

**The Blue Line on Thin Ice: Police Use of Force in the Era of
Cameraphones, ‘Citizen Journalism’, and *YouTube***

by

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ABSTRACT

In today's urban environments the ubiquity of cameraphones and the entrenchment of both 'citizen journalism' and Web 2.0 media into social life and socio-political discourses have exponentially increased the public's exposure to police violence. This thesis investigates the impact on contemporary policing of the 'new visibility' of police conduct. Findings emerged from the surveying of 231 front-line officers in Toronto and Ottawa, follow-up interviews with 20 of these officers, and interviews with 8 policing officials in those cities. It was determined that widespread video oversight of policing and the ability of citizens to disseminate imagery through social media is profoundly embedded in the consciousness of operational officers and has resulted in various behavioural changes through the deterrence of certain 'performances', including significant moderations in police use of force practices. Technological innovations have enabled transformative changes in the public-police relationship and power dynamic through a democratizing social leveling.

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CHAPTER ONE

SITUATING THE PROJECT

Inspector 'Dirty' Harry Callaghan: "You from around here?"

Inspector Chico Gonzales: "Yeah, but I went to San Jose State."

Callaghan: "Just what I need, a college boy...Got your degree?"

Gonzales: "Sociology."

*Callaghan: "**Sociology!**? You'll go far; if you live...Don't let your degree get you killed; I'm liable to get killed with you."*

— (Siegel 1971: n.p.)

1.1 Introduction

This research project examines a transformation in the fundamental nature of policing in the contemporary Canadian 'network society'. It seeks to traverse the 'thin blue line' by penetrating the inner workings of urban policing and the perspectives of the police who patrol our cities. A two-site case study conducted with veteran front-line police officers and institutional officials in both Toronto and Ottawa, employing mixed methods research (including the surveying of 231 operational officers and in-depth anonymous interviewing with 20 of these officers), provides data for this investigation into an important and contentious dynamic in the public-police relationship – the use of force by police in our society.

Today, policing activities within both public and formerly private *milieu* occur within an environment of unprecedented social visibility. The research presented here will explore how much and how contemporary societal surveillance capabilities, enabled by the ubiquitous cameraphone, the phenomenon of 'citizen journalism'¹, and the ability of citizens to engage with each other through Web 2.0 social communication have substantially impacted the consciousness and the behaviour of operational police officers. The study examines how and how much front-line police officers have moderated when

and how they use physical force in their interactions with citizens. It will be argued here that widespread video oversight of the police in urban settings and a pronounced socio-political cultural shift – in terms of a public that is now more skeptical and questioning of the social institution of policing – have produced a marked deterrent effect on the behaviour of operational police officers in our cities’ communities. Thus, the thesis will argue that these contemporary developments in the public-police relationship result in a leveling of social hierarchies and a realignment of the power dynamic between the police and the citizens – a democratizing effect. The research contributes to the study of surveillance in contemporary society and to the literature on the ‘risk society’. It also provides empirical documentation in relation to theoretical concerns with ‘policing’s new visibility’ (Goldsmith 2010; Thompson 2005) and ‘network society’ (Castells 2000a, 2001, 2010), and in illuminating aspects of today’s police occupational culture.

The ‘Thin Blue Line’

The ‘thin blue line’ is an iconic metaphor in policing that is often advanced to suggest that the police are the last line of defence in preserving social order and preventing society from plummeting into lawless chaos (Doyle 2003; Greer & McLaughlin 2010b; Loader 1997; Loader & Walker 2007; Manning 2010; Reiner 2010; Sheptycki 2012). Mike Brogden (2005: 65) suggests that this framing of the police is “often implicit rather than explicit; its central theme is that in a period of rapid social change, when major state structures and agencies are suffering from varying degrees of stress and illegitimacy, it is crucial to develop and sustain a strong police institution.” The notion of the police as indispensable, crime-fighting saviours of those needing protection from the criminal ‘other’, who are wreaking havoc throughout society, seems to many the

raison d'être of modern policing and is even to a more pronounced degree a tenet of the contemporary law and order (tough on crime, zero tolerance, etc.) punitive and adversarial crime control ideology (Doyle 2003; Garland 2001; Homes & Smith 2008; Loader 1997; Reiner 2010).

