread in the Unites States, in-car cameras did not emerge in Canada until nearly a decade later, and even then, were only introduced in a few, select locales.

In-car cameras were used to record traffic stops and other encounters with the general public. A profound technological advancement, in-car cameras allowed the public to view an unbiased account of the incident in question. These cameras are capable of recording interactions between police and the public that occur directly outside of, or within the vehicle. They also allow for the transportation of prisoners to be caught on camera. According to some proponents, the emergence of this technology "has been invaluable and the benefits of the in-car video camera have far exceeded the original goals" (Westphal, 2004; p. 1). In-car cameras are used in Canada, the United States, and elsewhere in the world. As of 2004, seventy-two percent of state police and highway patrol cars in the United States were equipped with in-car cameras (Westphal, 2004).

In Canada, many of the larger police departments use in-car cameras. In Ontario, the Toronto Police Service, for example, has used in-car cameras since the 1990s (Toronto Police Service, 2014). While the original system used a VHS tape, the current in-car cameras contain state-of-the-art digital systems that assist in producing an environment where biased policing does not exist. By 2011, all frontline Toronto Police Service vehicles were equipped with in-car cameras. These cars have two cameras—one that faces the windshield, and therefore allows interactions outside of the squad car to be filmed, and another that captures the rear seat area (Toronto Police Service, 2014). The in-car cameras used by the Toronto Police Service are only activated once the vehicle is turned on, unless one of the officers using the car manually activates it, or when the vehicle's collision sensors detect that an accident has occurred (Toronto Police Services, 2014).

In British Columbia, policing is often likened to patchwork (Griffiths, 2014). Various cities in the province are policed by municipal police forces, while others are policed by the RCMP. This "patchwork" results in different policies and practices across the province. Some police departments rely heavily on the use of in-car cameras, while others do not. Differences in levels of funding, in the density and demographic of the officers' jurisdictions, and in the priorities of the various departments result in the variation of in-car camera usage across the province.

In 2009, however, the Solicitor General's office provided $1.8 million in funding for British Columbia's police departments to purchase and install an increased number of in-car cameras (Platt, 2013). As a result of this funding, the RCMP were able to purchase an additional 260 in-car cameras for RCMP traffic units, and a further sixty were purchased for municipal police cars (Platt, 2013). According to Platt (2013), after this additional funding was allocated, distributed, and exhausted, the total number of in-car police cameras in British Columbia reached approximately 460.

In March of 2011, an event occurred, which would lead to a pivotal inquiry. A Surrey RCMP officer killed Adam Purdie after he fled from a police traffic stop (Platt, 2013). Purdie had both morphine and cocaine in his blood and when he was stopped by the police vehicle, he aimed a rifle at Constable Peter Neily (Platt, 2013). Because Purdie was killed by the RCMP officer, an inquest occurred, which determined Neily was not criminally responsible for the

death, and further, that he acted within his duties to discharge the shots. The entire incident was filmed on Neily's in-car camera, and as a result, allowed the investigators to match police radio traffic with events that happened at the scene (Platt, 2013).

The coroner's inquest into Purdie's shooting death recommended that all RCMP cruisers have in-car cameras installed (Platt, 2013). In addition to several other suggestions, the jury recommendations stated that "all active RCMP patrol vehicles should be equipped with a dash camera providing Audio/Video" (Ministry of Justice, 2013). Because this recommendation was simply a strongly worded suggestion for further improvement, RCMP cruisers were not required to be immediately equipped with in-car cameras. At the time of the inquest, the RCMP spokesperson stated that financial and legal implications would have to be considered before the recommendations were acted upon (Plat, 2013). Despite the cost, today more police cruisers are equipped with this technology than they were at the time of Purdie's death in 2013.

2.4.3.   The Impact of In-Car Cameras

To determine whether or not monies spent on the installation of in-car cameras was warranted, in 2002 the International Association of Chiefs of Police requested that a study be performed to see if this novel technology produced positive results (Westphal, 2004). The purpose of the study was to "produce a best practices guide for selection and acquisition of in-car camera equipment and to provide an updated model policy for the use and application of in-car cameras" (Westphal, 2004). To measure the impact of in-car cameras, the following became the focus of the study: officer safety; professionalism and performance; complaints concerning police practices; public opinion; agency leadership; training; and homeland security (Westphal, 2004).

The most significant finding produced by the study was that there is an unequivocal link between in-car cameras and officer safety (Westphal, 2004). According to Westphal (2004), officers reported that the in-car cameras made a slight improvement in police professionalism and performance. The in-car cameras also allow for the officers to be cleared from instances of alleged wrongdoing. Survey details indicate that 96.2 percent of the time, the recording of the event led to the exoneration of the officer involved (Westphal, 2004). The study suggests that

the public and agency executives agree with the usage of in-car cameras (Westphal, 2004). Furthermore, in-car cameras can serve as a training tool. Experienced officers can use the video footage as a tool for self-critique (Westphal, 2004). Lastly, the video recordings produced by the in-car cameras allow for information and footage sharing between locales, and have ultimately improved the police's ability to apprehend criminals who operate nation-wide (Westphal, 2004).

2.4.4. The Introduction and Reaction to Body-Mounted Cameras

Given the natural limitations of the in-car camera, and the recent advancements in video technology, a new mechanism of police surveillance was recently developed. Instead of limiting the scope of the video camera, and allowing the footage only to include the perspective as it is seen from inside the police cruiser, body-mounted cameras record the officer's actions once the officer has left the vehicle.

Body-mounted cameras first emerged in 2005 in the United Kingdom as video cameras worn on police officers' heads (Harris, 2010). These devices were called "body worn video", but were more affectionately called "head cams" by the police that wore them. Body-mounted cameras consisted of video and audio recording equipment mounted to the side of an officer's head, similar to the way one might wear a cellular telephone ear piece (Somer, 2007). Since their emergence in the United Kingdom, several American companies have begun manufacturing versions of these devices, and further, they have begun to appear in small number across U.S. and Canadian policing agencies (Harris, 2010).

One of the companies that manufacture body-mounted cameras in North America is Taser International, better known for its development of the eponymous conducted energy device. The device uses a camera mounted on a head/earpiece, and is described as "a tactical networkable computer combining advanced audio record/capture capabilities worn by first responders" (Taser, 2010). Another model, called the VIE VU, comes from a company known by the same name, which is based in Seattle, Washington. The company describes its device as a "wire free wearable video camera", and it is approximately the same size and shape as a

cellular telephone (VIE VU, 2010). It clips to an officer's shirt, jacket pocket, or hat, and the devices are made for both police officers and members of the general public.

British police departments were the first to adopt the use of body-mounted cameras and they also became the first to produce documentation supporting the device's efficacy. Between 2005 and 2006, small-scale pilot studies of the devices occurred in Plymouth, England (Harris, 2010). The initial pilot study indicated that body-mounted cameras showed great promise and so a full-scale, seventeen month study, in which 300 officers tested the device, was conducted.

Shortly thereafter, the United Kingdom Home Office commissioned an independent assessment of the Plymouth studies. This was intended to identify issues of concern and to evaluate the benefits of the devices (Home Office of the UK, 2007). The study found:

1. Body-mounted cameras allowed officers to record evidence in real-time with far more accuracy than other methods allowed and with much less doubt about what happened or what was said (Harris, 2010).
2. Officers could make and keep records more quickly, and this caused a more rapid resolution of cases through guilty pleas, allowing officers more time on the street (Harris, 2010).
3. When the public saw officers wearing body-mounted cameras, public order offenses were reduced, and when such offenses were committed, they were resolved faster (Harris, 2010).
4. Officers found recording of events via body-mounted cameras especially helpful for the prosecution of domestic violence cases (Harris, 2010).
5. When officers discharged firearms in the course of police business, the use of body-mounted cameras created a finely detailed record for investigation of these critical incidents (Harris, 2010).

In summary, the Home Office inquiry found resounding evidence indicating widespread success and benefit in the use of body-mounted cameras.

Due to the fact that body-mounted cameras have not, as yet, been widely accepted in Canada and the United States, a full-scale evaluation has not yet been conducted. Nevertheless, the use of body-mounted cameras is rising. In the United States, police departments including those in Cincinnati, San Jose, San Diego, Aberdeen, South Dakota, Los Angeles, and Fort Smith have either adopted or tested body-mounted cameras (Harris, 2010). Body-mounted camera manufacturer, VIE VU, has supplied cameras to more than 1,100 police agencies across the United States (VIE VU, 2012). In Canada, police departments including the Edmonton Police Service, the Victoria Police Department, the Toronto Police Service, the Calgary Police Service, and the Ottawa Police Service have tested body-mounted cameras (Scowen, 2013).

2.4.5. Policy Decisions and Body-Mounted Cameras

While there are possible benefits and known benefits of body-mounted cameras, there are several concerns with this technology. As a result of these concerns, it is critical that a thorough set of policies and procedures governing how the video is captured, stored, accessed, and disseminated is decided on before body-mounted cameras are universally adopted.

Because there are several different types of body-mounted cameras on the market as well as several ways in which to use them, it is necessary that a consistent type and usage be agreed upon. Camera placement is an issue that requires examination, due to the fact that "cameras mounted on glasses would theoretically capture what an officer is actually looking at, and focusing on, [while] chest mounted or lapel mounted footage might be steadier and easier to follow" (Vorndran et al., 2014).

Secondly, a major concern regarding body-mounted cameras is the degree to which officers have control over when the camera's recording capabilities are initialized. The ideal system from an evidentiary standpoint, would be one wherein the recording capabilities are always activated. This, however, poses concerns regarding the cost and time involved in storage of the footage collected, and the creation of unimportant recorded events (Vorndran et al., 2014). Furthermore, victims of certain crimes and criminal informants may wish and ought not to be recorded.

The third policy consideration relating to the use of body-mounted cameras is that of footage retention. The length of time that video recordings obtained through the use of body-mounted cameras should be retained has the potential to have significant impacts on the privacy of both officers and citizens (Vorndran et al., 2014). Several organizations have suggested that the optimal retention period is around 45 days, however, this may not take into consideration the ability to use the video footage in connection with related criminal and civil cases (Vorndran et al., 2014).

Fourth, there exists a major concern over privacy. Canadian citizens' privacy is protected by the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and in the United States, the Fourth Amendment protects citizens. When armed with a warrant, police officers have an exception to individuals' overall constitutional rights in that they may enter a residence. However, this does not mean that the individuals negate their privacy rights. In other words, while police can, in theory, film and record what occurs within a residence, the video that is produced cannot be released to members of the public, or to the press without the expressed consent of the individuals whose home was breached (Scowen, 2013). Officers may also have personal privacy concerns since they can be expected to discuss personal matters while not actively engaging in policing duties during the course of their work day. The American Civil Liberties Union (2013) states "police officers enter people's homes and encounter bystanders, suspects, and victims in a wide variety of sometimes stressful and extreme situations, further explaining that the development of a comprehensive policy governing camera use would ensure that the benefits of the camera outweighs the significant invasions of privacy" (p. 1-2). Based on the concerns surrounding privacy, policy regulation is a critical issue when discussing the use of body-mounted cameras.

The fifth potential policy concern related to the use of body-mounted cameras is that of notice of recording. In some North American locales, consent to being recorded is required from all parties involved in the incident. It is possible that notifying the civilians involved in the interaction that they are being recorded may change their behaviour in a positive manner.

Lastly, policy makers must consider which entities should have access to body-mounted camera data, and for what reasons. In the United Kingdom, body-mounted camera footage has proved to be useful for police departments vis-à-vis the handling of complaints by citizens of

police misconduct (Harris, 2010). This is, undeniably, a positive side effect of body-mounted cameras, however, it is important to parse what criteria should be present among individuals who wish to view the camera footage.

2.4.6. Issues Related to Storage and Cost

The long-term costs of integrating body-mounted cameras are primarily related to data storage. The volume of video files uploaded, and the storage space required for this can be enormous, depending on the department's activation and retention policies. There are several options that departments can select when storing their body-mounted camera footage. First, TASER International provides users with a digital evidence management program called Evidence.com to assist departments with uploading, labelling, and linking video files to incident reports (Roy, 2014). The second option available to departments is the ability to manage data storage in-house, depending on the size and information technology capabilities of the department itself.

The financial cost associated with the implementation of body-mounted cameras is significant as well. In Canada, reports indicate that the camera units cost approximately $1,200 each. This cost does not include the upkeep and maintenance associated with the technology. Furthermore, increased costs directed towards surveillance may lead to an intentional and/or unintentional reduction in the level of service provided. The increased costs associated with purchasing the body-mounted cameras and associated software and equipment may lead departments to refrain from hiring additional officers. The existing police officers may also assume that, because everything is being recorded and filmed, they may not need to be as vigilant as they had been before this age of unfettered technology.

2.5. The Consequences of Novel Technologies

Police officers are legally justified to use force in situations that require it. Altercations between public and police can escalate quickly and often require the officers to make "split-second" decisions that may result in serious injury and, on occasion, death. Officers must consider the health and wellbeing of the subject, of the bystanders, and of themselves. It may

be the case that officers misuse their authority and employ excessive force. In these instances, the advent of citizen monitoring can be positive. Despite this, there are certain situations in which the novel technology associated with citizen monitoring can be detrimental to one or all of the parties involved.

2.5.1.   The Adverse Consequences

Consider Elizabeth McQueen. She captured footage of the VPD using force against an erratic individual. She filmed the police carrying out their job without knowledge of the events that led to the situation, without knowledge of the subject involved, and, presumably, without knowledge of police procedures. Despite the fact that the footage she captured could somehow be useful in understanding the events that transpired, ultimately, McQueen's brief clip can be deemed flawed.

Footage captured by bystanders does not take into consideration the events that have occurred prior to the activation of the camera; it does not consider the police's previous interaction with and knowledge of the subject and it does not consider the legal justification that obligates police to use force when it is necessary to do so. Despite this, social media and mainstream media often upload to the Internet video clips and/or images of police conduct and alleged, or legitimate police misconduct and extenuating considerations are not taken into account. In addition, the camera fails to capture both the fear an officer might experience, and the critical incident stress that often occurs in police incidents. Police are often involved in situations wherein death and grievous bodily harm are realities. These experiences can trigger physiological reactions among the officers including altered perceptions. Parent (2004) suggests that these perceptual alterations include tunnel vision, time distortions, and increased auditory and visual acuity. Consistent involvement in high stress situations can produce general adaptive syndrome and the alarm stage, which is "an instantaneous, short-term, life preserving and total sympathetic nervous-system response that occur when a person consciously or unconsciously perceives a danger-inducing stressor" (Parent, 2004; pg. 6).

According to Burgess and Green (2009), the participatory culture associated with citizen monitoring has increased awareness of police misconduct. However, it has also highlighted

incidents that are misinterpreted as police misconduct. While the Internet has not only become a platform for the rapid dissemination of information, it has also contributed to the spread of misinformation. This proliferation of misinformation can be due to simple misunderstanding by the citizens, or it can be a tool for individuals who know how to exploit any given incident. Thompson (1995; 2000; 2005) suggests that the spread of misinformation has major consequences for honest police officers who, despite adhering to their regulations, are seen by the public as having committed a crime.

2.5.2.   The Positive Consequences

Because of the adverse consequences of citizen monitoring, certain strategies have been proposed or initiated by police departments. Marks (2013) discusses the use of body-mounted video cameras by certain police departments, and the possibility of their widespread use by many more agencies. While citizens are now able to monitor and record police actions as a result of technological advances, the introduction of body-mounted video devices would allow police to capture entire incidents from their perspective. Furthermore, body-mounted cameras could cause individuals to consider their actions before and during their interactions with police (Marks, 2013).

In addition to recognizing the benefit of body-mounted cameras, certain police departments have examined the possibility of employing technologies such as Google Glass in their efforts to improve policing, and to counter citizen monitoring (Carte, 2014; Biometric Technology, 2014). Both Carte (2014), and Biometric Technology (2014) affirm that Google Glass would be a useful tool in recognition, recording and collating evidence in visual inspections, viewing live cameras and security monitors, video capture and facial recognitions, as well as in accessing information about the location of other police units and support services. Despite the alleged utility of Google Glass and body-mounted cameras, both technologies are costly and it is unknown if their efficacy outweighs the financial burden they present.

2.6. Conclusion

Police officers are subject to ever-mounting scrutiny and public criticism. This criticism is largely related to use of force, whether justified or unjustified. Their traditionally high level of visibility has advanced to the point where citizens have developed their own form of monitoring, and, thus, have augmented the definition of deviance based on their own morals, as opposed to existing laws. A great deal of controversy surrounds the phenomenon of citizen monitoring simply because the footage captured can either be accurate, misinterpreted, incomplete, or manipulated to serve the purpose of a citizen, or citizens who are either directly or indirectly involved.

Despite the real potential for individuals to abuse the ability to conduct citizen monitoring, the phenomenon can also be positive. Some of these positive consequences include the fact that footage obtained through citizen monitoring can help illuminate excessive use of police force such as the force that contributed to the deaths of both Robert Dziekanski and Mido Macia. Furthermore, this form of monitoring might cause police officers to be more self-conscious, considerate of police power, and reserved in their actions.

While positive consequences are a possible side effect of citizen monitoring, there is also the concern that police officers may become overly cautious, which could prove counterproductive to crime prevention efforts, and could, ultimately be a danger to the citizens, the subject, and the officers involved. As a result, police departments have proposed, and, in some districts, adopted, forms of self-monitoring, including body-mounted cameras, that act as counter mechanisms to the prevalent citizen monitoring.

Despite the advancements of police initiated monitoring systems, concerns exist about whether or not these developments will lead to police apathy. Monitoring systems are expensive to install and to integrate into the police service; however, they are proven to have multiple benefits. It is important to ensure that their integration will not lead to a decrease in services provided by the police. While cameras and monitoring systems should be seen as tools to assist police in their regular duties, they cannot be considered an alternative to traditional police service.

Police officers are members of a government agency carefully selected to serve the populace. They are an integral part of their given communities, and are authorized and trained to protect the general public. Through the use of technology, citizens are now able to monitor police activity, creating a dichotomous relationship between the civilian population and members of the force. The current strained relationship between the police and the public indicates that concern should be paid to the new technologies used to monitor and regulate behaviour and service. Because of the rapidly changing technologies being developed, the phenomenon of citizen monitoring and the impact it has on police use of justified force should be examined.

Interviewee: Do you think hesitation as a result of citizen monitoring is a concern in policing?

Participant 9: I think it is. I do. Anything that makes you hesitate is wrong, so you want to be confident enough in anything—whether it's a sporting event, a business decision—whatever it is. Anything you do, if you hesitate usually you've lost and usually it doesn't turn out. If you hesitate parachuting, it's not going to turn out well. So anything you're not confident in—your job, or the decisions you make—if you hesitate, your opportunity is lost. Often in use of force situations, using the opportunities earliest, even though you don't want to, usually that de-escalates things faster and takes it down before it can build up.

Chapter 3.   Sample and Methods

The current study measures the impact civilian monitoring has on the attitudes of front-line police officers. The study addresses whether front line officers are less likely to use necessary and legitimate force when faced with the possibility of being subject to citizen monitoring. Surveillance is known to have a significant impact on individuals and their resulting actions (Campbell and Carlson, 2002); however, the impact of surveillance on the police population has not yet been examined. Because of the apparent lack of research in this increasingly relevant issue, this exploratory study seeks to answer the questions: "What impact does citizen monitoring have on police use of force, and would body mounted cameras serve as a means by which to mitigate this impact?" Based on research detailing the profound ways in which human behaviour is altered in response to surveillance (Campbell and Carlson, 2002; Snyder and Gangestad, 2000) it is anticipated that police will experience similar responses. It is hypothesized that police officers will describe feeling apprehensive about using justifiable force due to increasing citizen surveillance.

Research studying police use of force is continually being produced. Similarly, research examining surveillance in general is prevalent. Despite this, studies discussing the impact these issues have on one another have yet to be conducted. It is likely that, were there a better understanding of the effects of citizen monitoring of police within police circles, policy changes, including widespread changes to the current training procedures would be made.

For this study, in-person interviews were conducted with thirteen police officers from the Lower Mainland. The officers' level of service varied. While the majority of officers interviewed were active members, one new recruit was interviewed, and several retired officers participated in the study as well. Additionally, the roles occupied by the officers varied. Interviewees included, use of force trainers, homicide detectives, street level officers, gang task force officers, and members from tactical units. Because of their differing professional backgrounds, and

because of the various skill sets each officer possessed, an all-encompassing understanding of the phenomenon of citizen surveillance was achieved.

The officers interviewed are current or past employees of five different police services in the Lower Mainland. The representative nature of the sample contributed to a balanced understanding of the implications of citizen monitoring. Although officers at different police departments are subject to various forms of in-service training, the structure and content of academy training is similar among all departments in Canada. Murphy (2014) notes that "any differences between trainers based on jurisdiction should be based on teaching style, application, and philosophy" (p. 28). These differences can also be seen as contributing to the production of a well-rounded, and representative sample of police officers.

In addition to interviewing thirteen police officers, the Honourable Wally Oppal was interviewed for this study. Oppal is a Vancouver-based lawyer, and former judge, who served in the provincial cabinet as Attorney General of British Columbia and Minister responsible for Multiculturalism. In June of 1992, Oppal ordered a Commission of Inquiry into Policing in British Columbia. In 1994, the results of his inquiry were published in a report entitled "Closing the Gap: Policing and the Community Commission of Inquiry into Policing in British Columbia", also referred to as the "Oppal Inquiry" (B.C. Ministry of Justice, 2014). Because of Oppal's role in the public, and because of his well-known stance on policing related issues, he requested to be identified in the study, thus waiving his right to anonymity.

