"They don't have a platform here":
Exploring Police Perceptions of the Black Lives
Matter Movement in Canada

by

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Abstract

Recent high-profile lethal use of force incidents in the United States involving White police officers and Black males have cast unfavorable international attention on the policing profession. Research indicates that Black people are disproportionately represented at all levels of the criminal justice system within Canada and the United States; their relationship with the police in particular has been adverse throughout history (Warde, 2012; Kahn & Martin, 2016). The current qualitative analysis explored the thoughts, perceptions and experiences of municipal police officers in the GVR and examined the following research questions: (1) To what degree, if any, has the recent BLM movement affected municipal policing in the GVR? and; (2) What can municipal policing agencies in the Vancouver area do to distance themselves from the BLM movement and anti-police rhetoric that is occurring in many parts of the United States? The BLM movement is present in Canada, but the anti-police rhetoric currently spreading throughout the United States is not. Officers described a positive relationship with community members in the GVR further stating that interactions between themselves and the community have not changed since the emergence of the BLM movement. These findings indicate that the BLM movement is not a "one-size fits all" movement. The overall positive nature of community-police relations in this region exist regardless of the community's exposure to an increase in controversial police behaviour.

Keywords: police use of force; Black Lives Matter; community policing; social movement platform; police accountability

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List of Acronyms

SFU   Simon Fraser University

SMO   Senior Management Officer

FLO   Front Line Officer

BLM   Black Lives Matter

GVR   Greater Vancouver Region

Chapter 1.

Introduction

Police in Canada have been watching tense situations unfold in the United States. Recent high-profile, lethal use of force incidents in the United States has cast unfavorable international attention on police forces. In the United States, since approximately 2013, there have been many cases where a White police officer has shot and killed an unarmed Black man. Several of these cases have been caught on video and released to the public, intensifying scrutiny and outrage. Often, there did not appear to be a justifiable cause for the officer to discharge their firearm, which has led people to believe that these police officers were discriminating against Black people.

The public became frustrated when the police officers involved in some of these shootings were not held accountable. Officers would often be charged but not convicted, and later free to continue working as a police officer. People, especially those within the Black community, became discouraged when they typically saw case after case dismissed without repercussions or change. Communities' frustration grew, and protests, which often turned violent, erupted throughout much of the United States, resulting in situations where Black people again clashed with the police. These tensions and perceived lack of police accountability have resulted in anti-police rhetoric and vigilantism.

The injustices felt by the Black community in the United States gave rise to the social movement known as Black Lives Matter (BLM). According to their webpage,

> BLM is a chapter-based national organization working for the validity of Black life. [Their intent is to broaden] the conversation around state violence to include all of the ways in which Black people are intentionally left powerless at the hands of the state [and to bring attention to the way] Black lives are deprived on basic human rights and dignity (Black Lives Matter: About the Black Lives Matter Network; blacklivesmatter.com).

They have organized protests, sit-ins, interviews, presentations, and speeches in order to bring attention to the unfavorable conditions in which Black people are living (Black Lives Matter, 2017b). BLM has evolved into a resistance movement that

incorporates an international network of Black people dedicated to Black liberation within the social, economic and political spheres (Black Lives Matter, 2017b). They believe that these recent use of force incidents are the consequence of centuries of systemic racism and oppression that Black people have experienced for years in the United States, and they are actively calling for change (Black Lives Matter, 2017b).

The racial conflict between police and their communities has garnered negative international attention and led to travel advisories for those intending to visit the United States. For example, Germany warned its citizens of "political demonstrations and the increased danger of politically motivated violence in the United States" and the Bahamas "advised its young male citizens traveling to the United States to be especially cautious when interacting with police" (Vora, 2017). The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) has also issued a high-profile advisory for African Americans: "the first statewide travel advisory ever issued by the organization, […] urging African Americans to avoid the state of Missouri, citing discriminatory laws and practices" (Bromwich, 2017).

Neighbouring Canadian police agencies have not faced backlash, nor has the history of their political purpose been questioned to the extent policing has in the United States. It is important to understand the facts surrounding policing in Canada and why Canadian police do not elicit similar reactions from their communities the way their American counterparts have. Additionally, Canadian police agencies must be reflective in determining how their community policing strategies have contributed to community relations amidst the BLM movement as a preventative measure.

This study focused on Canadian police work with an emphasis on community relations. It provides insight into how events that take place in the United States can have an effect on Canadian attitudes and community policing practices in a specific geographical region. This study will raise awareness and build upon the literature surrounding connections between international events and the effect on local Canadian communities. The findings of this study have the potential to encourage community engagement to sustain and maintain confidence in Canadian police work, re-establish the significance of police accountability and contribute to the enhancement of community policing strategies.

Chapter 2.

Literature Review

2.1. General Context

2.1.1. The emergence of the BLM in the United States

Black Lives Matter is a social movement, or "ideological and political intervention," that has garnered international awareness due to the attention brought to community-police relations, in particular, police relations with the Black community (Black Lives Matter, 2017a, "The Creation of a Movement"). The BLM movement can be categorized as "social activism" which is also referred to as "civic engagement" (Ahern & Hendryx, 2008), "political participation" (Schuussman & Soule, 2005), and "citizen participation" (Ohmer, 2007). Regardless of which term is used, all are associated with "the idea of [a] voluntary effort of individuals and/or groups in bringing about social change that is generally independent of any particular political party; in fact, it is often a symptom of disillusionment with traditional party politics" (Postle, Wright, & Beresford, 2005, as cited in Fox & Quinn, 2012, p.3).

The BLM movement originated in 2013 after a Florida murder case resulted in the acquittal of the perpetrator (Black Lives Matter, 2017b). Trayvon Martin was a 17-year-old African American male who was shot and killed by George Zimmerman, a volunteer for the local neighborhood watch (McKnight, 2012). Zimmerman spotted Martin and called 911 to inform them of a suspicious person and began to follow Martin despite the dispatcher's instructions against it (McKnight, 2012). Zimmerman shot and killed Martin when their confrontation turned physical and was later acquitted for Martin's death (McKnight, 2012). This event served as the catalyst that sparked the BLM movement because to many in the African American community, it meant that Black life was not valued.

This movement gained momentum after a series of White police officers fatally shot unarmed[1] African American men and often were acquitted of the killings. Public sentiment grew uneasy after each 'not guilty' verdict as it served to validate their belief that Black lives did not matter. The release of a video recording of the death of Eric Garner was one of the first cases to spark widespread unrest. Garner, a black male, was killed by a New York Police Department (NYPD) officer on July 17, 2014 (Baker, Goodman, & Mueller, 2015). Garner was put in a chokehold, and after repeatedly informing officers that he could not breathe, died on the sidewalk (Baker et al., 2015). The grand jury decided against charging the officers involved in Garner's death. Due to the media attention this incident received, Garner's death is noted as the beginning of a string of deaths of Black men by White police officers who were not legally held accountable. These cases include, but are not limited to the fatal police shootings of, Michael Brown, Walter Scott, Freddie Gray, Alton Sterling, Philando Castille and Terrance Crutcher.

These, and other high-profile cases, served as a catalyst for the BLM movement as many of the officers were not convicted. In some cases, their employment with the police agency was terminated which indicated an understanding of wrong-doing. The Black community in the United States have cited these incidents as examples of how their community remains oppressed in modern society (Black Lives Matter, 2017a). The BLM movement is arguably the largest Black liberation movement since Martin Luther King's Civil Rights Movement and the emergence of the Black Panther Party in the 1960s. The BLM movement is similar in the sense that they are fighting "for a world where Black lives are no longer systematically and intentionally targeted for demise" (Black Lives Matter, 2017b, "About the Black Lives Matter Network").

The founders of the BLM movement would like their efforts for change to encompass more than these fatal shootings by broadly addressing the oppression African Americans still face, as well as "rebuild[ing] the Black liberation movement" to include those marginalized within previous Black liberation movements (Black Lives Matter, 2017b., "About the Black Lives Matter Network"). In keeping with the goals of the BLM movement, research on the motivation behind engaging in social activism include,

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[1] The BLM movement also acknowledges Black men fatally shot by police who were legally armed through state conceal and carry laws, such as Alton Sterling and Philando Castile who, based on video footage were not the aggressors when killed by police.

generativity (Adler, Schwartz, & Kuskowski, 2007), a sense of disillusionment with the mainstream political process (Postle et al., 2005), and supporting a group that is experiencing perceived injustice (Klandermans, 1997). Additionally, the occupations associated with attempting to achieve social change may be time-consuming, unpopular and illegal (Wiltfang & McAdam, 1991, as cited in Foxx & Quinn, 2012). In terms of Black activism, a positive correlation was found between increased levels of racial discrimination and engagement in activism (Szymanski, 2012). Within this context, it is necessary to discuss historical tensions faced by the Black population in the United States in order to understand the emergence of the BLM movement.

2.2. Historical Context

Slavery was abolished in 1865, but decades later, Martin Luther King (MLK) still had to fight for racial integration in the Southern United States as well as for substantive economic equality and demilitarization (Roberts, Roberts, O'Neill, Blake-Beard, 2008; Fleming, 2011). King's movement fought to end discriminatory laws and shift social norms that prevented the African American communities from prospering (Roberts et al., 2008). King is most remembered for contributing to the passing of the *Civil Rights Act of 1964*, and the *Voting Rights Act of 1965* (Fleming, 2011; Nimtz, 2016).

By 1966, some perceived the Civil Rights Movement to be ineffective in advancing the rights of African Americans, which ultimately led to the creation of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defence (BPP) by Bobby Seale and Huey Newton (Roman, 2016; Stastny & Orr, 2014; Pope & Flangian, 2013; Gatchet & Cloud, 2012). The BPP's goals were not only to fight for human rights, but also to put an end to the disparities that were unaddressed by the Civil Rights Movement such as police brutality, poverty, and unequal access to housing, education, health care, and employment (Roman, 2016; Pope & Flanigan, 2013; Austin, 2006). The BPP adopted a militant rhetoric as an effective means of achieving their goals and armed themselves in response to the violent police harassment faced by the African American community (Gatchet & Cloud, 2012; Singh, 2004; Worgs, 2006; Bloom & Martin, 2013; Pope & Flanigan, 2013; Roman, 2016). As Austin (2006) notes, "[p]olice brutality, lack of opportunity, and the realization that opportunity was not forthcoming in the near future led many Blacks to conclude that armed self-defence coupled with self-help was the only way to end the despair" (p. 69).

Many members of the BPP had served during the Vietnam war and trained their recruits in weapons, combat drills, and warfare propaganda, as well as how to handle armed confrontations with police ((Roman, 2016; Jeffries & Nissim-Sabat, 2007; Jones & Jeffries, 1998). BPP members would police the police by conducting armed patrols of neighborhoods and pulling over whenever they encountered a police interaction with a member of the Black community (Pope & Flanigan, 2013; Gatchet & Cloud, 2012). The BPP's use of intimidation tactics were allowed within their constitutional right to bear arms; they would stand at a legal distance with their weapons and watch the police to ensure that the officers did not engage in violence or brutality (Roman, 2016; Pope & Flanigan, 2013; Stastny & Orr, 2014; Gatchet & Cloud, 2012).

At times the BPP would engage in violence against the police, employing tactics condemned by MLK, such as shoot-outs or the use of explosives (Roman, 2016; Pope & Flanigan, 2013; Stastny & Orr, 2014; Gatchet & Cloud, 2012). Due to this violent resistance, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) initiated a Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO) aimed at "disrupt[ing], discredit[ing], and destroy[ing]" the BPP (Roman, 2016, p.20; see also Brame & Shriver, 2013; Jones, 1988). The FBI used tactics to isolate and vilify the BPP, such as recruitment of Black informants to infiltrate and feed intelligence to the agency and attempts to turn BPP members against each other by fabricating affairs between wives and high-profile members (Roman, 2016; Brame & Shriver, 2013). The FBI classified the BPP as a "Black Nationalist Hate Group" (Roman, 2016, p. 20) and, the director of the FBI, J. Edgar Hoover, publicly declared the group "the greatest threat to the internal security of the country" (Roman, 2016, p.20; Brame & Shriver, 2013).

2.3. Theoretical Context

2.3.1. Conflict Theory

Conflict theory posits that limited resources strain society and increase tensions that serve to create conflict between the powerful and powerless (Fisher, Offsson, & Wada, 2013; McCarty, Ren, & Zhao, 2012; Holmes, Smith, & Freng, 2008). Conflict theory scholars argue that social order is upheld by the domination of one group instead of true democracy (McCarty et al., 2012). In other words, those in positions of power use political, legal and ideological coercion to maintain their interests above others (McCarty

et al., 2012; Holmes et al., 2008). Conflict theory broadly examines the conflict between classes within the contexts of multiple social phenomena, including wealth, poverty, capitalism, and discrimination (McCarty et al., 2012; Fisher et al., 2013). Within the conflict theory framework, people in power control the large divide between economic and social capital. Those in power use legal and socioeconomic systems to maintain the divide between themselves and the powerless.

Marx studied class conflict and oppression within an economic context. This context has been adapted and applied within criminology to study conflict between classes as determined through the legal system, law enforcement, and criminalization. Conflict theory framework applied to the emergence of the BLM movement demonstrates that Black people remain oppressed by legal and criminal justice systems, through factors such as mass incarceration, racial profiling, and the failure to punish White police officers who shoot and kill unarmed Black men. This suggests that not holding White people accountable for injustices committed upon Black people today are synonymous with the lynching, burnings, and beatings of the Civil Rights Era.

A strand of conflict theory relative to the BLM movement that pertains to race are the crime control tactics employed by the powerful White community to supress the powerless Black community. These tactics focus on controlling the perceived threat that minority groups pose to the majority group through law enforcement (Jackson, 1989), because when minority populations increase, fear of crime also increases among the majority population (Chiricos, Hogan & Gertz, 1997; Liska, Lawrence & Sanchirico, 1982). This perceived fear drives the political interests of the powerful to promote the allocation and employment of law enforcement resources and deadly enforcement tactics in such a manner that the powerless race is regulated and criminalized in order to protect the powerful and maintain status quo (Jacobs, 1979; Turk, 1969; Kent & Jacobs, 2005; Fisher et al., 2013; Carmichael & Kent, 2015).

2.3.2. Critical Race Theory

Similar to conflict theory, critical race theory (CRT) analyzes the legal system and how the law functions to create and perpetuate the racial divide in the United States (Bell, 1988; Delgado, 1989). The CRT framework provides a critical power-based analysis of how laws are created and enforced to ensure the systemic oppression of

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African Americans. CRT posits that the majority group in power have unbalanced and privileged access to political and social rewards, as well as resources that enhance their quality of life (Warde, 2012). This power imbalance allows the majority group, typically White people, to hold racial privilege, which affords them the ability to define and systemically entrench the norms and values within a society (Warde, 2012; Parker & Lynn, 2002; Mirza, 1999). With this power, White people are able to maintain their dominant position by ensuring the creation of laws that will protect their power (Warde, 2012). This unequal division of power can be seen in the recent acquittals of, or failure to bring charges against, the White police officers involved in the recent shootings of unarmed Black men in the United States. By failing to charge White officers for Black people's deaths, it is implied that Black lives do not matter, thereby, effectively ensuring the White police officers can continue to maintain the power divide between these two groups.

CRT was an intellectual movement that formed out of the need to move on from the experiential realm of racism to an ideological one (Ladson-Billings, 2000; Tate, 1997). Early CRT scholars provided a critical analysis of reforms the Civil Rights Movement had intended to enact (Mirza, 1999; Parker & Lynn, 2002; Warde, 2012; Gold, 2016). These theorists did not believe that racism could simply be eradicated, because racism was not a collection of single acts of prejudice (Parker & Lynn, 2002). Instead, CRT theorists contended that racism was a system of oppression that was "embedded within the framework of American society" (Parker & Lynn, 2002, p. 8; Omi & Winant, 1994). Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller and Thomas (1995) discuss this in terms of racial consciousness:

> CRT aims to reexamine the terms by which race and racism have been negotiated in American consciousness, and to recover and revitalize the radical tradition of race-consciousness among African-Americans and other peoples of color – a tradition that was discarded when integration, assimilation and the ideal of color blindness became the official norm of racial enlightenment (p. xiv).

Conflict theory takes a step back from CRT and examines the broader context of the struggle between the powerful and powerless; in this context, CRT is mitigated on the grounds of race. CRT cannot fully explain the context of the situation in the United States, as race, class, access to resources, and community-specific factors must also be considered. For example, a White majority police force in a predominately Black

community is indicative of the imbalance of power that favors the White population. As noted in Chiricos et al., (1997) and Liska et al., (1982), fear of crime among the White population increases when the minority population increases. Due to the larger minority population, CRT posits that power is maintained by the White population through control of the police force; laws are enforced against the minority population by White police officers who maintain the power divide between the two groups.

2.3.3. Group-position Theory

Another variant of conflict theory is the group-position theory of race relations that has been used to examine intergroup racial attitudes (Blumer 1958; Bobo & Hutchings 1996; Kinder & Sanders 1996; Quillian 1995). Group-position theory posits that conflict exists between racial groups because there is competition for power, status and material rewards; conflict does not exist because the groups hold negative feelings toward each other (Blumer, 1958). Therefore, the conflict is driven by the need to promote and maintain group interests (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004).

Within the group-position theory framework, the dominant group operates under the premise that their ownership of scarce resources outweighs that of others; therefore, when these interests are threatened, the dominant group may feel they have grounds to combat it (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). If these resources are claimed and controlled by the dominant group, the disadvantaged group will feel frustration due to feelings of unfairness and exclusion (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). In this sense, White people fear that they will lose their power status as well as the resources and privilege that comes with it to other minority groups (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). Conversely, minority groups believe that by fighting the status quo, the quality of their group interests will improve (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004).

Weitzer and Tuch (2004) have "extended [the group-position theory] to an analysis of group relations with social institutions" (p.306). The dominant group will use social institutions to maintain their power and resultant access to valuable resources; one of these institutions is the police (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). Relative to the group-position theory is the minority-threat thesis, which argues that the resources intended to maintain formal social control are correlated to threats, credible or not, from minority groups, as perceived by those in power (Blalock, 1967). Therefore, cities where the

largest threats exist are those with large minority populations, and in order to reduce the risk of losing power, White people allocate heavier police resources to those locations (Jackson, 1989). Putting the BLM movement within the group-position theory framework, the White population will use the police in an effort to quell any threat posed by the Black population. White people will do so by not punishing White police officers when they fatally shoot unarmed Black men because these actions can be interpreted as a form of resisting the threat posed by the African American community whose calls for equality are strengthening.

Black people, as well as other minorities, are stereotyped and believed to be more inclined toward violence and criminality (Swigert & Farrell 1976; Weitzer, 2000; Hurwitz & Peffley,1997). Therefore, efforts aimed at reducing crime are often synonymous with controlling Black people and other minority groups through social institutions, such as law enforcement (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). When the police are criticized in the media, the general White populous may feel indirectly threatened (Bayley & Mendelsohn 1969); therefore, White people "tend to hold favorable opinion[s] of the police, favor aggressive law enforcement [tactics] and are skeptical [to] criticisms of the police" (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004, p. 306). This is reflected through the lack of charges and convictions against the officers who have driven the BLM movement. Charging and convicting the officers in question, acknowledges their wrongdoing; this would give credibility to concerns held by minority groups, thereby furthering their interests. Therefore, the lack of holding these officers accountable is fitting of the arguments posited by Bayley and Mendelsohn (1969) and Weitzer and Tuch (2004): by favoring their fellow group member, White people will be dismissive towards allegations of police misconduct in order to maintain their status.

2.4. Residual effects of slavery in America

2.4.1. Poor quality of life

Although slavery was abolished in 1865 and formal equality was granted to African Americans, substantive equality has not been enacted (Wilkins, Whiting, Watson, Russon & Moncrief, 2012; O'Connell, 2012; Warde, 2012). The residual effects of slavery, such as economic and social disparities and the multigenerational oppression of African Americans have resulted in long term psychological and emotional injury within

this population (O'Connell, 2012; Wilkins et al., 2012; Warde, 2012). Many of the issues that MLK and the BPP fought for are still being fought by contemporary society's African American population within the formal equality framework that has been afforded to them.

African Americans are most often at a disadvantage in terms of general well-being and quality of life. Some of these issues include, but are not limited to, inequality and barriers to income, wealth, home ownership, employment, and access to healthcare and education (Hurwitz, Peffley, & Mondak, 2015; Massey, 2013; Wilkins et al., 2012; Warde, 2012; Pager & Shepard, 2008). Additionally, research indicates that African Americans are disproportionately represented at all levels of the criminal justice system (Warde, 2012). African Americans are arrested more frequently, convicted at higher rates, incarcerated after receiving harsher sentences, and are more likely to be shot during artificial simulation training than their White counterparts (Burch, 2015; Warde, 2012; Mauer, 2011; Brewer & Heizeg, 2008; Garland, Spohn, & Wodahl, 2008; Harrison & Beck 2006; Mauer & King 2007; Pettit & Western 2004; Correll, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2002).

Disparities in social, legal, political and economic spheres are all modern transformations of historic systems, such as slavery, Jim Crow Laws, and segregation, that are designed to oppress the Black population. After slavery, oppression was implemented through Jim Crow laws and policies of segregation (Gold, 2016; Warde, 2012). Black people were restricted from voting, "[doing] business in the open market, drink[ing] [from] public fountains, eat[ing] in restaurants and sleep[ing] in hotels, whereas other minorities such as Chinese, Mexican, Jewish and Native Americans were not (Gold, 2016; Woodard, 1997, p.16). These laws were eventually dissolved in 1965 (Warde, 2012), but those in power were able to find other avenues to maintain the second-class citizenry of the Black community, specifically through mass incarceration.

2.4.2. Mass Incarceration

The United States has a population of approximately 325,000,000 people and approximately 42,000,000 of them are African American (United States Census Bureau, 2015; 2017). The laws imposed and carried out by the powerful majority have made it so African Americans encounter the criminal justice system at a far greater rate than their

White counterparts, despite being the minority population (Warde, 2015). Due to this, mass incarceration of African Americans in the United States is arguably the modern equivalent to slavery (Wilkins, et al., 2012; O'Connel, 2012; Warde, 2012). The United States represents 5 percent of the world's population; however, 25 percent of the world's prisoners are incarcerated in the United States (NAACP, 2017), making it the highest incarceration rate in the world (Nellis, 2016; Wildeman & Wang, 2017). At the end of 2015, there was an estimated 2,173,800 incarcerated individuals in the United States (Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS), 2017); approximately one million of them are African American (NAACP, 2017).

The trend of mass incarceration began in the 1970s during an economic downfall attributed to the abolishment of slavery and the dissolving of Jim Crow laws and policies (Wildeman & Wang, 2017). In order to recover, police were used as tools by those in power to mass arrest African Americans for petty crimes such as loitering and vagrancy (DuVernay et al., 2016). Today, Black people are incarcerated at an average rate of 1,408 per 100,000 whereas White people are incarcerated at an average rate of 275 per 100,000 (Wildeman & Wang, 2017). These rates indicate that Black people are incarcerated at a rate of at least 5 times that of White people (Wildeman & Wang, 2017; Nellis, 2016).

Crime began to increase during the era of the Civil Rights Movement (DuVernay et al., 2016) and politicians were quick to attribute this increase to the movement (DuVernay et al., 2016). In response to an increase in fear of crime, Richard Nixon declared a 'war on drugs' in June, 1971. The election of Ronald Reagan exacerbated this 'war' when he implemented a new and stricter campaign to combat crack cocaine. The enforcement of this 'war' had the most significant impact on the disproportionality between the incarceration of Black and White people (Balko, 2013; Bewley-Taylor, Hallam, & Allen, 2009; Bobo & Thompson 2006; Fellner 2009; Mauer 2011; Reuter & Stevens 2007; Trevethan & Rastin 2004; Wildeman & Wang, 2016; Nellis, 2017). Crack cocaine was accessible to those with low socioeconomic status (SES)[2] because it was less potent and available in smaller doses for a fraction of the price of powdered cocaine (Warde, 2012).

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[2] The African American community was typically of low SES due to the residual effects of the heavy restrictions placed on their entrepreneurships during the Jim Crow era (Gold, 2016).

Mandatory sentences were enacted shortly after the introduction of crack cocaine and those found possessing and using crack cocaine were penalized more severely than those using powdered cocaine (Bewley-Taylor et al. 2009; Bobo & Thompson 2006; Fellner 2009; Garland et al. 2008; Mauer 2011). This disparity was due to the fact that powdered cocaine was considered a more sophisticated version of the drug, mostly used by White people who could afford it (DuVernay et al., 2016). The media framed rising crime rates and the 'war on drugs' as problems facing only the Black community; therefore, a considerable amount of law enforcement resources were focused on Black communities (Warde, 2012). This carried on regardless of evidence that indicated White people were using drugs at five times the rate of Black people (Mauer, 2011).

Voting rights were won by the African American community during the civil rights movement, but have been revoked through the mass incarceration of this community, because convicted felons in the United States (unless incarcerated in Maine or Vermont) lose their right to vote (DuVernay, et al., 2016; National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL), 2017). As those being convicted are mostly African Americans, large portions of their communities will be unable to vote, making it more difficult for African American communities to be represented within the political system. The critical race and conflict theory frameworks argue that this tactic is used to help those in power maintain that power.

2.5. Policing race in America

Police officers are usually the first branch of the criminal justice system a person encounters during law enforcement (Griffiths, 2015; Kahn & Martin 2016). African American people have a history of adverse relations with the police because the racial majority has used law enforcement to contribute to the systemic oppression of the minority (Davenport, Soule, & Armstrong, 2011). Historically, police officers have had violent confrontations with the African American community in efforts to enforce forms of sociopolitical control such as slavery and Jim Crow laws (Aptheker, 1943; Franklin & Star, 1967; Wilson, 1978; Feagin, 2000; Feagin, 2006).