Mark Neocleous (2000: 118) assessed the essence of the police function in society – bluntly advancing that “the ultimate truth of the police is that it deals in and dispenses violence in protection of the interests of the state.” In our society the police are the ‘specialist repositories’ in applying the state's monopoly of the legitimate use of force (Castells 2010; Ericson 1989; Klockars 1985; Loader & Walker 2007; Manning 2010; Neocleous 2000; Reiner 2010). Police traditionally enjoyed the affective attachment and largely unconditional support from much of the public within the ‘thin blue line’ framing – an idealized force for good providing law-abiding citizens with a sustained ‘ontological security’ (Giddens 1991; Loader & Mulcahy 2003) and “sensations of order, authority and protection”(Loader 1997: 4-8). The police are a powerful social institution occupying a position of formal trust in which they are expected to operate within the law and to meet public expectations of proper conduct as they enforce the law (Goldsmith 2005, 2010; Mawby 2002b).

In the first criminal trial of the four Los Angeles Police officers charged in the beating of Rodney King, *New York Times* reporter Seth Mydans (1992: 1) observed that the defence lawyers “referred repeatedly to the ‘thin blue line’ and the role of a police force in protecting society from ‘the likes of Rodney King’” and the lawyer for accused officer Timothy Wind asserted, ““This unpleasant incident is what we have police for... The circumstances here were consistent with the job the man was hired to do. He

was part of the line between society and chaos’.” The ‘thin blue line’ worldview, common among police officers, can result in the entrenchment of an ‘us versus them’ mentality in the police subculture’s approach to the public-police relationship and can impact on police use of force practices (Chan 2007; Chappell & Lanza-Kaduce 2010; Doyle 2003; Loftus 2009, 2010; Reiner 2010; Wortley 2006). James Sheptycki (2012: 58) found that the ‘thin blue line’ construct “aggrandizes police use of force in the maintenance of a fragile social order balanced between anarchy, chaos and evil, on the one side, and law, order and goodness on the other.”

The New Landscape for Policing

Richard Ericson (1989: 205-206), writing in 1989, assessed the changing circumstances of police ‘*in/visibility*’ in western democratic societies, including the shifting landscape of traditional mediated constructions of police actions, and found that the police were beginning to lose their ability to “patrol the facts.” Two years later, on 3 March 1991, Rodney King was beaten by members of the Los Angeles Police Department who were arresting King after a high-speed chase. George Holliday, a private citizen, witnessed the interaction between King and the police officers and discreetly videorecorded the incident from his apartment balcony, overlooking the dark street, using a recently-acquired Sony Handycam (Myers 2011) – a brand of camcorder (the consumer videorecording technology of that era). Holliday provided the imagery to a local television station and subsequently, within a matter of days, the recorded images were displayed by virtually every print and television news organization worldwide, sending “shockwaves around the world and enraging the already frustrated Los Angeles African American community, which felt that racial profiling and abuse by the police had long

gone unchecked” (Gray 2007: n.p.).

Brian Martin (2005: 307), echoing the earlier observations of Ogletree, Prosser, Smith, and Talley (1995), suggested, “This event probably would have become just another arrest statistic except for the fact that a portion of the incident was captured on videotape by an observer.” After the 29 April 1992 acquittal of the four police officers criminally charged in the King beating “all that rage turned into the worst single episode of urban unrest in American history” (Gray 2007: n.p.). The mayhem in Los Angeles resulted in the deaths of 55 people, more than 2,000 other persons were seriously injured, and property damage from the rioting exceeded \$1 billion (Kavanagh 2011).

The discourses around police-citizen violent interactions were instantly and unquestionably transformed in the aftermath of the technologically-enabled ‘citizen journalism’ that was exemplified in the King occurrence. James Hodgson (2001: 520) assessed, “No other issue in policing has caused as much controversy and concern over the last several decades as the police using violence to resolve conflict.” The introduction of consumer videorecording technologies (such as Holliday’s Sony Handycam) to private citizens in the 1980s had brought about the *possibility* of independent and tangible visual documentation of police-citizen violent incidents. Holliday’s videorecording is the most notorious example in which the events captured by the videorecorded images clearly contradicted the ensuing construction of events put forth by both the involved police officers and the policing institution. Regina Lawrence (2000: 174), referring to the King occurrence, observed that “[the videotape] effectively undermined the usual official narratives offered to legitimize and rationalize [police] use of force.”