3.1.   Research Ethics and Informed Consent

Police officers hold a unique level of authority over the public. Their ability to use force sets them apart from the rest of the citizen body. They are required to deal with complex, physically demanding, and emotionally draining situations, and as such, discussion of their profession can, at times, be sensitive. Officers are expected to exercise emotional restraint, and are required to follow a set of procedures depending upon how the given event unfolds. Often, these procedures include the use of force. The use of force is a highly sensitive topic, and this was considered in the study. Additionally, because this study examines the impact citizen monitoring may or may not have on an officer carrying out his or her job, there is an added

dimension of sensitivity. The findings of this study could determine that officers are impacted by the presence of citizens monitoring their actions. In fact, the study could indicate that officers are impacted to the point where they are less likely to use a level of force legally justified in a given situation. Essentially, this would imply that officers are not fulfilling their duties and expectations as outlined in their training.

Because the findings of this study could undermine the expected level of service police officers are required to provide, it was anticipated that there might be a reluctance to divulge information. To mitigate this reluctance, it was critical that the study was ethically sound, and that the interviewees were granted anonymity and confidentiality. Given that the study involved human participants, ethics approval was required before the interviews could commence.

Simon Fraser University's Office of Research Ethics granted ethics approval for this study on July 8th, 2014. The University's Research Ethics Board (REB) stated that the research could be deemed as "minimal risk", in that:

> Potential participants can reasonably be expected to regard the probability and magnitude of possible harms to be no greater than those encountered by the participant in those aspects of his or her everyday life that relate to the research (as cited in the Office of Research Ethics approval letter).

According to Simon Fraser University's research guidelines and regulations regarding the ethical collection of data, each participant was required to provide their consent before the interview began. Because the study is qualitative in nature, oral informed consent was elected over written informed consent. To avoid a situation with an unnecessary emphasis on legality, and further, to secure and uphold trust and rapport with the participants, the Primary Investigator opted not to obtain written informed consent. Additionally, receiving written consent could potentially jeopardize confidentiality and anonymity through the creation of a written record of the participants' names.

Consent was premised on the fact that the participants were told clearly that the purpose of the study is to satisfy the requirements of the Primary Investigator's Master's thesis. In order to provide informed consent, respondents must have adequate reasoning faculties and be in

possession of all relevant facts at the time consent is given. This was determined by the Primary Investigator at the point when the participants' oral informed consent was obtained. The interviewees were also told that, while further presentations of the material are possible, consent would be obtained again if and when such a situation should arise.

Prior to the start of each interview, the Primary Investigator asked the participants if he or she had read the information sheet and if there were any questions about the research. The participants were also asked how they would like confidentiality to be maintained. Finally, they were asked directly if they consented to take part in the study. The key points that were emphasized in the oral consent process included the study's goals and purpose, the benefits expected as a result of the research, the voluntary nature of the study, the guarantee that confidentiality would be upheld, and the possibility of any physical or psychological risks that existed. Once these details were verbally outlined, the participants were asked whether or not they understood the information they had just heard, whether or not they had any questions, and whether or not they consented to the interview. Each response was recorded using a secure audio recording device. All officers participating in the study consented to the interview. At the culmination of each interview, the participants were asked if they had any questions, concerns, or additional comments.

While it was anticipated that the interviewees would want to remain unidentified, they were each given an opportunity to choose not to be anonymous. The individuals taking part in the study were notified that, if they wished, their identity would be safeguarded, and further, that a pseudonym (e.g. Participant 1) would be used if direct quotes appeared in the text. Indirect identifiers such as the city where the participant resides and the police force for which the participant works were removed from the transcripts unless otherwise indicated during the consent conversation. Because preserving a professional and trusting relationship with the interviewees was important to the Primary Investigator, and because it was possible that the interviewees would not participate if their identity were not kept confidential, utmost confidentiality was maintained throughout this research project.

3.2.   Participants

Due to the high level of in-group solidarity among police officers, the identification of a large sample from which to select respondents was an unreasonable expectation for this study. Therefore, opportunity sampling was employed. Opportunity sampling is a form of non-probability sampling in which respondents are drawn from a population conveniently located. While random sampling is often touted as being the optimal form of sampling within the qualitative research domain, due to the small-scale nature of this study, it was not considered an option. After the project received ethics approval, the prospective interviewees were contacted via e-mail by the Primary Investigator and were provided with an information sheet (see Appendix D). Once the prospective participants had had an opportunity to read the information sheet and had agreed to participate, an interview was scheduled.

The Primary Investigator's Senior Supervisor, Dr. Rick Parent, a retired police officer, provided contact information for twelve of the fourteen respondents who participated in the study. His extensive ties to the policing community proved to be the catalyst for employing an opportunity sampling approach. Not only did he have an extensive number of contacts available to him, he was also able to draw in officers with diverse backgrounds, experiences, and departmental involvement. This produced a thorough sample representing the Lower Mainland policing community. The two remaining individuals were approached independently by the Primary Investigator, who had access to them as a result of previous encounters.

Once contact had been established with the individuals, they were recruited as participants for the study. The potential participants were each sent a document detailing the study and outlining what would be expected of them if they agreed to participate (see Appendix D). If the individuals agreed to participate, they were provided with a hardcopy of the study details for their own record at the time of the interview. Additionally, the Primary Investigator read the oral informed consent to them before the interview began (see Appendix E). Both the study details document and the oral informed consent document served as a means by which to provide the participants with a thorough understanding of the study objectives and an understanding of how the data would be used and disseminated.

The study included fourteen participants: thirteen police officers, and the former Attorney General of British Columbia—Wally Oppal—who, as previously stated, requested that his identity be revealed. Of the study participants (N=14), thirteen are all presently employed or are recently retired officers working or having worked for various police departments in the Lower Mainland. The officers who participated in the study were members of the following departments:

- The Royal Canadian Mounted Police

- The Vancouver Police Department

- The Delta Police Department

- The New Westminster Police Department

- The Port Moody Police Department

Six participants (N=6) had less than twenty years of experience in the field of policing. Within that group, one participant was a newly recruited officer, while the remaining five were in various early stages of their careers in policing. Seven participants (N=7) were senior officers with twenty or more years of service. The officers interviewed came from various positions within the realm of policing, including the Gang Task Force, the BEAT[1], the Emergency Response Team (ERT), the Sex Crimes Unit, and the Homicide Unit. Each of the officers interviewed had varying degrees of exposure to the public. This variance meant that the present study examined the impact of citizen monitoring on policing as a whole, as opposed to only assessing its impact on one element of the profession such as traffic, the dog squad or general duty patrol.

It is critical to note that the study only interviewed one female, while the remainder of the interviewees were male. Despite making a concerted effort to recruit female officers, this proved

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[1] A beat is the territory and time that a police officer patrols. Beat officers spend most of their shifts interacting with citizens in the context of specific crime incidents, investigative activities, and traffic enforcement (Frank, Novak and Smith, 2001).

[2] David wanted his name to be known, and stated that he was not concerned about matters pertaining to confidentiality.

[3] Participant 1 was in uniform, and the authorized shirt for that particular department was grey.

[4] A smartphone is a "multifunctional cell phone that provides voice communication and text-messaging capabilities and facilitates data processing as well as enhanced wireless connectivity." (Zheng and Ni, 2006; p. 1)

[5] This approach suggests that there are a few "rotten apples" in a police department and inappropriate behavior is isolated to a few individuals (Byers, 2002).

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to be more difficult than originally anticipated. While this gendered distribution within the sample can certainly be described as a limitation to the present study, it is important to recognize that despite efforts to bring more females into the field of policing, it remains a career dominated by males. Statistics Canada reported that in 2011, 19.6% of Canadian police officers were female (Statistics Canada, 2011). Given these statistics, it seems reasonable that the present study only obtained an interview from one female officer.

3.3.   Research Method: Interviews

The present research project employed a qualitative methods approach and in-depth, semi-structured interviews were the primary method of data collection. A qualitative approach was selected over a quantitative approach because, as Palys and Atchison (2014) state:

> Researchers have a role to play because while any given participant has a unique history and experience that the researcher does not, the researcher's social position makes it likely that, at the end of the research, s/he will be the only one in the setting who has systematically learned from all of the participants in a setting and thus should have the broadest and most comprehensive view. (p. 14)

In this instance, qualitative research awards readers a foray into the experiences of police officers that may not be as telling as the numerical quantifications of those same experiences. The qualitative nature of this study allows the participants to be active agents of their own narrative. Essentially, the interviewees tell the story of their experience with citizen monitoring using their own unique voices.

The Primary Investigator conducted in person interviews with each of the fourteen participants between the periods of August 29th, 2014 and January 29th, 2015. The interviews lasted between forty-five minutes and an hour and a half depending on the amount of time the interviewees had set aside, and further, based on the amount of information they wished to divulge. Although each interview was recorded with the participants' consent, they were further assured that the recordings themselves would be kept confidential. Additionally, written notes were taken in a research journal throughout several interviews. It is critical to mention that these notes were only taken with the consent of the participants.

The interviews were conducted in locations selected by the participants. Prior to the interview, the participants were asked where they would feel most comfortable answering questions of a sensitive nature. While some preferred to have the interviews in the comfort of their own homes, it was not uncommon for interviewees to request a meeting at a local coffee shop or restaurant. Before the interview, each participant was sent a digital copy of the Participant Information document via email. At the time of the interview, participants were provided with a hard copy of the same document. After being given an opportunity to read over the document, the oral informed consent process occurred. Participants were read a statement regarding the details of the study, their role, their ability to withdraw from the study without any fear of punishment, and any potential risks that could be incurred as a result of participating. This process, including their subsequent consent, was digitally recorded.

Each of the participants were asked whether or not they consented to having the interview digitally recorded. All participants consented. The recording device used was a Sony 4-Gigabyte Direct Voice Recorder. After each interview, the relevant recordings and transcriptions were kept in separate, secure locations, and were not labeled with any identifying information. Immediately after each separate interview was completed, the audio recordings were saved to an encrypted USB. They will be stored on an encrypted USB in a locked container in the PI's home. This is to allow opportunity for the data to be revisited should follow-up research be conducted in this field, including future projects and studies with the data. Participants will be made aware of this. It is important to note that the interviews were at no point saved onto the computer itself.

The recordings were transcribed shortly after the interviews took place. During this transcription process the data was anonymized. If the participant indicated a preference for anonymity and/or to remove indirect identifiers, names were never recorded in the transcription. Dr. Rick Parent and the Primary Investigator were, and are currently the only individuals with access to the original audio recordings. Ultimately, the recordings will be destroyed, although this will occur two years after the interviews were originally conducted, as per Simon Fraser University policy.

Open-ended questions were posed in order to gain a general understanding of the participants' experience with, and understanding of, policing issues, the impact citizen surveillance has on the profession, and further, the positive and/or negative consequences technologies such as body-mounted cameras may have for patrol officers. In conducting semi-structured interviews, room was left for probing questions to be asked if a participant discussed something that could be explored in more depth. Additionally, the looseness of the interview script allowed the interviewees to navigate the topic as they saw fit—relaying anecdotes and expanding on the questions without concern regarding the scope of the study. For a copy of the interview script, refer to Appendix D.

3.4. Data Analysis

The transcriptions produced were imported to NVivo, a platform for analysing unstructured data, such as that produced in qualitative research. After this step, the coding process commenced. Through the process of assigning references within data to the topics, categories or concepts they relate to, or topic coding, important information about study's themes came to light. The coding approach employed for the present study was that of inductive coding, which is described by Palys and Atchison (2014) as:

> [Coding that generally] begins with the identification of general themes and ideas that emerge from a very literal reading of the data and can proceed in either direction, i.e. sometimes elaborating a category by making finer and finer distinctions, and sometimes beginning with very specific descriptive coding categories that are subsequently combined to create more general categories that bring disparate events or descriptions under the same conceptual umbrella. (p. 305)

In addition to coding for specific topics and themes, some themes were broken down into subcategories.

While conducting the interviews, and, later, while coding the resulting transcriptions, there were some statements that appeared to be outliers. They either stood out because they perfectly represented the study's overarching findings, or because they were entirely different from the other respondents' statements. Information that failed to fit into any of the groupings was also coded and later an analysis was conducted to determine why those results differed.

It was critical to remain objective during the coding process. As previously noted, some statements within the transcriptions stood out for one reason or another. In order to prevent the Primary Investigator's personal bias from influencing the study, these "stand out statements" were examined on several separate occasions. The statements were re-examined in an effort to determine whether or not they served any purpose within the scope of the study.

3.5.   Summary

As was outlined in this chapter, the present study examines citizen monitoring of police, and the impact it has on the officers' use of justified force, and is based on the in-depth interviews conducted with thirteen police officers employed by various agencies in British Columbia's Lower Mainland. Additionally, one interview was conducted with the Honourable Wally Oppal, the previous Attorney General of British Columbia. The methodological approach used to recruit these individuals is known as opportunity sampling, in which respondents are drawn from a population conveniently located. To produce a balanced and representative sample, the officers selected to participate each came from various levels of policing experience, some with less than five years of experience on the force, while others had worked in policing for over twenty years. Furthermore, the sample contained officers with a wide spectrum of career experiences.

The interviews were conducted in person, and before the questions were posed, participants were provided with information about the study, and agreed to participate in the study during the oral informed consent process. Participants' were guaranteed confidentiality, and further, were told that their anonymity would be maintained. One participant, Wally Oppal, requested that his identity be revealed. In order to protect the remaining participants' anonymity, transcriptions and recordings were kept on an encrypted USB and stored in a locked container. The coding and analysis process took place on NVivo.

I think, yeah, [citizen monitoring] has had an impact…You start thinking, where is this going to go if I use force…You've seen lots of people getting the hell beaten out of them in the media, I think that's entered a bit into it, yeah.

Participant 10 (David[2])

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[2] David wanted his name to be known, and stated that he was not concerned about matters pertaining to confidentiality.

Chapter 4.   Findings

In this Chapter, the key findings resulting from the in-depth interviews of the fourteen participants are outlined. The thirteen police officers from various police departments in British Columbia's Lower Mainland, and the Honourable Wally Oppal were asked a series of interview questions based on an extensive document prepared beforehand. Although the Interview Guide had been pre-determined, deviations from the guide were seen as a natural and organic progression within the discussion. For the Interview Guide, refer to Appendix F. After analyzing the interviews, several overarching themes addressing the impact citizen monitoring has on the police profession came to light. The themes addressed in this Chapter are: use of force training; interactions with the public; the impact of citizen monitoring; and police officers' attitudes towards the advent of police instigated technological advances such as body worn cameras. While these four themes prevailed throughout the fourteen interviews, a number of sub-themes also presented themselves.

This analysis delves into the multiple challenges faced by the police in an increasingly technologically focused society, and seeks to explain how officers are impacted by new forms of citizen monitoring that exist as a by-product of new technologies. Through a careful examination and analysis of the officers' direct words, a new-found understanding of the complexity faced within the field of policing is gained. Individual descriptions of the impact citizen monitoring has on police officers' use of justified force serve to further elucidate a phenomenon that, until present, has not received a thorough examination.

4.1. Use of Force

4.1.1. The "Greyness" of Legislation Guiding Use of Force

Police officers manage conflict on a daily basis through the use of their individual and collective communication skills. Both training and experience enhance these skills considerably (Whitson, 2010; p.15). Situations that require officers to use force are relatively rare and generally occur when officers must subdue and control violent, assaultive or resistive individuals. Should an officer fail to respond in a timely and appropriate manner, they put themselves, their fellow officers, and the general public at increased risk. Clear and straightforward policies regarding the use of force, as well as systematic training and evaluation programs enhance the ability of officers to respond. In Canada, the Criminal Code (R.S.C., 1985, c. C-46) addresses the use of force by police officers. The Equipment and Use of Force Regulation under the British Columbia Police Services Act sets out requirements relating to the use of force and its training.

During each interview, participants were asked to describe the legislation that currently exists regarding use of force, and use of force options available to police officers. A common response from participants was that the legislation is "something we follow, and something that we use everyday" (Participant 4). The guidelines available to the officers seem to be well understood, to the point where interviewees were able to recall elements of the legislation as if they were reciting an excerpt from a textbook:

> We start off with Section 25 of the Criminal Code, that all the police officers know, and we look at the National Use of Force Framework. That model is again, a guideline to help police officers understand when it's appropriate to use force and what level of force is appropriate. If a person is simply verbalizing we can use a lower end control technique, but if a person is being assaultive, then we can use an intermediate technique. Section 25 is sort of the end all be all for us. We do look at the Police Act a bit but it's rather benign, but Section 25 is really the driving force behind what we do. Our own internal policies on use of force start off talking about Section 25, Section 25(3), Section 26, and it all makes reference to the Criminal Code and that's what drives it, as well as case law. (Participant 3)

> Sections 25, 26, 27, and 34 of the Criminal Code deal with use of force and self-defence, and use of excessive force is also captured therein. Certainly it has to be consistent with

the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. From there we get into the Provincial Acts including the Liquor Control and Licensing Act, and the Identification Act- there are several Provincial Statutes that allow for use of force by police or by persons in authority. Then of course, there exists the Policing Standards within the province that also has an impact on approved force actions within the province of B.C. You will also have individual municipalities and departments who will have procedures that will speak to approved and trained use of force within that agency. (Participant 2)

It is clear, from the above responses, that the officers interviewed have a firm grasp of the legislation and are able to recognize where and when force should be used in a theoretical sense. As one officer stated, the legal premise for use of force is "burnt into our brains." (Participant 4)

The Criminal Code says one thing, which is fine—I don't disagree with it, but we must also abide by the use of force training we get. The best way I can describe it is by the color of the shirt I am wearing. It's grey[3]. I look at it like it's grey for a reason because nothing is black and white in what we do. No matter what we do, it's hardly ever black and white. It's grey because there is nothing static. Everything is fluid. The Criminal Code isn't interpreted well by police forces across the country…We call being aggressive "threat cues", and there are a lot of them, but what's happened is that because use of force [legislation] is so grey that's making some police officers doubt their ability to use the right type of force against someone who is behaving the wrong way. (Participant 1)

A prevailing sentiment among the interviewees was that of a general lack of confidence in the legislation's ability to support officers. The legislation offers guidelines for incidents with a predominantly linear progression, while the development of policing events is often unpredictable, rapid and complex. In some instances, these events have the potential for the officer and /or a member of the public to suffer harm including death or grievous bodily harm.

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[3] Participant 1 was in uniform, and the authorized shirt for that particular department was grey.

An issue that was highlighted by many of the participants was that of the difficulty some officers have when they are required to articulate their actions in relation to the existing legislation. A number of anecdotes were provided by interviewees who claimed that, while certain actions may be justified, if the officers engaged in those incidents do not have the ability to articulate their decision making process they may have trouble justifying their behaviours. This difficulty to articulate particular situations was described by a participant:

> Not everyone can articulate how he or she is supposed to. By that I mean that you can have the best, strongest, wisest police officer but his or her reports are shitty. Not because they're stupid, but just because they don't have that ability to paint the picture. A lot of times when I talk to people I've trained, or people I have to interview after arresting them, I ask them to give me the "colour picture" and not to give me the "black and white picture". If you paint the picture, even though black and white can be beautiful, we aren't talking about art. If I take that black and white image and show it in court, it's not going to show the details of what happened. A lot of times I've observed and read about officers who are not able to express and give that full picture of what's happened. That's very, very important, because that's what happens when the public sometimes only gets half the picture. Articulation is important. (Participant 1)

Furthermore, this need to articulate was expressed as existing on two levels. Participants stated that officers must be able to explain first, why they engaged in a particular level of force to subdue a subject, and second, where the level of force used fits on the use of force continuum. It was noted that officers should have the ability to relay this information when in a court setting. Participant 4 explained how officers are expected to "stand up in court and therefore be able to refer to that provincial guideline and say I did this; and it falls under this [on the use of force continuum]."

In speaking with the participants, it became evident that, while legislation exists to provide guidelines for those in the field of policing, incidents occur wherein officers fail to follow the guidelines for fear of public complaints. One interviewee addressed this trend when speaking about officers handcuffing suspects:

> I asked the member, "Did you have lawful authority to arrest?" and they answer "Yes". They say despite that they're worried because someone in another section got in trouble so they were worried about that too. When this happened we had to go back and do training for everyone again. We had to tell them "here is the State of the Union", and we had our Professional Standards Unit come out and talk to them. We had the Chief

Constable come out and talk to the members about use of force. He said that if the members were doing their job [according to the legislation], he'd support them. He said "you're doing your job, don't worry- we'll support you." You have to remind members of that. (Participant 3)

This hesitancy to use justified force will be addressed in greater detail later in this Chapter, however, the previous quote speaks to the fact that, despite existing legislation, officers feel a level of scrutiny and resulting pressure from the public that prevents them from conducting their work in the manner they should. Several of the officers interviewed stated that they hesitate to follow the use of force continuum because of an inherent fear that the ever-present public will interpret their actions incorrectly. Participant 3 emphasized this sentiment while discussing the decision of a particular officer to use force: "the member was totally justified, but it just looks bad. It's because 'oh my goodness, that person did such and such.' They don't understand *why* they did 'such and such.' People don't understand why it looks terrible." This sentiment was mirrored by Participant 1: "[The inability to articulate] has been a detriment to many police officers when they've done what they're supposed to do according to training, but they weren't able to explain and articulate what they did. That's a recipe for disaster." The public's lack of knowledge and understanding as to how and why officers are legislated to use force contributes to some officers feeling hesitant to use it.