2.5.1. Race riots

Historically, incidents of police brutality against Black people have led to outrage and violent riots among the African American community. Race riots, resulting from police brutality against a member of the Black community, include, but are not limited to: Harlem, New York, 1964; Watts, Los Angeles, 1965; Newark, New Jersey, 1967; Detroit, Michigan, 1967; and Los Angeles, California, 1992 (Flamm, 2014; Matei & Ball-Rokeach, 2005; Barron, 2012; Emeka, 2017; Maurantonio, 2014). All of these riots were violent; many businesses were looted and/or destroyed; police officers were attacked; and civilians, Black and White, died (Flamm, 2014; Matei & Ball-Rokeach, 2005; Barron, 2012; Emeka, 2017; Maurantonio, 2014). This pattern of rioting following police brutality continues to this day.

Failing to punish officers for misconduct is a form of supporting their actions, whether it be an implicit or explicit assumption (Smith, 2015). To the Black community, it implies that their lives do not matter. For example, protests and vigils for Michael Brown, who was killed by a White police officer in Ferguson, Missouri in August 2014, turned into a violent riot (Healy, 2014). Months later, additional riots occurred when the officer was not indicted for the killing. Protests have persisted since then and have led to incidents of aggression between police officers and civilians.

Many police officers have been injured by protestors who may have been intentionally targeting officers during riots that have been taking place throughout the United States. Law enforcement was definitively targeted on July 7, 2016, when a sniper killed five police officers in Dallas, Texas during protests against the killing of Alton Sterling[3] and Philando Castille[4] (Karimi, Shoichet & Ellis, 2016). Ten days later, three more police officers were shot and killed in Baton Rouge on the same highway that the

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[3] Alton Sterling was a Black male who was shot and killed July 5, 2016 by two police officers while being held down in Baton Rouge, Louisianna. The police officers arrived on scene after a 911 was placed to report that Sterling was brandishing his concealed firearm.

[4] Philando Castille was a Black male who was shot and killed July 6, 2016 by a police officer during a traffic stop when he attempted to reach for his ID in Falcon Heights, Minnesota. Castille had disclosed to the officer that he was carrying a concealed weapon after he was asked to hand the officer his driver's licence.

Alton Sterling protests[5] had occurred (Bloom, Fausset & McPhate, 2016). A pattern is evident: Black people are mistreated and/or shot and killed by police; the African American community expresses concern and demands change; and peaceful protests shift into violent riots. This pattern emerged over fifty years ago, but now police are directly targeted and confronted as the policing branch of the criminal justice system has been brought into disrepute.

2.5.2. Disparities in police contact

In the United States, police have been considered the allies of White people because they typically align themselves with the dominant racial group (Weitzer & Tuch, 2005). Police are accountable to political institutions where positions are filled by White elites (Davenport et al., 2011; Smith, 2014). By enacting laws and policies that further the interests of those in power, the police are formally and actively enforcing these guidelines by "embody[ing] the objectives of the broader political-economic elite" (Davenport et al., 2011, p. 155;) through "aggressive policing tactics" (Smith, 2015, p..774). Weitzer and Tuch (2005) posit that any sort of reform would be an acknowledgment that the Black minority has been mistreated, effectively discrediting forms of crime control and therefore threatening the downfall of the status quo that White people have created.

Police have been used as a tool to maintain the boundary between those in power (i.e. White people) and those that threaten that power (i.e. Black people) (Davenport et al., 2011). This power system is so entrenched that police officer's values, beliefs, and opinions are evident in their enforcement tactics. Police officers are likely to assume that African Americans are more prone to engaging in various forms of criminal activity (Anderson, 1990; Hurwitz & Peffley 1997), are more likely to be in possession of weapons (Greenwald, Oakes, & Hoffman, 2003), and have an increased likelihood of disrespecting police authority (Engel, 2003). These assumptions have resulted in police officers treating African Americans more aggressively (Davenport et al., 2011).

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[5] The BLM movement acknowledges Black men fatally shot by police who were legally armed through state conceal and carry laws, such as Alton Sterling and Philando Castile who, based on video footage were not the aggressors when killed by police.

Scholars have identified how police treatment of racial minorities has evolved to create disparities between these minorities and White people (Kahn & Martin, 2016). The phenomena of biased policing, a principle component of the disproportionate contact minorities have with the criminal justice system, is well documented (Armour & Hammond, 2009; Hanes, 2012; Kempf-Leonard, 2007; Piquero, 2008). For example, research indicates that police officers are more likely to generally stop Black people in comparison to White people (Ridgeway, 2006). The vehicles of Black people are three times more likely to be searched during a traffic stop (Langton & Durose, 2013) even though Black people were less likely to have weapons or drugs on them than White people (Gelman, Fagan & Kiss (2007). Voigt and colleagues (2017) analyzed footage from police body-worn cameras between Black and White civilians during routine traffic stops. They found that "even after controlling for officer race, infraction severity, stop location and stop outcome" police officers consistently spoke less respectfully to Black civilians than they did to White civilians (Voigt et al., 2017, p.6521) Additionally, when police officers employ use of force tactics, it is more often against Black people (Walker, Spohn, & DeLone, 2007).

Not only are African Americans seen as a threat to the concept of power, research suggests that their physical presence is seen as more threatening when compared to Whites (Wilson, Hugenberg, & Rule, 2017). Wilson et al. (2017) found that, "[n]on-Black perceivers overestimated young Black men as taller, heavier, stronger, more muscular and more capable of causing physical harm than young White men." (p.16). Furthermore, their perceived size was correlated with justification for police use of force revealing a positive correlation between the size of the man and their likelihood of causing harm (Wilson et al., 2017). Judgements regarding police use of force against Black suspects of crime were less critical because the participants' bias led them to believe that Black men "must therefore be controlled using more aggressive measures" (Wilson et al., 2017, p.1).

Racial discrepancies between police officers and the populations they serve may be due to the localization of police officers in growing minority communities (Turk, 1969; Sharp, 2006). Such localization increases the probability of an interaction with police with minorities more than with White people. Racial conflict theorists explain increased police localization through the perceived rise in criminal behaviour associated with growing minority populations (Turk, 1969; Sharp, 2006; Blalock, 1967). Kent and Jacobs

(2005) have found a significant, positive, and consistent correlation between police presence and the Black population. Similar findings have supported this trend and have found that the strongest predictor of the size of police force is the size of that city's minority population (Sharp, 2006). More specifically, Sharp (2006, p. 305) argues that:

> […] the staffing of police departments in the United States is not so much a functionalist response based on workload demands, organizational innovation opportunities, and resources; rather, just as earlier theorists have argued, heightened police staffing still appears to be part of a social-control phenomenon of subduing a population perceived to be rebellious.

The inequalities that still exist in the African American community and the subsequent emergence of the BLM movement demonstrates that advancements between race relations since the civil war era have been functionally superficial.

2.6. African Canadians

The killings of unarmed black men that sparked the BLM movement have all occurred in the United States, but the movement has spread beyond national boundaries. BLM chapters have also emerged in large Canadian cities (e.g. Toronto, Vancouver). Although, slavery did not *formally* exist in Canada, the English and French colonies (i.e Canada) actively participated in the enslavement of Black people (Wortley, & Owusu-Bempah, 2016). The origins of African-Canadians can be traced back to the trans-Atlantic slave trade (Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2016). The Black population in Canada grew once the British abolished slavery and Canada became a perceived refuge for those fleeing slavery in the United States (Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2016). Black people began to migrate to Canada from the Caribbean, Jamaica, Haiti and Africa through immigration reforms (Henry & Tator, 2005; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2016).

Canada has a population of approximately 36,500,000 people (Statistics Canada, 2017a), about one-tenth the population of the United States. There are approximately 1,000,000 people in Canada that report being of African origin according to the most recent census data (Statistics Canada, 2017b). Six major Canadian cities hold over 90% of the African-Canadian population: Toronto, Montreal, Ottawa, Halifax, Calgary, and Vancouver (Chui, Tran, Maheux, 2008). However, African Canadians are still incredibly concentrated in Eastern Canada, with 84 percent of their entire population residing in the provinces of Ontario and Quebec (Statistics Canada, 2016a).

Despite Canada's international reputation for being a polite, tolerant and multicultural society, the Black population here has suffered due to effects of colonialism and racism (Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2016). Slavery in Canada lasted for over 200 years and Wortley and Owusu-Bempah (2016) attribute the disadvantages African Canadians still face today to that legacy:

> [w]hile slavery was apparently not as widespread as it was in the U.S. or the Caribbean, one cannot deny that this institution both contributed to the wealth and privilege of Canada's early white elite and simultaneously placed the black population in a position of profound social disadvantage (p.142)

The disadvantages faced by African-Canadians are vast in terms of economic and social issues (Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2016). During the early 1900s, the Canadian government made efforts in an attempt to slow down and stop the immigration of Black people from the United States through informal control measures (Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2016) which included denying entry based on medical reasons and moral panics surrounding a fear of crime when suspects were Black (Winks, 1997; Barnes, 2002). Since then, disparities have only persisted for the African Canadian population in regard to education, employment, and housing. For example, Caldas, Bernier and Marceau (2009) examined Montreal school districts and found that Black children's achievement was significantly correlated with their "school [SES], family structure and the average age of the student's parents'" (p.197). In Ontario, it has been found that Black students generally tend not to meet high levels of academic performance, have higher rates of suspensions and expulsions, and are more likely to drop out of high school (Codjoe, 2001). These setbacks can lead to complications when finding employment as discrimination exists within this sector as well (Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2016). Additionally, according to Chiu et al. (2008), Black men are, on average, making the least in terms of personal income, and have higher unemployment rates.

2.6.1. Visible minorities and the Canadian criminal justice system

The limited research on the Canadian criminal justice system has provided compelling evidence that minorities are discriminated against within the Canadian legal system (Carmichael & Kent, 2015). For example, studies have shown that members of minority groups have a higher likelihood of being stopped and searched by law

enforcement (Fitzgerald & Carrington, 2011; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2011), arrested (Wortley, 1999), and have a higher risk of being incarcerated (Roberts & Doob, 1997).

Incarceration rates in Canada

In Canada, visible minorities represent approximately 11 percent of the total incarcerated population and 16 percent of the population serving time in the community (Trevethan & Rastin, 2004). According to a report on visible minority offenders conducted by the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC), the makeup of the incarcerated population is similar to those incarcerated in the United States. The findings of this report indicate that based on population proportions, White and Asian people are under-represented within the CSC while Black people are overrepresented (Trevethan & Rastin, 2004). African Canadians make up approximately 3 percent of Canada's population (Statistics Canada, 2016a) but their rate of representation (8.6%) within the federal corrections system is three times greater than their rate within the national population (Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2016).

Specific differences emerge when examining type of offence, criminal history and specific groups. Compared to White offenders, visible minority offenders are incarcerated more often for drug-related offences and attempted murder but less so for property and sex crimes (Trevethan & Rastin, 2004). Specifically, more Black people (32%) are incarcerated for robbery than Asian (16%) and 'other visible minority' offenders (17%) and a larger proportion of Asian offenders (25%) are incarcerated for drug-related offences compared to Black (11%) and 'other visible minority' offenders (12%) (Trevethan & Rastin, 2004, p. 15).

The CSC report also found that when compared to White offenders, visible minority offenders had less extensive criminal histories (Trevethan & Rastin, 2004). However, within the visible minority groups, this was especially evident for Asian and 'other visible minority' offenders than Black offenders. In other words, Black offenders had more extensive criminal histories than Asian and 'other visible minority' offcers. There were also differences between groups and their likelihood of recidivism: White offenders were rated at a higher risk to reoffend than visible minority offenders (Trevethan & Rastin, 2004). However, similar to the trend exhibited with criminal history, Asian and 'other visible minority' offenders were rated lower risk than Black offenders.

Regardless of their lesser likelihood of reoffending compared to White offenders, visible minority offenders were still rated as maximum security on the Custody Rating Scale (CRS) (Trevethan & Rastin, 2004). The trend among Black offenders and 'other visible minority' groups remained the same; "Black offenders (28%) were more likely to be rated as maximum security than Asian (20%) and 'other visible minority' offenders (18%)" (Trevethan & Rastin, 2004, p. 21). This is alarming because Trevethan and Rastin (2004) posit that differences in offence type and criminal histories determine sentence lengths which is why visible minority offenders' sentence lengths tend to be shorter than White offenders. However, if these criteria (i.e. offence type and criminal history) were factors in other decisions, such as who is designated as maximum security, then White offenders would have a higher rate than visible minorities. This is not the case. The trend makes sense for comparisons between visible minority groups; Black offenders are more likely to be rated as maximum security than Asian and 'other visible minorities' as Black offenders have a higher likelihood of reoffending and have more extensive criminal histories (Trevethan & Rastin, 2004). However, White offenders tend to have more extensive criminal histories, are incarcerated more often for offences against the person, and are of higher risk to reoffend than visible minority offenders, yet they are rated as maximum security less often than visible minorities are. This suggests that other factors, such as bias or discriminatory practices, may influence decision making within the criminal justice system.

Policing race in Canada

African Canadians are more likely to be victims of racial profiling in Canada's eastern provinces (James, 1998; Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2003). The CSC report also found that the highest rate of visible minority offenders is in Ontario and that "in the Ontario and Quebec regions, visible minority offenders are disproportionately represented in both institutions and the community" (Trevethan & Rastin, 2004, p. 12). As critical race theorists suggest, it seems that race, not class, is the significant factor in police contact with minorities. For example, a survey conducted in 1994 asked Black residents of Toronto to describe their contact with police over the past two years: 30 percent of them reported being "stopped and questioned […] on two or more occasions […]" (Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2016, p.150), whereas, only 12 percent of White people and 7 percent of Asians reported the same (Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2016). A similar survey on Toronto high school students reported Black people being stopped and

questioned more than White people (23%) and other minorities such as Asians (11%) and South Asians (8%) (Wortley & Tanner, 2005). The survey also looked at police searches and found that over 40 percent of Black students, 17 percent of White students and 11 percent of Asian students reported that the police physically searched them within the last two years (Wortley & Tanner, 2005).

Eastern Canada also sees discrepancies in police use of force. Pedicelli (1998) examined media reports and found that Black people were overrepresented in Ontario and Quebec in police use of force incidents that resulted in injury and death. An analysis of Ontario's Special Investigations Unit (SIU) data, determined that Black people are more often than White people and their minority counterparts to be victims of police use of force incidents (Wortley, 2006). In Ontario, Black people make up 3.6 percent of the population; however, Wortley (2006) observed that they make up 27 percent of all SIU investigations into fatal incidents of police use of force, and 34.5 percent of SIU investigations into fatal police shootings (Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2016). This suggests that Black people are disproportionately in contact with police more than other races are and may be subject to implicitly and/or explicitly biased policing practices.

Criminal charges were laid against some of the officers involved in these SIU investigations, however, none resulted in convictions as the Crown was unable to present their case beyond a reasonable doubt (Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2016). The authors suggest that this could be because the use of force incidents were justified, although this would undermine the mandate of SIU as they only seek to "determine whether there is evidence of criminal wrongdoing on part of the police" (Special Investigations Unit (SIU), 2016). Therefore, criminal charges could not be laid unless SIU determined that there was sufficient evidence of wrongdoing.

2.7. Aboriginal people in Canada

In Canada, Black people are not the only minority group that faces disparities within the criminal justice system. According to the 2011 census, 4 percent of Canadians, or 1.4 million people, identify as Aboriginal (Statistics Canada, 2016b). Aboriginal or Indigenous Canadians are comprised of the First Nations (60.8%), Métis (32.3%), Inuit (4.2%), other Aboriginal identities (1.9%), where some (0.8%) identify with more than one Aboriginal identity (Statistics Canada, 2016b). Aboriginal people face

increased racial tensions that are similar to African Americans discrimination and police relations.

In Canada, Aboriginal people have lower incomes than both White people and other minority groups (Pendakur & Pendakur, 2011). Aboriginal people are more likely to have higher rates of poverty and residential mobility, and are less likely to be educated and employed (La Prairie, 2002). Members of the Aboriginal population are also incarcerated at disproportionately high rates (Fitzgerald & Carrington, 2008; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2016) and have higher rates of victimization than White people and other minority groups (Perreault, 2011). Fitzgerald and Carrington (2008) found that the disproportionate number of Aboriginal people in correctional institutions was correlated with socioeconomic status, rather than Indigenous status. Richards (2001) argued that Aboriginal communities are often in socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhoods where crime rates are higher (Fitzgerald & Carrington, 2008), resulting in a higher police presence and increased contact between the two groups. Fitzgerald and Carrington's (2008) explanation does not account for all concerns regarding the disproportionately incarcerated Aboriginal population.

According to the Corrections and Conditional Release Statistical Overview annual report, Aboriginal offenders account for 22.7 percent of the total incarcerated population in Canada; this has increased by 39.2 percent between 2006 and 2016 (Public Safety Canada Portfolio Corrections Statistics Committee (PSCPCSC), 2016, p. 63). Over a quarter of all incarcerated males in Canada are Aboriginal, and 36.1 percent of all incarcerated females are Aboriginal (PSCPCSC, 2016). Additionally, 82.4 percent of Aboriginal males served their complete sentence before release, but only 65.2 percent of non-Indigenous offenders served their full sentence before release (PSCPCSC, 2016).

The disparities between the Aboriginal population and the non-Aboriginal population are concerning. These disparities are similar to the disadvantages the African American population faces in the United States. This does not imply that the African Canadian population does not have a platform in this country. Canada contains myriad marginalized population groups that face social, economic, and political disadvantages when compared to the White population, including the disproportioned types and frequency of interactions with the criminal justice system.

2.8. Community Policing

Comparisons in policing styles between the United States and Canada are difficult to make due to population demographics. However, due to the proximity and close political relationship between the two countries, current events surrounding controversial policing in the United States are also a topic of discussion in Canada. The events surrounding the emergence of the BLM movement left public confidence with law enforcement agencies wavering across the United States. It is unclear whether police officers in Canada encounter similar levels of tension with their community as their American counterparts. Community policing has been reintroduced in the wake of this rising conflict. The BLM movement has shone a light on the lack of community policing in the United States as police militarization if the dominant trend in policing practices. Law enforcement agencies are attempting to find a middle ground in order to regain the public trust that has been tarnished by the recent publicized shootings of unarmed Black men.

Community policing emerged during the 1970s in the UK, Canada, and the United States when police agencies called for a shift from the traditional policing model that many agencies considered inappropriate, bureaucratic, and paramilitary (Campbell, Cater, & Pollard, 2017; Williamson, 2005; Alderson, 1977; Goldstein, 1979). Community policing has since become a staple model that approximately 86 percent of law enforcement agencies have put it into practice (Kappeler & Gaines, 2015; Patterson, 2012; Roberg & Kuykendall, 1990; Roberg, Novak, Cordner, & Smith, 2012; Schmalleger, 2010; Lamin & Teboh, 2016). Whitelaw & Parent (2014) define community policing as:

> […] a philosophy, management style, and organizational strategy centered on police—community partnerships and problem solving to address problems of crime and social disorder in communities (p. 59).

There are three core elements to the community policing model (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux (1997). First, the model emphasizes a partnership between the police and the community as both parties are required to work together in addressing social issues and crime (Parent, 2009; Yilmaz, 2013; Dubois & Normandeau, 1997; Kang, 2015; Cordner, 2015; Whitelaw & Parent, 2014; Campbell et al., 2017). Second, community policing calls for the full participation and commitment by policing agencies – sworn and

civilian members – to engage in the model. From this they can practice the philosophy that helps to create a balance between traditional police work and solving problems before they occur (Dubois & Normandeau, 1997; Whitelaw & Parent, 2014; Campbell et al., 2017). Lastly, community policing is a decentralized and personalized model (Whitelaw & Parent, 2014). This model will allow front-line officers (FLOs) to exercise unrestricted opportunities and freedoms to engage with the community in a more genuine fashion (Whitelaw & Parent, 2014).

Community policing has evolved from the traditional crime control model of policing (Campbell et al., 2017; Whitelaw & Parent, 2014). The crime control model stipulates that the core elements of police work remain solely in the hands of police, without assistance from external agencies or the community (Whitelaw & Parent, 2014) This means that police are responsible for handling of all criminal events through centralized police services (Whitelaw & Parent, 2014). Crime control measures are premised on random patrol, rapid response and reactive investigation; conversely, community policing is premised on prevention, problem solving and partnerships (Whitelaw & Parent, 2014). Traditional policing models can be ineffective as they fail to engage with the community and address the social issues that contributed to crime (Rukus, Warner & Zhang, 2017).

By initiating partnerships with the community, police agencies increase social cohesion (Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999) and empower the residents they serve (Rukus et al., 2017). Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux (1993) argue that for the community policing model to succeed, participation from six major community groups is needed: "the entire personnel of the police department, the formal and informal leaders of the community, the elected members, business people, religious and social groups and […] the media" (p. 2). Community participation alleviates the workload for police officers and helps to create effective crime prevention strategies (Rukus et al., 2017; Kang, 2015). The joint partnership also enhances trust levels (Cordner, 2015) and may increase the likelihood of citizen cooperation with police (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004; Tyler & Fagan, 2008). This cooperation is valuable because "local residents are the primary source of information concerning neighborhood problems" (Rosenbaum & Lurigio, 1994, p. 300) and because police work can be impossible without the active cooperation of the community (Tyler & Fagan, 2008).

There is no universal model for community policing so many strategies have been implemented in practice (Rukus et al., 2017). Some examples of these strategies include: citizen advisory panels and patrols, neighborhood watch programs, police-run diversity programs that target specific demographics (i.e. recent immigrants, youth, seniors, students etc.), police participation in community events (e.g. food truck festivals, university career fairs), and interactivity through social media (Whitelaw & Parent, 2014, Campbell et al., 2017; Lamin & Teboh, 2017; Rukus et al., 2017). In order to reap the benefits of these community policing strategies, police must take on a 'customer service' approach as this is what communities are expecting (Mastrofski, 1999). Mastrofski (1999) identifies six characteristics associated with a customer service approach to policing which include attentiveness, reliability, responsive service, competence, proper manners, and fairness (p. 2-3).

Recently, police departments across Canada and the United States have been urged to engage in proactive policing as a means of building positive connections with their communities and for preventing strained relations from developing when incidents of high-profile misconduct occur (Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS), 2006). To decrease the likelihood of an adverse reaction to police misbehavior, police agencies must be transparent with their communities in order to remain approachable and trustworthy (COPS, 2006). Police risk losing legitimacy if the community does not perceive the agency as portraying these traits. When offering a customer service approach model, the needs of the community are clearer, providing police agencies guidance on how to employ their community policing strategies.

Interactions between police and the community require a reassessment of responsibilities that surround the safety of the community, and a redefinition of the community's roles and relationship with the police (Whitelaw & Parent, 2014). This requires shared ownership between the two, which benefits both parties during decision making processes and issues of accountability (Whitelaw & Parent, 2014). Within this context, police agencies have the opportunity to customize their service approach and demonstrate to their communities that they care. These values are also emphasized by COPS (2006) which states that one of the key elements to effective community policing is "emphasizing geographically decentralized models of policing that stress services tailored to the needs of individual communities rather than a one-size-fits-all approach for the entire jurisdiction" (p. 13).

With frequent community interactions, the uncertainty the public may have about police work fades as relations improve and stereotypes dissolve between the groups. A substantive partnership informs the public that it is not solely up to the police to be responsible for all problem solving within the community (Whitelaw & Parent, 2014). This partnership would also help to dispel perceptions of unfair police procedures. For example, if police were always fair and transparent with members of the community, accusations of unethical behaviour such as racial profiling may diminish (Tyler & Fagan, 2008). This is because people would be less likely to make negative assumptions if procedural fairness was widespread (Tyler & Fagan, 2008).

2.9. Public opinion and perceptions of police in America

Many studies have looked at the effect the media has on public opinion and perceptions about social problems (Christen & Gunther, 2003; Daschmann, 2000; Gunther, 1998; Gunther & Storey, 2003; Mutz, 1989, 1998; Mutz & Soss, 1997; Dowler & Zawilski, 2007), although these perceptions depend on the portrayal of social problems are portrayed and audience receptivity (Dahlgren 1988; Lyengar & Kinder, 1987) For example, Eschholz, Blackwell, Gertz and Chiricos (2002) found that Black people's satisfaction with police decreased while White people's satisfaction increased after watching police-based reality shows. These types of shows typically follow the police point of view, so acts of verbal or physical aggression toward civilians are depicted as justified (Esccholz, et al., 2002). It is possible that White audience members would more closely relate to the police officers rather than the civilians, as those in power tend to identify closely with other powerful institutions that best serve their interests (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004).

It would be reasonable to expect that the recent media attention the police have received would also influence public perceptions. Some research indicates that attitudes toward police are affected when police misconduct is aired by the media (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). Negative views of police are especially heightened during and immediately after the media coverage on corruption scandals or incidents of police brutality (Kaminski & Jefferis 1998; Tuch and Weitzer 1997; Weitzer 2002). For example, Weitzer (2002) analyzed public opinion before and after high profile cases of police misconduct in New York and Los Angeles. It was found that public attitudes were negatively affected when these cases were highly publicized (Weitzer, 2002). If a single incident has the power to

influence public perception of police, frequent airings of similar incidents will likely have a stronger negative effect (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004).

Unlike media coverage on the BLM Movement, Lawrence (2000) reports that due to episodic reporting, potential patterns and the prevalence of police misconduct are not detected or sufficiently addressed. However, Dowler and Zawilski (2007) found that "heavy consumers of network news were more likely to believe that police misconduct was a frequent event" (p.193) after they analyzed the correlation between public attitudes regarding police misconduct and media consumption. Regular media coverage on the shootings of unarmed Black men is problematic for police because exposure to consecutive media reports of this nature may lead people to believe that police misconduct is a common practice (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004).

Using factors such as personal experience and media reports, Weitzer and Tuch (2004) surveyed White, Black and Hispanic people in the United States on their views of certain types of police misconduct, specifically, verbal abuse, excessive force, unwarranted stops, and corruption. They found that the African American community were more likely to believe that police misconduct occurred frequently when compared to White people. White people believed that police misconduct was rare and that the aforementioned incidents were not the norm for police officers (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004).

It is possible that the African American community considers incidents of police misconduct representative of a larger systemic problem within the police department, whereas those who perceive misconduct as infrequent consider such incidents as single issues not representative of policing (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). These differences may be explained by the disparities that exist between the minority and majority groups; Black and Hispanic people were found to have encountered police at a disproportionate rate in terms of street checks, verbal and physical abuse and corruption (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). Weitzer and Tuch (2004) also found that Black and Hispanic people were more likely than White people to report incidents of police misconduct, whether it be through vicarious or personal experience. This lack of reporting may contribute to the dark figure of crime especially if White people are also experiencing police misconduct and fail to report it. It may be possible that White people believe they would not be victims of police misconduct, as they are the majority in power and allied with law enforcement. In that

case, even when they encounter police misconduct, they may be less likely to believe it is occurring.

Overall, "race structures citizens' views of police misconduct," and the role the media plays in shaping those views is the strongest predictor (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004, p. 320). If stories of police misconduct are repeatedly aired, Black, Hispanic and White people are going to assume that misconduct is rampant; however, minority groups believe this more strongly than White people (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004).

2.10. Public opinion and perceptions of police in Canada

In Canada, studies consistently find that the general Canadian public has relatively positive views about the police (Chow, 2012; O'Connor, 2008; Tufts, 2000; Moore, 1985; Brillon, Louis-Guerin, & Lamarche, 1984; Yarmey & Rashid, 1983; Amorso & Ware, 1983; Griffiths & Winfree, 1982; Hylton, Matonovich, Varro, Thakker, & Broad, 1979; Klein, Webb, & DiSanto, 1978). Canadians approve of their police more than any other branch of the criminal justice system, such as the courts or the federal corrections system (O'Connor, 2008; Roberts, 2001; Tufts, 2000). Most research on perceptions and attitudes toward police have been conducted in the United States, but has been found in Canadian research as well (O'Connor, 2008).

Perceived neighbourhood unsafety resulted from negative interactions with police, and those who had been victimized were more likely to exhibit negative attitudes towards the police (Chow, 2012; Sims, Hooper, & Peterson, 2002; Williams, 1999; Reisig & Parks, 2000; Taylor, Turner, Esbensen, & Winfree, 2001). However, O'Connor (2008) found that police contact had no effect on the Canadian public's attitude toward police. The inconsistency may be explained by differences between Canada and the United States, or the inability to distinguish between positive and negative interactions (O'Connor, 2008). It has been well documented that positive interactions with the police contribute to a positive rating of the police (Chow, 2012; Hinds, 2007; Skogan, 2005; Borrero, 2001; Brandt & Markus; 2000; Worrall, 1999).

In Canada and the United States, young people and visible minorities tend to hold less favorable views of the police (Chow, 2012; O'Connor, 2008; Gannon, 2005; Friedman; Hurst & Frank, 2000). The major concerns of those minority groups include

the lack of minority representation within their police agency; racial bias in day-to-day police work and poor treatment of minorities by police (Cao, 2011; Chow, 1996; Jayewardene & Talbot, 1990; Spraggett & Chow, 1992). It is important to note that O'Connor (2008) found that "variables of satisfaction with safety, perceptions of neighborhood, age, criminal victimization and gender all held more relative importance in determining respondents' attitudes toward the police than race/ethnicity" (p. 590). O'Connor (2008) suggests this could be due to the immigration policies in each country. In other words, the melting pot mentality within the United States encourages more of an assimilation to American culture whereas the mosaic mentality in Canada encourages an acceptance of all cultures.

In contrast, the following studies discussing racial differences in perceptions of the criminal justice system could not be explained by demographic factors (Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2016). In 1994, the Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario criminal justice system surveyed 1200 people in Toronto who identified either as Chinese, Black or White and found that 76 percent of Black people in Toronto felt as though White people were treated better by police (Wortley, 1996). Additionally, approximately 70 percent of Black people also felt that the court system treated Black people worse than their White counterparts and 48 percent of Black people believed that they would be sentenced more harshly than White people would be for committing the same crime (Wortley, 1996). The following year, the same question was posed to 1870 high school students in Toronto. Ruck and Wortley (2002) found that Black people felt they were discriminated against most by police when compared to other minority groups. The survey found that only 4 percent of the White students, 15 percent of Asian students and 22 percent of South Asian students felt they had been treated poorly by police.

These perceptions have not improved. In 2007, the survey conducted in 1994 was repeated and perceptions of the criminal justice system, particularly treatment by the police and the court system, worsened (Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2009). Black people who felt that White people were treated better by police than they were, increased to 81 percent; and Black people who perceived they would receive harsher sentences than their White counterparts increased to 58 percent (Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2009). It has been found that White people in Canada also hold the perception that Black people face discrimination by the police and court system more than White

people do (Wortley, 1996). Distrust within the community may be renewed as a result of these high-profile use of force incidents taking place in the United States.

2.11. Police use of force in the United States

According to The Washington Post database, 995 civilians were shot and killed by police officers in the United States in 2015 (The Washington Post, 2017). The following year that number dropped to 963, and as of September 2017, 712 civilians have been fatally wounded. The United States Bureau of Justice Statistics reports that approximately 40 million people interact with police in a single year (as cited in Nix, Campbell, Byers, & Alpert, 2016), and of those interactions, less than 2 percent result in use of force or threatened use of force (Eith & Durose, 2011). When police officers did fire their weapons, a majority of these incidents did not result in a fatality (Alpert, 1989; Klinger, 2012; Klinger, Rosenfeld, Isom, & Deckard, 2015, as cited in Nix et al., 2016), and of those that were killed, analyses indicate that the majority of the civilians were armed and/or actively attacking police officers (Nix et al., 2016). In 2015, 91 percent of fatal police shootings were cases where the police officer(s) was dealing with an armed civilian (Nix et al., 2016).

The Washington Post's data also indicated that the police killed White people at twice the rate they did Black people, however, once the population differences between the two populations was accounted for, twice as many Black people were killed than Whites (Nix et al., 2016). However, Nix et al., (2016) cautions "against using population as a benchmark because it does not account for each groups' representation in a variety of more relevant measures, including police-civilian interactions and crime" (p. 328). For example, research has found that members of the Black population are over represented with regards to police stops, arrests, and calls for service (Novak, 2004; Brame, Bushway, Paternoster, & Turner, 2014; Kochel, Wilson & Mastrofski, 2011) and tend to offend at higher rates based on self-report data (Blumstein, Cohen, Roth, & Visher, 1986; Loeber, Farrington, Hipweel, Stepp, Pardini, & Ahonen, 2015).

Nix et al., (2016) also used data from *The Washington Post* to analyze implicit bias for the fatal shootings that occurred in 2015. Their analysis discovered that when Black people were shot and killed they were "more than twice as likely [than] White [people] to have been unarmed" (Nix et al., 2016, p.328). Additionally, White people

were much more likely than other racial/ethnic groups to have been attacking a civilian or an officer (Nix et al., 2016). These findings lend support to Fachner and Carter's (2015) and Kahn and Martin's (2016) assessment that police officers perceive minority civilians as more threatening.

However, studies regarding police bias against minority groups yield mixed results. For example, Cox, Devine, Plant, and Schwartz (2014) had police officers complete a shooter simulation exercise. They found that the officers reacted quickly to shooting armed Black men when they were shown in pictures, but hesitated to shoot them during video simulations. In a similar study, it was found that during video simulations, police officers exhibited greater hesitation when shooting armed Black suspects than armed White suspects, and also shot unarmed White suspects more than unarmed Black suspects (James, James, & Vila, 2016; James, Vila & Klinger, 2014). It is important to note that these studies were conducted before the death of Michael Brown in 2014 (Nix et al., 2016).

Overall, research has been unable to confirm whether police officers exhibit prejudice against minority groups or if they are experience the implicit bias effect (see Correll et al., 2002; Nix et al., 2016). Regardless, these inaccurate threat perceptions that result in increased use of force incidents against Black people and other minorities. Community relations with police forces in the United States will continue to struggle until training addresses these concerns.

2.12. Police use of force in Canada

Unlike the United States, the body of literature on police use of lethal force is limited in Canada. However, whether a use of force incident occurs in the United States or Canada, controversy, scrutiny, and media attention follow. According to Parent (2016), "proportionately, and in absolute numbers, far more people die by legal intervention in the [United] States" (p.2). There are a few factors, other than population, that have been attributed to these discrepancies. It is understandable why police officers in the United States have a higher likelihood of discharging their weapons. For example, the United States has minimal firearm legislation and the American constitution enforces citizens' rights to bear arms. Unlike police officers in Canada, officers in the United

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States are allowed to carry their police-issued firearms when they are not on duty which has resulted in officers discharging their weapons when off duty (Parent, 2016).

There have been 119 fatal police shootings in Canada between 1970 and 1981 (Chappell & Graham, 1985), and 376 fatal police shootings in Canada between 1990 and 2014 (Parent, 2016). There are no significant differences to the dynamics and circumstances surrounding police use of deadly force in the United States and Canada (Parent, 2016). In other words, Canadian and American police officers encounter similar situations where use of force may or may not be required, but is acted upon more frequently by American police officers than their Canadian counterparts. This suggests that other factors, such as those discussed by participants in this study, including training and community policing tactics allow Canadian police officers to exercise restraint and other de-escalation tactics where their American counterparts do not. The findings support this suggestion: an SMO described attending an American policing conference on tactics that Canadian police agencies had been practicing for years.

Although research based on American samples support the assumption that police use of deadly force is greater against minority groups, these findings cannot be generalized to Canada. This is because a data archival collection of police shooting incidents across jurisdictions in Canada does not exist (Carmichael & Kent, 2015). Of the few studies that have examined police use of force in Canada, there was evidence supporting the minority threat theory discussed by Jackson (1989). For example, Pedicelli (1998) examined police killings in Montreal and Toronto from 1994 to 1997. She found that although Black people represented less than 5 percent of either cities' population, they were involved in approximately 50 percent of the police killings. Additionally, Carmichael and Kent (2015) also lend support to the assumption that ethnic minorities in Canada are treated similarly to those in the United States. They examined Canadian police killings over a 15-year period across 39 of the country's largest cities. They found that "the size of the ethnic minority population in Canadian cities does indeed influence the incidence of police killings" as there was "robust and consistent evidence linking the presence of immigrants, visible minorities and Aboriginal peoples to more lethal assaults by police officers (Carmichael & Kent, 2015, p. 718).

2.13. Context of policing in the Greater Vancouver Region

Historically, the framework of Canadian policing was modeled after the organization of policing in England (Stenning, 1981; McKenna, 1998) and follows a much simpler design than the United States. For example, local police, state police, highway patrol, special jurisdiction police and deputy sheriffs account for the approximately 18,000 law enforcement agencies throughout the United States, whereas Canada has at a total of 235 police services (Lamin & Teboh, 2016; Blais, 2015; Reaves, 2011). Canadian police agencies operate under federal, provincial and municipal governments. Federal policing in Canada is under the exclusive responsibility of the RCMP although they may also perform municipal police duties throughout the country under special contract provisions. Conversely, in the United States, there are "21 separate federal law-enforcement agencies" (Schmalleger, MacAlister, & McKenna, 2004, p. 109, as cited in Wood, 2007). These differences and population demographics make policing in each of these environments vastly different from one another; however, due to the proximity and close political relationship between the two countries, policing in Canada is heavily influenced by the United States (e.g. training, tactics).

Policing arrangements in the GVR have been classified as decentralized and fragmented (Wood, 2007). This is because police agencies in this region are comprised of federal, provincial and municipal police officers: the RCMP perform federal and provincial duties throughout the GVR and work alongside municipal officers. Since the British Columbia Provincial Police force was disbanded, the RCMP have been performing provincial police duties which mostly entails highway patrol and rural policing in municipalities with fewer than 5,000 residents (Schmalleger et al., 2004, as cited in Wood, 2007). Municipalities with more than 5,000 residents are obligated to provide sufficient policing services within their own mandates. This means that municipalities can choose to employ the RCMP or create their own independent police department. Policing in the GVR is unique as there is a mixture of all three of these police services.

Policing in the GVR falls between two types of city policing: compact city policing (similar to Edmonton and Calgary) and metropolitan city policing (similar to Toronto and Montreal) (Wood, 2007). The population is considered very diverse in comparison to the United States. For example, the immigration and ethno-cultural diversity within the GVR is vast, with a majority of municipalities in the region being highly populated by minority

group members: Vancouver (51.2%); Surrey (58.5%); Richmond (76.3%); Burnaby (63.6%); Coquitlam (50.2%); Delta (36%); New Westminster (38.9%); North Vancouver (25.6%); Port Coquitlam (32.4%); West Vancouver (36.4%); Port Moody (30.5%) (Statistics Canada, 2017c). The diverse population makeup in this region and community policing policies at the forefront of policing mandates has directed police agencies to apply a customer service approach to their policing practices. They are therefore thriving in terms of community policing and integration. Officers in this study were able to describe policies and programs specifically designed to build trust and engage communities through program development. Police agencies in the GVR have been able to find a balance between high recruitment, hiring practices, and training standards while ensuring all types of people are able to successfully apply. This is important because adequate representation within a police force in municipalities with large minority populations is an asset that provides police with legitimacy and allows officers to foster positive relations within a community.

2.14. The current study: Purpose and summary

Police tend to be the face of and the first point of contact of the criminal justice system. They also hold the power of causing death by legal intervention. Due to these characteristics, the BLM movement has transformed into somewhat of an anti-police movement regardless of the group's denial of this. The initial goals of the movement were to end the systemic racism faced by the Black community and some of their tactics included requesting the removal of police from certain events and social programs. This is currently the focus of the movement in Canada. The extent of the BLM movement and their work in Canada has surrounded policing and their participation in community events and school liaison programs. These requests provided the BLM movement with media attention and brought awareness to their relationship with Canadian police agencies. The following is a brief discussion on what the BLM movement has been trying to accomplish in Canada and how these requests led to the need for this study.

Vancouver, Toronto, Ottawa, St. John's, Calgary, and Halifax are Canadian cities that hold annual pride parades. For the past few years, their respective police agencies have participated in full; agencies have their own floats, marked police vehicles drive within, and police officers march in uniform. However, the BLM movement made demands seeking to remove the police, in some capacity, from these parades. The

police in Toronto, Vancouver, Calgary, Ottawa and St. John's have been asked to remove their floats and vehicles from their local parades, and have been informed that if police wish to march they must do so out of uniform. The final decisions have been mixed; the VPD were allowed to have only 20 percent of their officers march in uniform; St. John's Pride committee reversed their decision and allowed any and all officers to march in uniform (Hamilton, 2017); the Toronto Police Sevice were not allowed to march in uniform and their chief decided they would not participate at all; Ottawa's police chief has refused to assuage the demands and intends to march in uniform (Hamilton, 2017); Calgary will march out of uniform; and Halifax Regional Police became the first in Canada to voluntarily withdraw their participation from their pride parade to avoid the tension seen in these other cities (Thomson, 2017).

For this region specifically, the compromise made between the Vancouver Pride Society (VPS) and VPD was not accepted by the BLM Vancouver chapter. They released a statement emphasizing their disagreement with the decision. They stated that the VPS have chosen "pink-washing, violence, colonialism and white supremacy […] over the safety, security and comfort of Black queer and trans people" (Black Lives Matter – Vancouver, B.C, 2017). The BLM Vancouver chapter argues that the police use events such as the pride parade to "infiltrate" their safe spaces, gain peoples' trust, and turn the community members against one another. The movement has cited this alleged infiltration as their reason for banning the police from the pride parade. This middle ground might have been reached because of the pushback from members of the community who were against banning the police from the parade. Once the BLM Vancouver chapter formally asked for the removal of VPD, a counter-petition was launched in support of keeping the police in the parade (Omand, 2017). The petition cited many of the same reasons as the officers in this study did, including that removing the police from the pride parade was not a productive measure.

Additional measures have been taken in Toronto to exclude police to a level not seen in the GVR. This may be because the BLM Toronto chapter is formally affiliated with the BLM movement, whereas BLM Vancouver has not formally been listed as a chapter according to the BLM website. BLM Toronto has requested that Toronto eliminate their School Resource Officer (SRO) Program due to their alleged targeting of Black students (Glover, 2017). Since 2008, TPS have stationed more than thirty officers at 75 schools across the city (McLaughlin, 2017). It was decided that the SRO program

in Toronto would temporarily be suspended while it underwent a review (Westoll, 2017). BLM activists and supporters were happy to hear this, while other students and community members were not (Westoll, 2017). BLM activists refused to listen to differing viewpoints from students and teachers, many of whom were Black and visible minorities speaking positively about the program (Levy, 2017). The BLM Vancouver chapter's decision to ignore the counter-petition to fight to keep VPD in the pride parade, and the BLM Toronto chapter's dismissal of what students had to say about the SRO program are indicative of an anti-police rhetoric.

In order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the BLM movement in Canada, it was necessary to discuss their historical origins as the group is an extension of a pattern seen throughout history, particularly in the United States. They are the modern wave of protestors fighting for civil rights just as Martin Luther King Jr. and the Black Panthers did. The movement's presence in Canada sheds light onto the Canadian criminal justice system as well, because the literature indicates that police officers have been used as state tools to contribute to the oppression of Black people in the United States. Since the Canadian literature and criminal justice statistics describe a similar situation, this suggests that Canada is not free from discriminatory practices. Therefore, when the BLM Toronto and Vancouver chapters made these requests, it was necessary to determine to what extent other community members in general associated police officers with oppressors. The following chapter discusses the methodology in which these research questions and others were answered.

Chapter 3.

Methodology and Sampling

Preliminary research indicates there is a gap in the literature regarding Canadian police relations with their community, and Canadian policing in general, which this study aims to fill. The current qualitative analysis explored the thoughts, perceptions, experiences and opinions of police officers in the GVR with regard to the BLM movement and whether the ongoing tension in the United States between police officers and the Black community has impacted Canadian policing. The relationship between police officers and their community was also examined to gain a better understanding of community policing efforts in the GVR. Due to the contemporary nature of this conflict, potential effects of the BLM movement in the United States on Canadian police relations and partnerships within their community have not been examined. Therefore, this study explored the following research questions: (1) To what degree, if any, has the recent BLM movement affected municipal policing in the GVR? and, (2) what can municipal policing agencies in the Vancouver area do to distance themselves from the BLM movement and anti-police rhetoric that is developing in many parts of the United States?

For this study, in-person and telephone interviews were conducted with twelve police officers currently employed by the various municipal police agencies across the GVR. By interviewing police officers, we will understand how repercussions of events events that occurred in the United States can impact Canadian attitudes and community policing practices in a specific geographic region (i.e., GVR). Lastly, in the context of Canadian police work and the ever-changing dynamics of public trust and confidence, rank-and-file police officers and high-ranking police officers will have the potential to address emerging issues as well as contribute to Canadian police research.

3.1. Ethical Considerations

This research involved the participation of human subjects, specifically, a population considered sensitive and is therefore subject to ethics approval. Ethics approval for this study was granted by Simon Fraser University's Office of Research Ethics on December 19, 2016. The Research Ethics Board designated this project

"minimal risk" in that participants were not asked questions intrusive in nature, nor was any discomfort that resulted from this study greater than discomfort the participants would encounter on an ordinary day.

It was of utmost importance that the interviews be conducted with the assurance of anonymity and confidentiality since the participants held the risk of being labelled racist simply by discussing their experiences and potential criticisms with the movement. In order to convey this to the participants, a study information sheet outlining the details of this study was provided to them (see Appendix B). The information sheet informed the participants on the overall topic of this project, their role as a participant, how the information they provided would be used and disseminated, protection and eventual destruction of the data, confidentiality, their ability to withdraw from the study at any time prior to the final write up, and any potential risks they may face by participating in this study.

Participants provided informed oral consent after they reviewed the provided study information sheet. At the outset, participants were reminded that they could decline to answer questions they did not feel comfortable answering. Written consent was not required as a formal signature would have undermined confidentiality as risks associated with maintaining confidentiality increase with written consent. Participants were informed that their participation in the study was voluntary and that they could withdraw their consent at any time without explanation or penalty. Participants were assured that refusing to participate or withdrawing after agreeing to participate would not have adverse effects or consequences on them or their employment. Permission was not obtained from participant's employers to conduct this study, nor was it conditional to the participant's participation. Therefore, they were ensured that their contributions to this study would be confidential and that their identity and the identity of their employer would not be disclosed or published in any reports of the completed study. Participant names were replaced with pseudonyms (e.g. character names from law enforcement television shows), and questions, comments, and concerns were discussed when the interviews concluded.

3.2. Sample

3.2.1. Description of the study population

There are six municipal police agencies in the lower mainland: Abbotsford Police Department, Delta Police Department, New Westminster Police Service, Port Moody Police Department, Vancouver Police Department, and the West Vancouver Police Department. The study participants consist of twelve municipal police officers who currently work for a municipal police agency in the GVR.

The sampling frame, which Palys and Atchison (2014) refer to as the "complete list of all the sample elements of the population" (p. 429), consists of six front-line police officers (hereafter, FLO) and six (n=12) senior management police officers (hereafter, SMO). Non-probability sampling techniques were employed; participants were recruited using gatekeepers and snowball sampling. Gatekeepers put the researchers in contact with potential participants whom they have access with through personal or professional connections. Snowball sampling uses a participant's connections to increase the sample through contact information provided by the current participant (Palys & Atchison, 2014).

Two colleagues and the Senior Supervisor, Dr. Rick Parent, served as gatekeepers for this study. A total of nine participants were recruited through them. Eight of these participants were contacted electronically and one participant reached out after the recruitment message was passed onto them from a gatekeeper. Of these nine participants, the snowball sampling procedure was used for three of them to obtain three additional participants.

The sample included male (n=11) and female (n=1) police officers who self-identified as Caucasian (n=10), South Asian (n=1) and mixed heritage (n=1). The participants were selected based on certain inclusion criteria. The officers had to be either a FLO or SMO who were currently employed by a municipal police agency in the GVR. FLOs for this study were officers who were strictly serving on patrol at the time of their interviews but also had experience serving on special investigative and tactical units throughout their careers. Many of the SMOs had decades of experience serving on patrol, and had extensive experience serving on various special investigative and tactical units, as well as periods in administrative positions.

SMO perspectives were sought because it is of interest to see if SMOs were in touch with their FLOs. If FLOs had community experiences related to the BLM movement that differed from what the SMOs experienced, understanding these discrepancies could aid in addressing potential conflicts FLOs may have with their SMOs. These potential discrepancies are important to note because FLOs spend most of their time interacting with the community. However, their mandate and community engagement policies are approved by their SMOs, therefore, if there was a change in community interactions with the FLOs as a result of the BLM movement, it would be vital for their SMOs to be aware in order to maintain organizational structure. By interviewing SMOs, we could see if their perceptions of the BLM movement on Canadian policing in the GVR were in line with the perceptions of their FLOs.

Another inclusion criterion was that participants had to have a minimum of three years' experience as a police officer. Therefore, participants' experiences as police officers ranged from three years to thirty-six years. The sampling approach excluded police officers who had not accumulated at least three years' experience as police officers as they would be unable to provide sufficient insight consistent with the contextual parameters established for this study. Further, they would be unable to speak to historical shifts in community perceptions and relations due to a lack of the required experience and/or involvement in law enforcement. Additionally, it was imperative to speak to officers who had been employed at the time of Michael Brown's death and the resulting riots, because although the BLM phrase emerged a couple of years beforehand, Brown's death and police response to protestors was the pivotal point when the movement transformed into an anti-police rhetoric. Therefore, officers with fewer years' experience would not have been interacting with the community at the time of unrest and would be unable to provide comprehensive experiences relative to the BLM movement and the potential effects felt in the GVR.

3.3. Data collection: Interviews

In-person and telephone interviews were conducted between January 23, 2017 – March 9, 2017. To account for potential differences due to the certain demographics of the police officers and their levels of experience, the interviews were semi-structured. This allowed for an open-ended conversation with participants that aided in the

emergence of identifiable themes and provided opportunities for participants to speak to their unique experiences on the job.

The interview questions had been predetermined and were open-ended. Open-ended questions are optimal for exploratory research as this allows for participants to speak about their opinions in their own words (Palys & Atchison, 2014). These types of questions also serve to produce responses that are less affected by external influence or suggestion. Questions were determined in a manner that would have allowed for the police officers to provide specific insight into the potential effects they may or may not have experienced since the emergence of the BLM movement. In-person interviews were the dominant form of data collection. In-person interviews result in enhanced quality data as they provide opportunities for clarification and allow the interviewer to ask probes that provide a deeper understanding of the participant's response (Palys & Atchison, 2014).

In-person interviews were held with eleven participants and one was conducted over the telephone. Interviews lasted approximately 45 – 70 minutes and took place at a location of the participants choosing; most interviews (n=10) were held at their place of employment (e.g. police department) whereas one was held at a coffee shop and one took place at an office within Simon Fraser University's Surrey campus. Prior to the start of the interview, participants were handed the study information sheet to review and were asked to provide oral consent. Once consent was provided, participants were given the opportunity to ask questions, were assured confidentiality and were informed that they could choose not to participate even once the interview had begun; no participants chose to withdraw consent.

All interviews were audio recorded using a digital voice recorder after verbal permission had been granted by the participants. Detailed notes were not required as all participants agreed to be recorded, and, this medium provides the "most complete and accurate record" of the interview (Palys & Atchison, 2014, p. 151). Participants were informed that the audio files would be transferred onto a secure laptop and that all direct identifiers would be removed during transcription. Transcription took place soon after each interview and once it was complete, data was removed from all other mediums. Similar methods were followed for the telephone interview. The study information sheet had been e-mailed to the participant prior to the interview and permission was obtained

to audio record the interview. This participant was informed that their confidentiality had the potential to be compromised, as a telephone was not a secure or confidential means of communication; the participant acknowledged this and decided to continue.