4.1.2. Use of Force Training

As discussed in Chapter 1, the process of educating police officers regarding use of force techniques and standards is one that fuels considerable debate. While certain academics consider formal education to be the key to effective use of force, others feel it is a skill that can only be learned through hands-on training once in the field. Regardless of the use of force policy or the specific use of force training program, there are two common themes in the majority of models and training procedures (Whitson, 2010; 18). First, the models act as training aids to officers during their initial and concurrent training. Second, there is no requirement to sequentially escalate from one force option to the next. Police officers should select the best option learned during training given all the circumstances. While, in theory the specifications outlined for use of force in the training programs seem clear, one interviewee described how training did not necessarily lead to proper execution of force:

I would imagine that every one of the use of force instructors that you talked to had some very clear answers on exactly when you decide to use force and it's all about the IMIM and it's subject-behaviour-officer response. It's: 'they do this', so 'you do that', and that's very nice but it's a very personal thing and it's very context dependent. They kind of acknowledge that in our training but at the same time a lot of the training boils down to 'if they do this, you can't do this to them,' you can justify doing this to them. Although one language is 'you're allowed to do this if he does this.' But it's really different on the road, I find. (Participant 8)

In British Columbia, police officers recruited for the service at independent municipal departments receive their training at the Justice Institute of British Columbia (J.I.). Recruits at the J.I. receive 90 hours of training in overall use of force theory and practice, including use of weapons (Police Services Division, 2010; p. 2). RCMP cadets (potential members) complete their training at Depot, the RCMP Training Academy in Regina, Saskatchewan. During the six-month training period, cadets are taught the skills required to be police officers. These skills include "Police Defensive Tactics" and this component of the Cadet Training Program is designed to provide cadets with "safe and effective techniques to manage policing-related incidents within the context of the RCMP Incident Management Intervention Model" (RCMP, 2014). Cadets learn various use of force techniques and practise them in various simulated circumstances. They are taught techniques including joint locks, takedowns, use of O.C. spray, placement and removal of resistant suspects in/from vehicles, moving resistant suspects through doorways, stances, blocks, strikes, use of batons, carotid control hold, grappling, ground defense, body hold releases, handcuffing and searching suspects, and use of weapon defense (RCMP, 2014).

Lower Mainland police departments employ a rigorous recruitment process aimed at eliminating anyone with qualities that could prove to be detrimental within the field of law enforcement. Potential recruits must meet a standard of physical fitness, academic competence, and demonstrate good character. However, police forces generally prefer candidates with university degrees, knowledge of a second language, volunteer experience, and extensive experience dealing with the public (VPD, 2014; RCMP, 2014). Each of these qualifications serves to produce strong and effective police officers, however, those interviewed stated that emotional maturity and life experiences were among the most important qualities for recruits. Respondents suggested that because of the increased visibility of police, and due to the advent

of citizen monitoring, an ability to relate to the public and to de-escalate situations using verbal commands is critical. During an interview, one participant stated:

> Maturity plays a big role in [the making of a good police officer], and in dealing and choosing how to respond when someone accuses you of something….It plays a role in how you react and how you choose to react. I don't think police officers should be hired when they have zero life experience… (Participant 1)

Respondents seemed to feel that, while the other skills are valuable, a sense of maturity is the primary trait that will enable young officers to feel a sense of control when in the presence of individuals monitoring their behaviour.

> These days, you need people who are not only educated, but also people with life experience who have been out there and done things…We need people who are sensitive and self-aware. We also need people who understand and are empathetic to their surroundings. (Participant 1)

Furthermore, the self-awareness Participant 1 alluded to was reiterated by several other respondents when discussing potential recruits. Although the skills and abilities classified as core competencies are critical, respondents seemed to feel that maturity and a sense of self-awareness were more important for new recruits navigating the rapidly changing landscape of modern-day policing.

In the course of the interviews, respondents often spoke of the challenges associated with using force. Police have the authority to use force up to, and including deadly force, if necessary, and this can weigh heavily on some officers. Participant 4 discussed the impact this responsibility has on officers' day-to-day physical and mental state: "I would say physiologically and psychologically you're always amped up. Your cortisol levels and adrenaline levels are higher than the routine job." In addition, officers are often required to make the decision to use force in what participants referred to routinely as a "split-second" and they need to do this while their adrenaline and cortisol levels are peaked. In order to combat the stresses associated with using force in difficult situations, police officers are provided with thorough use of force training.

> In a Canadian context, especially, the vast majority of the people we are going to train have never been in a fight. They've never tasted their own blood because someone punched them in the mouth; they've never felt the blood run down the back of their own

throat. Most of what they know about conflict is courtesy of television, or perhaps a college course somewhere along the way. They're fairly naïve when it comes to human interaction. Some of the people you get are fairly high-level athletes, but there is a world of difference between the competitive realm where there are agreed upon rules, and referees, and then a totally uncontrolled and open environment where they're applying some of these skills in a policing context. Even some of those elite level athletes will come back after some of the scenario training we do and they'll be completely exhausted. One of the first things they'll say to you is "I thought I was in good shape, but I realize now that all the years I spent as an elite level athlete really don't transfer over." Nothing in the sports realm truly prepares you to deal with another human being in a situation where there are no rules. We try to prepare Joe or Jane average by putting the boots on and putting them in those unpredictable situations with no certainty of outcomes. (Participant 2)

Essentially, recruits need to be socialized and trained to think, feel, and react like police officers. Participant 6 emphasized this by saying: "A lot of the people that go through applications are nice people. I think that causes problems for trainers in force because they're nice people and are not used to hurting other people." Because of the wide range of calls that police officers are expected to respond to, recruitment officers seek individuals who have strong morals, not simply people who have been involved in dealing with physical altercations. The officers interviewed each honed in on this sentiment by suggesting that while fighting can be taught, empathy cannot.

Participant 1 was vocal about that fact that more could be done during the recruitment process to cut individuals who have a romanticized view of policing, and as such, may lack have the ability—even with training—to use force, especially when experiencing high levels of stress. The following statement illustrates this view:

A lot could be done during the recruiting process. A lot of people have this fantasy about policing—I've always wanted to be a cop—great. So they go to school because they want to be a cop—great. And then they apply. They pass the written, they pass the "psych" test, they pass the interview, and they pass the physical. They think, "Oh my God, I'm going to be the best cop in the world." They go to training—amazing. He can run, he can fight, he can jump, and he can shoot. He hits the road. (He or she—not to be sexist.) They hit the road, and it's a different world. *A different world.* So now, when they're on the road, they're hit with the reality of whether or not it's cameras, the rudeness, and the liabilities—it just all keeps piling on and coming. It's like a meteor shower. It doesn't stop, and that's when you get police officers acting differently to different situations. That's when you get the filter. Who survives and who gets filtered through the process—the strong, the weak, and the mentally infirm. That should be

given and addressed right at the beginning, that this is the life you're entering, and expect to be filmed. (Participant 1)

Police officers are subjected to rigorous, and often exhaustive training, complete with role-play exercises. However, this training can never quite equal real life incidents. Participant 1 illustrated this in the previous statement, which also highlights the fact that the current recruitment process does not adequately address the issues associated with policing in a modern society. Policing is the most visible of all criminal justice institutions, and this visibility has increased profoundly in the past decade. While, twenty-five years ago officers could conduct their work with relatively low levels of citizen monitoring, today, officers can find themselves in viral images and/or video clips without ever having engaged in questionable behaviour. According to Participant 1, a concerted effort to inform recruits about this could contribute to an improvement in the overall level of service police officers provide.

In order to determine whether or not officers were being properly prepared to use force in a world replete with recording devices, participants were asked to discuss the current use of force training that exists within their respective departments. Participants provided responses such as the following:

Current recruits are being trained to use force with a system that hasn't evolved all that much, and that may sound somewhat surprising given the state of affairs, but at the end of the day, you're dealing with human anatomy, and the human body hasn't changed in a hundred thousand years or more. The ways to deal with that structure really haven't changed all that much. The only real innovations are various technologies that have come along in the last twenty to twenty-five years: OC spray or pepper spray, new baton technologies, taper lock batons, conducted energy weapons. There are all sorts of gadgets out there now—area of denial systems—all things that have come out in the last twenty years or so. They're all geared towards dealing with human problems. (Participant 2)

Police officers in British Columbia all have to have training from the JIBC, unless they're from another agency or department in the country, or if they're from the RCMP. They have to meet the same criteria, though. In our organization, we do annual recertification for all use of force. There is a communication component; there is a handcuffing component—both compliant and non-compliant; there's a baton component; there's a lateral vascular neck restraint component; there is a CED component. Separate from that, we will have our firearms component. They'll have to qualify each year annually on that. We spend half a day, or six hours a year on advanced training for firearms, and if someone is a shotgun operator for a less lethal shotgun, or a rifle operator they'll have

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training over and above that too. It all depends on what their specialty is. Each member gets at least eight hours a year for training about the various use of force models. (Participant 3)

When asked whether or not any consideration in use of force training had been given to the advent of smart phones and social media platforms as a tool for surveillance of the police, the responses varied. Interviewees who were trained prior to the widespread use of cellular telephones stated that their use of force trainers imparted upon them the importance to conduct oneself as though someone was watching them. Participant 4 spoke of this:

My first core key points in use of force were that you're always being watched, so always handle yourself professionally, always use the force you need to gain control and nothing more. Always be aware that even if there is one subject here and a couple people watching, you don't have the time nor should you be wasting your energy at that point, getting someone into custody or under control, to scan everything else around you, but be aware that there are houses, apartments… Just never lose that in your thought process, that you're always being watched, you'll always be scrutinized.

A force instructor interviewed said:

Well, I don't want to say that it's always been a footnote, but we've been saying for well over twenty years that officers should always assume that they're on camera. We tell most people that if you're working in an urban environment, by just walking down the sidewalk in a city block, you can assume that you've been on camera at least eight times. It's not a new phenomenon in that sense.

According to this instructor, and to other officers interviewed, discussions in training have always emphasized the fact that police may be watched and scrutinized by citizens. New recruits and seasoned veterans of the force alike are reminded to conduct themselves in an appropriate manner. Participant 3 alluded to this, saying, "we tell recruits, 'remember, there's a chance your family is going to see this on the six o'clock news.'" Participant 4 reiterated this sentiment by saying: "I've always assumed by training, that I'm being watched. Like you always assume 'multiple suspects'. That's trained at an early phase of police work."

Despite this, according to participants, the technological changes that have occurred in society are not considered in present day use of force training procedures. Participants insinuated that formal training has not been offered to teach officers tools and techniques

needed to better cope with citizen monitoring. The decision to use force is often one that is made in a mere second. Given that the decision to use force becomes more difficult to make when one or more bystanders are filming the officers conduct their work, several participants expressed discontent that this area had not received more coverage in training. This sentiment is conveyed in the following statement:

> We haven't formally been given any training sessions on what to do when people are recording us, but we are given 'good to know' information and tips. There isn't any formal training or advice we've received, but we've had informal discussions about it….I think it's a great idea to engage recruits in training while they're in depot about what exactly will be happening out there when they're on the road. (Participant 1)

The phenomenon of citizen monitoring is relatively new. Only in recent years have people had the ability to readily document police behaviour. Participant 3 outlined that, despite this, cameras with even primitive surveillance capabilities have existed for some time: "We've had cameras around since Rodney King in 1990-1991. That was a pivotal event in the States, where everything was filmed and it caused lots of problems. This is not a new phenomenon. There are just more people doing it." While the presence of cameras has been informally addressed in training since the Rodney King incident and likely before, it is possible that, as Participant 1 alluded to in the previous statement, the novel nature of citizen monitoring has yet to be adapted into current use of force training.

Police officers have always been aware of the fact that they are being watched. During training, recruits are socialized to understand the scrutiny they are inherently subjected to. Without scrutiny from designated oversight bodies, unchecked police authority could lead to abuses of power. Despite this historical visibility of police, the primary and secondary forms of visibility they were subjected to in previous decades have transformed into what is known as new visibility. New visibility awards the general public with the power to investigate the police whenever they please, with the only tool needed being a cellular telephone and to quickly disseminate this footage with or without comment. For the first time, citizens have the ability to essentially police the police. Participant 8 addressed this, by saying "there's this idea that: 'no, [the police] are accountable to [the public], and not the other way around."

While the citizen population has an increased ability to monitor, and thus, scrutinize the police, the understanding of police procedures, duties, legislation, and training has not increased. Participant 6 argued that, with increased ability to monitor police actions, a more pronounced agenda against the police has emerged. This anti-police agenda is propagated due, in large part, to the Internet's generative abilities. Law enforcement officials have internalized the thought of being scrutinized since before citizens were acutely aware of police officers' inherent visibility, but the general public may believe that police are only now being scrutinized and that they have hitherto acted freely and without fear of scrutiny.

Based on the interviewees' responses, one is led to believe that while training has always emphasized police visibility, citizens' new-found ability to both covertly and overtly monitor police actions has led to a mild sense of paranoia among officers. Officers are no longer in control of their image management. They can be filmed, photographed, or recorded at any time, in any place, and without any sort of context and this footage can be disseminated so that it has even less context. While training prepares officers to be visible, the majority of respondents felt that this same training does not prepare them for the visibility that exists within today's technologically driven society.

Participant 9 went as far as unequivocally denying that training procedures effectively prepare recruits for the road or for citizen monitoring:

> I don't think training to this day is meeting the requirements and I don't know that it ever has…. The instructors are perpetuating their own view [that training is good enough]. They aren't looking at it in a critical way and I think if you look and clearly at studies that talk about tunnel vision, you talk about the Bernard cases the Dicks cases, those kinds of things, where tunnel vision occurs. (Participant 9)

Although the use of force trainers interviewed (N=2), stood behind their training methods, a large majority of the remaining participants supported Participant 9's claims that training failed to adequately familiarize recruits with the realities of modern day policing.

4.2.   "No Time to Make Mistakes": Front Line Policing

Front line patrol police officers are those who deal with the public at a street level. They respond to calls for service, while also actively seeking out, and preventing crime. These officers are also the most visible within the police organization, as their days are spent responding to calls on foot, or in squad cars. Because of this, they are more likely to be filmed and/or photographed by individuals engaged in citizen monitoring. In order to understand how citizen monitoring impacts officers and the level of force they use in various situations, it is critical to recognize the challenges faced by those engaged in front line patrol policing.

4.2.1.   The Challenges of Front Line Policing

There are no shortages of professions requiring interaction with members of the public. People working as store clerks, doctors, politicians, and so on spend a large portion of their professional lives working in the public eye. The primary difference between these professions and the police is that police officers are dealing with situations where members of the public are experiencing some sort of crisis. Typically the police are responding to a "problem" that is occurring and the police have been summoned or observe this problematic situation and are required to intervene. In some instances, member of the public are at their worst; under the influence of a substance, emotionally charged or committing a crime. Participant 5 spoke about this, saying:

> So, you've got the police that are out there, and you have to think about the context in which the police are called. It's not for a happy situation. It's usually because there's a crisis of one kind or another. Or there's a situation where you're enforcing a rule where people aren't necessarily going to be happy to see you.

The police are required to assist in situations where individuals are hostile, distressed, experiencing psychosis, and in some cases violent. As such, officers are often required to be stern, and at times, forceful. While use of force is a critical component of the policing profession, the incidence of force is extremely low. Doctors and police officers alike are required to deal with members of the public on a daily basis, however, as Participant 5 illustrates, there is a marked difference between the two lines of work:

I can tell you without a shadow of a doubt that police officers in Canada use force about .06% of the time that they encounter members of the public. So 99.94% of the time that they encounter members of the public, there's no use of force. That's an incredible track record. I would say unmatched in any industry. I have friends who are doctors that will tell you…and their motto is "first, do no harm", they're 80% successful.

The challenges of front line police work are numerous, and many of these challenges existed prior to the advent of citizen monitoring. In order to understand the impact citizen monitoring has on police officers, it is important to have a baseline level of understanding of the challenges faced by police officers before the addition of citizen monitoring. Participants were asked to describe how front line police work is different and/or challenging when compared to other aspects of police work so that the researcher could gain an understanding of these challenges. Among the thirteen police participants, the responses were consistent, with no notable outliers present.

A response that was frequently noted among the participants was that of front line policing being an unpredictable profession. Officers are trained to cope with a large variety of situations—from assault and theft, to kidnappings and hostage takings—however, unlike in other professions, shifts cannot be planned. Situations escalate without warning, and crises arise in the blink of an eye. This unpredictability is outlined in the following passages:

Front line policing, in my opinion, doesn't give you a lot of opportunity to make mistakes. There are a lot of times where you don't have a lot of time to react in a lot of the incidents you attend— hence, why training is so important. Constant training is very important. It is challenging in that is very fluid. You might attend to a call where it doesn't sound that bad, but over time, we as police officers tend to make a judgment about the call we get dispatched to before we are there. Such as, you might get dispatched to a call where someone's been caught for shoplifting. You go in thinking "okay, someone has already been arrested by the loss prevention officer'. That call can turn into a major fight, it can turn sideways where all of a sudden the guy is banging his head, or he's fighting with you, and there is blood, and you're calling the ambulance. The next thing you know, he's seriously hurt. It can escalate really, really fast. The challenge in front line policing is there is not a lot of room for error. (Participant 1)

Well, front line police work is entirely different in that you can't predict human behaviour. You can go to any call— it might be anything from a parking complaint or domestic dispute and it can erupt into extreme violence. Whereas when you're an investigator you have a team, it's pre-planned, and you have time to plan and complete risk assessments and so on. Patrol officers often times don't have chance at all. They have no time to

plan, they just have to react based on what happens right in front of them. That's the big difference; really, it's the lack of ability to plan for an event that's unfolding right before their eyes. (Participant 3)

Words like "spontaneous" and "unpredictable" were frequently used when the interviewees discussed their experiences as front line patrol police officers. This spontaneity was commonly touted as being a driving force in motivating individuals to seek careers in law enforcement. Respondents often noted that they enjoyed policing because no two days were the same.

Despite the excitement derived from the spontaneous nature of policing, the officers interviewed also indicated that for many this unpredictability could only be dealt with for so long. At the time of the interviews, a majority of the respondents were stationed in capacities that excluded front line patrol policing. Every one of the interviewees had started their careers as line level officers, however, the strain it placed on their lives often contributed to their movement into different lines of work. This shift is highlighted in the following statement:

I actually ended up having to leave [patrol work]… it was the first time where I thought: "I want to get out because this is affecting me as a person, not just during work". It was affecting me when I went home— I was more on edge in my personal life off of work. I felt like it had started to shift my view of the public. I would carry it over even though it just seemed to be categorically in the downtown core. I thought: "this is actually unhealthy." Like there are a lot of unhealthy components of police work: shift work, stress, long hours, long extended tours of duty, but this was one that sort of crept in. Even in undercover work I didn't have the feeling where it would creep into my personal life, but for whatever reason I think it was the consistent daily bombardment of that same attitude in that area. So I ended up getting out, which I was obviously the right move… (Participant 4)

The professional shift Participant 4 spoke of in the above passage was one that was reiterated by several of the officers interviewed. Unlike the officers doing investigative work at a desk, the officer on patrol operates, essentially, without privacy. Although the officers interviewed frequently discussed this lack of privacy, they did say that it was something they had "signed up for" in entering the field of policing. They suggested, nevertheless, that it contributed to the overall wear and tear of their psyche.

Additionally, respondents noted that, because calls for service can, and often do, vary drastically, emotional balance is essential. Participant 12 spoke of this challenge when

describing how officers may attend the scene of an individual in the process of attempting suicide, and hours later be required to forcibly apprehend an armed individual responsible for holding up a convenience store. The respondent stated that officers are required to be "in tune with [their] emotions and intelligence…and aware of [their] own feelings and the things that are going on around [them]. It's not easy to ride that emotional roller coaster up and down" (Participant 12). While the majority of participants addressed the emotionally draining nature of policing, one officer provided an anecdotal account that serves as a striking example of the emotional strain police work can place its officers:

> There is a time to use force and I've made those calls in an instant…I was in charge of a team and I was calling for the commander to authorize deadly force from a sniper because [the situation] was getting very hairy. This guy was holding three women at hostage point. We had snuck in the house underneath him and we could hear him holding the shotgun at their heads yelling at them. We thought he was going to kill them so we called [the commander] and said 'Hey, look the sniper has a view of them. Yes, we believe [he's going to kill them]' and he wouldn't let us. As it turned out, something broke [the suspect's] concentration he wanted some cigarettes. He had to come out a little bit and he saw some of the sniper guys and freaked out and gave himself up. The realization was this, you know? So, in hindsight, did the commander make the right decision? I don't know. I think we got lucky. Those women got lucky. But would it have been, and is it wrong for me to say 'no, we should've taken his life'? Pretty heavy thought process to carry one way or the other. (Participant 9)

Inherent in policing is the need to make challenging, and potentially life altering decisions, often with very few facts at one's disposal. As Participant 9 stated, sometimes situations are carried out as they should be according to the legislation, however, incomplete information can lead to a heart-wrenching outcome. While Participant 9's account ended without tragedy, an alternative outcome is not uncommon. Officers are "not robots" (Participant 1), and, therefore, they are susceptible to intense levels of emotional stress.

The thirteen participating police officers indicated that the challenges of front line patrol work are considerable. Front line officers "have that attitude of constant stress, and the attitude of hyper-vigilance" (Participant 8). Additionally, findings suggest that, for junior officers, the emotional, personal, and physical strain experienced is more pronounced. Because of the widespread societal changes—specifically technologically based developments—traditional methods of police interactions with the public are no longer the norm. According to Participant 8,

junior police officers are faced with "role uncertainty, complex demands, a new culture that they're learning, and a huge avalanche of work." The ability of the police to effectively cope with citizen monitoring is, as the findings indicate, thwarted by officers' increased workload, emotional strain, and heightened stress levels.

4.2.2. Negotiating the New Visibility of Front Line Policing

In keeping with Sir Robert Peel's principles for law enforcement, the maintenance of police as a visible entity is a critical component of modern-day policing (Griffiths, 2014). However, as previously addressed, police officers are ever more visible through the development and widespread use of novel technologies. Participants spoke candidly of their experiences in the public eye. The officers with more years in the force discussed that what is considered the "public eye" has changed. It has become a complex web of various technologies with the ability to propagate images around the world in the literal "blink of an eye". Participant 7 addressed this new visibility:

> When I started 20 years ago, you only had word of mouth. You hear 'I was wronged by the police, or I didn't like my contact with the police in a certain area.' and they tell people about it, but that would be a small circle of people. But now it's captured on film with the chance in today's day and age, depending on the nature of the event, you may have a few hundred to a couple million people looking at it and that certainly changes the way people see the police.