Throughout the interviews, and then during coding and analysis, identifiable themes began to emerge. Despite the contemporary nature of the BLM phenomenon, participant responses were analyzed relative to the literature that was available on a contextual level. Once each theme had been identified, the relationships among the codes, themes and subthemes were analyzed.

3.4. Summary

A total of twelve police officers currently employed by municipal police agencies in the GVR were interviewed in order to collect and analyze their thoughts, perceptions, experiences, and opinions on the effects or lack thereof around the BLM movement. These interviews provided insight into how events that take place in the United States can have an effect on Canadian attitudes and community policing practices in a specific geographical region (i.e. GVR). In the context of Canadian police work and the ever-changing dynamics of public trust and confidence, front-line and senior management officers addressed emergent issues and contributed to the growing field of Canadian police research. These findings are reviewed in the following chapter.

Chapter 4.

Findings

The following is an examination of the key findings from twelve interviews conducted for this study. As noted previously, six FLOs and six SMOs were interviewed during a time of civil unrest in the United States. Participants were asked to discuss their experiences during this time in order to determine whether the BLM movement had an effect on community relations here in Canada, but particularly in the GVR. Although each participant was able to contribute their unique experiences throughout the interviews, similarities between responses led to the emergence of five overarching themes surrounding contemporary policing styles, community-police relations, community policing strategies, the BLM movement in Vancouver, and the resulting contributions and consequences of their emergence here. Furthermore, several subthemes also emerged that touched on a broad range of topics surrounding police work (e.g. community interactions, community relations, increased scrutiny, and training) as well as various methods used by the police to prevent animosity and to build trust within their communities.

4.1. Contemporary Policing

The BLM movement has been successful in bringing to light issues that the African American community faces with particular attention paid to policing. When participants discussed the evolution of policing, specific issues raised included expanded mandates and increased professionalism. Some participants discussed how their job descriptions have changed over the years. The officers discussed the change from a crime control model of policing to a community policing philosophy which has resulted in an expansion of roles the police must now fill. Below, a few participants explain:

> Policing [has] gone from really doing a lot of criminal things […] [to] where 70% of the time we're not dealing with criminal stuff. We're dealing with service calls. […]. So, we're seen more on a level of, how can we just serve the public in whichever way we need to? And I think out mandate slightly changed […] it's completely different (Aaren Rossi, SMO).

One participant discussed how changes at the government level have contributed to the increase in role responsibility:

> What happens is the provincial government says that people are better […] able to heal themselves within the community, [so they] get rid of the institutions. And now all these people with mental illness are on the street. And we're the only agency [that works] 24/7. As a result, we're dealing with many of these people are 3 o'clock in the morning when everyone else is gone to bed. And how [are the] police supposed to deal with them? (Sonny Carisi, SMO).

The additional roles that the community expects the police to fulfill were also discussed:

> […] society asks for much from policing these days. They want you to be on the front line of terrorism to finding missing kids and elderly family members with dementia, to running community service programs, and saving lives in medical emergencies. There's just such a diverse scale of what you ask from a police officer (Sam Smith, SMO).

Not only were officers cognizant of how their interactions with the community have changed, one officer discussed defining moments in policing and security, and a ripple effect in how police must deal with such changes. For example, the following FLO discusses the shooting at Parliament in Ottawa three years prior:

> […] you know those kinds of things change [things]. Even Remembrance Day, we used to be able to march in our dress uniforms which is typically unarmed […]. In the last few years, we see as these movements become bigger and the threat of terrorism or whatever, […] we now have undercover people. We usually have ERT on the rooftops now, we're all armed in our dress uniforms. The culture has shifted in even 7 or 8 years to a point where we worried less about those things […]. And now we're all armed, we have undercover people walking around and snipers on our roofs […]! Right? Like that's crazy. We shouldn't have to be concerned about that stuff (Megan Mansfield, FLO).

Participants discussed the increased role responsibility, but it was more a call for understanding and patience as they deal with various, ever-changing issues. It seems that the expanded mandates stem from the increased professionalism placed onto policing over the years. For example, more than half of the participants discussed how policing has evolved from a time when officers could behave in a manner that would not be considered appropriate today. The participants indicated that this was a result of the increased oversight and expectations from the public. Below are a few examples of this explanation:

Well I mean there obviously wasn't as much oversight. Policies were very, very different. Things in the media were very different. […] guidelines and rules were put into place about what you can and what you can't do. You can still do what you're going to do, but you [got to] go through the 10 steps before you get there (Max Carter, FLO).

Two participants compared Canadian professionalism standards to those in America:

I think, this is my perception. I feel at times, I'm not saying every department in the US, but through the years I've noticed a bit more of an us vs them attitude, where we're kind of going to war with the public everyday and this kind of thing. I think things are changing and they're trying to change them in the states, but I didn't notice that over the years. It was more of a military view of us vs them, going to war type attitude every time you went to work (Aaren Rossi, SMO).

[…] policing has always been moving towards, you know… I'll say this here, it's amazing how a guy like Robert Peel got it so right so many years ago about the police. Public being the police and the police being the public. You know, American style policing became very militaristic and very us against them (Sam Smith, SMO).

The following participant discussed a mentality he encountered while working with American police officers:

I remember I did a ride along with the [American police agency] years ago. And there was this thing with [them], like if you don't have yourself an internal, haven't been suspended a couple of days, you're not doing your job right. [It's] not like that in [Canada]. Like, […] if you've been suspended for a couple days [here], you're not like, hey way to go! You don't get a slap on the back. Everyone sits there and goes, what did you do? And how stupid was that? And I don't want to work with that guy, right. And so, it's different, […], it's just a different style of everything. I was blown away that it was like [that] (Spencer Reid, FLO).

However, he does go on to say that there was a similar mindset here in Canada when he began his career as a police officer:

There was always a joke when I started. If you're not getting in trouble, you're not doing your job and stuff like that. And that certainly died away. There is not that kind of bravado [anymore] (Spencer Reid, FLO).

This particular mentality may be reflective of the current incidents taking place in the United States. It is possible that this mindset still exists within American police agencies in the United States which perhaps plays a role in police officer's recent decisions to engage in misconduct. The incidents of misconduct may provide credibility

for American police officers, similar to the masculinity threat explanation posited by Kahn & Martin (2016). If wearing incidents of misconduct is a badge of pride, this may translate into being viewed as *more* of a police officer when compared to others without such incidents.

4.2. Police perceptions of community relations

Due to recent incidents of police misconduct in the United States, participants were asked whether the anti-police rhetoric highlighted in the media had affected their relationship with their community. From a police perspective, the BLM movement has had some effect[6] on policing in the GVR, but has not been significant enough to alter their relationships. All participants from the various regions agreed that overall, they had great relationships with their communities before and after the emergence of the BLM movement. The following are examples of how the police officers viewed their relationship with those in their jurisdictions:

> I think they love the service they get because we go to everything and they love to see a police officer at their door. We really connect, we have the time to spend with them and we build a relationship with them (Aaren Rossi, SMO).

A few officers acknowledged the fact that there are between-group discrepancies on police perception:

> Of course, there are some groups that we probably get along with better than others. Most groups we get along with just fine, there are some that can be adversarial toward the police. But I'll say that in recent years we've actually broken down a lot of those barriers and once they've got to know us, we've actually found that on many things we have common ground and we get along very well. But overall, our relationship, I would say is good. (Ben Fisher, SMO).

> I mean we live in a very diverse community […], there [are] lots of different communities within [city] and I think that, overall, our relationship is a relatively positive relationship. Even with some of the more disadvantaged communities and whether it's even like the homeless community. I think for the most part, and again, there is obviously certain communities that we may have a more positive relationship with, or… not necessarily [a] more positive relationship, but a [smoother] relationship with. Obviously, our relationship with say, the homeless community, there may sometime be difficulties, but for the

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[6] Discussed in depth in section 4.5.

most part, overall, I would say that we have a positive relationship (Max Carter, FLO).

One officer spoke about keeping things in perspective, even when police make mistakes that are often publicized and heavily critiqued:

> Over the years [things have] changed with social media. […] one person's story blows up and now you've got people who may comment on it negatively about the police, but is their overall perception about the police negative? No. I think a lot of people have the intelligence to look at things on a one on one basis. And say, this was maybe somewhere the police made some major mistakes. Hey, we're human, it happens. But overall, [in] my experiences […], people might say, "that time the police officer and I disagreed, but overall you guys are doing a great job". [We have] strong relations with the community, strong relations with all the different community groups […]. So, those [strong] relations were here prior [to the BLM movement] and those relations are here now (Danny Stabler, SMO).

> I think the quality of the service is a lot better and that's definitely recognized by our community as a large. Certainly, you always have folks that don't particularly like police for whatever reason, but generally on a whole, I think it's very well received (Megan Mansfield, FLO).

Other participants drew comparisons between their work with the community and community reactions, versus the culture in which American police officers work. One participant particularly noted how approachable they believed Canadian police officers were:

> In […] Canada, or the lower mainland, it's not uncommon to see police just within your community, or chatting with people. You go up and chat with somebody. So, it's just that sort of different environment (Max Carter, FLO).

> Um… yeah, I mean. I would word it this way, I would say this: If I don't see it or I don't hear about it being to the extreme as it is in the US, then maybe we do a better job with something up here (Aaren Rossi, SMO).

A couple of participants discussed examples of how they knew they had support from their community. Like the other participants, they acknowledged that not everyone will be pleased with how the police operate, but that the majority of the community is understanding:

> [This] community loves their police department. Absolutely loves their police department. […] we had a large police presence and it was a very strong presence at the Remembrance Day ceremony and some people

wrote in [about it]. There was one person that wrote in anyway, to the paper and the editorial board and said, you know, there is no need for our police officers in this community to be armed to such an extent and what are they doing and where do they think this is, this isn't the United States. And in fact, immediately after, the next paper, which was 3 days later, there was 3 citizens that wrote in and said we love our […] police, they did the right thing, they were absolutely acting. So, we didn't even have to defend ourselves. Typically, in that kind of situation you would have to come out and say some sort of statement and respond to it, but I didn't have to say a thing because the community actually defended us. So, the relationship that we have with the community is very special (Sonny Carisi, SMO).

Additionally, a FLO discussed incidents of citizen support when terrible things occurred such as an officer death. She shared that civilians showed solidarity by dropping off cards and flowers. The police appear to be aware of how they are received by their community. This was reflected by the community surveys a couple of the participants cited:

> Well, what I would say about [my] community is that I know from looking at our customer satisfaction and feelings of safety that we have been steadily improving. And so, you know, […] well in the last 5 years […] feelings of safety have been out of a scale of 10. [And our score has been] 6, mid 6s to mid 8s. So, a fairly significant improvement. So, I would say that that is good (Mark Johnson, SMO).

> But overall, our relationship, I would say is good. That's reflected in our community surveys as well (Ben Fisher, SMO).

Although some participants spoke to the community relations before the emergence of the BLM movement, the majority answered this question in terms of their current perspective. The following discusses efforts the municipal agencies have put into maintaining the good relationships they believe they have with their communities, and why the BLM movement has not affected policing in the GVR to the same extent it has in the United States.

4.3. Community policing: Strategies

To understand police perceptions of community relations, participants were asked what they did and what efforts they took to maintain positive community relations. They all addressed incorporating community policing as part of their mandates and way of life while working. Below are a few responses from three officers who cited Sir Robert Peel, who is considered the founder of the community policing philosophy:

It's funny, I always talk about, for many years it was always, when I first started the job, they started getting into this whole community based policing, community policing. First, it became more of a style of policing or a method of policing and eventually, as you know, it's not really a style or method, it's not like a program. It's a philosophy. It's basically if we go back to Robert Peel's principles, it's about working with the community to solve crime and disorder and problems. It's all of us doing it together in partnerships, and that's what policing is about (Aaren Rossi, SMO).

Which I mean if you go all the way back to Robert Peel and you look at the reasons the police force was created. It was like an extension of the community. That we've appointed these people to act on your behalf and we're going to give them some powers, but you need to support them. They're there for you. They're not operating some separate entity […]. And if the relationship isn't there and they think we don't care or whatever it is, then they're not going to call, they're not going to help us and we're not going to be able to help them (Brian Cassidy, FLO).

Day one of the police academy for me was Sir Robert Peel. The police are the public and the public are the police. And if you think about that, when you go out and do your job, it's really easy. You can just have conversations with people. And it's, you're not there to order people around. Once in a while you have to, but it's not what you're there for. It's not war. Like I'm going out to try and perform my duties, apprehend officers, keep people safe, keep property safe, catch people who steal. It's not, I'm not going to war with somebody who's breaking into a house. It's just a different way of thinking about it, if that makes sense (Mason Glass, FLO).

SMOs and FLOs engaged in community policing through different strategies that were categorized as: building trust, community engagement, and response from the community. Each subtheme and how they play a role in building a foundation between a police force and its community is discussed henceforth.

4.3.1. Building trust

All participants emphasized the importance of community trust. Without it, they argue that a relationship between themselves and their community members could not develop, which would effectively hinder police operations when community involvement is required. One SMO discussed that building a relationship with the community required more work and transparency in terms of what the police do. He explained that their efforts would be beneficial in the future describing that communication meant a lot to the community. He went on to describe how a police department also relies on the

community due to the social aspect surrounding many community problems, emphasizing that partners on both side are necessary in order to best serve each other.

Municipal police agencies in the GVR continue to embrace the community policing philosophy and have taken measures to ensure that this remains a priority for new officers as well. For example, one SMO described the standards at which they hire in order to remain connected to the community:

> I think we've got 54 different languages that our officers speak. And we've got, […] I think around 70% have got degrees when they're coming in the department and we expect volunteer service, clean backgrounds, education, good work experience, good references, you got to be physically fit, like there's a whole bunch of different things that make it actually quite difficult to get in to the police department (Ben Fisher, SMO).

This SMO was cognizant of how important it is for a police agency to be representative of the community they serve as it allows for the integration of police officers into the community. Two other FLOs echoed this thought:

> I think we do a really good job in being aggressive in trying to attract community groups to apply to become police officers […] (Mason Glass, FLO).

> We've also been actively going after visible minorities and everything else on the job. We have a large gay, lesbian, LGBTQ community [here]. We certainly have representatives of those in our department and we get actively involved [with them]. So, I think [we] try to represent the [city], all different religions and however anyone identifies as a person. We try to do that (Spencer Reid, FLO).

By being representative, the officers claimed that integration would proceed smoothly if liaison officers were placed into community fields from where they originated. For example, one SMO discussed how community integration via community liaison officers (CLO) allowed for the police department to familiarize itself with the dynamics of that community. He argued that "plopping" a CLO into the community was different than truly identifying the community issues and really working with each community. The latter approach has been successful over the years and it continues to improve.

Another method in which officers build trust was through reaching out to unofficial community leaders. One SMO discussed how the officers in his agency would approach these unofficial leaders and build partnerships with them. He went onto say that official

connections would be made through places of worship or community groups and associations. The officer elaborated that connections with those leaders allowed for community members to know who their police were, and vice versa. These connections were important because officers were aware that community members may not necessarily come directly to the police when they have a problem, but instead go to their unofficial community leaders. In those situations, community leaders play the role of the mediator and if they have a good relationship with their police department they can direct community members to the police if needed. Therefore, by maintaining a relationship with these leaders, the police have opened a gateway to the community and the opportunity to become aware of issues that may not be brought to their attention directly. However, the SMO did acknowledge that this "middle man" would only work if they themselves felt comfortable going to the police. Therefore, the SMO found that working on building trust with unofficial community leaders provided an opportunity to create external channels of communication between a difficult to reach population and their agencies. He described the connection between police officers and unofficial community leaders to be a "huge asset" and "massive assistance".

Another finding particular to the smaller municipal agencies in the GVR was the attempt to go to as many calls for service as possible. Both FLOs and SMOs, maintain that when they attend calls, their visible presence makes the community feel cared for, which in turn builds trust. One SMO described it as a simple conversation starter:

> We've gone to calls where I've had people say to me, "you came out to this?" Yes, yes, we did. "I didn't think police would come, I just called it in as an FYI, just so you guys are aware, or its just kind of frustrating me, I didn't know what else to do. I didn't think you guys would come." And all of a sudden, you're in a conversation, you're engaged. So that little piece there is huge. It's huge to build that relationship and for them to know, hey we can call anytime. Nothing, *nothing* is going to be ignored. So those are the things that we continue to do to maintain that relationship (Danny Stabler, SMO).

Every participant acknowledged the heterogeneous ethnic make-up of the GVR and that, although some ethnic groups may centralize in a particular area, all police officers have engaged with community members of a different background. A concern all of them had was in relation to newcomers to the region; they worried about the relationship those community members had with the police from where they originated. All officers describe this as a concern, because some civilians come from areas where

the police are not trusted, so they are unlikely to ever approach police in the GVR. One FLO described how great it was to change these mindsets through positive interaction:

> [...] immigrant families [...] only call police [when they need us] and think they're really bad because there's fear of corruption, there's fear of you not [being] treated well, there's fear of being female and calling police. [It's] really interesting, but it's really nice to then have that conversation with people and have them say,' I had no idea you could perhaps help me like this, I'll call again' and that's refreshing because we've changed a mindset because police can be helping and not corrupt and bad, like they are in a lot of different countries (Megan Mansfield, FLO).

Officers in the GVR attempt to dispel these thoughts by ensuring that they attend welcome events for new immigrants and/or refugees. At these events officers are able to extend invitations for further interaction. For example, officers invited new community members to visit their police stations and participate in activities such as creating art work that said "hello" and "welcome" in their first language which would be displayed around the police station. When the Syrian refugee crisis was occurring and the Canadian government announced their plans on how many people they would be taking in, one SMO discussed how police agencies across the GVR prepared to introduce themselves to these newcomers. The police agencies did this by organizing welcome kits and other programs aimed at explaining the role that police officers have in Canada.

Additionally, FLOs spoke about how the move from a crime control model allowed them to approach policing with increased levels of freedom. For example, one officer discussed how in the past, police would go to a call for service to try to get someone to "move along" (i.e. homeless people). However, now, one of the first questions many of them ask is how and what they can do to help. By taking part in this more positive approach to policing, one FLO claimed that it helped change the mindset of those who tend to view police in more traditional sense. A couple of FLOs went on to describe other methods of integrating themselves into the community. These methods included participating in monthly meetings with business owners, loss prevention officers, and hotel and department store staff. This level of engagement demonstrates to civilians that officers care about the community they work in and it has the potential to build and maintain trust.

Crime control policing strategies are on the opposite end of community policing practices. Militarization of police forces also do not coincide with the philosophy of

community policing. A couple of FLOs acknowledged this when describing how the American policing system differed with the Canadian system by how they treated their community members, and by their increased militarization levels. One FLO described his perceptions on the matter:

> [The U.S.] definitely ha[s] a far more law and order center model in my opinion. I have a friend who's a police officer in [the U.S.]. He's describing his shift to me [and about the way they interact]. It's my words, not his. But it just sort of sounds like, yeah they get to the office, they have their briefing like we do, and they get ready to go out to combat. I go to work. They go to war. And it's kind of the way they think about it, and I don't know if it's [be]cause they have a more violent society that's kind of led them to start to think that way and then it self-fulfills, or it's the way they're trained or it's the way they see senior officers interact with people. But if you have that us vs. them mentality, it's very detrimental to your relationships (Mason Glass, FLO).

This mindset contributes to a lack of approachability that the police officers in the GVR do not wish to embody. Two FLO made this aspect clear. They emphasized the importance of being themselves, talking to people with respect and making sure that community members felt that they could approach them whether they be in their cruiser or walking the beat. Making sure they were the same person when they had the uniform on and off was described by one of the FLOs:

> I just try to be a regular person, be friendly. I like to crack jokes, I like to have a laugh and that's the way that I try to be with people; the majority of people I'm dealing with and when it comes to common interactions […]. Every day, 85% of [our] interactions, we just try to be cool with people. You [have to] be cool and laugh about stuff and just try to be the same way that I'd be with anybody. Whether it's on the job, off the job (Max Carter, FLO).

He goes onto say that this is a mindset, not only for himself but throughout the department where he works. Specifically, that there is a consensus amongst officers that those who are not friendly, or those that hinder the fostering of positive community relationships, are officers that no one wants to work with.

Participants discussed methods they used to ensure they were accessible to the public. One FLO describes something he does at the end of every call for service he attends. He asks anyone if they have any questions before he leaves, because if people are left confused as to what just happened, things may be misinterpreted. Therefore, by

explaining why the police did what they did, he hopes to build rapport and trust should they ever need the police in the future.

It was also found that there was a ripple effect when leadership emphasized positive community relations. One SMO explained how he meets with every new officer they hire in order to reaffirm how they are to behave with community members:

> I meet with every new police officer we hire to talk about my expectations about how they treat the public and the importance and practical value of treating everybody with respect. And I truly believe that attitudes do trickle downhill and so if I model good behaviour and say the right things and live what I say, then that will have an influence. it It's not like magic or anything like that, but I know that bad attitudes definitely have an impact (Mark Johnson, SMO).

A FLO from a different municipal agency described the same approach with all of his new recruits as well. Both spoke about how remaining professional and respectful will help shape how an interaction proceeds. They know to remain positive, because positive interactions with police officers tend to leave the public with positive perceptions of the police. Furthermore, the FLO acknowledged the fact that this encounter, although a regular shift for him, may be that person's very first interaction with police. Therefore, the officers will actively work to ensure the encounter is a positive one by remaining professional and open to communication.

4.3.2. Community engagement

Another strategic aspect of community policing the participants addressed was engaging in community events. Participants described events that they were invited to which allowed them to interact with the community on a social level. One SMO discusses the overall process of engagement and how it is incorporated within their strategic plan:

> We've been really engaged with the community for many years. Every time we have a strategic plan, we actually just did [our] new one. It always talks about improving community engagement and different ways we can do that. Then we get out [and do it]. We have a basic goal, different strategies, but then when it gets down to [putting them in action], each squad will say, this is what we're trying to accomplish and think of ways they can do that and they get right on it (Aaren Rossi, SMO).

Another SMO described their efforts to remain connected to the community:

We have a very open set of communication. We meet on a bi-monthly basis with all the residents, associations and business associations and we're tied into several of the city community projects or initiatives as well (Sam Smith, SMO).

Although community engagement often involves formal participation, some officers described attending events like these when they were off duty, but still representing the police department. For example, one SMO described how officers employed by his department would organize community soccer games and fundraisers. Furthermore, part of the police budget would be allocated for events such as these in order to purchase, for example, soccer jerseys for everyone involved in the game. Other FLOs talked about other events such as firework displays and fairs that usually draw large crowds making it relatively easy for officers to engage on a positive level unrelated to enforcement.

Another method of engagement a SMO discussed was how police agencies in the GVR remain aware of cultural events taking place in their jurisdictions – not only for enforcement purposes but to ensure that the community members know that the police are accessible to them during this time. The officer explained that police will sometimes be invited to these events and may set up a booth.

One major event many of the officers discussed were the Olympics hosted by Vancouver in 2010. They described this as an amazing example of community engagement. They discussed a "Meet & Greet" policy where officers would simply be out walking the streets, or greeting people at the airport as they arrived with high fives. One officer also explained that civilians wishing to high five officers is quite common on a regular Friday night as well. Other officers described situations where citizens have asked to take photos with them and used the opportunity to engage; for example, by inviting children to sit in police cruisers and turn the lights on. The FLO described such incidents as an aid to making police officers more personable.

One SMO described how they have been engaging with the community for so long, that they have ensured their engagement year-round at community events:

But we've been ahead of that always. Since my time here, [we've been] reaching out and having those strong groups, [those] strong

relationships. When something like this[7] does come along, we continue to move. We're not out there trying to find people and trying to dig up that group and [saying], "hey, let us become involved!" We're already at the table (Danny Stabler, SMO).

Another officer also described "already being at the table". He explained that building positive new relationships with communities is what they are taught from the beginning of their careers, and why this level of engagement and type of policing comes as naturally as it does:

During the Olympics, I was assigned to work at the airport and welcome people. It was, "Welcome, hey, high five!" We want to be friendly. I want people to like me. I like to be friendly with people. It's not hard.

But I think the fact that right from the beginning of our careers, most of us have been assigned to [engage]. [It] makes that attitude part of the way we carry ourselves. Like when I interact with people, I find it works way better to be nice and kind to everybody. Even people who aren't very nice or kind of mean, because it goes way further. Like, I'd much rather talk to somebody than have to punch somebody. It's so much easier (Mason Glass, FLO).

Program development

A major part of community engagement that participants discussed was involvement in community policing committees. It was interesting to note that these programs were not community founded, but are programs developed by the police agency specifically designed to engage the community.

These programs ranged from soccer camps, welcome initiatives aimed at young people new to Canada, youth police academies, afterschool activities, school liaison programs, volunteer programs encompassing various tasks (e.g. well-being checks of elderly living alone, shoveling driveways), and lectures surrounding a certain topic of interest to the community at the time. Each police force organizes and participates in at least one of these events in their jurisdiction.

One SMO described their participation in these programs as well as community events as "pop-up police offices":

Some of the programs we have is pop up police offices. Again, so if there's a special event going on, we're making sure we're setting up our

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[7] This officer was making reference to the BLM movement.

booths, we're getting out. And it's really as simple as just, "hey, how are things, what's going on?" I've been [at] a couple of these when all of a sudden people take this opportunity to chat with you (Danny Stabler, SMO).

It was interesting to note that although officers were passionate about the community policing approach, they were aware of the criticisms that are often associated with this model (i.e. community policing does not allow for police to perform their typical duties of "real" police work). However, they wanted to emphasize that engaging with the community on a positive level that is not a rigid or formal interaction still allows for intelligence gathering:

And even from sort of a tactical standpoint, you start chatting with people, you figure out where they're coming from, what their plan [is], what they're doing. 99% of the time it's just to be friendly but then there's also the percent of the time where, 'Hey, I know who this guy is and who they're hanging around with' – those sorts of things, but for the most part it is just about engaging with people and chatting with people and you kind of build a little bit more of a rapport with people and it ends up working out for our benefit. [It helps because we're] trying to break down that us vs. them mentality (Max Carter, FLO).

Other participants discussed how their agencies have specific units that were created for the sole purpose of community engagement. This included allocating resources to a spokesperson role or hiring an officer(s) for a new community-focused section within the department. Another example of bridging the gap between the 'us vs. them' mentality was to make changes to traditional symbols of police work to accommodate stigmatized populations in the community. For example, one FLO discussed how she advocated for the removal of her formal uniform, and the introduction of a new, unmarked police cruiser in order to help the population she regularly interacted with be more comfortable.

Participants also discussed youth as a core population that they pay particular attention to. One SMO explained that this was important because it allowed officers to identify risks and intercede early in youths' lives in order to both prevent crime and to ensure they are not victims of crime. Another SMO offered another benefit of being involved with youth through the school liaison officer program. He explained that the program was "tremendously successful" due to its longevity, which meant the officers were familiar with the grandparents and parents of the current youth at the school. He discussed how this allowed the police force to become familiar with generational

changes, which give officers tremendous insight into the families in terms of their behaviour dynamics and social issues.

Additional program measures identifying issues prevalent in the community, allow officers and community members to build knowledge on a relevant topic. For example, one SMO described how the police department brings in experts from certain fields once they have become aware of an issue (e.g. bullying in a school environment) and host a talk for the community. However, it is not only community members whom these sessions benefit. One FLO described attending information sessions on issues that received a lot of attention from the media and community at the time. He discussed how the police department would organize similar talks or videos for their officers in order to better arm them with the knowledge that can help them with future interactions. For example, some of these sessions were held on topics surrounding disadvantaged populations in Canada and minority group rights. The same officer told a story of how his personal experiences allowed for a family in distress to feel more comfortable around him:

> I remember I was at a Vietnamese family household years ago. My wife and I had travelled to Vietnam and I saw this poster up on the wall and I go, 'hey isn't that so and so?', and I remembered the place and she goes, 'yes, how do you know that?' And I go, I travelled there! And she's like, wow. And the way she was looking at me and talking to me and once I said I had travelled there, it changed 180 degrees. And so, I mean, it is difficult, it will always be difficult [to try and relate to everyone], but you just have to keep trying (Spencer Reid, FLO).

4.3.3. Community response to police efforts of community engagement

The police perceived the community's response to community policing efforts as very positive. Every participant largely echoed each other when describing their experiences. A lot of their perceptions were based on personal and informal interactions they had with community members. The following are some examples the officers cited:

> We get a lot of cards, letters and more than anything, a lot of emails from the citizens saying, [that they had run into one of our officers and wanted to thank them for what they did even though they may have investigated something. They told us that the officer was] a really personable guy or girl and they went the extra mile to help [them] out with this and [they] appreciated [the] officer coming and speaking with the kids on this and that (Aaren Rossi, SMO).

The same officer even described a situation where citizens discussed how much their taxes are being spent on the police budget – an issue that is often contentious:

> [Every year we] present our budget and then eventually the city will do a town hall meeting where they incite the community [to come] in to talk about the city budget in general and people will say [that they] think the budget [is] too high, [and that they] shouldn't be paying this much [in] taxes. But I would say over the last 5 or 6 years, I always hear the same comment from people, when the police budget comes up. They go, 'yup, no we're okay with that, in fact we'll pay [indistinguishable] for the police because we like our service and we like the police department.' (Aaren Rossi, SMO).

One SMO discussed an interaction he had with a member of the BLM movement:

> One of them actually sent me an email afterwards, a member of the community who was there, a Black woman who I have known for many, many years and she just said, 'I just want to thank you so much for the professionalism of your officers and you guys are fantastic. We love your [police agency]' and this is coming from people and from BLM and you're not going to see that down in the United States. Or even in Toronto (Ben Fisher, SMO).

Many of the officers discussed receiving feedback for past events about their actions or the actions of a fellow officer. Other officers have received feedback simply from people walking into their community police stations with stories of how they were appreciated. One SMO described a situation where a civilian told the officer that their decision on where to lived was based off of the police department:

> And it's amazing the feedback that I've had just first-hand. Working at a community police station, people just want to stop in and say, 'hey, just wanted to say thank you" I don't mean to put down any other agencies, but I've had people, again it's not thousands and thousands of them or hundreds and hundreds of them, but I've had some people that said, "hey you know what, I made the mistake of moving out of [city] to [city]. We're back! We came back to [city]'. [There are just] different dynamics, right? [But] those are some of the comments (Danny Stabler, SMO).

After establishing a positive rapport with the community, officers noted that the community will discuss matters with them even if they are uncertain whether it is a police issue. The positive police interactions have now established a relationship strong enough so that civilians feel comfortable using the police as an outlet when they do not believe the issue at hand would qualify as a 911 call. Although this may seem taxing, officers appreciated reaching this level of trust because they had experiences where a

civilian would inform officers of something they may not believe is important, but is actually linked to other police work such as an active investigation.

After discussing the positive feedback officers felt they had received from the community, a few SMOs explained why they believed their relationship with the community was as positive as it was. They explained that because of their community policing efforts, they have developed cushioning for when a situation arises that has the potential to cause tension between an agency and its community:

> If 50 is the threshold and we're flying at 95 – because nothing is ever 100 – and if something major does happen, yeah, I think the worst [thing that will happen is that] we might drop down to 70-75. [But] we're still well above the threshold where we still have that public confidence. The next key piece is because of the work that we've put in. That 70-75 will hold for a very small period of time. Mind you in today's day and age, [an incident] gets broadcast out there a billion times and makes you feel like it's going on forever, but it's not. That confidence comes right back really quickly because we've put in all that work. We're not going to fall below that 50. I'd be disappointed if we did. I would take it very personally if we did. I couldn't speak outside of BC, and my experiences over here. But I don't think something [like that] would happen here (Danny Stabler, SMO).

> Every time we go to a call, we put a small deposit into that bank of public trust that we have. [It] continually builds until we have to make a catastrophic withdrawal because we will screw up. Everybody screws up. Our agency will screw up, we'll have an officer that'll screw up and we'll depend on that bank to be able to give us the benefit of the doubt to ensure that it was the actions of one officer, it was the actions of one instant, not a systemic issue within the organization (Sonny Carisi, SMO).

4.4. Absence of platform[8]

Police agencies across the GVR put extensive work into maintaining positive relations with their community, thus every participant was disappointed to learn that the efforts made by the BLM Vancouver Chapter – in an attempt to show solidarity with their American counterparts – could potentially slow down the progress each agency in the GVR has made with their own communities. From the earlier examples of anti-police rhetoric, and the incidents that sparked the movement in the United States, the officers

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[8] It is important to note that the BLM Vancouver chapter is the only BLM chapter in the GVR. Therefore, the views expressed here include those of officers from various agencies despite their municipalities not having a local BLM chapter.

in this study felt the BLM Vancouver Chapter would be more fitting of a support chapter,
than an advocating chapter. This was because participants did not feel that the issues
that caused the BLM movement to emerge were issues of prominence in the GVR. Many
participants felt that they do not experience the same issues (e.g. lack of community
policing philosophies, poor community representation within the police force) as some
American police agencies do, and that there were other societal problems agencies in
the GVR focussed on:

> You know what, I'll start off by saying there's been some movement
> down in the states and obviously some movement up here. We don't
> see it a lot of [it here, though]. It's just not there, we don't have this
> issue so we don't experience it. So, I can say this, [the BLM movement]
> has never come up as an issue [our meetings] – [this agency and other
> departments here] compared to what I hear in the states. I don't see it
> to the same extreme up here, as I do down there. Not at all. Cause to
> me, if it was an issue, it would be coming up at the meetings. I mean
> right now we're dealing with other issues, and of course one of the
> biggest issue we're all dealing with is the opioid crisis, the fentanyl issue.
> I don't think [the BLM movement] is a crisis. I don't think [tensions
> have] reached a point where it's a huge issue (Aaren Rossi, SMO).

Similar thoughts were spoken by another SMO:

> So, BLM has almost become like… on the scale of 1 to 10, it's sort of
> down at about a 0.5 where the fentanyl crisis is up at about 9.5. So, it's
> more in the back of your mind, but it's not a top of mind, huge issue
> right now (Ben Fisher, SMO).

> I can say that there has been little, if not any conversation around the
> [BLM] movement […]. Very little (Sonny Carisi, SMO).

A few officers spoke of the framework the United States carries regarding its
history with Black people. They explained that the basis for the existence of the
Canadian chapters does not fall under the same standards as in the United States,
which is also demonstrated through the type of complaints officers in the GVR have had
filed against them. Some officers stated that the issues being dealt with in the United
States are much more severe when compared to Canada, because there is a deeper,
historical sense of prejudice within their culture:

> I'm not sure about the [entire] lower mainland, [but] I'm sure it
> happens. The big things for us [here and what] I am constantly dealing
> with [are complaints an officer was rude, or that he swore], he was
> discourteous under the Police Act, [that] they used too much force, that
> they shouldn't have searched someone. But I've never had [a complaint

come in that said something was] because of [their] race or anything (Aaren Rossi, SMO).

They don't have a platform here. The BLM movement has really gained a lot of prominence in the United States [but] I don't think it's necessarily been the same in Canada and I think that's because there aren't anywhere near as many Black related issues in Canada as there are in the United States and what they're doing is, they're trying – in my opinion – to get involved with other movements that don't really have anything to do with Black issues. In the United States, they've got lots of things that they can go and protest about, [but not here]. [Which is why] if there really were similar Black related issues in Canada as there were in the United States, [the BLM chapters] probably wouldn't have very much time to be getting involved with gay pride parades in Halifax or gay pride parades in Toronto, or gay pride parades in Vancouver (Max Carter, FLO).

Other officers discussed how it was difficult to understand how people were able to transfer issues from one country to another:

[…] it really is two different countries and two different situations going on. You've got a culture down in the U.S. of policing where the police departments are not that diverse, the police departments do not have great relations with many of the communities. It's kind of an us vs. them [thing]. They're going through this whole battle right now, [a] guardian vs. warrior [battle] (Ben Fisher, SMO).

Officers did clarify on many occasions, that it was not that they did not believe the BLM movement did not have grounds to exist, or that Canada was free from racism and discrimination, but that the movement seemed out of place in this region:

I mean I've had a lot of people say they get where [the BLM movement is] coming from but they're [also] saying [that] sometimes they're taking an American issue and trying to fit it into the [GVR] situation and it doesn't fit. It's a bit like the square peg in the round hole kind of thing (Ben Fisher, SMO).

A FLO echoed these thoughts, but described the situation differently:

It's [more of] a solidarity issue and I think we'd be amiss if we didn't recognize those kinds of things, right? Just in the same sense if an American officer dies in the line of duty, or a Mountie, we go to the funerals. I've driven across the border several times in uniform because it's just recognition that you are a brother or sister here and we care about the work you did, and we care about your families who are now left behind after you've passed. [So], I think it's great that they have support groups that are supporting the BLM. It'd be like not supporting the crisis in Syria because it's not here. Well it doesn't mean we can't support something overseas or elsewhere because it's not at home, right? (Megan Mansfield, FLO).

Another FLO stated that the BLM movement in Canada would not have emerged at all if officers in the United States not been at the center of such a controversial issue (i.e. discriminatory policing practices). Many officers claimed that if similar issues had occurred between police officers in the GVR and their communities, a movement similar to the BLM movement would have originated in Canada. Instead, the BLM chapters in Canada, specifically the one in the GVR, only exist because of police misconduct in the United States.

Many SMOs and FLOs acknowledged this:

The only time that the BLM [movement] has been in the news in Canada, if because they have been against police departments walking in gay pride parades. (Max Carter, FLO).

[…] here, you know they're really advocating for and around issues that are not relevant here, that don't exist here. And not to say that there is never, generally speaking, issues of racism or alleged racism, but I think that they're spending a lot of energy on [things when] really, their beef is about what's going on in the US. Which I empathize with. [But] I think it's positive in that they really don't have any issues to deal with [here]. They're really talking about issues that are happening in other jurisdictions (Mark Johnson, SMO).

I think with regards to the activism, it's dangerous to transplant issues. […] there are issues with certain communities [in other regions of Canada] that we don't necessarily have [here]. So it's not healthy to transplant those issues [either] and create [some] where there weren't any before. Similarly, in the United States, there's issues between communities, especially Black communities and police in some major urban areas. It's a huge divide. It's almost like a war zone and it's so unhealthy. There is no community safety. It's law and order model there. So, if you transplant that attitude and that issue to here, you're creating something that was never there in the first place (Mason Glass, FLO).

Don't put [this] on me. I understand [the situation down in the states], but don't put stuff that I have nothing to do with on me. I think that's my big thing. The United States is a totally different ball, [there are totally different things] going on there and people are putting that stuff on us. And this is a different country, we're different people, I'm an individual. I do have to enforce the law, but it's Canada. Let's just respect each other and move forward (Spencer Reid, FLO).

Another explained that if a movement like the BLM group emerged out of issues present within the policing system in the GVR, police agencies would acknowledge that they had made a mistake:

If a group has come to the point where they need to create a movement... we've missed the ball somewhere. But we're kind of seeing the effects of our police counter parts down in the states, and there [are] some things that we can't control (Danny Stabler, SMO).

Other officers acknowledged the differences between the BLM chapters in the United States and the nature of the protests that have occurred there:

I think that the BLM movement here in Canada, the way I see it is not as... how can I put it... politically forceful, I guess? In the states it seems that anytime there is what appears to be an injustice towards somebody from the African American community, and again this is only on media, they appear to be [followed by sudden riots], right? So, [...] thankfully, we haven't had that here in BC. What I see here, is the organization or the chapter is political without being obstructive and violent (Ed Case, FLO).

Many officers posit that due to the small African Canadian population in the GVR, the issues of systemic racism stemming from the United States are not transferable to the region, as police officers in the GVR do not have a history of fatally shooting members of the African Canadian community:

[BLM] really have been not relevant and I think most people looking out would just say, 'what are they talking about?' Because first of all, there is no significant Black population in Metro Vancouver. I mean there are some Blacks of course, but I think the [numbers are small] [...] and so way smaller than the Aboriginal population of 3.5-4%, for example. [The BLM movement and their principles] have come from other places to try and rally the troops, but there aren't many troops to rally (Mark Johnson, SMO).

A few officers also made comparisons between the many different minority groups that reside within the GVR to emphasize that their interactions with any minority group are not race based. They made additional comments explaining that the level of police service people in the GVR receive is of a different quality than the type of police service communities in the United States receive. They explained that the difference in service was partly due to their level of community engagement and lack of "major issues" that draw attention to police forces:

I mean the BLM movement or the chapter here, probably has as much of a voice as any other movement. Whether it be the Aboriginal community, the South Asian community, the Pride society. Everybody has a voice and to me that's the cool thing about this area is everybody has a voice. We'll listen to everyone. (Ed Case, FLO)

It will be White people who get shot, Brown people, Black people, First Nations people. [The movement] is not going to change who or how many… I think in the states there's a potential that [the movement] could change [things] because of the way they do policing [there]. I think there is something to change there. They want violence against Black people to change… well it's not going to change [here] because we're not out hunting Black people. It's just a crazy thought to me. We're not looking for things that would [let] us end up shooting or harming somebody. So, they want us to change, but there is nothing for us to change. (Mason Glass, FLO)

I'm not suggesting that police departments in the United States have done anything wrong or that they haven't made efforts [to engage with their communities] or whatever the case may be, but if every police department in the United States took similar efforts that [we] have taken to engage our [communities], if [they] had done the same thing with the Black communities in their metropolitan areas, maybe the relations [between them] would have been similar [to ours]. (Max Carter, FLO)

The officers also expressed frustration with the BLM Vancouver Chapter, as they believed that the group was moving away from what they claim to advocate for. For example, the BLM chapters in Canada (i.e. Toronto and Vancouver) have asked their local Pride societies to not allow police participation in their parades this year (i.e. remove all police vehicles, not have officers march in uniform). Although these officers could not speak to the dynamics between the Toronto Police Service (TPS) and their African Canadian community, there was outrage from the police, the LGBTQ community, and the general public when the Vancouver Police Department (VPD) and the RCMP were asked to not participate in the Vancouver Pride Parade. The following are some of the participants reactions to this particular issue:

I worry that for all the good that [BLM] is doing in some jurisdictions, that it is [also] undermining itself […] in Vancouver. Like trying to get [the] Pride [society] to eject the police in uniform from participating when I can honestly say [that they receive] absolutely the most positive reception ever, of any event that I [have ever seen]. [BLM] here, are blinded by their own ideology and is undermining themselves because they should be promoting deeper understanding, participation and relationship building. Not try[ing] to build walls in a community that they know nothing about. (Mark Johnson, SMO)

I'm not suggesting that there aren't racial issues in Canada. For sure, absolutely, I'm sure there have been throughout our history. But the race related issues in Canada aren't anywhere near the level that they are in the United States when it comes to Black related race issues. So… I don't think a lot of people are giving [the movement] too much attention and so they're trying to make efforts to engage the gay

community and suggest that the police departments shouldn't be marching in gay pride parades which is totally defeating the purpose of [what the movement wants]. You would think that based on the definitions [of the movement] that you read, that they would be supportive of those things because in my opinion, based at least on what the definitions are, it should be a matter of engaging different areas of the community, not trying to [build walls], they're trying to build this wall against [police]. (Max Carter, FLO)

Let's sit down and see if we can't work something out or talk. In [our] case, if you feel there is an issue, let's sit down and figure out what we can do, maybe we need for training for the officers. I think that's the one nice thing about Canada, is that we do have money for training and we do train. Not all of our training is with fire arms. [For example], we sit down with First Nations communities and we've had all of that over time. That's what I'd like to see. I realize there is obviously African American people who are gay and lesbian and all this other kind of stuff. This shouldn't be about [what the BLM movement wants] in the pride parade, it should be what the pride parade wants and I think the pride parade has been very happy with [the VPD] being involved in it and are very supportive of it. Let's not [create] an American issue. Let's take a Canadian approach to it. (Spencer Reid, FLO)

Based on these findings, there was an overwhelming consensus among officers who do not believe the BLM movement and their principles are applicable to Canada. It is of note that on the BLM website, the BLM Vancouver chapter is not listed as a formally affiliated chapter on their contact page. When looking at the listed international chapters, Toronto is the only Canadian chapter listed. The BLM website explains that:

[…] #BlackLivesMatter is a network predicated on Black self-determination, and BLM Chapters reserve the right to limit participation based on this principle. Please be aware that BLM Chapters have varying membership policies, and may or may not be accepting new members at this time. Also note that membership requirements vary by chapter (Black Lives Matter, "Locate a Chapter", 2017c).

It is possible that the BLM Vancouver Chapter has not applied for formal affiliation, but it is unclear as to why they would not have done this. It is also possible that their participation was limited by BLM per the reasons noted on their website. Whatever the reason, it does lend validity to these specific findings. Perhaps the lack of

Black issues the officers cite and their efforts in community policing truly do not offer the BLM Vancouver chapter a platform here[9].

4.5. Consequences of the BLM Movement

Although participants feel as though BLM does not have a platform in the GVR, Canadian police agencies have been in situations as a result of the movement. For example, participants talk about changes surrounding community interactions and relations since the emergence of the movement as well as periods of high levels of scrutiny. It was also found that there have been consequences related to police work and training in the GVR. Many officers expressed their disappointment and frustration at the similarities that were being drawn between them and their American counterparts:

> In the United States, there are 60 or 70 different use of force models. it's a totally different model in the states. Even the way their laws work because [each state] can have different laws than what is in the criminal code. How can you relate that to Canada? I just don't think you can. And that's my problem. [Because] we're absolutely still feeling the effect. But we see effects of everything. […] when I started policing they said whatever happens in the states you see 10 years later in Canada. And I think [with] BLM, it was probably, maybe a year later. […] it really ramped up because and then within 6-9 months we started to see the effect in Canada. (Spencer Reid, FLO).

4.5.1. Community Interactions

All participants indicated that, overall, the effects of the BLM in the GVR is not as significant as it is in the United States, but that the community responded regardless. Some of this reaction was positive (civilians coming up to officers to express their gratitude) and others were negative (officers facing accusations of racism while working). This particular finding is where the largest gap is seen between SMOs and FLOs in terms of their personal experiences.

Only one SMO experienced negative interactions with community members, whereas five FLOs reported at least one negative interaction that was directly related to

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[9] The reasons for the BLM Vancouver Chapter's lack of formal affiliation with the BLM movement can only be speculation at this point as the BLM organization did not respond to questions regarding the matter by the time this report was written.

the emergence of the BLM movement. The following are a few examples of these interactions:

> I mean I have noticed, essentially just like any sort of pop culture reference that people will start screaming, "Black Lives Matter!" I was dealing with something else. I don't really remember what it was. I think it was a group of youth that were walking down the street, so I don't even know who yelled it. It's similar to those kinds of things. It's never actually been in a relevant context. I would compare it similarly to someone just yelling out, pig or something like that. (Brian Cassidy, FLO).

One SMO and four other FLOs recalled incidents that occurred when responding to a call or when standing on the street, where people put their hands up and exclaimed, "hands up, don't shoot" or shouted, "Black Lives Matter!" Each officer who experienced this went onto explain that it did not happen often, but that it did happen more than once, and that based on their compiled personal experiences, it was primarily young people making these exclamations. The SMO did clarify that he believed this action of yelling political statements was mainly for the purposes of trying to be funny but that a portion were trying to make a political statement. He followed up by saying that others with the person who expressed themselves in that manner were chastised by their friends and asked, "Are you an idiot? Why are you doing that?" (Danny Stabler, SMO). The SMO and other FLOs also made a point to note that each person that did this were members from all other races except African Canadian:

> I've gone to calls where people have put up their hands. And they're not Black people. Let me make that very clear. Not a single Black person did this to me. They were a variety of backgrounds. Whether it South Asian, Caucasian, Asian. (Danny Stabler, SMO)

> I think it's been fairly low key here […]. We'll [experience it with the] the odd person, and they're not even Black or of African descent. So, I will even say that I have not had any Black person say [things like that] to me. It's actually always been White people that have said that to me. (Ed Case, FLO)

> I don't think they were Black. I can't remember 100% but they wouldn't have been Black people. (Max Carter, FLO).

> The other day, this girl walks by me. She is a Caucasian girl, very well dressed, at one of the bars in [one of the upper-class areas] and I'm leaning up against the car, probably have my hands in my pockets because that's usually my relaxed position and she does this to me, [puts his hands up]. She puts her hands up in the air and does this as she walks [by me] and I'm looking at her and I'm thinking to myself,

and I say, yeah like you've had a tough life. It's like, who are you to pull that? (Spencer Reid, FLO)

Although many of the FLOs in this study experienced at least one negative interaction with a member of the public, they emphasized the rarity of these occurrences. The officers also noted that these incidents did not occur in a manner that would have provoked concern. For example, when incidents like this did occur, officers described their actions as either standing by their cruiser, or dealing with traffic and provincial violations. Some officers, including one FLO who has experienced both ends of the spectrum recounted experiencing more positive interactions since the emergence of the BLM movement:

> This is probably something that BLM wouldn't want to hear, but we received so many supportive emails from the community […]. [There were] people in the media and opinion pieces, people were emailing us, writing us letters, saying [that they loved us]. (Ben Fisher, SMO)

> To some extent, some interactions have become more thankful. [People are] saying [things] like, "You guys have such a hard job. You get so much bad flack, bad press, and all that kind of stuff. And you know, we know you guys do a good job and we're supportive of you." (Brian Cassidy, FLO).