Participant 4 spoke of this visibility in great length:

> From the time you book on to the duration of your shift, you're always in the public eye. You're always being watched. Even when you take a coffee break, there's often a judgment, comment, or interruption. In most other careers, you can actually have your break and feel refreshed and come back and start fresh. But this was something really that I didn't consider when I came into the job— how much you're always in the public eye. Even things like if you work in a smaller place, especially where you park your car, how you drive, whether you're a little over the speed limit. There is always that pressure. I don't want to use criticism, but I will because we do get a lot of that. You're never away from it. I think the only time in control that you have some break from that is when you're actually in the police station, or when you're report writing, or using the washroom. That's constant. You do your ten and a half or twelve hours, depending on which department you're in and you never feel that you can just relax unless you go into the police department. I think over a long period of time, it can burn you out a bit because you're always not only alert for potential danger, but you're always alert to the general

public and their wants or needs or optics. The optics of you sitting with three other buddies having lunch, well, although that may not be stressful, it could end up in a stressful situation if somebody says well I saw four police units and everyone was sitting there having breakfast. And as silly as that might sound, you end up getting spoken to about that, because of the optics. Where as, if you're an accountant, it doesn't matter if your whole office came out for breakfast. Nobody would care or have a say.

Although each participant spoke at length about policing's new visibility, the following statement provides a glimpse into the cumulative experience of front line officers:

Interviewer: Would you say that policing is becoming more and more visible?

Participant 6: … Policing is being portrayed way more openly from a very, very narrow bandwidth of what the profession actual entails and that's damaging. If I went to somebody's workplace and showed them making a mistake when 99.9% of the work they do is fantastic work but they did a blunder and you play that over and over again to the public they go "well that fucking guy doesn't know his job, look, they're incompetent boobs in that office"— when the guy might be one of the better workers you could ever run into. So is policing becoming more visible? I would say, only the aspect of policing that sells advertising for the media, and the comfortable side of it really doesn't sell a lot of papers.

This constant public presence can be draining for officers, participants reported. When asked about policing's increasing visibility, Participant 10 (David) stated that the phrase brought to mind as a result of the question was "the YouTube paparazzi". Where previously, comments and complaints—unfounded or not—against front line officers were made verbally, today, the public can simply photograph police engaged in their work and initiate a maelstrom of criticism.

Officers interviewed expressed concern regarding the new visibility of police. Even before visibility is thrown into the gamut of concerns, police officers face high levels of moral, personal, and professional responsibility. Officers expressed feeling a strong sense of responsibility towards use of force. Each interviewee emphasized that in their line of work they have the legal authority to take an individual's life. Phrases like "alert for potential danger", "switched on", "kicking in your fight-or-flight response", "operating on heightened levels of awareness", "thinking of the "what ifs"", and "amped up" were commonly used to describe the level of attention and stimulation needed to be successful in policing. Although certain situations necessitate this type of response, interviewees described how members of the general public

often do not, and cannot appreciate the how seriously officers take this responsibility. Additionally, their authority to use force and the complex nature of the job contribute to officers operating at a heightened level of alertness and awareness throughout their shifts. Participant 2 addressed the need to be alert by saying:

> You're dealing with human beings under stress and of course everyone handles stress differently. Each person has his or her own stress barometers, if you will, and we don't know what might set a particular individual off. I'm talking about people we are dealing with that are perpetrators of crimes, victims of crimes, suspects of crimes, and they all have different tolerances for crime as a stressor.

Participants noted that they are often aware of the public eye, especially when force is used. Participant 4 discussed an incident where force had to be employed after a 22-minute car chase. The chase culminated when the suspect's car crashed into a home in a quiet, residential neighbourhood. The interviewee was subsequently required to use force when physically confronted by the suspect. Participant 4 considered how the incident looked to the bystanders who had, inevitably, come out of their homes to inspect the scene:

> So I must have struck him 12-15 times, and I'm talking like I'm six feet, full extension of my arms to the meaty part of his legs. I did aim for that, but again, not textbook, he's flailing, he's moving, you're going to hit other parts. So after about the 10th hit, things started to dislodge a bit on the right and I continued and you had the ***** dog coming in and cavalry, but I must have hit him at least 20 times with a full ASP strike. At approximately the 20th, his arm dislodged and ***** was quick to get him into cuffs. I can't imagine being the people in the houses on either side because now their house is broken due to the impact of the car.

> But yeah, I'm sure they [commented]. Like I said, I had the advantage of anyone in their right mind looking at the scene and go 'wow, okay, this is a bad person, the car is crashed in here, the police have to act.' But if you didn't have those obvious clues, and you ended up in a back alley with the guy and that scenario repeated itself, you can see how easily in the optics people would say 'look out the window, the policemen are beating this guy.' It does look like that, of course it does. "Beating" is not a word we use, but that's how people would describe that event. After it was all said and done, I'm wondering who saw. Not because I thought I've done wrong, but more so [trying to recall] the training. You replay the training from the J.I.— "you're always under the public eye, even if you can't see people they can see you". I thought: "Well, I was right in a residential area, and people were still up". Not with any paranoia— even if there was a full on inquiry— bring it on. I could justify that action, but even if people miss a snippet of information or a snippet of what happened before at any point, it could look a lot different than what the reality is.

Front line patrol officers start their days with no idea of how they will end. Any number of scenarios could unfold, and because of this, officers are required to be "switched on" (Participant 4) no matter what stage of their shift they are in. As participants emphasized, their need to be constantly aware of their surroundings is strained by the presence of citizens who can, and frequently are, making rash judgements regarding the officers' service.

Interviewee responses to questions about policing's new visibility indicate that officers both understand and appreciate why visibility in important in their line of work. However, respondents expressed a certain level of unease because citizen monitoring does not necessarily capture events in their entirety. This new, and potentially inaccurate form of scrutiny contributes to officers experiencing heightened levels of stress. Findings indicate that citizen monitoring, when added to the existing stresses associated with front line police work, can act as the proverbial "straw that breaks the camel's back."

4.2.3. The "Us versus Them" in Front Line Policing

Public confidence in Canadian policing has risen over the past two years. Confidence in the RCMP increased from 38% in 2012 to 67% in 2014, and municipal forces saw an increase from 40% to 63% (Angus Reid, 2014). Despite this, confidence in the police remains lower than it has been in previous years (Angus Reid, 2014). Because of the frequent dealings front line police officers have with the general public, this relatively low level of confidence has an impact on their encounters. Participant 5 addressed this by saying: "It causes police officers to become more self-protective, more resentful, more "us versus them" in terms of their mentality and it's not healthy because it doesn't have to be that way."

The crime rate has fallen and continues to fall (Statistics Canada, 2013). Similarly rates of violence are low, and previously tolerable acts of violence, such as bullying and corporal punishment, are not accepted. As a result, when a police officer uses force, the public is typically horrified. Previously, violence and use of force were acceptable 'problem solving' tactics employed by both the public and the police. Today, however, other de-escalation tools are lauded as safer, and overall better for both the public and the police. Despite this, in policing, use of force and violence are undeniably necessary at times. Given the current low

levels of violence and crime in western society, the citizen body tends to forget that a miniscule number of police interactions with the public involve force, and an even smaller number result in substantiated complaints of excessive force. Of the many interactions that occur each year with the municipal police and public in British Columbia each year, there are only roughly1000 complaints for a variety of issues. In 2013/2014, a combined 1060 files dealing with alleged misconduct were opened in the Lower Mainland and on Vancouver Island (OPCC, 2014). Of those 1,000 complaints — all which are thoroughly investigated — on average, only 10% are substantiated (OPCC, 2014). Public misconceptions of policing realities are perpetuated by a general lack of support for police actions from within the profession itself. It is uncommon for Canadian policing leaders to take a stand against vocal anti-police activists and/or special interest groups. This can have a negative impact on police officers in general in that they feel little support from within their field. Further, it preserves the high levels of public ignorance in policing related duties.

A result of this low level of confidence is that the general public has taken it upon themselves to monitor police actions, or in other words, to engage in citizen monitoring. More frequently than not, this monitoring occurs as a means by which to implicate police officers in some sort of wrongdoing. Because police officers are aware that, for a large part, citizens with whom they interact have a negative perception of their work, their interactions "can get to" them (Participant 1). Participant 5 spoke of the impact this low level of confidence can have on officers in the following exchange:

> The lack of trust of police in society has never been at such a low, that I can remember. You're dealing with problems now that 20 years ago didn't exist, when Riverview Hospital was actually a functioning forensic psychiatric institute. We now have everybody living in the community and the police are the ones who are dealing with those folks any time they act out, whereas before they'd be in a controlled institution where they had orderlies or white-coated security people who would deal with those problems and usually they'd deal with it with physical and chemical restraint. Now the police are tasked with dealing with these folks who have access to everything everybody else has access to- knives, guns, the influences of the street, and everything else. It's a way more complex profession now than it's ever been before. Nobody is really satisfied with the job that an officer does. I don't want to come across as someone who's totally jaded about the profession because it's fun. If you're a guy that likes to do something different everyday, and not be locked up in a box, and your office is your car, and you can move around and see all kinds of things- that's the upside. But there's a huge

downside and a lot of people don't realize the downside until they're in the pit of the downside, and then it can be a pretty deep hole to dig yourself out of. It can be. I see that all the time. I deal with guys who've had exemplary careers, and one incident essentially has their life in shambles- their marriages, their financial stability, their professional stability, loss of job, loss of privacy, everything—*over one thing*.

Participant 5: Absolutely.

Participant 6 reiterated this sentiment by suggesting that interactions with the public can be equated to the civilian body "sticking [their] middle finger up to the police and saying screw you." Overt distrust, and occasionally even hatred towards the police is a by-product of policing's new visibility. One participant echoed this, saying: "That's what police today deal with. They're way more visible, but they also now have to deal with the maliciousness. They have to deal with it and they're treated like a joke." (Participant 7)

A concern that was expressed by participants throughout the interview process was that due to the unprecedented lack of trust in the field of policing, officers feel they must manage their public image through their actions—even if this means limiting some actions considered justified in their job descriptions. The interviews indicate that respondents have noticed an increased schism between the police and the citizen body. Participant 9: "Absolutely, but at the core, the public has changed. Their reviews, the public views of how the police operate, the actions of the police, and how the courts look at [those actions]…absolutely they've changed."

Participants further suggested that the dichotomy between citizens and law enforcement officials serves to further maim police departments' collective morale:

I think it creates more of an us/them mentality, which is not positive. You know, we do—I believe, the police are the community and the people are the community. It starts to put kinks in our [metaphorical] "armour" when we have vocal groups… The perception is—it doesn't matter what you do, because you're dammed if you do, and you're damned if you don't. I think if once in a while these groups just came out and said 'you know what someone's complained about this, but this isn't a bad thing, were not criticizing this'. Sometimes, we fall in the same trap where we constantly criticize someone or a group or people, or whatever it is. At some point, your opinion doesn't hold the same sway unless you're with a group of like-minded people. I think those groups cause an 'us versus them' mentality which isn't positive. (Participant 11)

The 'us versus them' dichotomy stressed here is a function of the public's distrust in the police.

As has been indicated, the majority of police conduct themselves in a professional manner and embody the characteristics required by an officer, but, nevertheless, this distrust remains. Repeated attention focused on citizen distrust in the police's ability may lead to lack of confidence among officers. Several respondents expressed suspicion, or relayed anecdotal information citing hesitancy in using force, and police apathy as resulting from a lack of confidence. Participant 5's statement emphasizes this:

> The people who suffer are the ones who live in that community- the ones who need police services, and now the police are going to be reticent to go and attend the calls because they're viewed in a certain way. So there is a consequence for this kind of irresponsibility in terms of the way the profession is portrayed.

Police officers are employed by the people, to serve the people. When citizens lack confidence in the very organization enacted to protect them, the police suffer, too.

4.3.   The Impact of Citizen Monitoring

The findings addressed in Chapter 4 have focused on numerous themes in order to lay a foundation for the study. The fourteen interviews conducted for this study sought to determine whether or not officers felt impacted by citizen monitoring, and further, if citizen monitoring impacted police use of justified force. Interviews were conducted with an open frame of mind. The interviewer made certain not to prematurely identify whether or not a correlation between the use of force and citizen monitoring existed. In order to have a complete and thorough understanding of the phenomenon, an in-depth examination of the factors associated with use of force, front line policing, and police interactions with the public were required.

The first and second portions of this chapter address the profound responsibility police officers have, and further, the difficult environment in which they work. It was important to identify these challenges as distinctly separate from the challenges associated with citizen monitoring. In order to visualize the image the previous findings should evoke, consider the following: picture a young recruit—a strong, unfettered individual at the prime of his/her life. Then imagine this recruit being trained to become a police officer with the best theoretical approaches, the best physical training, and the best use of force training. Next, the recruit, filled

to capacity with information, skills, and various material tools, goes onto the street. After some time, the individual, who is now no longer a recruit, but a police officer, is placed into a situation wherein he or she must use force.

There are a number of ways this event could play out—first: consider the officer is in a secluded area and is met with a combative, and mentally ill assailant and he or she, with the support of their partner, uses a compliance tool to gain control of the situation. While this means the officer must use his or her baton to effectively subdue and restrain the individual, both the assailant and the officers are safe as a result of the approach taken. Consider the second scenario, wherein the officer is met with the same assailant, and uses the same force approach, however, in this instance, the event unfolds in front of a crowded nightclub. Now the officer is expected to make a split second decision regarding the level of force to use while being watched by a group of people. The physiological stress that the officer was under in the first scenario was intense, in that he or she had to ensure that force was used appropriately, and that neither the officer, the partner, nor the assailant were unnecessarily harmed. In the second scenario, where not only is the officer undergoing the stresses of the first scenario, but he or she is also aware of the crowd of partygoers that might prove to be a further threat. If such a threat is realized, it too must be dealt with; if it is not, the safety of the group must continue to be ensured. The third scenario is the same as the second scenario, with the addition of one or more individuals in the crowd video taping the incident, while making comments such as, "police brutality". In this case, the stressors include: (1) the proper use of force, (2) the safety of the officer, the officer's partner, the assailant, and the general public, (3) the potential external threat an individual in the crowd might present, and (4) the video recording which would capture a portion of the incident, and could result in a complaint, and further, an inquiry.

Although the previous series of scenarios is merely a simplified fictionalization of what police officers might deal with in their day-to-day service, it serves to illustrate the compounding nature of stressors faced in the line of duty. The third scenario stops short of describing what happens to the officer after the introduction of the amateur videographer. The previous two sections of this chapter have described the reality of modern-day police officers, in that they are required to manage crowds of people wielding cellular telephones with video recording, and uploading capabilities, all while conducting their work. In essence, these sections have

described the reality of policing in the presence of citizen monitoring. Despite this, the first and second sections of this chapter have not outlined what impact, if any, citizen monitoring has on police work, and specifically, police use of force. The following section will address this.

4.3.1. Citizen Monitoring According to the Participants

Citizen monitoring is a phenomenon that until now has received little attention, simply because it is a relatively new behaviour. This phenomenon relies on the widespread use of handheld videography and photography devices. Additionally, citizen monitoring exists as a function of social media platforms. While cameras have the capability to capture images, and/or video footage, cell phones have the ability to capture the footage, and they allow the user to publish the recording on the Internet. Once online, the Internet offers a generative system, wherein one image can be disseminated around the world in a matter of seconds.

In 2014 the Canadian Wireless Telecommunications Association (2014) reported that 28,217,707 Canadians own a cellular device. This means that 79.4% of the Canadian population owns a cellular telephone. In British Columbia, 64% of the population owned a smartphone[4] in 2014—up 50% from 2012. Smartphone owners typically use their devices for a variety of tasks besides making phone calls, including taking photographs and accessing social media websites. Insights West (2014) reports that 40% of B.C. smartphone owners share and/or post images to social media websites at least once per week. Additionally, 21% of smartphone owners living in B.C. share and/or post videos to social media websites at least once per week (Insights West, 2014).

The participants of this study were asked to discuss citizen monitoring, and specifically, to outline their sentiments regarding the phenomenon. While all of the participants acknowledged that the phenomenon is inevitable, some negative feelings regarding citizen monitoring did come to the fore. The following is a selection of quotes highlighting the feelings participants had regarding the inevitability of citizen monitoring:

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[4] A smartphone is a "multifunctional cell phone that provides voice communication and text-messaging capabilities and facilitates data processing as well as enhanced wireless connectivity." (Zheng and Ni, 2006; p. 1)

I think it's a fantastic thing, as long as it means that the truth gets out there. (Participant 3)

I don't think it's a positive thing; however, there's no way to stop it. (Participant 13)

I think it is what it is. It's a natural evolution to be increasing the technology we live with today. It's just something we have to adapt to. (Participant 7)

I feel that it's here to stay—I don't think it's going to go anywhere. The more technology becomes available, the better the optics even. (Participant 4)

Yeah, am I bothered by it? You know, yeah, a little. If I'm not bothered by it then might as well find a different job, right? It's not going to change and it's not going to go away— that is the fact. Digital cameras, cheap cameras, and iPhone cameras: they're not going away they're here to stay. (Participant 10: David)

As indicated in the above statements, the officers interviewed felt strongly that citizen monitoring as a phenomenon is not going away. Despite this, the participants also suggested that their feelings about citizen monitoring depended largely upon the motivation behind it.

Interviewer: What are your sentiments about the phenomenon of citizen surveillance?

Participant 1: My own personal feelings? I think it boils down to what the intention is. What is the intention of the person who is filming the interaction with the police officer? When I worked with the gang task force we interacted a lot with gang members who knew what the law was. As soon as we pulled them over, they'd have their cameras out to tape the incident. Never mind, I don't care. Their lawyers told them to pull out their cameras and to start filming right away. It doesn't bother me. Now we move onto others who love to have their camera because they don't like police officers. Case and point: my incident on YouTube. That incident was filmed by a few kids and the particular two minutes or whatever it was were uploaded and they gave the wrong image, so although I encourage people filming, and I want them to film, I don't think I'm ready to give you an opinion. It's two sided— what are the intentions? If the person's intentions are to protect both parties, great I appreciate it. I've never heard of anyone coming into a situation saying: "I've got my camera ready to protect the police! I'm here just in case." That doesn't happen. People love drama and gossip. It's a billion dollar industry. Bad news sells. I'm for it, if the intention is right. I'm against it if it's used the wrong way.

Participant 1 clearly illustrates a thought process that was explored by many of the interviewees. They feel strongly that they can and should be filmed, because they conduct themselves in a professional manner and carry out their duties as they were taught to at the Academy. As

Participant 4 describes: "I feel if you're following your training and doing the right thing for the right reasons, then film away. Go ahead."

Interviewees felt in that filming was acceptable unless it was carried out with malicious intent. Participant 3 elaborated on this when saying:

> I think [citizen monitoring] is a fantastic thing, as long as it means that the truth gets out there, and that it's not a politically driven or attention driven situation. If someone just takes a little clip of something and they don't show the whole event— I think that's a terrible thing.

Participants seemed motivated to indicate that they saw no problem with citizen monitoring simply because of their belief that police officers conduct their work in the manner they are expected to. Their responses seemed to defend the fact that, as Participant 6 stated: "out of 300,000 [police contact] events, two are a problem that need to be dealt with [and require use of force]". While statistics such as these are well known amongst industry professionals, the media tends not to publicize any of the large number of incidents where police are involved and the outcome is positive, but rather, tends to focus on the few events where force is used. As such, the civilian population may have a skewed interpretation of the frequency and commonality of use of force incidents in the field of policing.

Additionally, participants expressed that, citizen monitoring is poorly motivated due to unfair representations of police in mainstream media. Those interviewed felt that citizen monitoring is acceptable if, and when it is unbiased. The officers interviewed indicated that they felt proud of, and stood behind their actions. Further, they welcomed scrutiny, provided the scrutiny was warranted. Participant 7 spoke of this fairness:

> I don't think police should be behaving in a manner that can be scrutinized fairly. When I say scrutinize I say fairly, because there's scrutiny in the fair sense and then there's responsibility for us to perform in a certain way and people should be able to analyze that in an appropriate manner. Then there's media fuelled, sort of, frenzy, subjective, non expert opinion that often is what is portrayed in police incidents that people don't like— not the vast majority, they don't get a lot of press because there's nothing to say because nothing was wrong. It's the one for some reasons that catch people's attention, and someone gets excited and says, 'oh that shouldn't have happened, that looks bad.' It's the ones that look bad that cause the issues, and just because it looks bad though

doesn't necessarily mean it is bad. But we live in a society that lives in micro-bits of information and people don't really want to process information in depth. Our world seems to be very emotionally reactive these days. You see something and think it looks terrible and think all police look bad and you move on with this opinion.

Citizen surveillance exists in large part due to social media platforms, and social media platforms function by providing the population at large with tiny glimpses of people's lives, political issues, celebrity gossip, and social issues such as the behaviour of police officers. Without viewing the entire sequence of events, the citizen population cannot be expected to understand the incident. However, the possible implications on police officers does not seem to be considered when individuals upload images and video clips onto the Internet. This lack of access to the "big picture" was discussed by all of the participants.