4.5.2. Community Relations

Officers in this study unanimously agreed that police relations with the community have not changed since the emergence of the BLM movement. However, many of them expressed concern about the actions of the BLM Vancouver Chapter; they are worried that the protests and demands might alter the view the community has of the police in the GVR. For example, the majority of officers spoke about the BLM Vancouver Chapter's efforts to remove the VPD from the annual pride parade. A mixture of seven SMOs and FLOs state that these efforts undermine the movement's own goals and risk ruining the years of work police agencies have put into community relations with the LGBTQ community. Officers argued that they understood the movements perspective, but that removing police from community events, such as the pride parade, is a step backwards. Below a few of the officers describe the potential repercussions the BLM Vancouver Chapter risks creating:

> [We need to be] representative and a negative that can come out of [the BLM Vancouver Chapter's] activity is that it [could] create an

adversarial relationship. [I]t creates barriers to effective communication [and] that would not be a good thing. (Mark Johnson, SMO)

I [recently] saw the bit about trying [not to allow] the VPD [from] march[ing] in the Pride Parade. And in my mind, that kind of undermines the whole purpose. We do these things to build relationships with the community. Well the whole point of that is to build a relationship with that community and make that community feel comfortable coming to the police and showing that yeah, we support LGBTQ rights. Absolutely. So, their definitions of themselves sound great, but what are they actually doing? Are they trying to do things to promote relationships? [Are they trying] to build stronger relationships? Or are they trying to undermine a relationship and paint people with a brush? [If they are,] that is dangerous. We get involved in all kinds of community events here. Are they going to not want us to do that too? All that's going to do is undermine relationships with the community. (Mason Glass, FLO)

I think the unfortunate thing is they're undermining the purported positive effect that they want to have in Canada. [...] police departments have done positive things to bridge gap[s] so that everyone [is] kind of on the same level. So why is BLM now trying to break that down? [Canadian police agencies are] doing things that you would assume BLM would want police departments to do with Black communities in the United States. (Max Carter, FLO)

A few of the officers also looked to the United States to emphasize their arguments about preventing the development of the hostile environment south of the border. Some stated that they found it discouraging they were being categorized under the same umbrella as their American counterparts, and that their efforts to engage should not be punishable based on the actions of a few American police officers:

Some of the things we see on media are a bit misinformed and it creates [the] culture [that] all cops are bad, painted with one brush. But not all cops are bad and not all Black people are bad. (Megan Mansfield, FLO)

It's really easy to have an impression of the police and dislike the police and hate the police if you never sit and talk to them and get to know any of them. But if you do, you'll find out they're people just like everybody else and have similar strengths and similar weaknesses. And there [are] issues with officers [but there are also] great officers. You just have to not paint police in a racist brush. (Mason Glass, FLO)

And I also think that, the police departments are trying to be active with the BLM and trying to deal with it when it came here. And I don't think that was initially [the case] in the States. There was none of that relationship from what I know, from my knowledge base. And I think we're trying to be proactive, and hopefully that will prevent any kind of frustration from anybody and that will prevent [what's going on there] from ever happening [here], hopefully. (Spencer Reid, FLO)

Most of the officer's views were in response to the movements', assumption that agencies in the GVR engaged in misconduct similar to that of officers in the United States. However, one SMO acknowledged the necessity of the movement's work, explaining that the emergence of any movement resulted in increased awareness. He argued that this was forcing a conversation between the movement and police agencies in the GVR, ultimately leading to greater inclusivity between the two groups. Furthermore, he made comparisons between the community policing efforts of agencies in the GVR and the United States:

> [Canadian police agencies are] basically in a very strong position with the community already! So, if you've been doing your job properly, if you've been engaged with the community prior to any of these events[10] hitting… when that event does hit, your strong relationship with the community will be able to assist you in moving through it. Without having to knee jerk all of a sudden. Which I think, unfortunately, some departments [in the United States] have had to do. They didn't have those strong relationships, something like [the BLM movement] came along, and they're like, "oh my god, we need to do something now". I can't name any because I don't know which ones they are. But I'm sure that exists. Where all of a sudden it was like we needed to have strong relationships with these groups and that group. And [they] didn't have it. And because of [the BLM movement], they're trying to do it now. And that's not smooth, it's not natural. It seems almost fake. It seems very fake. Which I don't think are the intentions. I think it was just an oversight. But we've been ahead of that always. And when something like this does come along, we continue to move. We're not out there trying to find people and trying to dig up that group and trying to say, "hey let us become involved!" We're already at the table. (Danny Stable, SMO)

Officers in the GVR believe that they are not met with the same backlash from the BLM movement, because they engage in effective community policing, and are not implementing it once community relations have already been tarnished:

> It's evident, we've been to many different forums down in the U.S. including recently. We were down in [the states] […] where they had about 160 different agencies represented, about 400 participants. They were going over use of force, the latest and greatest in the U.S. It was basically stuff that we had been doing for 10 years. They're showing us how [a particular American police agency] deescalates, and we're like, well we've been doing that since the year 2000. So… (Ben Fisher, SMO).

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[10] This participant was making reference to events such as the riots associated with the shootings of unarmed Black men by police officers in the United States.

One FLO felt a little more sympathy for the American police officers and explained why:

> […] police are seen as the face of Black issues in the United States in terms of their issues with the state. Because I think that there are a lot of Black issues in the United States. And I think it's sort of unfortunate in some cases that the police are on the front lines of those issues. […] if you look at the United Sates, there has been a history of Black issues there and they bubble over every so often [Usually the media pays attention when this happens.] So, any time they ever bubble over, it's very often the police that are the ones that are at the face of [it]. Even though there can be tons and tons of issues caused by different organizations or [the] government or people in suits or people you don't even know. So, all of a sudden when the issues boil over, it's the police department who is of at the front line to deal with these issues and as a result it's often the police departments who then end up, I think, unfairly getting blamed for the bubbling over of issues, [specifically] black issues in the United States. There are a lot of things going on and it's just unfair that it directly gets pinned on the police. (Max Carter, FLO)

Although a number of the FLOs described negative interactions with members of the public since the BLM movement emerged, FLOs and SMOs did not believe their relationship with the community had changed overall. A few officers explained that the only change they noticed was an increased positive response from the community compared to before the movement (e.g. community members expressing appreciation).

One SMO believed that public confidence and trust in police was slightly waning due to the perceptions trickling in from the United States, but that he had not received any complaints about officers that were related to the BLM movement in particular. He went onto explain that he had, "[…] never experienced anything up here [about BLM], nope. And I don't hear from the public on it [either]. Nothin'." (Aaren Rossi, SMO)

Similarly, another SMO expressed concern over the media's portrayal of the American police officers. He stated that it was possible that their tarnished reputation could potentially colour the reputation of the police in Canada. The officer argued that this would be unfair, as Canadian police officers are "much more carefully selected, much better paid, [and] better trained." (Mark Johnson, SMO). A FLO was concerned about the community losing faith in Canadian police officers as a significant impact of the BLM movement; however, there has been no noticeable effect other than critical comments on social media. She attributed this to their actual reputation:

I wouldn't really say that I experienced any [negativity] from the community. And I think that comes from [us] just building [our] reputation over time as being an accountable police force. [P]eople are able to recognize those kinds of differences. (Megan Mansfield, FLO)

The SMO and FLO explained that regardless of the poor image being projected from the United States, there had not been significant changes to community and police relationships resulting from the BLM movement in this region. Another SMO described the situation as more of a curiosity, and that the movement did not have as large an impact in the GVR as it does in the United States. He claimed that the BLM movement had not impacted his municipality in terms of relations with the general community, but did acknowledge that a core group of people were very passionate about the movement. He went on to say that the vast majority of people viewed it as just another story in the news; a curiosity, but not something that could affect the relationship between the police and the community.

Many other SMOs and FLOs echoed these thoughts, claiming that there was no actionable difference in terms of overall animosity from the community, and that the BLM movement had no effect on policing in their municipalities. One FLO described the relationship as fantastic and that interactions had not changed. He explained that he still has a number of people who call, text, or email him openly about their issues, and that there does not appear to be any tension or negative feelings since the emergence of the movement. Another FLO described interactions as unchanged, explaining that the same people who had certain perspectives about the police generally maintained those views after the emergence of the BLM movement:

[…] heat from the community? No, no. Thankfully. I haven't noticed the community as a whole giving dirty looks wherever you are kind of thing. I think like anything, you have people that don't like us and generally most people are just ambivalent; they're glad you're there when they need you and they don't care the rest of the time. And then obviously, the people that are pro-police super support us. But, I haven't internalized any sort of connection between [events in the states and our relationship with the community here] (Brian Cassidy, FLO)

Another FLO explained that the BLM movement did not have the potential to tarnish community relations in the GVR, and expressed his confidence in the entire Canadian policing system:

[…] I don't believe the BLM movement will affect policing in Canada because we are doing it the right way. I believe in the way we're doing

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it and I don't think that we need to change anything because of [the BLM] movement. I think it's like many things. It kind of goes like this [gestures an up and down wave with his hand] and then it will kind of go away on its own. I think, perhaps some things will have to change first in another country, but I believe in the way we do business here. (Mason Glass, FLO)

4.5.3. Police Work

Officers did not believe their day-today policing activities were affected by the BLM movement. Negative comments sometimes made by the public were not taken personally, or to an extent that would affect their police work. FLOs described the increased scrutiny and situations where people would shout, "Black Lives Matter" at them, equivalent to someone calling them "pigs". They further stated that they did not internalize these negative interactions, fear going to calls, or let it affect their policing. Other officers argued that the BLM movement would have no significant effect on certain police departments in the United States, let alone Canada, because, "not every place is Ferguson, [not even in America]" (Mark Johnson, SMO).

One FLO said that the movement had not changed his perspective regardless of police officers being targeted in the United States but that there were serious side effects to consider:

I don't think [the sniper attacks] changed my perspective [or caused me to] pay more attention or anything like that. Hopefully it doesn't go that way, [because] then the job has changed. I think the side effect [of these killings[11]] is that you're not prepared to talk to people as much. And I think that's the one thing I worry about. If it continues on in the states as it is and you get more of that lone wolf sniper guy, you're [going to] see police departments go to more stronger tactics, and I think whenever you go to stronger tactics, officers are less likely to talk to people. And that's the one side effect I really worry about. (Spencer Reid, FLO)

4.5.4. Police training programs

Although many officers did not acknowledge significant changes to Canadian policing as a result of the BLM movement, they did note the implementation of a training program across agencies in the GVR because of the emergence of the BLM movement:

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[11] The targeted killing of police officers in Baton Rouge, Louisiana and Dallas, Texas.

fair and impartial policing (FIP). An SMO stated that the implementation of the course was "a result of what's going on down in the States and now we're bringing it up here to have that conversation" (Danny Stabler, SMO). Officers discussed taking part in, or teaching a specific course, after they had seen the situation in the United States. Some agencies have ensured that the program was something, "every single police officer and police staff in the department received" (Danny Stabler, SMO). Another SMO discussed how the high-profile incidents in the United Sates caused people to question the police operations in the GVR and that FIP was supported by the provincial government.

Other FLOs and SMOs stated that although the situation in the United States is unfortunate, it can be used as a learning opportunity in Canada:

> They always say a smart man learns from his own mistakes but a wise man learns from the mistakes of others. So, we want to be wise. We want to learn from these mistakes that have happened in in the U.S. and hopefully be able to implement them into how they apply to our world [here] which may not necessarily be around Black Lives, but maybe around South Asian lives, or maybe around Aboriginal lives or [the] homeless or whatever it might be. (Sonny Carisi, SMO)

> We have to police society, but we want to do it fairly, [it has to be] done in a respectful manner. I think that's something we need to look at, so that's the biggest one I would say has been based on [what has come from] BLM: is how are we doing our policing? Is it fair? Are we being respectful of people? Are we listening to other people? Are we trying to do everything we can to make our community safe but at the same time changing, but in a positive fashion so everybody feels like they matter. (Aaren Rossi, SMO)

Many officers discussed training in Canada as "miles ahead" (Danny Stabler, SMO) of training in the United States. Furthermore, Canadian agencies are better prepared by watching events in America and taking active measures to ensure they do not happen here:

> We recognized that we need to pay attention to the importance of diversity, we recognize we need to pay attention to our officer's bias, both conscious and unconscious. We recognize that we need to be able to train for that in [all] areas. We've trained in four areas over the course of the last year, and the first one was in procedural justice, the second one was in bias free policing, the third one was in respectful workplace and the fourth one was in de-escalation training. (Sonny Carisi, SMO)

> It's coming to that understanding. BLM seems to be predicated a lot on the pitch that there's an inappropriate balance of use of force and arrest of Black lives when compared to other ethnic races. [So, if this is the

case], then the training has to say, [1] you have to be better at articulating, [2] you have to be better at understanding why you check people, and [3] understanding how you do your job and how you communicate it when you do your job. (Sam Smith, SMO)

Everybody got bias free policing [two years ago]. Not that we had issues [that made it necessary], but because we're just ahead of the curve on that. We want to be aware of these things because if you're aware of them, it's so much less likely that it will actually happen to you. (Mason Glass, FLO)

4.6. Summary of findings

As complex and as controversial the BLM movement is, an exploratory study of this nature was able to produce introductory yet preeminent findings. The results provided insight into a largely American based phenomenon, and applied it to a Canadian context. The themes range from identifying some of the key internal and external factors involved in community-police relations and how agencies are able to address and prevent conflict within and between themselves and their communities. The main themes that emerged from this study were contemporary policing issues; police perceptions of community relations; community policing; the BLM movement platform; and local consequences of the movement's presence in the GVR.

In terms of contemporary policing, the findings are consistent with the growing trend of increased scrutiny that is normally accompanied with the increased visibility of police officers. Many of the participants in this study noted how the institution of policing has shifted from crime control to community policing and that it entails macro-level, institutional changes that include expanded mandates, increased professionalism, and a push toward offering a customer service approach to policing.

The perceptions police had of their community relations were overwhelmingly positive. This was regardless of the misconduct being highlighted by police officers in the United States. Officers in the GVR discussed their experiences with community members before and after the emergence of the BLM movement and found that the movement did not have a significant effect on community-police relations on a day-to-day basis. However, some officers did speak of some negative, individual-level experiences, when some civilians reacted negatively toward officers in this region as a response to misconduct that took place in the United States.

The police officers in this study largely cited their community policing strategies as explanation to why the extent of the BLM movement was not being seen in Canada as it is in the United States. The community policing philosophy of municipal police agencies in the GVR value strategies that place an emphasis on building trust with the community, community engagement, and gathering community input. Through the various strategies they employ to achieve these goals (e.g. welcome initiatives, youth sports campus etc.), police agencies have built themselves a community policing 'safety net' that they can land in when a controversial incident involving an officer arises.

The extensive community policing efforts described by participants in this study also lend explanation as to why the BLM movement does not seem to have as large a platform in the GVR as they do in major cities in the United States. Many of the participants indicated that the BLM movement in Canada is simply more of a solidarity chapter than an advocating chapter because it only emerged due to misconduct in the United States and is not based on police officer behaviour in Canada. Therefore, the findings indicate that the BLM movement is not provided with a platform in this region.

The findings also indicate that the BLM movement has not had a large impact on policing in the GVR; however, participants noted developments relative to community interactions, community relations, police work, and new training programs. Participants had experienced some negativity in terms of being yelled at or called racist. However, officers in this region also noted an increase in positive feedback that they translated into appreciation for being unlike their American counterparts. They noted that their daily routine in terms of how they work did not change due to the movement, except they were obligated and readily accepted a new training program that was implemented as a response to the BLM movement.

This study has important implications for how municipal police officers in the GVR respond to major social movements, including those aimed at vilifying and discrediting their profession. Furthermore, these findings indicate that the BLM movement is not a "one-size fits all" movement. The overall positive nature of community-police relations in this region exist regardless of the community's exposure to an increase in controversial police behaviour. The following chapter will further discuss and analyze the findings of this study.

Chapter 5.

Implications

The literature discussed in this study is based on an American historical context, but is essential in order to understand the BLM movement. This context helps explain why the presence of a BLM chapter in the GVR is not supported as strongly as in the United States. The particular police use of force incidents at the center of the BLM movement have sparked conversation around law enforcement, race relations, and the poorly developed relationships police have with their communities in the United States. This study has provided insight into the differences between American and Canadian policing climates.

The effects of social and political events in the United States can spill over into Canada. The BLM movement has reached Canada, but the anti-police rhetoric currently spreading throughout the United States has not. All officers described positivity regarding their perceptions of the community-police relationship. This is indicative of the fact that the events in the United States do not have a significant effect on community-police relations in the GVR. The local community understands that the violent riots against police brutality in the United States are a response to misconduct centralized in the United States. This distinction is valuable because it can provide officers with insight as to how their community may react in the future should a similar social movement occur again.

5.1. Policing in the Greater Vancouver Region

5.1.1. The local context

Policing in the GVR is similar to other Canadian and American agencies, specifically in such contexts as community policing efforts, increase in role responsibility, and the opioid crisis. However, the largest social movement in decades, and one that has put a spotlight on the policing profession, does not have a significant effect on policing in the GVR. Typically, when an individual officer engages in misconduct, all police officers are scrutinized for someone else's actions. However, so long as these

actions are confined to the United States, and regardless of BLM chapters in Canada, the community at large has not responded with increased hostility toward municipal officers in the GVR.

The specification regarding these incidents and its local connection to the United States is highlighted, because many participants referenced the Robert Dziekanski case[12] and the opioid crisis. Participants drew parallels between major incidents in the United States and controversial cases in Canada. The officers indicated that there was minimal impact from the BLM movement in this region; conversely, there was severe backlash against the police after Robert Dziekanski was killed at the Vancouver International Airport. The participants also explained that the BLM movement is not considered as urgent an issue compared to the current opioid crisis in the region. Therefore, the police in this region face less pressure from the BLM movement than other current issues in their domain.

The difference in the impact of the BLM movement in Canada and the United States is likely attributable to the countries' relative Black population. The participants suggested that the minimal backlash in this region is due to the smaller African Canadian population. Officers also recognized that the lack of backlash to police actions is likely because they have not engaged in the type of misconduct police officers in the United States have.

5.2. It does not have to be death to matter

While there are more cases of death by legal intervention in the United States, police in Canada are not free of controversy. Regarding the BLM movement, participants from this study drew parallels between their relationship with the Canadian Aboriginal population. Participants were aware that the Indigenous population and the African Canadian population come into contact with the criminal justice system at a higher rate than other populations. This awareness if not an attempt to identify equivalent issues or parallel problems as a means to discredit a valid movement. The goal of awareness is to

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[12] Robert Dziekanski was killed at Vancouver International Airport after being Tased multiple times by the RCMP. His death was recorded by a civilian on their cell phone video camera and released to the public. Controversy followed the case for years when it was discovered that testimony given by the four officers involved in Dziekanski's death did not match their actions on the video. All four officers were charged with perjury.

highlight the areas of Canadian police agencies that require work, so that the levels of tension seen in the United States are not reached here. Canadian agencies cannot get complacent since they have not angered their community as much as their American counterparts have. Death by legal intervention should not be the threshold at which police in any country should be held at. While the African Canadian and Aboriginal populations are not shot and killed by the police at the rate at which African Americans are in the United States, these, and other, minority groups are over-represented at nearly every stage in the Canadian criminal justice system (CJS) (Carmichael & Kent, 2015), indicating that the CJS can be improved.

Police shootings, particularly fatal ones, carry a higher shock factor than high incarceration and low employment rates, so police use of force situations receive the most attention from the public and media. When the public hears about these stories, they may consider their local police force and draw direct comparisons between the agency in question and their own. People may conclude, that due to the low number of high-profile use of force incidents and fatal police shootings in this region, police agencies would require less work on improving community relationships. Police officers in this region speculate that these direct comparisons are applicable, and their community policing efforts are responsible for the local, minimal response to the BLM movement. Unlike in the United States, the BLM movement in the GVR has not made the community more critical of their police, despite rare incidents of police misuse of force.

5.3. The effect of social movements on policing in the GVR

Officers in this region have experienced some negativity with the BLM movement, although it has not deterred officers from doing their work the way they did prior to the movement's emergence. Participants in this study indicated that by watching and learning from the events in the United States, local officers and their respective agencies have been able to make improvements. On the other hand, police officers in the United States are experiencing "the Ferguson effect" and/or "de-policing". This is when officers hesitate to use force or other related actions because of fear of intense scrutiny (Kopp, 2017). The FBI initiated a study after officers were killed in targeted attacks in 2016. The report states that since the death of Michael Brown, officers have experienced attempts to discredit their decisions and criticisms that challenge their

authority (Richardson, 2017). In order to decrease scrutiny, officers scale down their police work. Police officials argue this growing trend is a concern (Richardson, 2017).

Ken Winter, executive director of Mississippi Association of Chiefs of Police, suggests that this trend may be teaching officers to police in reactive rather than proactive manner (Kopp, 2017). The report indicated that officers do not wish to use deadly force for fear of the associated criticism, regardless of whether the use of force was justified (Kopp, 2017). Winters states that this type of mind set can lead to a poor performance in police work because officers would rather not act at all than act and face backlash (Kopp, 2017). The report also states that the assailants responsible for the fatal sniper attacks on police officers in Dallas and Baton Rouge cited the BLM movement and their belief that Black males were being targeted by police as motivated for their attacks (Richardson, 2017). However, there has been so evidence to suggest that the "Ferguson Effect" has increased danger to law enforcement in the United States. Maguire, Nix, and Campbell (2016) found that law enforcement has not become a more dangerous profession since Michael Brown's death in 2014, and that the number of police officers killed in the line of duty has slightly decreased. The authors do state that evidence of "de-policing" does exist in cities where controversial fatal shootings have taken place (Maquire et al, 2016). These findings are concerning. If officers are afraid to do their job, dangerous situations may escalate. For example, the FBI report describes a situation in which an officer was physically assaulted, but refused to use deadly force out of fear of the community's reaction (Richardson, 2017). Incidents like these may increase officer and/or civilian injuries and/or death if police do not appropriately use justifiable deadly force. It would also be detrimental if police moved toward a crime control model and only engaged in reactive policing. Proactive policing is a basis of community policing and is necessary to build positive community relations.

According to participants in this study, no phenomenon similar to "the Ferguson effect" and/or "de-policing" has occurred in the GVR. Instead, officers claim that the hesitation to use force and fear of backlash is attributable to the rise of social media and the public's affinity to video record encounters with police officers. This enables the public to witness and comment on events involving police that they did not have access to before. However, officers in the GVR believe that this increased scrutiny existed long before the emergence of the BLM movement.

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Officers in this region refuse to let the anti-police rhetoric surrounding the BLM movement impact their daily police work. Although some officers did have negative experiences related to the BLM movement, these events were rare, and did not affect officers' work ethic. Instead, some officers equated these experiences to common derogatory policing terms (e.g. pig). Officers also stated that they did not have an increased fear of conducting their work, even after the targeted police killings in Dallas and Baton Rouge, nor were they increasingly vigilant.

Police officers in this region have experienced criticism because of other police officers whose actions sparked the anti-police rhetoric associated with the BLM movement. The participants continue to believe that they are supported by the community. Feelings of community support allows officers to remain approachable and open to the public. Approachability is a priority of community policing as police rely on the public to aid in crime control tasks such as reporting crime and acting as witnesses. If the police do not remain transparent or trustworthy, the public will be hesitant to approach officers with this type of information. If this communication diminishes, it may tarnish policing strategies that are developed based on data gathered community assistance (e.g. hot spot policing). This carries a trickle-down effect that can then lead to unsafe environments and the delayed apprehension of offenders.

Officers in this region believe that the recent animosity toward police is directly related to the issues that sparked the BLM movement. Participants stated that the circumstances leading up to the fatal events in the United States, would be unlikely to occur in the GVR as police officers would try de-escalation tactics before using force. The officers in this region understand that they are not a perfect police force, but are proud that their community policing efforts throughout the years have shielded them from the police animosity associated with the BLM movement.

SMO and FLOs from this study stated that they use the events in the United States as a learning tool. The participants realize that community policing is critical and when agencies fail to implement community policing policies adequately, there may be consequences like violent riots and attacks against police officers. Officers firmly believe that their community policing efforts prevented these reactions from occurring in the region. They believe that if an officer's actions outraged the community, the community

response would not be as significant or violent as in the United States, because of the positivity and trust shared between local police agencies and their communities.

There are incidents of Canadian police officers engaging in misconduct. High-profile cases include the Tasing death of Robert Dziekański and the fatal shooting of Sammy Yatim. Officers in both of these cases did not follow proper protocol and/or broke the law and were criminally charged. Officers in this study claimed Dziekański's death created more backlash than events taking place in the United States, but was not strong enough to affect their police work. For example, they described incidents when civilians asked officers in passing if they were "going to be Tased," and referenced these incidents as the last time officers felt an increased level of scrutiny. However, officers also stated that the criticism surrounding these incidents did not persist.

This suggests that the public is able to recognize that these were isolated events and mistakes made by individuals. This recognition is why the BLM movement has not made roots here, and why it has faced backlash from the community. This resistance suggests that the regional community perceives the actions of the BLM (e.g. requesting police be removed from the Pride parade) as an attack on their local police force. Communities have reacted defensively to these perceived attacks because they do not equate the actions of police officers in the GVR to the actions of police officers in the United States.

5.4. Community policing as a catch-all

The BLM movement is unique as it has broad goals to end systemic racism, but also an ongoing, public conflict with a specific governing body. Their conflict with the police is understandable as police are the most visible entity of the criminal justice system. The public can easily view police mistreatment of African Americans, especially when it is recorded and released to the media. Lack of healthcare and poor access to housing garner less sympathy for the movement, except for those in the Black community. When deaths are televised, the police are the only visible state entity that can be seen directly oppressing the Black community. A broader perspective of systemic oppression is apparent when charges or convictions are not brought against officers who engage in misconduct. The elected officials, judges, and jurors who fail to hold these

officers accountable discredit what the African American community is fighting for, while contributing to the systemic oppression that earlier civil rights movements fought against.

Police officers in the GVR can use this experience to predict, identify and address similar potential future movements. Agencies in this region understand that they cannot become complacent even though they have not elicited community outrage against police officers to the extent in the United States. Community policing is attributed to the lack of backlash in this region and may be an effective response to the BLM movement.

Community policing requires a partnership between the police and the community to be effective. It is an additional strategy to crime control tactics. Police officers and agencies provide a crime control service but must also address social problems within a community (Whitelaw & Parent, 2014). Community consultation is required to ensure that police are working on the issues communities deem necessary. These interactions build trust and foster positive relationships. If police officers form relationships with communities, in particular, the African American or other minority communities, the stereotypes that create false threat perceptions may disintegrate.

The concept of non-enforcement community engagement programs that reduce stereotypes and ultimately minimize fatal incidents is based on the contact hypothesis. This hypothesis posits that:

> Prejudice may be reduced be equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals. The effect is greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional supports (i.e., by law, custom, or local atmosphere), and provided it is of a sort that leads to the perception of common interests and common humanity between members of the two groups (Allport, 1954, as cited in Aronson, Wilson, Fehr, & Akert, 2013).

Certain conditions must be met for the hypothesis to produce its intended goals. These conditions are: mutual interdependence; a common goal; equal status; a friendly, informal setting; informal interactions with multiple members of the outgroup; and social norms that promote and support equality (Aronson et al., 2013). If this hypothesis is applied to police efforts of community engagement, the common goals the two groups are community safety and satisfaction. The condition of informal and friendly settings could be events that are hosted by the police departments, such as youth sports camps

and community BBQ fundraisers. Events that are large and social in nature, ensure interactions between multiple members from each group.

The one condition of the contact hypothesis that would be challenging to achieve due to the nature of police work is the stipulation that group members must be of equal status. This means that the members from each group should share similarities in their background, education, occupation, and social role (Aronson et al., 2013). Police work, incorporating law enforcement and community engagement, brings officers into contact with a variety of social groups, so this condition will rarely be met. However, a meta-analysis of 515 studies on contact hypothesis determined that meeting all conditions is ideal, but that it was not essential to producing beneficial effects (Aronson et al., 2013).

Community engagement events may help reduce the stereotypes that some officers may hold about Black people. For example, the stereotypes discussed in Chapter 1 that explained how White people find Black people more violent and more inclined to criminality may be dispelled if the groups spend time together. Research indicates that when people become aware of information that is inconsistent with a stereotype they hold, they gradually alter their beliefs (Webber & Crocker, 1983). If police routinely have interactions with Black people that fail to confirm stereotypes, they may be able to alter the context of their interactions. In turn, this may reduce use of force incidents against the Black population.

Officers in this study believe that community policing was vital for bonding with their community and for minimizing hostility during the rise of the BLM movement. However, community policing cannot simply be used as a catch-all. American police officers and political leaders are cognizant of the importance of community policing; it was cited as the reason for Barack Obama's creation of the Task Force on 21st Century Policing. The task force states that it "was created to strengthen community policing and trust among law enforcement officers and the community they serve—especially in light of recent events around the country that have underscored the need for and importance of lasting collaborative relationships" (President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing (PTFCP), 2015, p. III). This task force was created to focus on the big picture of community policing, not just use of force training. This differentiation acknowledges that officers cannot simply be trained to use less force if they do not understand community policing strategies. A decrease in use of force incidents may be a consequence of

embracing community policing philosophies, as the strategies target misconceptions that lead to these incidents.

The task force states that for agencies to be considered legitimate, they must engage in non-enforcement activities and diversify their work forces (PTFCP, 2015). The PTFCP also recommends consistent and standardized training across the country with special instruction on issues such as "[…] implicit bias […] cultural responsiveness, […] and effective social interaction and tactical skills (PTFCP, p. 4, 2015). Additional recommendations include clear policies on use of force with an emphasis on de-escalation, and, performance measures, including "independent investigations and prosecutions of officer-involved shootings and other use of force situations and in-custody deaths" (PTFCP, p. 2, 2015). In order to aide these investigations, the PTFCP (2015) states that agencies should establish civilian oversight agencies. Police agencies and the community are also encouraged to facilitate participation in events that foster "positive youth [and] police collaboration and interactions" (PTFCP, p. 3, 2015).

The majority of these recommendations are already implemented by municipal police agencies in the GVR. For example, community policing strategies that emphasize crime prevention and working with the community have been incorporated into most police legislation nationwide (Whitelaw & Parent, 2014). British Columbia, Alberta, and Ontario have taken extra measures by establishing community policing practices within their Police Acts (Whitelaw & Parent, 2014). Officers in the GVR firmly argue that their community policing efforts: (1) are correlated with the lack of momentum of the BLM movement, (2) are responsible for the disconnect between the movement in the United States and Canada in terms of police and community perceptions.

5.5. No platform for the BLM movement in the GVR

The BLM movement has not elicited the same response or effect within the GVR as it has in the United States. In part, this may be due to the disconnect between the objectives of the BLM Vancouver chapter and the objectives of the movement in the United States. For example, their efforts to remove the VPD from the Pride parade is unlikely to improve relations between African Canadians and the police. According to an FAQ posted on the BLM Vancouver Facebook page, those members associated with both the BLM movement and the pride society do not feel safe in an environment where

police are celebrated (Black Lives Matter – Vancouver, B.C., 2017). Officers in this study accept that historically the VPD clashed with the LGBTQ community, but they also recognize the growth and improvements of the police force that have enabled police participation in pride parades. Members of the LGBTQ community did not receive police protection due to the enforcement of anti-LGBTQ legislation. However, this relationship changed following the appeal of discriminatory laws and reconciliation attempts from police agencies. Members of the Black community's view of police will not change if both groups do not cooperate through both formal and non-enforcement interactions. However, the study's participants were concerned that if the police were agreed to the requests of the BLM chapter to show their support for that community, it may damage the positive relationship the police have established with the LGBTQ community. The police have no qualms with improving relationships with members of the BLM movement, but do not want to do so at the cost of progress with the larger community.

Participants from this study believe that the goals of the BLM Vancouver chapter are inconsistent and may hinder achieving their broader, systemic objectives. Police participation in community events such as the pride parade, is demonstrative of their respect for the community policing philosophy. By requesting that the police do not participate in the parade, the BLM Vancouver chapter is asking the police to stop engaging in community policing, as it was a form of community infiltration (Black Lives Matter – Vancouver, B.C, 2017). This belief may encourage the BLM Vancouver chapter to request the removal of police from all community events. If the police acquiesce, they may not be able to establish a positive relationship with members of the BLM movement The benefits of community policing are established (e.g. increased social cohesion, empowered residents, creation of effective crime prevention strategies, increased cooperation, enhanced trust levels) and preventing police participation risks creating an 'us vs them' mentality, rather than a cooperative partnership between police and communities. Police perceptions and community feedback indicate that police agencies are well-received at community engagement events; the removal of police may hinder positive community development.

According to the BLM Vancouver Chapter's Facebook page, "police brutality continues to be an issue in Vancouver and across the country, continent and world." (Black Lives Matter – Vancouver, B.C., 2017). These accusations may explain the minimal support the movement has within the GVR, as this sentiment is not shared by

the overall community. According to the Office of the Police Complaint Commissioner (OPCC), support for the BLM movement's allegations of continued police brutality are unfounded. For example, almost half the complaints lodged against municipal police officers are found unsupported by evidence (49.1%) and only 10.1 percent of complaints are substantiated by municipal police agencies (Stelkia, 2016). Furthermore, criminal investigations against officers in British Columbia often do not result in charges being approved; three years of reports written by the Independent Investigations Office (IIO) of B.C. reveal that one in seven cases resulted in charge approval (Stelkia, 2016). It is challenging to effectively argue that police in this region, or in B.C. overall commit police brutality. Outside of community policing strategies, recent census data may provide some insight into why this may be the case.

In British Columbia, there are now five cities where the majority of the population is made up of minorities; Richmond, Burnaby, Surrey, Vancouver and Coquitlam (Statistics Canada, 2017c). These demographics may contribute to why police in this region have low incidents of excessive use of force and lethal use of force. According to arguments made by Turk (1969) and Jackson (1989), "once minorities approach a numerical majority in a city, they may be able to mobilize in ways that force political elites to make policy changes that make the use of lethal force by the police less likely" (as cited in Carmichael & Kent, 2015, p. 708). This was supported by the findings of Carmichael and Kent (2015); after analyzing minority populations, they found that once minorities reached a numerical population threshold, the numbers plateaued and were followed by a decline in police killings. The political consequences of this were explained by Horowitz (1985) and Jackson (1989) who argue that the political power of minorities will increase when their numerical populations increase "forc[ing] political elites to modify police policy that aggressively target members of minority populations" (as cited in Carmichael & Kent, 2015, p. 718). These modifications may include practices that lessen the likelihood of police use of lethal force (Carmichael & Kent, 2015).

Based on participant perceptions, the police here are not seen by the community as a force that mistreats the public. Like the police, the BLM movement must examine big picture issues. The movement is not a "one size fits all"; the local chapter cannot fight for issues that do not exist in this region. Instead, they should focus on specific contexts and develop realistic goals relative to their region and police departments. By not adapting to local conditions and because the BLM movement does not recognize the

Vancouver chapter as a formal affiliation, the local movement struggles to define its platform.

5.5.1. Taking it personally

Due to the extensive community policing efforts in place in the GVR, it is understandable why police officers in this region are upset about the emergence of the BLM Vancouver chapter. Regardless of these efforts, a portion of the community still felt the need to create an organized movement against the police. Officers in this region believe those involved in the movement are upset by the actions of officers in the United States, although the BLM Vancouver chapter has specified conflict with the VPD as well as police across Canada. While officers do not wish to invalidate the concerns of the BLM movement, they have expressed concern over the timing of the movement's emergence. The movement gained momentum after widespread media attention of fatal police shootings in the United States. If the BLM Vancouver chapter is concerned with police brutality in this region, participants wondered why American police misconduct initiated the local movement, and not the conduct of police officers in this region. Furthermore, participants question the parallels made between the two policing cultures. If local police agencies were performing poorly or improperly, it is unclear why the movement used incidents from the United States, rather than bringing attention to local concerns. The timing of police misconduct in the United States and the emergence of the BLM movement makes it difficult for the police officers to accept that the movement in this region emerged due to misconduct on behalf of Canadian police officers. Because of this, officers in the GVR want to be removed from the narrative. Officers take the presence of the BLM movement in this region personally because its formation indicates that they believe local police are aligned with American police. Police are discouraged by this, and while they acknowledge that there is room for improvement, the movement's presence in the GVR may be invalidating agencies' work in this region.

Some officers in this study expressed concern that those associated with the movement did not consider the police as individuals. They expressed frustration that they are treated as a group that is defined by the misconduct of officers in the United States. This experience may allow officers to empathize with the people who are making them feel that way, as it is how Black people and other minority groups often feel. However, it is important that officers keep an open mind regardless of these personal

attacks, because although people may not be racist or sexist, that environment may be perpetuated due to their actions (Johnson, 2006). Similarly, the police should not dismiss the platform the movement requests just because officers in this region do not engage in the same misconduct as their American counterparts. The movement needs to be aware of the context and environment in which they are fighting, so that their goals can be realistic without tarnishing relationships.

5.6. Race Matters

The BLM Vancouver chapter has not accomplished its goals because the movement does not have a strong platform. Several factors contribute to this: community policing efforts, the lack of a large African Canadian population, the community backlash, and their lack of formal affiliation with the BLM movement. The lack of comparison between Canadian and American policing strategies does not invalidate the goals of the movement. Indeed, an SMO explained that the movement is applicable, regionally and federally, and that the BLM movement should be given a platform because the low population numbers and the high quality of policing are not grounds for dismissing their concerns.

These sentiments are echoed by DuVernay et al. (2016). One scholar states that, "[generally speaking], there has never been a period in [American] history where the law and order branch of the state has not operated against the freedoms, the liberties, the options, [and] the choices that have been available for the Black community." Furthermore, it cannot be ignored that the BLM movement did not emerge from nothing, but that it is "the product of a centuries long historical process" (DuVernay et al., 2016).

Canadian police do not share the historical context that United States police have with their African American population. However, their concerns are taken seriously by local police agencies regardless of the positive relationship they have with their communities. The BLM movement has created a formal group that feels strongly about regional police practices, but it is still part of the community. Although they may be transplanting issues that do not exist here to the magnitude they do elsewhere, discussing their concerns can only serve to benefit the community.

Evidence indicates that fatal police use of force is low across Canada and is not a significant problem. The BLM movement gained momentum after American police officers were not held accountable for fatal shootings of unarmed Black men, and this is what the movement in this region is also associated with. However, the movement failed to consider the context of local police practices. Participants in this study acknowledged that the goals of the BLM Vancouver chapter coincide with issues GVR-based police agencies need to improve.

5.6.1. Being colour-blind

The methodological conflict between local police agencies and the BLM movement has highlighted the colour-blind ideology. This notion posits that a tool in combating racism and discrimination is done by not taking race into consideration (Bartoli, Michael, Bentley-Edwards, Stevenson, Shor, & McClain, 2016; Warikoo & de Novias, 2015). This argument was brought up by a few participants and has been discussed by scholars throughout this period of conflict. However, race matters.

The transformation of racial inequality from overt examples and legal segregation to more covert expressions has led to the notion of colour-blindness. Those claiming to ignore or 'not see' race are privileged enough to do so. In other words, people who ignore race perpetuate racism, because they also ignore the discrimination that occurs due to a person's skin colour, thereby invalidating those experiences of racism. This serves to maintain systemic discrimination with regards to the criminal justice system and quality of life issues (Bartoli et al., 2016).

The ideology of colour-blindness and the belief that racism no longer exists, is widespread among White people (Baldwin, 1965; Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Neville, Awad, Brooks, Flores, & Bluemel, 2013). Their historical position of being in power enables White people to not have to think about race, and provides them with the benefit of being seen as individuals, rather than members of their racial group (McIntosh, 2008). Therefore, for White people, race is easily dismissed.

The strategy of colour-blindness is not a feasible tool in eliminating problems faced by people of colour. Instead, colour-blindness reinforces the status quo and fails to recognize people's traits and characteristics; it removes aspects of people's identities

that they may wish to have recognized (Johnson, 2006). Furthermore, when people claim not to acknowledge colour, this implies that it is being ignored because colour carries negative connotations.

Sociologists who study White engagement in antiracist activism found that those who do not follow a colour-blindness ideology are more likely to follow a trajectory toward antiracism activism (Feagin, Vera & Batur, 2001; Hughey, 2012; McKinney & Feagin, 2003). White people are still seen as the 'standard' and are the group that holds more power over other races. Therefore, when they denounce racism, it may be seen as more credible than when a person of colour does so (Johnson, 2006). However, people are socially constructed to follow the path of least resistance which means not protesting against racism (Johnson, 2006). This does not insinuate that those who do not actively protest racism are racist, but that they contribute to a system that allows racism to persist (Johnson, 2006).

Challenging the status quo leads to change. For example, laws of segregation were challenged when Black people would enter businesses and demand services not offered to them due to their skin colour (DuVernay, et al., 2016). Although the path they followed was fraught with resistance, it ultimately led to change. Garnering support is difficult, because although the majority of people are not racist, many will follow the path of least resistance (Johnson, 2006). People may react defensively to accusations of perpetuating racism, because they do not want to be associated with racists. However, Johnson (2006) claims that this illustrates "the key difference between systems and the people who participate in them: we do [not] have to be ruthless people in order to support or follow paths of least resistance that lead to behaviour with ruthless consequences" (p.86).

5.6.2. Fighting to stay racist: Anti-racism backlash

The BLM Vancouver chapter has been criticized for transplanting American issues and for lacking familiarity with the context of policing in the GVR. Their lack of a platform stems from their lack of meaning. The movement is not considered meaningful or necessary because of the diversity in Canada, and specifically the GVR. The Canadian virtues of diversity and multiculturalism can render race relations as unimportant.

Some participants in this study stated they worked with a colour-blind ideology, although they recognized the inherent problems of this ideology. Fortunately, the colour-blind ideology was not evident through their efforts of community policing; agencies targeted certain communities because of their race to increase representation. Society as a whole gives little credibility to the platform, which is evident by the unchanging community-police relations since the emergence of the movement. Unfortunately, this indicates that these movements are not given a voice, which takes away their agency.

There is a divide between community perceptions and police perceptions. Findings of the current study reveal that this division is not an issue to police agencies. These issues are apparent in the ride of community advocacy groups, BLM chapters, and general support for the movement. If the police and are on opposing sides, then groups like BLM risk not being heard. This should not detract from the goals of the movement, especially those that address race relations within the criminal justice system. Police in the GVR has done well, but the BLM movement deserves a platform in advocacy relating to police in the criminal justice system. The local movement may not need as high a platform as in the United States, but race relations should not be ignored locally.

The discussion on race and racism spurred by the BLM movement is facing its own backlash. This backlash is related to changes non-White people are experiencing. If non-racist people witness a racist interaction, they often do not act, thereby allowing the racist interaction to take place without consequence. Racism is now facing a zero-tolerance movement. The zero-tolerance approach frames those who apply it as 'too' politically correct. The approach is experiencing resistance because people are no longer able to commit micro-aggressions against minority groups, which are now treated as explicit racism. For example, asking a non-White person where they are from suggests that they are a foreigner based on their skin colour. Questions such as these are no longer appropriate or insignificant, causing backlash from those who do not recognize these micro-aggressions as racism.

Police officers face racism accusations on the job. There may be a disconnect between police officers and community members who believe they are being targeted on the grounds of race. This belief is problematic regardless of the crime they may have committed. Participants in this study did not appreciate accusations of race-based

targeting. One SMO speculated that many accusers are doing this for attention, but because there are those that truly believe they are targeted because of their race, these accusations cannot be dismissed even if the police are not being racist. So long as community members believe that police perceive race to be an issue, race relations will not be resolved. Police in the GVR are not acknowledging the role of race in community relations. The exemplary performance and positive feedback regarding policing in the GVR does not take away from the legitimacy of racial tensions.

Chapter 6.

Conclusion

6.1. Policy Recommendations

6.1.1. Increased transparency

Lack of accountability has strained community-police relations within the United States. People are upset that fatal force by police officers is used disproportionately on Black people. People are outraged when police officers accused of abuse of power or misuse of force are cleared of misconduct. Use of force events that result in serious injury or death challenge police legitimacy. They can rarely be viewed positively, so can elicit strong public reactions that tend to follow with increased scrutiny and calls for accountability. Public trust in police is vital for policing to be effective; therefore, its maintenance is critical and agencies must take the appropriate measures to ensure this.

Fatal shootings are rare in Canada, but police agencies can benefit by increasing their transparency, especially when conducting investigations against officers. Calls for oversight often increase immediately following a high-profile use of force incident. These calls for oversight are usually in the form of an independent body, such as a civilian agency, due to the prevalent belief that due to bias, police officers cannot conduct impartial investigations against other police officers. In B.C. this civilian oversight body is the Independent Investigations Office (IIO)[13].

American police shootings and the subsequent responses are a learning experience to police agencies in Canada and the GVR. Agencies here have an opportunity to get in front of potential problems. A crucial part of this is police agencies being more open with the public and reducing the red tape around these internal investigations. Additionally, there is a culture of secretive policing. For example, when the public has been made aware of an incident involving a police officer, it is often not

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[13] The IIO was established in B.C. in 2012 by the Ministry of Justice and is an independent, civilian-led body that conducts investigations into on and off duty police involved incidents that result in death or serious harm in an attempt to determine whether the officer committed an offence (Independent Investigations Office of B.C., 2016).

brought to public attention again until the investigation has been concluded. Police agencies rarely provide details regarding a decision similar to how arbitrators or judges, which can lead to public frustration and distrust.

Officers in this study were cognizant of this frustration and recognized the importance of transparency with their communities. For example, although it does not pertain to an internal investigation, one officer discussed how their agency purchased an armoured vehicle, and were concerned with how it would be perceived by the public. Police agencies in this region do not wish to emulate a tactical military type of police department. Therefore, measures were taken to spread news of their most recent purchase, including a thorough explanation as to why it would be joining their agency.

Police legitimacy would increase if similar information dissemination occurred during internal investigations because community members would feel as though they were partners with the police. Creating a step-by-step policy that informed the public of their investigative process, and offering explanations for their actions rather than blanket statements about the results of investigations would be beneficial, however, disclosure regarding these investigations would require a change in legislation, not policy. If police were able to communicate that certain disclosure would be against the law it may be possible to quell frustration felt by the public who may be unaware of why the police withhold some information. Developing a strategy where the integrity of the investigation remains intact and public trust is maintained would strengthen police-community relationships and contribute to the 'bank of trust' that can be accessed if police legitimacy is called into question in the future.

6.1.2. Community policing efforts

Municipal police agencies in this region put great effort into community policing, but the BLM movement still took hold here because a number of people do not feel that they are part of the community partnership. Local agencies would benefit from considering which groups to target when planning community engagement events. Customizing police services to each community group in a municipality are not feasible, but agencies should meet with different groups and attempt to strengthen partnerships with their available resources. This is a benefit of municipal agencies; with years of work,

officers become familiar with their communities and can eventually provide services that demonstrate they care.

Police agencies in the GVR can benefit and foster positive community relations by providing a customer service approach to policing by following Mastrofski's (1999) six criteria for successful police services: attentiveness, reliability, responsiveness, competence, manners and fairness. Larger municipal police agencies in the GVR may find providing attention to their community members easier than those with smaller numbers. This is because the more officers an agency has, the more likely they are able to provide attentiveness and create the perception that they are physically present. To the community, this a demonstration that the agency cares and is committed to providing them with good customer service (Mastrofski, 1999).

Other aspects of the customer service approach are for police agencies to be reliable by offering a somewhat consistent, error-free and responsive service. For example, when officers are attending calls for service, people are satisfied when the police are able to solve the problem they are calling about. However, this may not always be possible. Mastrofski (1999) suggests that so long as the police are able to provide an explanation as to why they are not able to fulfill a call for service, they are still providing the community with a responsive service. Providing a customer service approach does not entail solving 100 percent of problems, but by making the customer feel as though they are cared for. By explaining their actions and spending time with community members, police officers provide community members with quality service rather than simply asking a few questions and providing casual warnings and advice (Mastrofski, 1999).

Most research on improving police effectiveness is enveloped in reaching technical goals (i.e. crime prevention), however, Mastrofski (1999) argues that new research on his six criteria is not necessary because police officers know how to be attentive, reliable, responsive, competent, well-mannered, and fair; they simply need be this way more often. More training is not a sufficient tactic in meeting these goals because the customer service approach is more entwined with police officers' attitudes and motivations, so while training can provide officers with new skills, it cannot alter the mindset of what is required for a customer service approach to policing (Mastrofski, 1999).

Achieving broad goals such as 'do more community policing' is problematic in the sense that police agencies are often attempting to create a balance between competing goals (Mastrofski, 1999). To help alleviate some of these contradictions, focus group research could be used to assess the needs of each community. Feedback local officers receive indicates that they are on the right track to building and fostering community relationships. This is of particular importance considering the recent census data: five cities in the GVR have surpassed the minority population threshold. In other words, minority group members now make up the majority of these city's populations (Statistics Canada, 2017c) and according to a recent survey conducted by CBC, most police agencies across Canada are failing to reflect this diversity within their employment (Bathe, 2016). For example, minority groups make up approximately 55% of Vancouver's demographic, whereas VPD only employs 22% of members from minority groups. Regardless of the efforts described by participants in the GVR, it is clear representation is a goal that is not being achieved. Therefore, police agencies in this region need to improve on actively reflecting the communities in which they work in order to meet these goals rather than simply having them.

The minority group demographic may also provide an explanation for why police use of force is not more common in this region. Police officers in this region may already be applying aspects of the customer service approach to the majority of their citizens who are now minority group members. The more interactions police have with minorities, the less likely they will believe inaccurate stereotypes about them leading to positive relations between the two groups. Therefore, the backlash surrounding the BLM movement has not been as prominent since they are being attentive to minority groups wants and needs. This suggests that, other than members of the BLM movement, those who did have problems with police in this region regarding the movement, were most likely White. This was supported by the findings as participants indicated that the majority of community members who yelled things out, such as, "hands up, don't shoot" or "Black Lives Matter" were White.

By connecting with those who do not have positive views of the police, such as those in the BLM movement, police may be able to address the needs of this community. At a minimum, police can use this experience to help predict, identify, and address similar social movements, even if they originate in another country. The BLM movement originated in the United States, yet was powerful enough to resonate with

people in the GVR. However, the movement received considerable backlash when they asked police to not participate in pride events. This backlash may have represented a pro-police stance, or an anti-BLM movement position.

By expanding their community policing efforts, police agencies in the GVR create an opportunity to connect with the groups that support the BLM movement. Police will be able to develop strategies that may avoid future conflicts, and become familiar with subpopulations that are part of larger groups to whom they are already connected. The BLM Vancouver chapter should also become familiar with the policing context of this region and how it differs from policing culture in the United States. However, the local dominance of community policing does not mean that the concerns and criticisms arising from the local BLM should not be addressed. Police agencies cannot ignore a community if the entire group feels unsafe when dealing with the police, nor can they dictate how a group should feel. Such a failure in communication is detrimental to both parties.

6.1.3. Collaborative Policing

The GVR has a unique checkerboard of policing types; one municipality is served by a municipal force and the next is served by the RCMP, a pattern that continues throughout the entire region. Many argue for a regionalized police force due to the complexity of differing agencies policing one region. A primary criticism of this model is the lack of collaborative work between neighboring agencies. The boundary of some municipalities in the GVR are a single, shared road. For example, if a crime occurred in Vancouver, the offender could quickly be in Burnaby where they would move from the VPD's jurisdiction to the RCMP's. Cases become complex if the checkerboard style of policing is exploited.

All agencies should collaborate on their community policing strategies because resources and population size differ between municipalities, which affects the type of service police agencies offer their communities. For example, Port Moody and Delta are small agencies that can offer Cadillac style services ("no call too small"), whereas Vancouver is a large municipality and cannot always provide that style of policing. Collaboration with enable agencies to share successful programs and targeting tactics that foster community relations. This can also create consistency across the region and

reduce negative comparisons between departments. For example, an officer from this study described an experience with a family who moved out of his jurisdiction. He explained that they ended up moving back once they realized that their police service would change and they were happy with their original municipality. Police services can be a deciding factor in where people reside, further strengthening the need for consistent community policing services. Otherwise, the potential divisions between differing agencies can lead to rivalries between communities.

When the VPD was asked to remove itself from its local Pride parade, officers from other municipalities in the region were sympathetic but did not perceive it to be a local matter. The BLM Vancouver chapter and the VPD discussed the matter; however, the talks may have benefited with input from senior management police officials from other municipalities. The Pride parade discussion was isolated to Vancouver, but supporters or members of the BLM Vancouver chapter may not solely reside in Vancouver. Some officers in this study explained that they had little concern with the BLM movement because there is no chapter in their municipality; however, this sentiment may not be shared with their community members. Regardless of municipal borders, the public groups police officers together, and if the VPD faces trouble with a certain group, these negative perceptions can permeate into neighboring regions, much as the BLM movement has spilled over from the United States. Within the GVR, the movement is not contained to Vancouver. It is worth the investment for agencies to work closely together in order to ensure that each can handle questions and situations regarding the movement. Furthermore, if the movement were to formally establish itself in more cities, it would be beneficial for all agencies to be aligned, so that one municipality does not bear the brunt of this anti-police rhetoric.