The general population often cannot or does not recognize the complexity of the police profession. Because police officers have a high level of visibility, the public is given the opportunity to weigh in on, and critique a line of work that takes a great deal of time, and intensive training to master. Participant 2 addressed this issue:

> The real big problem that I see is that the public, generally speaking, is completely ignorant of the human limitations when it comes to perceptions and cognition. They don't know that a blind spot isn't just a figure of speech. It's when the optic nerve comes into your eye and there are no rods and no cones. You just can't process it. But that doesn't mean you walk around with two black dots in front of your face. Your brain fills the picture in, and it almost always does it right, but most people are completely ignorant about things like that. They don't understand sciatic eye movement, they don't understand how narrow and selective our focus and attention are. We have all these little subconscious processes; otherwise we'd be overwhelmed. Then we have video and they think that because *they* can see it, whoever was involved in the incident must have been able to see it too. It doesn't matter how much well-established research we have on intentional blindness, and on change blindness, it's hard to overcome that because the general public has no knowledge about it, and the media isn't about to educate them about it because it's like watching paint dry. The jury might get it. The trier of fact might get that information, but the public at large won't, and that's what concerns me about some of the video monitoring. I think as a general rule, we've been pretty successful about educating juries, and judges about those biases and those subconscious processes. I think to some degree that explains some of the decisions that the general public find so amazing. But like I said, the public at large isn't privy to that information. As a result, they just can't understand why the judge acquitted the officers. "Look, it's right there on the video", they might say because they can see it. But just because they can see it, doesn't mean the officer can.

While police officers are made aware of the restrictions of perception and cognition in their training, members of the general public typically do not understand the human body's complex limitations. This, reported the participants, leads to misconceptions regarding use of force incidents captured as a result of citizen monitoring.

The participants were also quick to point out the various flaws associated with citizen monitoring as a form of surveillance. They expressed concern that citizen monitoring could produce footage that might be heralded as fact, without adequate consideration given to the limitations of cameras. Each of the participants addressed the fact that an individual engaged in the act of citizen monitoring cannot capture the entire incident as it has occurred for police officers.

> Usually something has happened long before it came to the attention of the person that decides to record the incident. Like, something attracted their attention and then they reached for the phone, or reached for their camera and started filming. You don't get that. What you get is the police reacting to whatever that was. As a result, you get a very narrow presentation, and certainly a two dimensional presentation. (Participant 2)

Videos captured by acts of citizen monitoring often fail to capture the initial stages of an assailant's interaction with the police. They fail to bring to light any existing experience the police officer(s) present might have with the assailant. The police may have had numerous encounters with the individual, and as a result, understand that he or she is mentally ill, or prone to combative behaviour.

Each of the officers interviewed echoed these concerns about citizen surveillance, and most felt they had experienced and been impacted by citizen monitoring in some form. Despite this, few had experienced footage from citizen surveillance going viral. Instead, many participants had heard "horror stories" from their colleagues. Participant 1 had experienced an ordinary incident of citizen surveillance, not unlike those experienced by the majority of officers interviewed. The difference in Participant 1's experience was that the footage resulting from the incident was uploaded to YouTube, where it was subsequently viewed 500,000 times. The following passage illustrates the phenomenon of citizen surveillance and the subsequent response it evokes:

I was involved in [an incident] that's made it on the news and on YouTube actually. Yeah, *YouTube*—with half a million hits, but it only shows two minutes, not the whole incident. The caption of the video sounds horrible! I think it's still online. It's called "The Racist Cop in ****". All you see is two minutes and thirty seconds of interaction with somebody, but nothing before. What's always amazed me is reading the comments that people type.

I mean, I do have a heart, and it does affect me. I'm shocked by the amount of hate that was typed on that feed—things like "I want to kill that cop" and really nasty things. I'm thinking, like, you don't even know what happened! I was trying to help the guy, yet I was called the racist cop. That's my beef with the cameras.

Citizen monitoring can produce footage that accurately portrays police interactions with an individual or group of individuals, however, more frequently than not, the footage captured shows only one portion of the event as it has unfolded. The impact this has on officers' emotional wellbeing can be profound, as illustrated by Participant 1.

The predominant sentiment among the interviewees was that, in theory, citizen monitoring has the ability to protect both the public and the police. However, a majority of the officers interviewed felt that the limitations of citizen monitoring outweighed its potential benefits. Despite this, respondents candidly discussed the reality of technology in today's society, and recognized that citizen monitoring would not disappear. Those participants who felt strongly opposed to, or had been affected by citizen monitoring approached the topic as somewhat of a philosophical discussion. Several of the participants, including Participant 10 (David), discussed how misinformed, or misguided citizen monitoring could impact not just the officers themselves, but also their families. Allegations of police misconduct can, and often do lead to inquiries. Respondents noted that inquiries are certainly necessary to ensure "bad apples[5]" do not permeate the force, but stated that they can have a profoundly negative impact on officers, their family life, and their professional life, if it is determined that the conduct was justified.

4.3.2.   *"Gun Shy": The Impact of Citizen Monitoring on Use of Force*

This study hypothesized that officers would have an adverse reaction to citizen surveillance. Specifically, officers were expected to confirm that they either hesitated to use

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[5] This approach suggests that there are a few "rotten apples" in a police department and inappropriate behavior is isolated to a few individuals (Byers, 2002).

force, used a lower level of force, or failed to use force all together when faced with citizen monitoring. Indeed, through the course of the fourteen interviews conducted for this study, findings confirmed this hypothesis. This section analyzes the findings related to the impact citizen monitoring on police use of force.

Before delving into these findings, brief consideration should be given to the use of force in policing. This section addresses whether or not police officers' use of justified force is impacted as a result of citizen monitoring. The force component is an immensely important part of policing, and as such, confirming that citizen monitoring has an impact on officers' use of force is, essentially, stating that an officer's/officers' conduct is not as it should be. Because of this, some of the interviewees were hesitant to confirm that they themselves felt impacted by citizen monitoring, however, most of those interviewed suggested that they felt some officers, especially younger officers, are adversely impacted.

The officers who stated that they felt citizen monitoring had an impact on use of force in policing in general, but felt it did not influence their decision to use force may have said this for several reasons. First, they may have felt apprehensive to admit that citizen monitoring contributed to improper execution of their authority. Second, several officers interviewed were either recently retired, or had worked directly in policing for twenty or more years. Citizen monitoring might not have had an impact on these senior officers for the following reasons: either they had been off the road for several years, and thus had limited experience with the phenomenon, or, their intimate understanding of the profession meant that no limit of external stressors, including citizen monitoring, could influence their use of force. Certainly, though several of the senior officers expressed their uneasiness with the phenomenon, the less experienced officers were more likely to confirm that citizen monitoring influenced their use of force.

The following portion of this thesis will be divided into four distinct categories: citizen monitoring contributing to lower levels of justified force; citizen monitoring contributing to officer hesitation; citizen monitoring contributing to the failure to use justified force; and an examination of the outliers.

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4.3.3. Citizen Monitoring Contributing to Lower Levels of Justified Force

The thirteen in-depth interviews conducted with law enforcement officials in the present study were used to determine whether or not officers used differential levels of force as a result of citizen monitoring. The first significant finding was that some officers interviewed spoke of using less force than was necessary to quell a situation as a result of citizen monitoring. Literature on surveillance (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1973, 1977; Ajzen, Timko and White, 1982; Snyder and Gangestad, 2000) suggests that individuals change their behaviour when being observed.

Snyder and Gangestad (2000) describe how, out of concern for the situational appropriateness of their expressive self-presentation, individuals classified as high self-monitors, regulate their behaviour and monitor their "self presentation for the sake of desired public appearances" (p. 530). In Chapter Two, the concept of high and low self-monitors was addressed, and police officers were speculated to be likely to engage in high levels of self-monitoring. Participant 2 spoke of the influence cameras have on police officers, and addressed the topic of self-monitoring:

> I had a fellow in charge of police oversight who made a comment saying I don't think officers would stop doing their jobs just because of the presence of cameras. In my inner monologue I said to myself "well, you don't know a lot about human nature." We have so many studies on human nature and on the variables that come into play with human decision making. What does the presence of the camera do to the decision-making? You end up being much more set in what the variables are that you take into account. When do you think of the limitations of working memory—if you only have seven plus or minus two things you can keep track of and one of them is always a camera and everything that goes along with that, how much attention do you have left?

As stated by Ajzen and Fishbein (1973; 1977); Ajzen, Timko and White (1982); and Snyder and Gangestad (2000), all humans, including police officers change their behaviour when being watched. Footage obtained as a result of citizen monitoring can be intentionally or unintentionally manipulated, widely distributed, and can have a significant negative impact on the officer portrayed in the image or video clip. These negative consequences often occur regardless of the officers' guilt or innocence. Because of these factors, police officers are more

likely to engage in high self-monitoring behaviour, potentially using less force than is necessarily justified in a given situation.

Interviewees were asked whether or not officers considered their surroundings when selecting a force option. Participant 8 replied:

> Yes. There is absolutely no doubt that—what I've seen and the sense of freedom someone has when I pull over some guy or am arresting somebody in the middle of the night in the flats of **** down by **** when there is no one around, versus on **** in the middle of the afternoon when traffic stops when I go to arrest somebody and everyone's watching, is very different.

While this interviewee confirmed that the arrest techniques used are all within the realm of legally acceptable behaviour, they do, nonetheless, vary. This same participant spoke of the need to act a certain way when questioning or arresting individuals in one part of department's jurisdiction versus another. While one can argue that officers' actions should be consistent and fair, the results of these interviews suggest that police behaviour is adapted in order to prevent controversy and to avoid backlash from the general public.

When asked whether or not citizen monitoring impacts use of force, Participant 10 (David) and Participant 12 expressed a similar opinion to that of Participant 8, and others in the study, saying:

> I think, yeah it has had an impact. Yes, absolutely. It has entered the framework in which you're evaluating a situation and what you're going to do, and when you're going to do it. I think it has, and that's that whole 'staying within the use of force model'. So, then you start thinking of their behavior and everything like that, then you start thinking 'where is this going to go if I use force and people see. (Participant 10, David)

And:

> Absolutely. If someone is in your face filming, there is a level of anxiety that goes up and you're always going to be a little bit worried of how this is going to be perceived. Am I going to be able to articulate this properly? Is the camera going to pick up things? I think it would affect me. (Participant 12)

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Participant 8, 10, and 12 all echoed what the majority of respondents expressed during their interviews. A comparatively small number of interviewees, however, countered this argument, and their perspectives will be outlined in the "Outliers" portion of this section.

In order to understand how ardently participants felt that citizen monitoring impacted their behavior as police officers, each respondent was told of a true, albeit, anecdotal account of a situation in which an anonymous officer unrelated to the present study had been subject to an investigation as the result of a use of force incident which was captured on video. The investigation took many months to be resolved, and ultimately the officer was found to be innocent of any sort of excessive force. The officer had experienced a significant strain on his personal and professional life as a result of this investigation, and as a result commented that he would rather sustain an injury than use force and risk going through the investigation process again. The majority of those interviewed expressed both sadness about the fact that an individual in their line of work could have been so profoundly impacted by the investigation, and concern that an officer would jeopardize his own safety and the safety of others as a result of his experience. In response to this story, however, Participant 3 said: "There is crap associated with the career, but to say you'd rather get injured than go through an investigation is just, for lack of a better term, retarded." There were few interviewees that shared Participant 3's hard-lined approach, and in fact, Participant 10 responded to the statement, saying:

> People saying 'that guy shouldn't get into policing', like, *no*! I disagree with that! I think it's that you've seen lots of people getting the hell beaten out of them in the media. I think that's entered a bit into it, yeah.

The majority of participants interviewed expressed that citizen monitoring had had, and was continuing to have an impact on either their policing careers, or their colleagues' careers. Because of this, a somewhat sympathetic sentiment resonated in all the participants' responses regarding this incident. Several officers lamented that this type of incident could occur to them. Each of the officers interviewed had exemplary policing careers, and were passionate about their work. Nevertheless, these officers are likely to experience at least some of the pitfalls of citizen monitoring. This is expressed here:

I left the day I hit my retirement numbers. *The day*. And it's not because I didn't love the job. I didn't want the job to affect my post-policing career. I was running a Squad in a high-risk area of the city. I had intervened in a number of attempted suicides, dealt with armed people, and I thought, you know what, the last thing I need in my last year of service is to get into it with somebody where I end up having to shoot somebody or I end up on a videotape because I interacted with somebody in a way that might appear unpleasant, had been necessary, but may not have played well in the public eye. That could have ruined my life after policing. So I started to weigh the risks very carefully and I said I don't need this risk anymore. (Participant 5)

While some officers that participated in the study expressed that they, or others they knew use/used less force as a way to circumvent citizen monitoring, others, such as Participant 5, have left the profession because of the increased scrutiny. Because police officers can be classified as high-self monitors, it was speculated that they would likely change and adapt their behaviours in order to combat citizen monitoring. Indeed, the findings of this study indicate that police officers are influenced to regulate their behaviour and self-presentation when exposed to citizen monitoring.

4.3.4.   *Citizen Monitoring Contributing to Hesitation in the Use of Justified Force*

According to those interviewed, hesitation, as a result of citizen monitoring, is a real concern that exists within police departments in the Lower Mainland. Use of force instructors interviewed expressed the fact that they felt confident in their recruits' abilities to remain stoic in the presence of individuals engaged in citizen monitoring. Despite this, apart from the few outliers (which will be addressed in Section 4.3.6.), the remaining interviewees confirmed that hesitation is an emerging, yet disconcerting trend in policing. Police officers are often required to make rapid decisions regarding whether or not to use force. As previously mentioned, law enforcement officials, and especially front line police officers, are subjected to multiple layers of psychological, and physiological stresses while working. The addition of an added stressor— namely, citizen monitoring—was speculated to produce a hesitation factor[6] among police officers, and in fact. The findings here confirm that hypothesis.

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[6] The hesitation factor can be defined as a marked pause among police officers in their response to a particular situation wherein use of force is not only warranted, but necessary.

The interviewees were asked to answer whether or not the presence of an individual engaged in citizen monitoring would impact a police officers' ability to make a split second decision to employ force. It is important to note that, often, the failure to use force in situations that warrant it produces a far more dangerous situation for the police officer(s), for the citizen(s) in the proximal areas, and for the suspect(s). Participants responded as follows:

> I don't know if there is any research on that, but I can tell you the psyche is probably correct. I hate to use the term "gun shy" but when you're made so overly aware of the negative consequences of getting involved in something, there's natural apprehension to getting involved in it. So the consequences of that are many-fold, that may manifest in guys not being active police officers, if you know what I mean. It's very easy to join the force, and get in your car, and drive around, and be the fourth guy to answer the radio when a call comes in. To be the guy that's at the City Yard filling your car with gas when the robbery in progress comes in because you don't want to be first on scene, and there is an attitude that's known about out there. (Participant 5)

> I think [hesitation is an issue]. I do. Anything that makes you hesitate is wrong, so you want to be confident enough in anything—whether it's a sporting event, a business decision—whatever it is. Anything you do, if you hesitate usually you've lost and usually it doesn't turn out. If you hesitate parachuting, it's not going to turn out well. So anything you're not confident in—your job, or the decisions you make—if you hesitate, your opportunity is lost. Often in use of force situations, using the opportunities earliest, even though you don't want to, usually that de-escalates things faster and takes it down before it can build up. (Participant 10)

> Absolutely, because you know especially as officers nowadays, I can't help but think officers on the street aren't second-guessing themselves, and that second-guessing whether conscious or subconscious, if they delay even a split second that could mean their life, their partners life or the life of someone in the public— whether it's an incident where they have to draw their gun, something related to driving, I guarantee you there are probably not that many officers out there who aren't at some level wondering at some point in their shift 'am I being photographed?' and 'am I being video taped?' Every single day, guaranteed. (Participant 13)

Every interviewee confirmed, to some degree, the existence of the hesitation factor. Study participants said: "there is no question" (Participant 8), "I think, absolutely…unquestionably" (Participant 7), and "I strongly believe" (Participant 1) that hesitation occurs when in the presence of citizen surveillance, argued that this is a prevalent and rapidly increasing trend. Twelve of the thirteen police officers interviewed were adamant that the hesitation factor occurs as a result of citizen monitoring. The thirteenth officer however, suggested that hesitation occurs

"every now and again" (Participant 3). While Participant 3 does not deny the existence of hesitation among police officers, this interviewee's response was less compelling. Participant 3, however, was a senior level officer with little current time on patrol. It is possible that Participant 3 had not yet witnessed this phenomenon to the same degree as the other officers simply because of the nature of this officer's role within policing.

Participants were quick to note that hesitation was more likely to occur among junior level officers. Educating police officers about the use of force is a critical component of recruit training (Paoline et. al., 2007). While some believe that use of force tactics are best learnt within the classroom setting (Paoline et. al., 2007; Worden and Catlin, 2002), Bayley and Bittner (1997) argue that use of force is a practical skill, absorbed while actively engaged in policing. It is possible that some recruits learn better in the classroom, while others learn more in the field. However, according to the interviews conducted, young officers—regardless of their specific training[7]—seem to hesitate when using force more frequently than the more senior officers. A new recruit commented on this trend, saying:

> As far as cameras go, it adds that extra 'what if' moment in your head. It's no longer 'what if I break his arm', it's 'what if I break his arm and am on camera for it'. There is more going through your head. Yeah, you hesitate, I guess. (Participant 6)

Additionally, some of the officers with higher rank, and more years of service commented on the fact that, while they do not feel as though they hesitate now, they may have hesitated if they had started out as officers in today's new era of police visibility. Both Participant 8, and Participant 1 addressed this:

> I absolutely think it affects new recruits differently than it affects more experienced officers. (Participant 1)

> I can see [young members] feeling hesitant and thinking to my earliest years—yeah, I can see it would induce a certain amount of uncertainty for sure. (Participant 8)

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[7] This finding was consistent among both the RCMP and the municipal police officers interviewed.

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Given the emphasis and blame respondents placed on younger officers hesitating, use of force training programs should consider the impact citizen monitoring has on officers, and training should be adapted accordingly.

Participant 8 addressed citizen monitoring and hesitation, but also drew attention to the important issue of departmental support, which will be addressed in Section 4.3.6:

> So while yes, maybe the camera is going to make some people hesitate, yes I'm sure someone somewhere is going to get punched in the face because they hesitated because they didn't know, they were worried it was going to look bad. But if they understood the training and we support them, which is something we don't do as well as an outfit, if we give them the support beforehand and the coaching and training so they know what's acceptable and not and be less ambiguous about the standards, because we can be very ambiguous about 'yeah that's training but out here, let's crack some heads'. No, no its not. If we didn't have those contradictions, they would be less confused and when things went truly wrong, if we did a better job at supporting them, they wouldn't be so worried about that on the far side. Part of that worry about the camera is they're like 'oh my god if this looks bad, my outfit will drop me and persecute me, even if I haven't done anything wrong.'

The message detailed here is profound, and was reiterated by many participants. Not only do officers hesitate when using force because of their concern over the potential public backlash resulting from citizen monitoring, they are also inclined to hesitate out of fear that their respective departments will not support them, should some sort of complaint occur. The issues associated with citizen monitoring are therefore compounded due to lack of internal support.

Based on the previous quotes and analyses, it is evident that citizen monitoring contributes to the hesitancy of officers to use justifiable force. As a result of this study, it appears that citizen monitoring contributes to the hesitancy factor more than the lack of internal support. The irony lies in the fact that the components contributing to police hesitancy are first, the organization itself, and second, those whom the officers are intended to protect.

4.3.5.   Citizen Monitoring Contributing to the FIDO Effect

In order to avoid the public scrutiny that occasionally results from difficult calls for service, police officers are known to deliberately disregard potential use of force situations. This

phenomenon is frequently referred to, within policing circles, as FIDO (Fuck It, Drive On). FIDO is speculated to stem from the heightened visibility of police officers. As an increasing number of controversial use-of-force incidents are publicized on the Internet, police officers feel the need to bypass situations that could potentially tarnish their professional and personal reputations. Instead of attending the call, officers drive on, in the hopes that the incident will resolve itself, or, that the crime/incident occurring is best left to run its course without intervention as it is not worth taking the chance on a possible career ending incident. In other words, it seems some officers weigh the risk of involvement in protecting the community versus their career.

The officers interviewed expressed particular concern over attending certain calls, for example incidents involving a racial minority group because of the rise in citizen monitoring. Participant 2 voiced concern over the FIDO phenomenon, suggesting that because of onerous oversight processes in particular jurisdictions, officers may intentionally neglect particular calls for service:

> Officers think that, unless they're dispatched to a call, they're not going. They see a drug deal taking place on the sidewalk and they try to forget they even saw it happen and drive past it. If you get out and deal with it, and someone makes an allegation of racism, or something, it could just go sideways on you. Then you spend the next two years of your life dealing with hearings and stuff trying to explain that "no, I saw a drug deal taking place, that's why I stopped and checked these people. It had nothing to do with race or gender or anything else."

The desire for officers to "drive on" is, as Murphy (2014) describes, "in part, related to fear of departmental reprisal or other consequences of action", including civilian review, negative media attention, and various legal repercussions (p. 45).

When pressed about the FIDO phenomenon, a clear divide existed between officers with relation to the actions they reported to take in such scenarios. Several of the patrol officers interviewed noted that, on occasion, they would actively engage in FIDO. Specifically, participants spoke about consciously weighing the pros and cons of attending a particular call. Participant 10 (David) said:

> When you start thinking about whether going to a call is worth it. I'm not talking about the high priority calls…. But, it's the lower risk calls or incidents. You ask yourself, how much grief is it really worth? It's not worth it, in some cases it's just not.

This sentiment appears understandable. Officers who "drive on" are protecting themselves from potential, and often unnecessary criticism. Despite this, officers' decision to "drive on" contributes to police apathy, and further, "abdicating police authority can be as inappropriate as abusing that same authority" (Griffiths, 2013; p. 122). Participant 7 addressed the prevalence of the FIDO phenomenon:

> There's risk related to the concern officers have about scrutiny and fear of scrutiny. It's not that they're doing anything wrong. It's just that the fear of scrutiny will cause them to alter their behaviour away from what they should actually do. I am aware of many examples of this.