6.1.4. Canadian police research

Research on police is flourishing and produced consistently in the United States, but in Canada, this field is described as "a barren landscape" (Huey & Ricciardelli, 2016, p. 122). Canadian policing stakeholders such as, police institutions, municipal councils, police service boards, and policy-makers have a limited capacity to conduct research, and when they do, it is usually to serve specific needs instead of a general contribution. This contributes to inefficiencies in practice and a dearth in research projects (Griffiths, 2014). This lack of stakeholder collaboration forces Canadian agencies to rely on

research based in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia (Huey & Ricciardelli, 2016; Griffiths, 2014).

Reliance on police data from other countries is problematic because policing styles and cultures vary immensely between them, and applying research from regions with a differing policing context does not produce intended results. This contextual discontinuity is evident when comparing the BLM movement in the GVR and the BLM in Toronto. Although this movement has spilled over from the United States, its support, backlash, and police response vary within Canada. Police research needs to be conducted within our borders so that it can accurately and effectively be applied to these situations. Additionally, local research reports should be made public, a practice that is not often conducted.

Police agencies are hesitant to allow researchers access to their data, further limiting Canadian police research. Limiting access to data and research insinuates a secretive police culture. The data is guarded because reports may have the potential to expose flaws in the policies and practices in place within police departments, but research should be conducted to adjust and improve the delivery of services. Due to privacy reasons, not all information can be released, but if agencies shared reports about the internal workings of their departments, it could improve community trust. If agencies are honest about identifying shortcomings and active about making improvements, they demonstrate their willingness to change to benefit the community.

Canadian policing may improve with continued research. Less research should be borrowed from other counties, especially the United States, with its gun culture and increasing trend of militarized police forces, which are not aligned with Canadian police culture and values. Attempting to apply American police research to the Canadian context can be detrimental. This is no different than applying the American BLM movement to the GVR: although the movement exists locally, the level of anti-police rhetoric is incomparable. There have been no incidents of vigilante justice against police officers in this region, nor have police officers in Canada been violently targeted. There have been no incidents of police brutality or fatal shootings of unarmed Black men. However, the movement persists. With increased Canadian policing research, agencies can ensure that the events that initiated the BLM movement in the United States do not occur in this region.

6.2. Limitations

While the current study is among the first to gain an understanding of Canadian police perspectives on the BLM movement, there are a few limitations that prevent the findings from being applicable across Canada. Although access was not a challenge, the need to include a mixture of SMOs (n=6) and FLOs (n=6) reduced the number of FLOs that were included in the sample. This was to ensure that the perspectives of the FLOs were not overrepresented when compared to the SMOs. Although participants were employed by various municipal police agencies across the GVR, the sample size was small. Furthermore, this study examined only the perspectives of SMOs and FLOs within this region and therefore may not speak to the experiences and practices of other police agencies across Canada.

Additionally, the sample size in this study was almost exclusively males. This was to be expected considering females are largely underrepresented among Canadian police officers although their numbers have been increasing since 1970 (Statistics Canada, 2012). According to Statistics Canada (2015), there were 68,777 police officers in Canada: 54,445 were male and 14,332 (20.8%) were female. Statistics show that women are increasingly filling positions of higher ranks (12.4%), but that the majority of women in policing mostly still fill civilian positions (57.3%) whereas only 14.4 percent of males were civilian personnel (Statistics Canada, 2015). Therefore, the lack of female representation in this study is not as limiting for either sample group.

The sample of officers in this study were also mostly White (n=10). This demographic may provide unique perspectives of the BLM movement, considering the movement has been outspoken regarding their tension with White police officers in particular. However, the sample may speak to the makeup of police in the GVR. Police agencies across Canada are struggling to keep up with their growing populations and are behind in offering a representative force (Bathe, 2016). Although agencies put effort into hiring from visible minority populations, White police officers seem to be the norm, therefore, making up the majority of this sample and potentially offering different insight into the BLM than visible minority officers would have.

No community members were interviewed for this study. Therefore, much of what the police officers had to say regarding community-police relations are based on

individual, micro-level interactions. Despite increased levels of police scrutiny, many officers in this sample discussed positive experiences they had with members of the community since the emergence of the BLM movement. However, there may be members of the community who dislike the police but choose not to let them know; or it is possible that people with positive experiences with the police approach them to provide this feedback, whereas those without those similar experiences do not do so. This may therefore inflate the perception of positive community-police relations. Without community input, it would be difficult to truly determine community perceptions about its police force as the information provided in this study is derived from police perceptions of how they believe they are viewed by the community. Additionally, no activists were interviewed for this study. It was confirmed through media reports and comments by police spokespeople that police agencies were communicating with the BLM movement to ease tensions. However, the dynamics of the relationship between the BLM movement and police agencies in the GVR will remain unclear without perspectives from the movement that are not based on comments provided to the media.

Despite these limitations, this study contributes to the extant literature on community-police relations by providing an understanding of how a social movement characterized by an anti-police rhetoric is experienced regionally. Canadian police officers were able to discuss their experiences with the movement and reflect on their own actions that may have prevented the backlash police officers in the United States are facing. Future research should consider expanding on the findings of this study.

6.3. Future research directions

Several areas of community-police relations, and Canadian policing in general, are in need of further research. The present study focussed on municipal police officers and their perception of the BLM movement in the GVR. Officers provided insight into micro level factors, such as their individual experiences with the BLM movement. Future research should analyze these perceptions at the macro level. Municipalities across Canada should assess their community policing strategies in order to explore the potential differences and commonalities, and to understand how each region within Canada is affected by spillover movements and police perceptions from the United States. For example, the BLM Toronto chapter is formally affiliated with the BLM movement, but the Vancouver Chapter is not. Online and media searches reveal no

other BLM chapters within Canada presently. Research to understand why this is the case, and what factors influence the formation of both formally affiliated and not formally affiliated chapters would be beneficial. Toronto has a larger African-Canadian population and a larger support base than the GVR, but other factors may have contributed to its chapter receiving formal affiliation that will remain unknown without additional research.

A regional evaluation of the movement is necessary to assess appropriate responses. This level of analysis would allow municipalities to compare strategies and familiarize themselves with their regional context and could enable police agencies to tailor a custom response or strategy to work specifically for their community. The current study explored police perceptions. Community perceptions were considered, but from a police perspective based on individual interactions and community feedback. Another area for future research is to include community members in the sample in order to assess whether the positive and negative police interactions are applicable to the general public. Research should include community perceptions of the BLM movement. Members of the BLM movement should also be consulted and given a judgement-free platform to express their concerns. Some argue that the movement is calling for solutions to problems that do not exist in Canada. Additional research could determine if this is the case, by analyzing responses from Canadian police officers, members from the general community, and the BLM movement.

Although the American based movement is supported in Canada, the police and community responses to police rhetoric vary. Therefore, a comparative study between a Canadian analysis on the BLM movement from various agencies and stakeholders and an American analysis from various agencies and stakeholders, could reveal differences in Canadian and American policing context, cultures and values. Community policing strategies could be assessed to identify how different structures of engagement events affect community perceptions. This research would be especially valuable in the United States, considering the anti-police rhetoric and vigilantism. American police agencies may be able to learn from Canadian community policing strategies and use of force training exercises, if there was adequate and appropriately disseminated research. Additional comparative research could also identify the factors that contribute to increased police and BLM movement backlash in America, and why Canadian police officers use less force than their American counterparts.

This research may be able to prevent future, hostile community reactions currently in the United States, even if officers do little to heal the rift in community relations. Regardless of differences in population, training and gun laws, Canadian police officers make mistakes, including fatal use of force incidents. Contrary to their American counterparts, when Canadian police lose public support after such incidents, communities do not riot, vigilante snipers do not target police, and an anti-police culture is not initiated. These future research directions can shed light on what contributes to these differences.

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Appendix A.

Police perceptions of the BLM movement: Study Details

Title of Study: "They don't have a platform here": Exploring police perceptions of the Black Lives Matter movement in Canada

Principal Investigator: Noor Sandhu

Senior Supervisor: Dr. Richard Parent

Department, School or Faculty: School of Criminology

Eric Garner was killed by a New York Police Department (NYPD) officer on July 17, 2014 (Backer, Goodman, & Mueller, 2015). Earlier that month, Garner was approached by NYPD for attempting to sell untaxed cigarettes. The officers let Garner off with a warning after he refused to be detained or searched. A few days later, the officers returned and a friend of Garner's began to record the interaction with a cellphone camera. Garner was put in a chokehold, during which he repeatedly informed officers that he could not breath, and died on the sidewalk as result (Backer, Goodman, & Mueller, 2015). This killing was the beginning of a string of deaths of Black men by White police officers in the United States (U.S.); Michael Brown, Walter Scott, Freddie Gray, Alton Sterling, Philando Castille and Terrence Crutcher are names of some of the most controversial and newsworthy cases. These incidents created a dialogue on law enforcement, race, and the lack of developed working relations within their community.

Although these incidents occurred in the U.S., recent events indicate that tensions may also exist between Canadian police officers and racialized members of the community they serve. For example, the Black Lives Matter (BLM) chapter based in Toronto staged a protest during the city's pride parade in order to bring attention to issues and vulnerabilities faced in their communities, such as the participation of the Toronto Police Service in the parade. They argued that the police should no longer be allowed to participate in the parade as they represent a "violent government body" (Goffin, 2016, p.1). Similarly, the BLM Vancouver has requested that the Vancouver Police Department (VPD) remove themselves from the pride parade because their presence would cause select communities to feel unsafe (Kane, 2016).

The proposed study will examine whether the ongoing tension in the U.S. between police officers and the Black community have impacted Canadian policing in any way. I will examine to what degree, if any, the recent BLM movement in the U.S. has impacted municipal policing in the Greater Vancouver Region (GVR). This study seeks to better understand what municipal policing agencies in the Vancouver area can do to distance themselves from the BLM movement and the recent anti-police culture that is developing in many parts of the U.S.. Further, the relationship between police officers and their community will be explored to gain a better understanding of community policing efforts in the GVR. The influence of the U.S. on Canada has been well documented within a variety of contexts due to circumstances such as being partners in trade, sharing the

world's longest undefended border and securitization after 9/11 (Sum, 2012; Murphy, 2007; Bow, 2007; Taylor, Robideaux, & Jackson, 2003). Due to the contemporary nature of this conflict, the potential impact of the politics and policing of BLM movement in the U.S. on Canadian police relations and partnerships within their community have not yet been sufficiently explored.

Research on police is flourishing and produced consistently in the U.S. However, Canadian policing research has been described as "a barren landscape" (Huey & Ricciardelli, 2016, p. 122). Stake holder groups in Canadian policing, such as police institutions, municipal councils, police service boards and policy-makers have limited capacity to conduct research and when they do, it is usually to serve their specific needs instead of a general contribution. This contributes to inefficiencies in practice and toward the development of research projects (2014). This lack of stakeholder collaboration forces these groups to rely on research based largely in the U.S., the United Kingdom (U.K.) and Australia (Huey & Ricciardelli, 2016; Griffiths, 2014). Therefore, preliminary research suggests there is a gap in the literature regarding Canadian police relations with their community as well as Canadian policing in general that this proposed study aims to fill.

Study Purpose

The examination of the relationship between municipal police officers in the GVR and the community members they serve will generate relevant and contemporary knowledge. This study will also allow raise awareness and build upon the literature surrounding connections between international events and the impact on local Canadian communities. In turn, the data collected has the potential to encourage community engagement and sustain and maintain confidence in Canadian police work. By interviewing police officers, we will be able to familiarize ourselves with the impact experiences in the U.S. have on Canadian attitudes and community policing practices in a specific geographic region (i.e., GVR). Lastly, in the context of Canadian police work and the ever-changing dynamics of public trust and confidence, rank and file police officers as well as high ranking police officers will have the potential to address emergent issues as well as contribute to Canadian police research.

Hypotheses and Research Questions

This study will explore the following research questions:

1) To what degree, if any, has the recent Black Lives Matter movement impacted municipal policing in the Vancouver area?

2) What can municipal policing agencies in the Vancouver area do to distance themselves from the Black Lives Matter and anti-police movement that is occurring in many parts of the United States?

Prospective Participant Information

Description of the Study Population:

There are six municipal police agencies in the lower mainland: Abbotsford Police Department, Delta Police Department, New Westminster Police Service, Port Moody Police Department, Vancouver Police Department, and the West Vancouver Police Department. The study participants will consist of approximately 10-12 municipal police officers active in the GVR. This is, however, a flexible estimate.

The sampling frame, which Palys and Atchison (2014) refer to as the "complete list of all the sample elements of the population" (p.429), will consist of active front-line police officers, as well as high-ranking police officers from municipalities across the lower mainland area. A non-probability sampling technique will be employed, specifically, opportunity/convenience sample. The sample will be recruited through the use of a gate-keeper. Due to the use of this specific sampling technique, permission will not be obtained from the respective organizations that the potential participants are employed by in order to conduct this study.

Inclusion Criteria

The inclusion criteria are as follows:

1) Minimum 5 years experience as a police officer;

2) Currently an active sworn member of a municipal police agency in the Greater Vancouver Region;

3) Front-line or high-ranking officer.

Exclusion Criteria:

This sampling approach will exclude police officers who have not accumulated at least five year experience as a police officer; they may be unable to provide insights consistent with the contextual parameters established for this study, as their level of experience may not be as lengthy as those who meet the inclusion criteria. Further, they will not be able to speak to historical shifts in community perceptions and relations due to a lack of the necessary length of experience and/or involvement in law enforcement.

Location of Interviews:

These interviews will be conducted in-person whenever possible. The in-person interviews will take place at a time and location that is most convenient for the participant. Should an in-person interview not be convenient for the participant, I will keep the possibility of a telephone or Skype interview open should the participant choose to participate in this manner due to potential conflicts in scheduling.

Detailed Research Procedures

Recruitment

Participants will be recruited based on the above noted inclusion criteria and contact will be made through a gatekeeper. All of the contact information the gatekeeper will be using to recruit participants will already have been made available to the gatekeeper. This contact information is not public information. There will be no form of compensation given to participants for participating in this study.

Consent Procedures

This study does not involve any form of deception. Potential participants will be provided with an information sheet outlining the details of this study. The information sheet will inform them about the overall topic of this project, their role as a participant, how the information they provide will be used and disseminated (e.g., Master's thesis, publications, conference presentations, public talks), protection of the data and eventual destruction of the data, confidentiality, their ability to withdraw from the study at any time prior to the final write-up, and any potential risks they may face by participating in this study. Permission will not be obtained from potential participant's employers in order to conduct this study, nor is it conditional to the participant's participation. Participants will be asked to provide informed consent which will be obtained orally after the participant has time to go over the information sheet that will be provided to them. They will then be asked for permission to record the interview. Once they have given their permission to record the interview, recording will begin. After receiving consent to participate and consent to record their interview, informed consent will be reiterated and recorded on the digital voice recorder prior to the interview taking place. If the participant provides informed oral consent to participate in the study but refuses to provide consent to the audio recording of their interview, detailed notes will be taken instead. Additionally, the interview notes will include a written statement indicating that the participant's informed consent to participate in the study was obtained but that their consent to be audio recorded was not. By collecting oral consent, the potential risks to maintaining participant confidentiality that may occur with the use of written consent will be minimized.

Participants will have an opportunity to ask questions about the study prior to choosing to participate. Potential participants who take part in this study via telephone or Skype interview will be sent the study information sheet by e-mail in advance of the scheduled interview. At the start of the telephone interview, the participant will be asked to confirm that they have read and understand the study information sheet provided to them. They will then be asked to provide oral informed consent over the telephone or Skype call. It is noted, and participants will be informed that communication via telephone is not a secure or confidential medium, nor is telephone to Skype.

Competency and Capacity

It is not anticipated that any participants who lack the capacity to consent for themselves will be recruited to participate in this study.

Data Collection Procedures

Prospective participants in this qualitative, interview-based study will be invited to participate in an in-depth interview in-person or via telephone/Skype call. Each interview will take approximately 60-90 minutes. Through the use of a descriptive, cross sectional design, this study will provide insight into the potential changes police officers may or may not have experiences since the initiation of the BLM movement. To account for potential differences due to the certain demographics of the police officers and their level of experience, the qualitative interviews will be semi-structured. This will allow for an open-ended conversation with the participants furthering the potential for identifiable themes to emerge as well as offering opportunity for the participants to speak to their unique experiences on the job. These interviews will be conducted in-person whenever possible, but will remain open to the possibility of a telephone or Skype interview based on the potential for participant scheduling conflicts.

Each interview will consist of non-restrictive, open-ended questions. The interview guide will be used to provide a framework for each interview and to ensure comparability among the data. I will begin by introducing myself, the research and overall ethical considerations, such as participant confidentiality, as well as answering any potential questions that the participant may have about the study or overall process. Then, demographic data will be obtained from the participant, such as age, race/ethnicity, and details about their career as a police officer (e.g. years working as a police officer in the lower mainland region, time spent on patrol, and whether they have been part of any specialized units). From this point, I will transition into asking the interview questions from the interview guide.

Audio Recording

The interviews will be audio recorded using a digital voice recorder after verbal permission has been granted by participants who have agreed to take part in the study. For participants who have not granted permission to have their interviews audio recorded, the Principal Investigator will take detailed notes instead. Interview notes will not contain any identifying information and the audio files on the digital voice recorder will be transferred from the device to an encrypted Lexar flash drive immediately after the interview. The secure file transfer will occur while still at the site of the interview. The audio files will then be deleted from the digital voice recorder immediately so that only encrypted files will be transported between the site of the interview and my office (School of Criminology, FASS, Simon Fraser University, Surrey Campus) where the encrypted audio files and any detailed interview notes will be stored in a locked filing cabinet. Further, my office is housed behind a set of electronically controlled secure doors, and I am the only one with access to this office.

Potential Benefits and Risks

Benefits to Participants and Others

This research will provide police officers with an opportunity to share their expertise and voice their opinions on an issue that has the potential to cause rifts in the relationship they share with their community members. By providing their view point and unique perceptions, the officers will be able to discuss what other community relative research

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has not often incorporated in Canadian research. Further, by participating in this study, these police officers will be contributing to the overall knowledge of policing in Canada which is scarce in comparison to the policing research that comes out of the U.S. and the United Kingdom (U.K.). Participants will be able to aid in the generation of new knowledge relative to a contemporary policing issue. The experiences of these officers will help identify opportunities for change that may be beneficial towards implementing and/or making amendments in community policing models. Further, this information may be used to improve policies and practices, not just at the lower mainland municipal level but that affect policing across Canada.

Potential Risks

Potential risks to participants are minimal as the interviews will pertain to officer experiences and interactions with their community since the beginning of the BLM movement. Since the participants will be participating as individuals and not as police officers representing a specific police department in the GVR, the potential informal or formal repercussions they may face on behalf of their employer will be non-existent as they will not be acting as representatives of their own or any other respective police agencies in the lower mainland region. The police agency in which they work will not be disclosed. Refusal to participate or withdrawal/dropout after agreeing to participate will not have an adverse effect or consequences on the participants, their employment, education or services.

Risks to Researchers

There are no foreseeable risks to the Principal Investigator, Noor Sandhu.

Confidentiality Measures

Participants will be promised strict confidentiality. I will ensure that the researcher-participant relationship and all data collected during the course of this research remain confidential.

All participants' interview transcripts will be coded with pseudonym, and a log linking these codes to individual participants will be retained in an encrypted electronic file that is password protected; the password will only be known to the Principal Investigator, Noor Sandhu. All direct identifiers will be removed as the interviews are transcribed.

All participants who end up participating via telephone will receive a study information sheet indicating that confidentiality has the potential to be compromised through this channel, as a telephone is not a secure or confidential means of communication.

Access to the Data

Access to the research data (including audio recordings, transcriptions and any interview notes) will be limited to the Principal Investigator, Noor Sandhu.

Data Analysis Plan

Data from the interviews will be managed and analyzed manually, as well as through the use of NVivo for Mac qualitative data analysis software. After transcription, I will upload the transcripts into NVivo for Mac and will initially engage in open coding and then line-by-line coding. After the completion of initial coding, the focused coding process will begin for each transcript which will allow for the potential identification of relationships among codes, themes and subthemes.

Retention and Destruction of Data

Interviews will be transcribed within a fortnight. Timely transcription will minimize any inaccuracies in my recollections, as well as to minimize the loss of non-verbal and contextual elements of these data. I will anonymize each interview using pseudonyms as participant identifiers, as well as removing other possible identifiers from these data, to ensure participant confidentiality. Each participant will be given the opportunity to select their own pseudonym; if they decline, one will be selected on their behalf. Further, I will compete a validity check of each transcript to ensure it is consistent with the audio recording. Upon transcription and validity check, the audio recordings will be destroyed to maintain participant confidentiality. Therefore, there will be no future use of the recordings as they will be destroyed upon the completion of the interview transcript. The fully anonymized transcripts and any interview notes will be retained in a secure location indefinitely. All data will be stored on an encrypted flash drive, which will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in my office at Simon Fraser University (Surrey Campus, FASS) to which only I will have access.

Future Use of Data and Dissemination of Results

The results of this study will be used for the purpose of my Master's thesis as well as conference presentations and future publications in academic journal articles and books. Participants will be informed of this through the study information sheet.

Appendix B.

Informed Consent: Study Information Sheet

"They don't have a platform here": Exploring police perceptions of the Black Lives Matter movement in Canada

The purpose of this study is to examine to what degree, if any, the recent Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement in the United States has impacted municipal policing in the Greater Vancouver Region (GVR). This study seeks to better understand what municipal policing agencies in the Vancouver area can do to distance themselves from the BLM movement and the recent anti-police culture that is developing in many parts of the United States. Further, the relationship between police officers and their community will be explored to gain a better understanding of community policing efforts in the GVR.

The Principal Investigator is Noor Sandhu, a Master of Arts student in the School of Criminology at Simon Fraser University.

Email: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ Phone: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

The Senior Supervisor is Dr. Richard Parent, Associate Professor in the School of Criminology at Simon Fraser University.

Email: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ Phone: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

You are invited to participate in this study via an individual interview to discuss your perceptions, experiences, and thoughts on the BLM movement and municipal policing. The interviews will be conducted in-person at a location convenient to you or via phone for potential participants who are unable to participate in an in-person interview. The interviews are expected to last 60-90 minutes.

You will receive no form of compensation for your participation in this study.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may choose whether you wish to participate in this study, and you may choose to withdraw your consent to participate at any time without explanation or penalty. Refusal to participate or withdrawal/dropout after agreeing to participate will not have an adverse effect or consequences on you, your employment, education or services. If you choose to participate in the study and then decide to withdraw at a later time, all data collected from you up to that point will be destroyed. You may choose not to answer any questions you do not feel comfortable discussing and still remain a participant in the study. You may also choose to withdraw your contribution up to the point of completion of this study, as your contributions are unable to be removed after the write-up has been completed.

The designation of risk for this study is 'Minimal Risk'. This is because you will not be asked questions of an intrusive nature; the anticipated discomfort that may result from this study are not greater than discomforts you would encounter on an ordinary day. There are no foreseeable risks to you in participating in this study. You are not obligated

to answer any questions to which you do not feel comfortable providing an answer, and you are able to stop the interview at any time.

By participating in this study, you will be contributing to the growing literature on policing in Canada. Your contributions may aid in the development of policy, as your knowledge, experience, and expertise will provide information to policing agencies that could be beneficial towards implementing and/or making amendments in community policing models, as well as other opportunities for change. Further, the results of this study will provide insight into policing culture of the United States can affect Canadian policing and how, if at all, Canadian police are generalized along side their American counterparts. The findings of this study will provide law enforcement agencies with information regarding preparedness and potential tools required for the identification and classification of incidents that may solicit reactions from the public.

Permission from your employer or other organizations/institutions will not be obtained in order to conduct this study. You will be asked to provide verbal consent to participate in this study. Additionally, with your permission, the interview will be digitally recorded to ensure that your contributions are represented as accurately as possible. The transcription of the interviews will be transcribed soon after each interview has taken place. The digital audio files will be destroyed following their transcription. If you do not consent to digital recording but would like to participate in the study, anonymized hand-written notes will be taken during the interview.

This study is being conducted as a required component of my Master's thesis. Upon completion, the findings of this study will be included in the write-up of my thesis, as well as in future presentations and publications. Data may also be used to educational purposes, such as lectures.

Audio recordings will be destroyed upon the completion of the transcripts and therefore, will have no future use.

Your name and the contributions you make to this study will remain protected and confidential. No information that would reveal your identity will be disclosed or published in any reports of the completed study. Your identity and contributions will further be safeguarded by the use of a pseudonym chosen by you. If you do not select a pseudonym, one will be selected for you. The fully anonymized transcripts as well as any detailed interview notes, will be retained at a secure location indefinitely. The device in which the data will be stored on will be in an encrypted folder on a password protected laptop. This laptop and any interview notes, will be stored in a locked filing cabinet in the principal researcher's office located at SFU. Only, I, the principal researcher, will have access to the recordings, any interview notes and transcripts. Transcription of the recorded interview will take place within a fortnight and the audio recordings will be destroyed immediately after the completion of said transcription.

If you are participating in this study via telephone, please note that it is not a secure means of communication, so strict confidentiality cannot be guaranteed through this medium.

This study has been approved by the office of Research Ethics at Simon Fraser University. If you have any questions about the research or the results of the study, you

may contact the Principal Investigator, Noor Sandhu, or the Senior Supervisor, Dr. Rick Parent, at the contact information provided above.

Questions or concerns about the study or your rights as a research participant may be directed to Dr. Jeffrey Toward, Director, Office of Research Ethics at Simon Fraser University at ▇▇▇▇▇▇▇▇▇ or ▇▇▇▇▇▇▇▇▇

Noor Sandhu
Phone: ▇▇▇▇▇▇▇ Email: ▇▇▇▇▇▇▇