Although the degree to which FIDO occurs is unknown, the anecdotal accounts provided by participants suggest that the phenomenon has permeated various levels of policing, and as such, it presents a legitimate concern for officers and citizens alike. Several participants, including Participant 9, concentrated on this concern, arguing that if officers are motivated to engage in the FIDO phenomenon, they "should not be police officers", and further; they should actively seek alternative employment.

Because of the multiple forces—both organized and unorganized—asserting their opposition to police in the Lower Mainland, several participants stated that "driving on" simply prevents officer fatigue. According to Participant 13, the attitudes of certain citizen organizations, especially in parts of Vancouver contribute to general fatigue because:

> Officers are taking lots of 911 calls dealing with a variety of incidents during their shift, and inevitably they get tired. They'll see something that's relatively minor in their mind, but might be very important to the person involved in that situation. Regardless, they might just say, 'Fuck it, drive on'.

Decision-making regarding whether or not to attend a call can be reduced to citizen confidence and trust in the police. The officers interviewed suggested they feel as though they have little support from the public. Citizen complaints are perpetuated by this lack of support, and as such, officers feel their efforts go unappreciated and/or unrecognized. The participants felt as though

the public's lack of confidence in their work could have the potential to reduce efforts by the police. Essentially, this relationship acts as a cycle whereby negative public attitudes contribute to inaction; inaction contributes to negative public attitudes, and so on.

Participants stated that, especially in Vancouver, distrust in the police permeates all levels of society. Participant 6 provided an example of an organization called "Cop Watch" whose sole purpose is to hold police officers accountable for their actions. The organization operates a Twitter feed called @copwatch, and is seen among the police as inciting hatred in law enforcement at a grassroots level. Officers suggested that within the Lower Mainland, the general public shows little appreciation for the police, while in the remainder of Canada, law enforcement officials are lauded. Participant 13 said: "When we talk to our peers in the rest of Canada, and especially in Alberta they shake their heads. They're *loved* there! Over here, everyone wants to complain about the police."

It is relatively easy to give the citizen population the brunt of the blame when it comes to the prevalence of the FIDO phenomenon. However, members of the general public do not have either an education or an understanding of operational police work. This lack of knowledge contributes greatly to the negative sentiment citizens have of the police. Certain Canadian police departments actively combat these negative sentiments by educating the public of and creating awareness for the challenges and realities associated with police work. In the Lower Mainland, however, police leaders, the public, and key individuals have not rallied in support of the police. Further, they have not sought to educate the public, even though it seems that an increased awareness may, in turn, increase support for the police.

Officers who engage in the FIDO phenomenon are arguably the most impacted by citizen monitoring. Officers who hesitate when in the presence of citizens monitoring their behaviour, do, nonetheless, act. Despite this, their actions are "too little, too late". Contrarily, officers who "drive on" when faced with the possibility of having their actions monitored by the citizen body, fail to act at all. Police inaction is both less detected and punished less severely than police wrongdoing. As a result, it seems natural that citizen monitoring produce such an effect.

4.3.6. Outliers: Those Who Are Not Impacted by Citizen Monitoring

The majority of officers interviewed were vocal about others impacted by citizen monitoring, and/or about their own personal experience with the impact of the phenomenon. Some of the officers interviewed denied ever having witnessed, having heard about, or having experienced citizen monitoring as affecting police use of justified force. For the purpose of the study, these officers can be described as outliers. More participants felt that citizen monitoring impacted their use of force, than those who felt it did not. The outliers fell into two categories: first, those who did not feel citizen monitoring would have and/or had had an impact on either themselves or other officers; and second, those who felt they themselves were not impacted by citizen monitoring, but did feel that younger police officers would be impacted.

Participant 11, and Participant 3 each felt that citizen surveillance does not have an impact on police officers use of justified force.

> When I'm on the road, helping out here and there, I don't see anything different from when I started out in policing. It's still the same. Maybe if it's a large media event, that might be a different story, but outside nightclubs and so on when people have their cell phones going, members are still doing their jobs. (Participant 3)

Both Participant 11, and Participant 3 occupy supervisory positions, and spend their days at desks, as opposed to in squad cars. Their understanding of operational police work is, undoubtedly, far superior to that of the average citizen, however, these officers have been removed from patrol duty for some time, and this may serve to explain that their experiences of citizen monitoring are limited, or altogether non-existent. The following quote indicates that, indeed, once removed from patrol, officers develop a different understanding of police work and what it entails:

> Yes. I've gone through the cycles where I've been on the road, and then I was away from the road for several years, and then I came back to the road again. It doesn't take very long once you've left the road—especially when you're not doing any policing function, whether you go on an analytical or management role—for [police work] to become very easy to romanticize. You forget what the guys and girls are doing now and what it's like out there. Your attitude changes. (Participant 8)

Participant 8 suggested that, in addition, "It makes a huge difference to officers when they're being watched and I think it's very easy to lose that from a back office perspective." These different perspectives must be taken into consideration when exploring a new phenomenon such as citizen monitoring in an effort to provide officers with the best information and training available. The sentiment given by participants engaged in patrol duty was that police supervisors and/or police leaders do not care and do not support line-officers because they are so far removed from policing's new visibility, and thus are insulated from harm.

4.3.7. Citizen Monitoring, Accountability, and Oversight

The interviews yielded a significant result. Officers were found to use different levels of force based on the presence of citizen monitoring—this finding was expected to some degree. However, officers further noted that they felt increasingly hesitant or unwilling to use justified force when being monitored, due to the lack of support they received from their police organization. Participant 10 (David) said:

> I think there is a perception with police officers that the indemnification, the protection that might have been granted police officers 15-20 years ago is also gone. They're leaving things more on to the lap of the individual police officers themselves.

A common side effect of citizen monitoring is that the public misinterprets the actions of the officers acting with legal authorization to use force. After all, as Participant 2 states, "even justified use of force incidents do not look pretty." Immense public outcry that can result after footage of a justified use of force incident and this footage can be distributed and shared via the Internet, and officers felt that when situations like this occur, departments "do a horrible job at supporting [their] people" (Participant 8).

The authority to use deadly force results in high levels of formal oversight[8], in addition to the informal oversight that citizen monitoring presents. Some participants suggested that the

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[8] There are various levels of oversight within the field of policing. The dependent model essentially represents more traditional "police investigation of police." There is no civilian involvement in the criminal investigation and, therefore, there is a total dependence on the police for the handling of criminal investigations. The interdependent model introduces into the criminal investigation civilian involvement to varying degrees. The independent model is embodied by a totally independent investigation. There is no police involvement in the investigation. The oversight body composed of civilians undertakes independent criminal investigations that cannot

oversight process is so arduous, that they feel compelled to avoid situations that may involve any of the various models. The following quote emphasizes this sentiment:

> There is no question that this process leads to a psyche among officers. There was a shooting in south Surrey. The guy was held up and we were on our way. This guy kept pointing a gun at them and they didn't shoot him. He was actually pulling the trigger, but it just wasn't striking hard enough and they didn't know that. Eventually one of the guys does it and shoots him, kills him. So the commander brings everybody back, and said: 'Okay there's been a death, and there's obviously going to be an investigation. This is now a murder investigation.' When he used that term, you should have seen the [officer] who actually pulled the trigger. You should've seen his face. Immediately, I was just like, whoa. It was devastating, absolutely devastating. He did everything he was trained to do and all of a sudden somebody looks at it from that perspective.

> Social media just went crazy, and it doesn't have any limitations. It's just devastating for families and members. As a result, guys that go through this are saying: 'no, I don't want to do that anymore.' We're getting guys turning down the high-risk jobs now. (Participant 9)

Interviewees were asked abut these types of situations and the impact they have on morale within the department, in addition to the impact on the individual officers' psyches. The impact was noted as being profound. While the criticism resulting from citizen monitoring comes directly from a group of people with little to no understanding of operational police work, the criticism that comes from within the department was seen as a breach of the "blue wall" by some officers.

The investigation process resulting from an incident left officers feeling broken and battered:

> Participant 5: I deal with guys who've had exemplary careers, and one incident essentially has their life in shambles—their marriages, their financial stability, their professional stability, loss of job, loss of privacy, everything. *Over one thing*.

> Interviewee: Could this occur over an incident that is unfounded?

> Participant 5: Absolutely.

Officers stated that they felt that the length of time it took for an investigation to unfold, and further, the actual response from within their respective departments caused officers to think

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be referred to the police force, and may have the authority to make binding findings and lay charges (Government of Canada, 2015).

twice before engaging in an incident that could lead to this process. Although the majority of the respondents insinuated that the organizational flaws with regard to this process are immense, one interviewee said the following:

> They need to know that command staff isn't there to lynch them if they slip up. People make bad decisions; it's just how we deal with it. We'd rather have people make bad decisions than not do anything at all. That's what members get paid for- to go out and do stuff, not to sit there and be a voyeur for lack of a better word. (Participant 3)

This participant holds a relatively senior position. However, there is a clear disconnect between how this individual says police officers are supported, and how the officers themselves claim to be supported. Given the levels of visibility and scrutiny to which police are subjected in this digital era, officers suggested that their police departments should give them the confidence to use the force they are justified to use in situations where it is warranted.

4.4.   "You Film Us; We'll Film Everything": Body Worn Cameras

The following section addresses the potential introduction of body worn cameras (BWC) as a tool in operational policing. The technology has gained momentum because of the increasing visibility to which police are subjected, and because of the proliferation of the publication of incomplete, or inaccurate, or misinterpreted footage documented by citizens. Further, in the wake of several highly publicized lethal force incidents, including the deaths of Sammy Yatim in Toronto, Ontario, and Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, the citizen population has emphasized the need for increased accountability, and transparency in police work. This section is divided into several categories including the limitations of citizen monitoring, officers' responses to the introduction of BWC, the need for effective policy, and lastly, the results of an interview with the Honourable Wally Oppal regarding police accountability and BWC.

4.4.1. The Limitations of Footage Captured from Citizen Monitoring

Citizen monitoring allows the public to actively police the police. While their intentions may simply be to pick out the "rotten apples", findings here indicate that citizen monitoring may lead to more dangerous situations for both police personnel, and the general public. In addition,

the footage captured as a result of citizen monitoring is often somewhat flawed. These flaws are either intentional, in that the individual filming frames the incident to mislead viewers; or they can be unintentional, meaning that the person capturing the footage may not have captured the entire incident. Additionally, citizen monitoring allows the general public to produce their own "news", as illustrated in the following quote:

> It's a dog-eat-dog world that the media operates in, if you throw in Twitter and other social media platforms and instant news, and blogs, and online journalists. You're fighting all of that and competing with all of that to get the message out. (Participant 13)

In order to "get the message out", news stations, and increasingly, individuals engaged in producing their own news must capture the attention of their potential viewers, draw them in, and ultimately, keep them watching. Participant 4 addressed this concern, when suggesting that individuals may deliberately alter the footage in order to appeal to the most viewers possible: "What if they only include one portion and crop everything else out? What if they only include the part that shows the "innocent" poor fellow being beaten by the big police men?"

Participant 12 provided an anecdotal account in which an incident unfolded in a similar fashion:

> I recall a few years ago it was 2:30 in the afternoon when the CBC contacted me saying they have a video of a police officer in uniform kneeing a nearly naked person in handcuffs. I say okay I'm very interested in seeing that. This was after CBC had broadcasted the video as "breaking news". We responded quickly by coming out and talking about the incident, and about what wasn't shown in the video was the lead up to that. This guy had stripped off all his clothes after he broke into a woman's apartment. She was home at the time, and was obviously very upset. She was worried she's (sic) going to be sexually assaulted. He broke into another place, did a lot of damage. There were a lot of police coming, and there was a chase and the guy was essentially tackled. There's all this context people aren't shown or told about. That's very important for the context of the 3 or 4-second clip in the news, but it isn't sexy or controversial. That context is very important and it's so easy now with an iPad or iPhone or any electronic device to edit videos instantaneously and through the magic of Twitter or Snap Chat. You can post that for the entire world to see… 'Hey everybody I just saw a police officer do this'. That's the world we live in now. It's this instant news—instant gratification—tell me everything in 30 seconds because if you take longer than that you're not holding my attention and I'm moving on. Twitter is like crack for those sorts of people.

Despite the police's efforts to inform the public about the events leading up to a situation like the one detailed above, the portions that are not deemed exciting by the organization or individual broadcasting it, are omitted. Because of the relative ease by which citizens can monitor the public, and further, given the sometimes-irreversible damage the footage causes to officers, Canadian police departments are increasingly considering BWC as a tool for operational police work. In 2015, the Independent Investigations Office in British Columbia published evidence citing the potential benefits of equipping police officers with body worn cameras (Morris, 2015). Further, they noted that body-worn cameras could be used as a way to "bridge the gap between the aspirations of the law on the books and the clinical realities of evidence on the ground" (Morris, 2015; p. 25).

4.4.2. A Clear Divide: Officers' Thoughts on BWC

The first theme that was addressed by participants was that of body worn cameras as being a "fait accomplis". The officers interviewed expressed concern that while they feel BWC are a "done deal", there is little, if any, research confirming or denying the new technology's purported benefits. They noted that the same arguments that were put forward to entice police administrators and legislators to adopt force options such as conducted energy weapons are now being parroted when it comes to body worn cameras. Respondents expressed concern that police agencies relied on the manufacture's claims and biased research when the decision to adopt conducted energy weapons (CEW) was made. It appears that that criticism might apply in this situation too, the significant difference, of course, is that the former related to a force option, the latter applies to police accountability. Legislators, police administrators, and oversight groups appear quite willing to move forward with body worn cameras while waiting for the research to catch up. Participant 2 said:

> Philosophically it's one of those things that really annoy me because we took so much criticism over the introduction of conducted energy weapons without longitudinal studies, and with the allegedly biased research that we depended on. Yet, they appear quite willing to adopt body cameras without any research. They'll just wait for the research to catch up.

A second major theme that came to the fore was that of BWCs potentially breeding a culture of avoidance. A number of interviewees expressed concern that their actions might be

misinterpreted if the general public had access to footage of their routine activities. For this reason, the officers suggested that they would not hesitate to pass a situation wherein their actions could be misread. One participant stated:

> We've been so used to operating under this shroud of secrecy and non-scrutiny and lack of accountability. It's like trying to get a teenager to clean up his room when you've never asked him to do that. You're going to have a war on your hands. There is going to be massive push back, where officers opt not to do their job correctly. There is this accountability that has crept into our profession and is getting more and more… the word I choose is intrusive. (Participant 8)

BWCs are intended to produce an added level of accountability by ensuring that officers perform their duties to the best of their abilities**.** It seems that, instead, officers speculate that they would avoid certain tasks because of the various challenges this new technology could pose.

The third major theme that was exposed was that the criminal justice system, and specifically the judicial system, is "sick", and as such, could not possibly function with the added burden of an inordinate amount of BWC footage. The proliferation of video (digital and analogue), forensic evidence, court-qualified experts in various fields, and computerisation have added increased the workload within the justice system. According to Humphries (2013), Canada's courts are choking on an increase in evidence. Participant 4 outlined that digital video, binders of frame captures, enhanced audio files, and other minutiae from the body worn camera that will be used as a viewer attempts to discern a cause, identify patterns, and seek explanations for human behaviour will further stress the system. One officer said:

> Literally, I'm not exaggerating. It gets to the point where lawyers are counting pixels. They're saying 'there are this many pixels at the top of the screen, but in the next screen shot there are only this many pixels. That indicates that the subject is now closer to the screen, or that the camera is closer to the subject.' Based on that, the camera operator says that they weren't moving, and therefore it must be the person moving towards the camera. You're getting into forensic issues about many images per second are being recorded. I mean, really, it's minutia. Who cares, really? Does it matter? (Participant 2)

Another officer countered this point:

> People are managing much more logistically complex data issues than storing that kind of videos. I mean cab companies have had videos in their car for years now. I brought that up once and I got yelled at, it didn't go over that well. But again, if the cab companies, who

aren't known for spending tons of money on their vehicles, you know what I mean, they're putting video in both to protect their drivers from all kind of claims and to protect members of the public. I mean talk to enough women who have come home drunk from a bar and taken a cab, you hear some ugly stories. Does the driver have control over that video? No. Great. But a cab company, we're not going to do that for the police? (Participant 8)

The last major theme addressed by participants was the "blind spot issue". Cameras and video recorders have the ability to capture footage of a police incident; however, the footage often fails to capture the entire experience of the officers involved. Officers spoke candidly about the concern that video footage recorded by BWCs would not capture events in 3-D. Because the camera would only have the ability to record two-dimensional footage, components such as distance would be difficult to discern when reviewing the video. Furthermore, several officers interviewed suggested they felt that footage from BWCs could be misleading because of the disconnect between their field of view and perception, and that of the camera. BWCs are most frequently worn on the officer's chest, and while their chest may be pointing in one direction, their eyes may be facing something entirely different. Participant 2 addressed this difference of perception by saying:

There is a video of a reporter walking with a camera and he just walks right into a pole because he's focused on the fellow he's trying to get a statement from. Those of us who are watching the video of him walking can all see the pole, but he can't. He's focused on something else, and as a result, he's blind to the pole that's right in front of him. My concern is just that the public at large isn't going to be educated in those areas like the limits of cognition and perception and we are going to lose more and more of the public trust because of this.

Despite the noted shortcomings BWCs may have, the officers interviewed did express that, if the introduction could contribute to increased public confidence in the police, they would gladly wear the technology. Participant 3 said: "It's ridiculous the amount of oversight we have, but if it makes the public have more faith in us, then it's worth it." Additionally, some officers lamented the cost, however, confirmed that it is simply the price of ensuring officers are adequately protected from false accusations. Participant 13 said: "They cost thousands and thousands that can be used towards other things, but we're at a point in our jobs, where with the way society is now, we have to film what's happening." Several officers, such as Participant 6, suggested that they would embrace the introduction of BWCs, saying "I would look forward to

wearing them, I think it would be fun because you're using technology and will benefit you as a professional."

4.4.3. The Need for Effective Policy

There was a relatively clear divide that existed between officers who felt that the introduction of BWCs could either be a detriment or a benefit to policing. Despite this, all officers interviewed expressed the need for the establishment of effective policy prior to the technology's widespread adoption. Officers indicated that a major concern was whether the BWCs would run continuously through the day, and further, who would have the ability to turn the cameras on and off. Participant 8 stated:

> For instance, if officers have the ability to turn the cameras on, are they only going to be turned on for serious instances? Well, ok… I have enough to think about when I'm going to a serious incident. I will probably forget to turn it on at some point, or turn it on half way through, or remember to turn it on when the ordeal goes really sideways. I'd be opening myself up to huge questions, like: 'well why didn't you turn it on before?' and 'were you hiding something?' (Participant 8)

Additionally, officers indicated a serious concern for privacy. Some of the participants said that, as public servants, police cannot, and should not be expected to have privacy while working. Others stated that the need to wear the cameras, and have them turned on while having lunch with their co-workers was a breach of their personal privacy. Further, several officers noted that a plethora of concerns regarding privacy result when footage of innocent citizens is captured, stored, and then possibly used in court. Over all, the participants indicated hesitancy, yet willingness to adopt BWC if for the good of the citizen population, and for the good of police. The policy concerns that were expressed should be considered, because without effective legislation in place, it is possible that the introduction of BWCs could lead to intense ramifications.

4.4.4. The Honourable Wally Oppal

The Honourable Wally Oppal added a different perspective to the issues addressed in this study, and it seems fitting to offer the results of his interview now that the study's main findings have been discussed. Oppal's lengthy legal and political career, and further, his

experience conducting various inquiries, including an inquiry of policing in British Columbia, contributed to his ability to provide an expert opinion on police accountability. In fact, the introduction of a civilian oversight body in British Columbia can be attributed to the recommendations of his inquiry into policing. Oppal stated:

> In this province we have The Office of Police Complaint Commissioner. That was established after our recommendations in 1994 and has evolved since that time. That's what civilian oversight means. These are all the challenges—when we wrote the report in 1994 there were many police chiefs and policing communities, that thought by making them accountable we would compromise their ability to police… That's always the conflict and the tension exists in those areas.

Police wield a great deal of power and authority, however, ultimately, they are beholden to the public. In order to ensure police powers do not go unchecked, accountability must be enforced, and the rights of all citizens must be maintained. While officers possess the power to lawfully take someone's life if the situation warrants it, their powers are not unlimited. Oppal noted that, many professions have mechanisms of accountability, and especially because of the power inherent in the police profession, law enforcement officials should be subject to rigorous oversight.

> Every professional organization has some kind of accountability. The law society polices the police, the medical profession, the college of physicians and surgeons investigates doctors who have committed sexual assault against patients or have a standard of care unacceptable. Every organization has some oversight. We give police guns, which is all the more reason for oversight to exist in their profession.

Civilian oversight, including citizen monitoring, is according to Oppal, a measure that was put in place to ensure police conduct their work in a professional manner.

The interviews conducted with the police officers took place before the interview with Oppal. He was informed that study participants had overwhelmingly identified citizen monitoring as contributing to hesitation and timidity in use of justified force. While Oppal acknowledged the presence of hesitancy, he suggested that BWCs should be introduced as a mechanism to counter the phenomenon:

> I think [BWCs] are excellent. I think they should help the police. 99.9% abide by the law, they do it properly and this should justify it. Any fears they have against accused persons—and let's face it they don't always deal with the most pleasant people–this will guard against bogus accusations. I get calls all the time with bogus accusations… One woman called me and said: 'the police came and sexually assaulted me. For no reason, the officer started rubbing his penis against me…' It was so out of touch, I said go to the complaint commissioner. She said: 'Well I'm afraid of that…' There are so many bogus allegations against the police. If they had camera it would protect against that. When I was the Attorney General, I recommended they use cameras in impaired driving cases so they have all the evidence. You can't get better evidence than the evidence of a camera.

Oppal argued that police officers should not hesitate, and they should understand that, if they obey the law, "they should be fine." Courts do, as Oppal says, support the police. In fact, police and the judicial system work in tandem to ensure society operates both safely and fairly. The courts recognize the challenges associated with police work, and as a result, police convictions are infrequent. Nonetheless, officers that have been found innocent in the court of law, often remain guilty in the public domain—sometimes losing their reputation, their familial support, and their career. A recent example of such an incident occurred in Ferguson, Missouri in the summer of 2014 when Michael Brown was fatally shot by police officer Darren Wilson. The incident triggered unrest both on a large scale in Ferguson and on a smaller scale around the world. Though the grand jury declined to charge Wilson for killing Brown, the officer has since felt major personal and professional ramifications as a result. Oppal suggested that officers who "obey the law…should be fine", however, according to the courts, Wilson obeyed the law and it can be argued that he is now far from "fine".

Oppal purported the potential benefits of BWCs and noted that they should be adopted, no matter the cost, because "you can never put a price on justice". However, he also addressed the need for sound policies to be in place governing the use of BWCs in order that the technology may yield positive results and be effective. He added that consultation with police officers prior to the introduction of the technology could help inform the correct equipment selection. Ultimately, however, Oppal said:

> Incidents that are filmed enhance police investigations. I think some form of video taping a crime is better than nothing. When we prosecuted and filmed a pair of drunk drivers,

people saw themselves on camera staggering around and they pled guilty right away. It helps the cops.

While, as he noted, no cameras are accurate 100% of the time—be it cameras associated to citizen monitoring, or those worn by police, nevertheless, the added "tool in the toolbox" for operational police officers would be a welcome one. Oppal also stated that the discretion and flexibility that exist within the judicial system take into consideration the challenges associated with police work. Further, these mechanisms serve to produce a fair and lawful outcome for both the police and the general public.

4.5. Summary of Findings

Citizen monitoring of police is a relatively new phenomenon. The Rodney King incident in the early 1990s was, arguably, the first example of citizen monitoring, but the prevalence of widespread monitoring of police by citizens was not possible until the early 2000s. This study serves to illustrate some of the perceived effects citizen monitoring has on police officers. Through the interview process, participants described their perception of the challenges and impacts they experienced as a result of citizen monitoring.

First, the study found that while recruit entry training has taught newly hired officers to be aware of people watching them, the officers interviewed felt that they had not received adequate training to cope with citizen monitoring. Furthermore, several of the officers interviewed suggested that new recruits might have a naïve and romanticized view of policing, and thus, may not be aware of the recent concerns regarding accountability and liability that the career presents. Those interviewed also spoke about the discrepancies that exist between the legislation and reality. Comparisons were made, and the laws governing police officers were described as largely "black and white", while in reality, police work was said to be "grey".

Second, the study found that front line police work is complex, challenging and at times requires rapid decision-making. This is without the added dimension of citizen monitoring. Inherent in policing is the need to make split second decisions while under an extreme amount of physical and mental pressure. Policing's "new visibility" has resulted in officers interviewed

suggesting that the pressures today are far more intense than they may have been twenty years ago. Additionally, officers felt that the introduction of citizen monitoring most often serves to facilitate and perpetuate a negative perception of their activities. This has resulted in a "us versus them" sentiment that often exists between citizens and the police.

The impact citizen monitoring has on officers is threefold. First, citizen monitoring appears to contribute to officers using less justified force than is both required and necessary in a given situation. Second, citizen monitoring may also contribute to the "hesitation factor", which purports that officers hesitate when they should act. This hesitation contributes directly to an unsafe situation for the officers themselves, for the suspect, and for the individuals in the vicinity of the incident. Third, the study found that citizen monitoring may also contributes to officers embodying the FIDO effect. Essentially, officers feel a level of concern regarding citizen monitoring and the impact it can have on both their personal and professional lives. This concern can lead to officers failing to engage in situations where they have a legal and professional duty to intervene and apprehend criminals or preserve the peace.

Lastly, the study questioned the utility of body worn cameras, and found that the officers interviewed stood divided in their views of the technology. Some officers suggested that if citizens have the ability to film them and either intentionally or unintentionally misrepresent the footage, police departments should be proactive and therefore should film everything. Others stated that they felt a level of discomfort with the idea of having a working camera on them at all times. Despite the differing views that existed among the sample, all of the interviewees expressed the need for effective policy to be in place before the widespread adoption of the technology occurred.

The most important finding to take from the study is that officers feel various levels of impact from citizen surveillance. Before now, this impact was speculated; however, research had not corroborated this. The introduction of body worn cameras is, as one participant stated "a fait accomplis". Their introduction would certainly serve as a response to the negative side-effects of citizen monitoring be explored as well.

There are a number of issues with policing—some of which we've talked about. It can be a very challenging environment and I think it will be moving forward from the sense of the public' perception [of police]. It's the change that comes from the outside that tries to restrict what the police do. It's the almost crushing scrutiny, which can be frustrating at times. And [officers are] wondering 'how do you really get this job done when you have all this different stuff [to deal with]?' It makes for so many challenges that you start to question if it's worth it as a career path.

Participant 7

Chapter 5.   Conclusion

5.1.   Limitations

Citizen monitoring of police has received little academic attention. Despite being a valuable tool in this regard, this study has its limitations. Researchers engaged in interview based qualitative research typically conduct in-depth examinations of the experiences of a small number of participants. Thirteen police officers, and one retired Attorney General of British Columbia participated in this study making it a smaller than usual sample. The study was subject to time and budget constraints, and ideally, interviews would have been conducted with a greater number of police officers in the Lower Mainland, and as well as police officers across Canada. Because the officers interviewed all serve or served as police officers in the Lower Mainland, this likely explains why their perspectives on citizen monitoring are similar. Their experiences as police officers may differ from those of law enforcement officials in other parts of the nation, and therefore may not be representative of the experiences of the larger community of Canadian police officers.

The second limitation relates to the study's representativeness. In order to gain a balanced understanding of citizen monitoring in the Lower Mainland, officers from multiple agencies participated, including the RCMP (Burnaby and Surrey departments), the VPD, the NWPD, the PMPD, and the DPD. Within this distribution, consideration was given to the size of the various departments. For example, the VPD is a large agency, and as such, more VPD members were interviewed than PMPD members, the PMPD being comparatively small. Despite this, the sample cannot be considered entirely representative in part because members from all the agencies in the Lower Mainland were not interviewed. The agencies omitted from

the study include the West Vancouver Police Department (WVPD), the Abbotsford Police Department (APD), and the remaining Lower Mainland RCMP Detachments (i.e. Langley, Richmond, etc.). Furthermore, only one interviewee was a female officer. Although police agencies across the Lower Mainland make a concerted effort to recruit and hire female officers, males nonetheless occupy more positions within the force. According to Statistics Canada (2014), 22% of officers in British Columbia are female. In the present study, females account for 7.69% of the sample. The inclusion of a female participant in this study serves to produce a more complete understanding of officers' experiences with citizen monitoring; however, future studies on this topic should attempt to include a more representative number of female officers.

The third limitation relates to the fact that the study only examines officers' perceived impacts of citizen monitoring. Future research should attempt to interview a larger number of individuals involved in policing, individuals from specific sections (patrol, traffic) and officers from different areas of the country and in different levels of service, levels of rank in order to determine whether the themes explored in the present study are far reaching. Furthermore, this research could be extended to examine the experience of police officers in regions other than the Lower Mainland. An extended examination of the themes addressed herein would contribute to a better understanding of issues of the complexities related to citizen monitoring and police use of justified force.

5.2.   Implications

Citizen monitoring is a new phenomenon, and as such, it has been given little attention within academic circles. The possible implications of this new research are substantial. Most importantly, these findings are the first of their kind. Currently a jarring disconnect exists between police literature and the environments in which policing occurs. Although the topic of citizen monitoring is prevalent within mainstream media sources, an in-depth academic examination of the phenomenon has not taken place prior to this one.

5.2.1. Training that Considers Citizen Monitoring

Currently the use of force training that exists at Depot and at the Justice Institute of British Columbia does not examine the impact citizen monitoring has on front line officers, and in particular, novice officers. This study hopes to inspire change within the current training procedures, so that junior officers may be better prepared to cope with the ever-mounting public scrutiny they will be subjected to. The consideration of citizen monitoring in use of force training, could improve the application of police services, and the safety of front line officers and civilians alike.

The current use of force training programs act as the means by which newly recruited officers learn how to employ force tactics. The program is based on Force Options Theory, which is the foundation upon which all use of force, arrest, control, and officer safety training is built. The theory is based on the concept of control, and proposes that police officers routinely deal with violent subjects and violent situations. As such, it is the officers' role to control this behavior, to end violence, and to have the violators dealt with in accordance to the law (Fawcett, 2013; p. 1).

Although the current use of force training is both rigorous and thorough, according to participants, it does not adequately prepare officers to cope with policing's new visibility. Training should be expanded upon in order to consider the added stressors this new visibility result in. This may play out in the introduction of an increased number of training scenarios wherein actors are hired to imitate bystanders wielding cellular telephones, or it may result in different training initiatives. Regardless, the training changes should be developed by individuals within the department, such as use of force trainers, who have an intimate knowledge of operational policing, the training, and the stresses involved in that line of work. New training procedures targeting citizen monitoring should be developed through collaboration with junior officers, in order for senior level use of force trainers to adequately understand the stresses that exist currently in operational police work.

5.2.2. Educating the Public

Because the civilian population typically formulates its understanding of police and their functions through information provided by mainstream media, these findings have the potential to provide the general public with a more accurate understanding of operational police work. The officers interviewed repeatedly spoke of the public's impression of police work. They stated that the public makes assumptions regarding police work, despite having little to no knowledge and understanding of the profession. Often, the public sees video clips either posted on the Internet, or broadcasted by mainstream media that depict alleged police brutality, and subsequently make blanket assumptions about police work as a result.

While some of these video clips seen on the Internet or in mainstream media show instances of confirmed egregious use of force by police officers, many of them are, in fact, examples of justified use of force that have been misinterpreted or misrepresented by the public and/or the media. One of the study participants described an example of a police department in the United States who, in an effort to educate the public, introduced their own TV station:

> [The media] complete against each other in a very lucrative business. It's a dog eat dog world that the media operates in. You have the inner workings of TV versus print versus radio and now you throw in Twitter and social media and instant news, and then throw in people with blogs and online journalists. You're fighting all of that and competing with all of that to get the police department's message out. We don't have the luxury of having our own TV station. An interesting anecdote: the Milwaukee Police Department was having such a difficult time with the media putting out accurate and true stories that they developed their own TV station where they put on their own stories start to finish. We looked at that in *** as revolutionary. There's [sic] not many departments in *** who do that. In ***, there are a lot of parts, say press conferences, that are untold. We got questions like 'why didn't you say this, why didn't you answer that question' and you know, we would always say 'well we did say that'. What we did in *** and what they still do was they air press conferences from start to finish including all the reporters questions and these are archived on the department's website so anybody, anywhere in the world can click on it and see 'ok the police officer *did* say that', and you can hear when reporters are getting upset and if the police officer gets upset you'll here that too. (Participant 13)

While undoubtedly costly, an initiative such as the TV station the Milwaukee Police Department (MPD) developed, could serve to educate the public about the work police officers are required

to do, and further, would present the public with the entire story, as opposed to simply a presenting a snippet.

According to Engel and Smith (2009), police departments have historically been ineffective in their efforts to reduce the gap between the public and the police. Initiatives that aim to address this shortcoming, such as that of the MPD may not be possible to adopt in the Lower Mainland, however, different strategies can and should be developed to better inform the public. Another, and far more simplistic example of educating the public regarding the challenges of police work was discussed by the same participant:

> A few weeks ago, I was reading a story out of the US where there was an African American gentleman who was very critical of the police following a police shooting. The police did something brilliant— they offered to have the gentleman come and do use of force scenarios—I want to say it was in Arizona and they posted a video of it. They hooked up some Go Pros to the whole thing. This guy was initially very, very critical but they put him through a number of scenarios—like the ones we do at the Justice Institute and in Regina. Like, you have a suspicious guy hanging in the back of a car and responding to a 911 call of a suspicious person. What happened was the guy pretending to be a police officer approaches the suspect and says 'Hey, it's the police. Show me your hands.' The guy goes and turns away and walks away while the 'officer' goes to engage the person by getting closer. The guy turns around, pulls out a gun and shoots and kills him. *That quick.* They ran a number of scenarios and this guy ended up shooting a couple of suspects when they weren't armed with guns and it happened in the matter of seconds. You can train for these scenarios, but they still happen very, very quickly. (Participant 13)

Perhaps a realistic solution in terms of educating the public regarding the challenges of policing would lie in something as simple as bringing in some members of the press to participate in use of force training scenarios. Regardless, it is critical for police departments to the take preemptive and precautionary steps necessary to both bridge the gap between the public and the police, and further to the reduce the number of erroneous accounts of police use of force.

Front line officers are exactly that: they are the front line of the entire legal system. And they are the most scrutinized. It is important that these officers receive the support of their superiors and that they can do their jobs with the confidence that they are not acting as pawns, but are part of a team. Management can do a lot in terms of education and officer support.

5.3.   Future Research Directions

It is important that more in-depth research be conducted to better understand the impact citizen monitoring has on officers, and to develop strategies to mitigate the effects of this monitoring. There are several ways this phenomenon could be further explored.

First, the public's view of citizen monitoring of police could be examined in order to better understand the motivations and expectations that are behind it. To do this, a sample of the general civilian population could be surveyed to produce a baseline understanding of how citizen monitoring is viewed by the public. Members of the public could be asked to participate in a survey, assessing their attitudes towards the act of citizen monitoring and police use of justifiable force.

Second, a series of focus groups could be conducted with active front line police officers. Through the use of focus groups, access would be granted to the target sample collectively. Detailed discussions with the sample of front line police officers would provide insight into the thought process and decision-making involved in police work. Focus groups allow Primary Investigators to capitalize on the communication that takes place between research participants, which results in the generation of data. Instead of the Primary Investigator simply asking each participant a direct question, the individuals involved are expected and encouraged to talk to one another. As one police officer discusses his or her anecdotal experiences, other officers could be expected to interject with their own points of view and knowledge. Throughout the focus group process, the officers would have an opportunity to explore and clarify their views in ways that would be less easily accessible in a one-to-one interview setting.

Third, a large sample of officers from various police departments could be asked to participate in a survey. A survey would allow researchers to obtain responses from more individuals than this study has had the ability to. Further, the findings addressed in the present study could serve to frame the survey questions for a larger-scale quantitative study. A potential survey could be composed of approximately ten to fifteen questions, and would take the average respondent approximately five to seven minutes to complete. To ensure that the

respondents complete the survey, the questions would be concise and focused limiting potential frustration and the possibility of the survey being abandoned prior to its completion.

Fourth, citizen monitoring could be examined in terms of the differing ways it impacts officers based on their assignment of duty. Officers engaged in front line police work, and specifically those responding to emotionally charged events, typically receive the most complaints, and are required to deal with the most violence. Future research could examine whether officers engaged in highly emotional incidents are more or less likely to be impacted by citizen monitoring.

Fifth, despite the fact that Canada and the United States are neighbours, geographically speaking, their policing styles differ greatly. For example, officers employed in the United States are significantly more likely to discharge their firearms while on the job. Future research could examine the impact of citizen monitoring on operational police work in both the United States and in Canada, and comparisons between the two locales could be drawn.

Lastly, it is important to note that any research developing from the present study should consider citizen monitoring using an all-inclusive approach. That is, in addition to studying the perspectives of police officers, as is the case in this study, future studies should also focus on observing police officers. Observation would allow researchers to determine the impact this phenomenon has on police officers' behaviours. Through a holistic and well-rounded research approach, a fuller understanding of the phenomenon can be obtained.

In sum, this study has explored a new phenomenon, and has determined that citizen monitoring may influence and impact police work. The prevailing sentiment among the police officers interviewed was that of the increasing challenges associated with their line of work. Surveillance devices are part of daily life and the practice of citizen monitoring shows no sign of abating. How this is best addressed by police forces in a manner that maintains a supportive and safe workplace for officers is a very real concern. Police officers operate under difficult conditions and they must perform while being scrutinized. It seems that education and support are key, but further research is required to address what officers interviewed for this study indicate is an added stressor on the job.

Major changes in policing are imminent. Recent discussions at the 2015 Canadian Summit on Economics and Policing focused on the changing landscape of policing. Police personnel from agencies across Canada agreed that the increasing cost of police work is a reality, and further, that departments must consider funding new and costly technologies such as body worn cameras. In light of policing's new visibility, these technologies may be necessary, however, their utility cannot be determined before in-depth studies examining their use have occurred. The Report of the Special Committee to Review the Independent Investigations Office (2015) made several explicit recommendations, including the recommendation that "the provincial government aggressively pursue the stops necessary to implement the police use of body worn cameras, in consultation with police and non-police stakeholders" (p. 24). Given this recommendation, and the others posed in the report, it seems that further examination of citizen monitoring, its impacts, and the use of body worn camera as a means to mitigate the impacts be explored. The present research could serve as a platform whereby future studies examining the utility of body worn cameras could be based.

Policing has always been a difficult job, but according to officers, their work has become more difficult due to the impact of cameras, and it seems that considerable attention should be given to this fact. Police officers perform a critical service to the general public and for optimal execution of this service officers need to feel confident that unfair scrutiny will not impact negatively on their lives.

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Appendix A.

Informed Oral Consent

Verbal Consent:

The Effects of Citizen Surveillance on the Police: An Examination of Citizen Surveillance and Police Use of Justifiable Force

My name is Hilary Todd, and I am a Master's student at the School of Criminology at Simon Fraser University. I would like to ask you a few questions that will help us better understand the phenomenon of citizen surveillance and the impact it has on police officers' use of justified force. The information collected from this interview will be presented in my Master's Thesis, and potentially in other publications or presentations.

Participation in this project is voluntary, and you may choose to withdraw from it at any time with no fear of any sort of penalty. If at any time you decide to withdraw from this study, all data pertaining to you (audio recordings, transcripts, or notes) will be destroyed.

I guarantee confidentiality to all participants. I will change your name to a pseudonym and will take out indirect identifiers such as names of cities or any other identifying information at your request, from any papers, publications or presentations of this data.

Prior to any sort of publication, you will be given opportunity to read over and provide feedback about any portions of the research results relating to your interview. All feedback will be taken

seriously and will be addressed by the Primary Investigator. The final MA thesis will be sent to all participants upon completion.

Do you understand the information I have just outlined?

_____ *Respondent says yes*

_____ *Respondent says no*

Do you have any questions?

_____ *Respondent says yes*

_____ *Respondent says no*

Do I have your consent to conduct the interview?

_____ *Respondent says yes*

_____ *Respondent says no*

Appendix B.

Interview Guide

Interview Guide: The Effects of Citizen Surveillance on the Police: An Examination of Citizen Surveillance and Police Use of Justifiable Force

General questions about participants:

1. Tell me a bit about yourself.

   a. How are you involved or concerned with policing related issues?

General questions regarding front line police work:

1. How is front line police work different and/or challenging in comparison to other aspects of police work?

2. In what ways do police interactions with the general public shape your attitudes?

   a. *Probe:* Can you think of and explain a particular incident, or group of incidents that changed your attitude toward a particular element of police work?

Questions regarding the use of force in policing:

1. How would you describe the legislation and guidelines surrounding use of force in the police profession?

2. Do you think the legislation and guidelines adequately addresses the issues faced by front line police officers today?

   a. *Probe:* How so?

3. Provided you feel comfortable doing so, can you discuss an incident in which you were required to use force? (Question suitable for police officers only)

Questions regarding citizen surveillance:

1. What are your sentiments about the phenomenon of citizen surveillance?

    a. *Probe:* How do you feel when you know you are being watched while you work?

2. Do you feel current training procedures should be augmented to consider citizen surveillance?

    a. *Probe:* How so?

Questions regarding citizen surveillance and the use of force:

1. How do you feel citizen surveillance impacts your confidence as a police officer?

2. Do you feel your attitudes towards citizen surveillance impact the ways in which you use justified force?

    a. *Probe:* How so?

Questions regarding body-mounted cameras:

1. What impact do you feel body-mounted cameras used by police would have on police performance?

2. How do you feel body-mounted cameras would impact citizen surveillance of police?

3. Given the expense body-mounted cameras would incur on taxpayers, why or why not are body-mounted cameras feasible?

Additional questions:

1. Is there anything else you would like to add at this point?

Appendix C.

Participant Information Guide

SFU SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
School of Criminology

Dear Participant,

My name is Hilary Todd and I am a Master's student at the School of Criminology at Simon Fraser University. Dr. Rick Parent at Simon Fraser University is acting as my senior thesis supervisor.

Thank you for your interest in this study. The purpose of this study is to understand the impact citizen surveillance has on police officers' use of force. Furthermore, an assessment will take place which will examine whether or not body mounted cameras would serve as a means by which to mitigate this impact. The study is expected to have positive implications for members of the police force, and for the citizen body in general. Currently little, if any academic literature exists on this topic despite the fact that discussion of the issue permeates mainstream media.

The present study will consist of data collected through an in-depth interview process with individuals involved, either directly or indirectly with the phenomenon of citizen surveillance of police. While the majority of the interviewees will be police officers from various jurisdictions in the Lower Mainland, interviews will also be conducted with civil libertarians and police use of force trainers. The information collected from this interview will be presented in my Master's Thesis, and potentially in other publications or presentations.

Participation in this project is voluntary, and you may choose to withdraw from it at any time with no fear of any sort of penalty. If at any time you decide to withdraw from this study, all data

pertaining to you (audio recordings, transcripts, or notes) will be destroyed. Please note that I have not gone, and will not be going through official channels at your department/organization to seek permission for your participation in the study. Instead, I am approaching you independently. Because I will be using pseudonyms and leaving out any identifying information from the study, there is no risk associated with your participation in the study. Furthermore, if you have any complaints about your involvement with this project, you can bring these complaints to Dr. Jeff Toward of the Director Of The Office of Research Ethics at Simon Fraser University ███████████████████████

I guarantee confidentiality to all participants who would like it. Some participants would like their name attached to their story and would like to be recognized in any papers or presentations for their contribution to this project – if this is the case, I will honor and respect your choice, and include your name in any papers, publications, or presentations that come as a result of the data collected from your interview. However, I also realize that some participants would rather not have their name included in any papers, publications, or presentations that come from this data. If this is the case, I will change your name to a pseudonym and will take out indirect identifiers such as names of cities or any other identifying information at your request, from any papers, publications or presentations of this data. When the interview takes place, I will ask you what your preference is in regards to confidentiality.

Prior to any sort of publication, you will be given opportunity to read over and provide feedback about any portions of the research results relating to your interview. All feedback will be taken seriously and will be addressed by the Primary Investigator. The final MA thesis will be sent to all participants upon completion.

I would like to conduct interviews in person, and, as such, I encourage you to think of a relatively quiet area where you would feel comfortable speaking of issues that may be private in nature. Although a follow-up interview may be requested, you are not required to participate in one.

Interviews will be audio-recorded and transcribed. An audio-recorder will be turned on and recording as soon as you answer the phone for the interview, but will be turned off at any time at

your request, and audio-recordings will be deleted if you request. During the transcription process pseudonyms will be given (if requested) and indirect identifiers will be removed (if requested), meaning that transcriptions will not have any identifying information in them (if confidentiality is requested). Audio-recordings will be transcribed within four weeks of the interview taking place, and after Dr. Rick Parent has verified the transcriptions, the audio recordings will be destroyed. Interview transcripts (both anonymized and non-anonymized ones) will be kept by the Primary Investigator to provide room for future projects with the data, unless you request the transcript be destroyed. If this is the case, it will be destroyed within 30 days of the Primary Investigator's MA thesis defense.

Before the interview begins, I will ask you if you have any questions about confidentiality or the study in general, and will ask again if you consent to take part in this study.

Questions about the study can be directed to myself, or to my supervisor, Dr. Rick Parent ███████████ This project has been granted ethics approval through Simon Fraser University (more on the university ethical guidelines can be found at http://www.sfu.ca/policies/gazette/research/r20-01.html).

Thank you,

Hilary Ellen Marta Todd

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Appendix D.

Application for Ethics Review: Study Details

Project Title: The Effects of Citizen Surveillance on the Police: An Examination of Citizen Surveillance and Police Use of Justifiable Force

Principal Investigator: Hilary Todd, Master's student at the School of Criminology

Senior Supervisor: Rick Parent, Ph.D.; Professor; School of Criminology

Study Background and Purpose

Citizen surveillance of police officers is an area of increasing importance in law enforcement research. The most powerful weapon against police misconduct is rapidly becoming the cell phone and other hand held photography and videography devices. The practice of recording the police conducting their work either properly or improperly and subsequently uploading the footage onto the Internet has had marked effects on members of the force. Officers acting inappropriately have been suspended, dismissed and exposed to intense public scrutiny as a result of citizen surveillance. Recent anecdotal information suggests officers, particularly new recruits, are profoundly impacted by impromptu surveillance. Due to the increasing visibility of police, it is important to consider the role this surveillance has on officers and how it subsequently plays out in terms of society's reaction to crime. This reaction is an imperative component in the perpetuation and intensification of criminality and delinquency.

The proposed study will measure the impact civilian surveillance has on the attitudes of front-line police officers. The study will address whether front line officers are less likely to use necessary and legitimate force when faced with the possibility of being subject to citizen surveillance. Surveillance is known to have a significant impact on individuals and their resulting actions (Campbell and Carlson, 2002); however, the impact of surveillance on the police population has not yet been examined. Because of this apparent lack of research in this increasingly relevant issue, the proposed study will seek to answer the questions: "What impact does citizen surveillance have on police use of force, and would body mounted cameras serve as a means by which to mitigate this impact?" Based on studies detailing the profound ways in which human behaviour is altered in response to surveillance (Campbell and Carlson, 2002; Snyder and Gangestad, 2000) it is anticipated that police will encounter similar experiences. It is hypothesized that police officers will describe feeling apprehensive about using justifiable force due to increasing citizen surveillance.

Research studying police use of force is continually being produced. Similarly, research examining surveillance in general is prevalent. Despite this, there have not been studies done that discuss the impact these issues have on one another. It is likely that, were there a better understanding of the effects of citizen surveillance of police within

police circles, policy changes, including widespread changes to the current training procedures would be made.

Participant Role and Research Procedures

Participant Characteristics

All participants in the proposed study will be adults, 19 years of age and older.

Participants in this research project will be police officers from jurisdictions in British Columbia, civil libertarians, and police use of force trainers. The police officers interviewed will be employed by agencies including, but not limited to:

- The Royal Canadian Mounted Police

- The Vancouver Police Department

- The Delta Police Department

- The New West Minister Police Department

- The West Vancouver Police Department

- The Abbotsford Police Department

- The Port Moody Police Department

Furthermore, it is likely that the civil libertarians interviewed will include members from associations including, but not limited to:

- The British Columbia Civil Liberties Association

- Pivot Legal Society

Lastly, it is likely that the use of force trainers interviewed will be employed by organizations including, but not limited to:

- The RCMP Pacific Regional Training Centre

- The Justice Institute of British Columbia

It is important to note that permission to conduct interviews at the aforementioned agencies has not been granted. Participants will be told that approval from their respective organizations/ departments has not been obtained. The participants will be recruited and approached independently. The Primary Investigator will compensate for this by using pseudonyms and further, by not including the names of their police departments and cities in the study. Essentially, all identifying information will be removed from the study. Furthermore, this information will be clearly outlined in the informed consent handout.

By interviewing individuals who are involved either directly or indirectly in the field of policing, the Primary Investigator hopes to gain a balanced understanding of the implications of citizen surveillance. Access to these individuals will be largely gained through both the Primary Investigator's personal connections, and through the connections of Dr. Rick Parent, who, as a veteran of the police force, has numerous interested individuals willing to participate in the study.

Recruitment and Research Methodology

Due to the high level of in-group solidarity among police officers, the identification of a large sample from which to select respondents is an unreasonable expectation. For the purpose of this proposed study, opportunity sampling will be employed. Opportunity sampling is a form of non-probability sampling in which respondents are drawn from a population conveniently located. Approximately two to four civil libertarians with noted positive or negative ties to policing will be approached and asked to participate in the study. Approximately two to four RCMP and two to four municipal use-of-force trainers will be interviewed. Furthermore, through various connections, four police officers from various municipalities will be interviewed. From there, a snowball sampling approach will be employed, wherein the four police officers interviewed will recommend four additional officers for interviewing, and so on, until a total of approximately twenty to twenty-five interviews with police officers have been conducted.

Because the Primary Investigator will employ methods related to third party recruitment, the interviewees will be informed that they should not provide the researcher with their recommended interview subjects' contact information until those subjects have provided the initial interviewer with their consent. This consent can take the form of oral confirmation, written confirmation, and further, emailed confirmation. Once consent is granted from the recommended interview subjects, the Primary Investigator will obtain their contact information and initiate the interview process.

After the project has received ethics approval, the prospective interviewees will be contacted via e-mail by the Primary Investigator and will be provided with an information sheet (see appendix A). Once the prospective participants have had the opportunity to read the information sheet and agree to participate, an interview will be scheduled. As aforementioned, the interviews will include two to four civil libertarians, two to four RCMP use-of-force trainers, two to four municipal use-of-force trainers, and twenty to twenty-five police officers. Because of this, there will be between twenty-six and thirty-seven

participants interviewed in total. Justification for this number of participants is premised on the time constraints that exist, and on the fact that the Primary Investigator wishes to interview more police officers than other respondents. There will be no offer made for reimbursement for participation in the study.

The Primary Investigator will conduct in-depth semi-structured interviews that are expected to last between forty-five minutes and an hour and a half. Interviews will be conducted in person, and will be recorded. The interviewee will be assured that, while the interviews will be recorded, the recordings themselves will be confidential. Interviews will be audio-recorded with the participants' consent (see Informed Consent section). Additionally, written notes may be taken in a research journal throughout the interview. It is critical to mention that these notes will only be taken with the consent of the participants. For details regarding storage and destruction of audio-recordings, and transcription procedures refer to the Confidentiality section.

Open-ended questions will be posed in order to gain a general understanding of the participants' experience with, and understanding of, policing issues, the impact citizen surveillance has on the profession, and further, the positive and/or negative consequences technologies such as body-mounted cameras may have for patrol officers. Conducting a semi-structured interview leaves room for probing questions to be asked if a participant discusses something that the Primary Investigator would like to explore more in-depth. For a sample of interview questions, please see Appendix B. Participants will be made aware that follow-up interviews may be requested.

Interviews will begin once the SFU Research Ethics Board has granted approval. The interview period is projected to conclude at the end of October 2014, leaving enough time for follow-up interviews if necessary.

Informed Consent

For the purpose of the proposed project, the Primary Investigator intends to obtain oral informed consent from the participants. Because the study will be qualitative in nature, oral informed consent has been elected over written informed consent. In order to avoid a situation with an unnecessary emphasis on legality, and further, in order to secure and uphold trust and rapport with the participants, the Primary Investigator will opt to avoid obtaining written informed consent. Additionally, receiving written consent jeopardizes confidentiality through the creation of a written record of the participants' names. While the study cannot guarantee full anonymity due to the fact that the interviews will be recorded, and are, as such, considered identifiable by the REB, the Primary Investigator will ensure that any identifiable information included in the recordings by the interviewee be struck from the record. In order to do this, the Primary Investigator will anonymize any identifiable information recorded in the interview process.

Furthermore, although the interviews will be recorded and stored before they are transcribed, each interview will be labeled with a unique pseudonym that will be used throughout the study. Interview subjects will be given the opportunity to select their own

pseudonym. If they opt not to select their own pseudonym, they will be provided with one by the Primary Investigator.

Prior to the interview starting, the Primary Investigator will inform the interviewee that once the recording process has started, neither parties involved will refer to the interviewee directly by name. The intent here is to avoid any instances of the interviewee's name being included in the recording. Should this occur by accident, the Primary Investigator will ensure, as previously noted, that identifying information in the recording be replaced with a pseudonym in the transcript. The act of avoiding reference to the interviewee's name during the interview process is simply an extra precaution, and should ensure that the interviewee feels as confident about the process as is possible. For further information on the maintenance of confidentiality within this study please refer to the Confidentiality Section.

Consent will be premised on the fact that the participants are told clearly that the purpose of the study is to satisfy the requirements of the Primary Investigator's Master's thesis. In order to provide informed consent, respondents must have adequate reasoning faculties and be in possession of all relevant facts at the time consent is given. This is not a given, and thus, the Primary Investigator will consider this issue at the point when the participants' informed consent is requested. The interviewees will also be told that, while further presentations of the material are possible, consent will be obtained again if and when the situation arises. Participants will be asked if they wish to be provided with both the information sheet and the consent script.

Oral informed consent will be achieved after allowing the prospective participants to read an information sheet (see appendix A). Prior to start of the interview, the Primary Investigator will ask the participant if he or she has read the information sheet and if any questions about the research have presented themselves to the interviewee. The participants will also be asked how they would like confidentiality to be maintained (see Confidentiality section). Finally, they will be asked directly if they consent to take part in the study. The key points from the information sheet (Appendix A) that will be emphasized are:

- The Primary Investigator is a Master's student, and Dr. Rick Parent is the senior supervisor on this project.

- The topic of the study and what the purpose is of the Master's Thesis.

- Participation is voluntary and participants may withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason and without fear of any negative impact from the Primary Investigator.

- In the event that the participant chooses to withdraw from the study, all information (recordings, transcripts, etc.) relating to them will be immediately destroyed.

- The interview is expected to last between 45 minutes to 1.5 hours, with the possibility of a follow-up interview if necessary.

- If a follow-up interview is requested they have the right to say no, and are not required to say yes.

- Confidentiality and preferences related to anonymity and indirect identifiers.

- Consent regarding audio-recording the interview and transcription of audio-recordings.

- The interviews will be used for the Primary Investigator's Master's thesis and any related journal articles or book publications, and conference presentations.

- The project has been approved (assumed by this point) by the SFU Research Ethics Board. This Board aims to protect the rights of human research participants.

- Questions can be directed to the Primary Investigator, or to Dr. Rick Parent.

- Concerns or complaints regarding any part of the research process can be directed to the Director of the Office of Research Ethics, Dr. Jeff Toward.

- Prior to any sort of publication, participants will be given opportunity to read over and provide feedback about any portions of the research results relating to their interview. All feedback from participants will be taken seriously and consequently addressed by the Primary Investigator.

- Upon completion, the final MA thesis will be sent to all participants.

A recording device will begin recording as soon as the interview starts. Participants will be made aware of this in the information sheet sent out (Appendix A). This is to ensure that when the Primary Investigator asks if they consent to take part in the study, there will be a verbal record that consent has been given.

While it is anticipated that the interviewees will want to remain anonymous, they will each be given an opportunity to determine how the research can be orchestrated in order for them to feel most comfortable. The individuals taking part in the study will be notified that, if they wish, their identity will be safeguarded, and further, that a pseudonym will be used if direct quotes appear in text. Because preserving a professional and trusting relationship with the interviewees is important to the Primary Investigator, and because it is possible that the interviewees would not participate if their identity were not kept confidential, utmost confidentiality will be maintained.

The participants will be made aware that if, at any point during the interview, they say something and then decide they wish to retract the statement, it will not be included in the transcription. If they indicate a preference to use their real name, this will be respected. Finally, participants will be asked if they consent to being audio-recorded. If they do not consent to be recorded, the Primary Investigator will only take hand-written notes, and will immediately turn off the audio-recorder. If they do not consent to being audio-recorded, the Primary Investigator will remind them that their consent to take part in the study has been recorded. The participant will be asked whether or not they would like this recording to be deleted. If the participant indicates that they would like it to be deleted, the Primary Investigator will immediately delete the audio-recording file, and a note with the date and time will be made in a research journal indicating that the participant consented to take part in the study. If they consent to be recorded, the interview will proceed as planned.

Before the interview questions are posed, the participant will be asked if they have any further questions about the Primary Investigator or about the project. Questions will be answered until the participant is satisfied and has nothing further to ask. Once all questions have been addressed, and it has been established that the participant has read through the information sheet, all interviews will start with the Primary Investigator asking the participant, "do you consent to take part in this study?" Should the interviewee choose not to consent, the process will end there. If they consent to the interview, the interview will proceed, and their oral consent will be noted in the written transcript of the interview. In the event that the participant chooses to withdraw from the study during the course of the interview, the interview will be immediately terminated and the audio recording will be erased.

Confidentiality

The identities of all individuals involved in the study will be kept confidential. The individuals taking part in the study will be notified that their identity will be safeguarded, and further, that a pseudonym will be used if direct quotes appear in text. Because preserving a professional and trusting relationship with the interviewees is important to the Primary Investigator, and because it is possible that the interviewees would not participate if their identity were not kept confidential, utmost confidentiality will be maintained.

Indirect identifiers such as the city where they live, which police force they are employed by, and/or which officers they are responsible for training will be removed from the transcript of the interview unless otherwise indicated during the consent conversation. To safeguard third parties, names mentioned by the participant during the interview will be changed or removed from the transcripts and notes.

If participants give permission to be recorded, interviews will be recorded using a digital voice recording application on the Primary Investigator's personal computer. The interviewee will be assured that, while the interviews will be recorded, the recordings themselves will be confidential. The recordings and transcriptions will be kept in

separate, and secure locations, and will not be labeled with any identifying information. Immediately after each separate interview is complete, the audio recording will be saved to an encrypted USB. The Primary Investigator will ensure that the interviews will at no point be saved onto the computer itself.

Within four weeks of the interview itself, the recordings will be transcribed. During this transcription process the data will be anonymized. If the participant indicates a preference for anonymity and/or to remove indirect identifiers, names will never be recorded in the transcription. Once the recordings have been transcribed by the Primary Investigator, and Dr. Rick Parent has verified the transcriptions, the audio recordings will be destroyed. Dr. Rick Parent and the Primary Investigator will be the only ones with access to the original audio recordings prior to their destruction.

All interview transcripts will be anonymized and will be kept by the Primary Investigator after the research project has ended. They will be stored on an encrypted USB in a locked container in the PI's home. This is to allow opportunity for the data to be revisited should follow-up research be conducted in this field, including future projects and studies with the data. Participants will be made aware of this.

Dissemination of Results

Participants will be given the opportunity to review the portion of research results pertaining to their interview prior to MA thesis submission or any publications involving data from their interview. They will be encouraged to provide feedback regarding the information pertaining to their interview in order to ensure accuracy and satisfaction with the results. All feedback will be taken seriously and addressed accordingly until the participant is satisfied with the changes.

The MA thesis will be sent to all of the participants upon completion.

Risk/Benefit Analysis

Potential Risks

Risk to participants is minimal. As stated in the Confidentiality section, the individuals participating in the study will be guaranteed full confidentiality. Due to the fact that the information the participants provide the Primary Investigator will not pertain to illegal activity, they will be faced with little or no risk as a result of their involvement.

Because it is likely that participants will be asked to relay information that may be sensitive to them, the Primary Investigator will be mindful and attentive to the participants' needs. Furthermore, the interviewees will be routinely asked whether or not they wish to take a break and the Primary Investigator will respect their decisions not to answer certain questions. Additional safeguards, including restricting the age of participation to 19 years or older, will be put into place.

Demographic information will be collected, including age, gender, and geographic location such as state or province, vocation. This information will be used for descriptive purposes and to track sample variation. The reason for tracking geographic information will be to see if there are differences in experiences by location.

There will be no risk to third parties, as specific references to names of people will be removed from the transcripts during the transcription process.

There will be no risk to the Primary Investigator. Interviews will be conducted in person in a private, and secure location, that has been confirmed by both parties involved in the interview process.

Based on the aforementioned considerations, this project can be classified as minimal-risk due to the fact that the possible harms to the participants are no greater than what this group of participants is likely to experience in their everyday life, in accordance with SFU's ethics policy R 20.01. Any potential risks will be mitigated by the procedures set out above.

Potential Benefits

While the project is currently merely a proposal, and thus, in its infant stages, the possible implications of the study are substantial. First, and most importantly, whatever the outcome of the study, its findings will be the first of their kind. Currently a jarring disconnect exists between police literature and the environments in which policing occurs. Although the topic of citizen surveillance is prevalent within mainstream media sources, an academic examination of the phenomenon has not yet taken place. Second, current police use of force training models do not examine the impact citizen surveillance has on front line officers, and in particular, novice officers. This study would likely produce several recommendations for change within the current use-of-force training model. These proposed changes would serve to improve the application of police services, and the safety of front line officers. Third, because the civilian population typically formulates its understanding of police and their functions through information provided by mainstream media, the proposed research has the potential to provide the general public with a more accurate understanding.

References Cited

Campbell, John Edward, and Matt Carlson. (2002). Panopticon.com: Online Surveillance and the Commodification of Privacy. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media.* 46(4): 586-606.

Snyder, M. & Gangestad, S. (2000). Self-monitoring: Appraisal and reappraisal. *Psychological Bulletin*, 126(4), 530–55.

Appendix E.

National Use of Force Framework (NUFF)

National Use of Force Framework
Le cadre national de l'emploi de la force
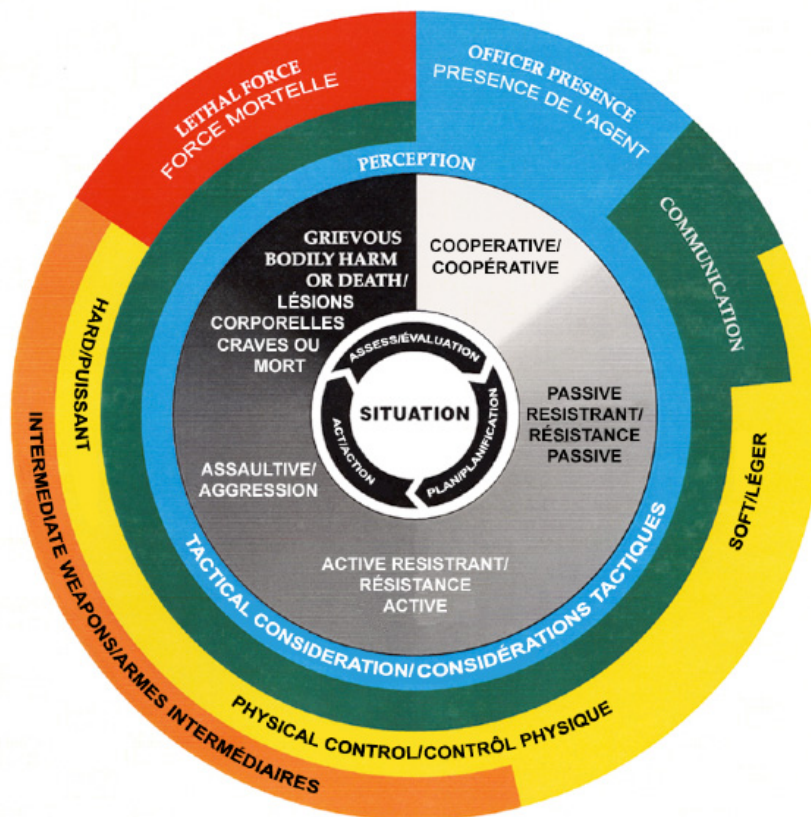
The officer continuously assesses the situation and acts in a reasonable manner to ensure officer and public safety.

L'agent doit continuellement évaluer la situation et agir de manière raisonnable afin d'assurer sa propre sécurité et celle du public.

Appendix F.

RCMP Incident Management Intervention Model (IMIM)