In the years following, a steady increase of camcorders in circulation and fixed

video surveillance system installations became a new social reality. Aaron Doyle (2003: 74) found that the notoriety given Holliday's surreptitious recording of police misconduct "was a massive further stimulus to amateur photographers." Ericson (1995: 161) observed, looking into the future, "while many details remain unclear, it seems highly probable that the new capacities for surveillance of policing inherent in these technologies may increase the police's accountability to the public, while decreasing their 'account ability'." In other words, videorecorded accounts of police use of force misconduct through civilian oversight were thought to have the capacity to overcome the constructions of events and denials of wrongdoing advanced by the police.

The death of unarmed Oscar Grant after being shot by an Oakland, California police officer in 2009² and the death of Ian Tomlinson after being struck by a riot baton and shoved to the pavement by a member of the Metropolitan Police during the London G20 summit in 2009³ are more recent and perhaps even more egregious examples than the King occurrence (in that these police actions resulted in fatalities) of demonstrably unlawful police violence captured by ordinary citizens using the contemporary technology of cameraphones to record the actions of the police. In the Canadian context we have witnessed similarly high profile incidents of controversial police-citizen violence that have been captured by citizen videographers within the past few years — such as the death of Robert Dziekański after being engaged (and 'Tasered') by members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police at the Vancouver airport in 2007 and the much-publicized and widely-critiqued public-order policing tactics used during the 2010 Toronto G20 summit and the student protests (la grève étudiante québécoise) in Montréal throughout 2012.

Simply canvassing various Internet databases provides context and an effective

appreciation for the magnitude and contentiousness of the issue of police violence in the contemporary public-police relationship in our society. Random (and unscientific) searches disclose a multitude of video-posts of various police officers (within Canada and elsewhere) using force in their engagement with citizens, often alleged (by the online poster of the video) to be excessive and characterized as police brutality. Exploring the popular Internet search engine *Google* with the search term parameters ‘police’ and ‘brutality’ yields 22,700,000 webpage results and almost 28 million video clips (as of 6 March 2013). Searching the video file-sharing website *YouTube* in relation to the videorecording of the Dziekański incident (made using a cameraphone by Paul Pritchard, an uninvolved bystander in the Vancouver airport) reveals that there have been over 1.3 million viewings of this imagery on five (of the multiple) file sites (as of 1 July 2013). Similarly, two civilian cameraphone videoposts of the Oscar Grant shooting have in excess of one million views each and one (of several) videoposts of cameraphone footage of the Ian Tomlinson occurrence has 927,329 views (as of 29 March 2013).

As this thesis was being drafted, I became aware that a major motion picture (*A New Year and a Last Day Alive*), based on the Oscar Grant occurrence, was released on 12 July 2013 in major American markets. *New York Times* critic Anthony Scott (2013: n.p.) has designated the film as a critic’s choice and wrote, “The incident, captured on video by onlookers, incited protest, unrest and arguments... The deaths of these and other African-American young men (Mr. Grant was 22) touch some of the rawest nerves in the body politic and raise thorny and apparently intractable issues of law and order, violence and race.” Similarly, I had been alerted to a police use of force incident that occurred in Vancouver on 26 March 2013 and that the cameraphone recording of the event (filmed by

bystander Mike Schwarz) was apparently ‘going viral’ on Canadian social media. Schwarz’s videorecording depicts a police officer punching an individual in the face as two officers encounter some resistance as they are handcuffing the cyclist who they are arresting. Schwartz posted the imagery on *YouTube* on 27 March 2013 and within two days of the videorecording being broadly disseminated in the public *milieu*, a *Facebook* group named ‘I was assaulted by Vancouver Police’ had been inaugurated to discuss and take action against alleged police brutality in Vancouver (CBC News 2013). As of 6 April 2013 two (of several) *YouTube* sites featuring the Schwarz videorecording have had 115,000+ viewings and the story has featured prominently on Canadian ‘mainstream’ print, television, and radio media platforms (including on national television newscasts).

Aaron Doyle – Arresting Images (2003)

Canadian Professor Aaron Doyle’s (2003: 7) book-length study of policing in front of the television camera inquired whether televising real-life policing “would essentially create a new social situation on the front lines of criminal justice” and would bring about social changes because it exposed the reality of policing in new ways (as Doyle proposed medium theorist Joshua Meyrowitz might argue). His research began with the speculation that the broadcasting of real policing footage on TV might reshape police transactions (including affecting individual police officer’s behaviours) and also extend to the development of a wider ripple effect in the criminal justice system (Doyle 2003: 6-7). Doyle’s (2003: 18-20) research asked, “To what extent does television actually lift ‘veils of secrecy’ and let audiences see into new kinds of situations?” and also, “When TV introduces audiences into these new social situations, how much do they actually begin to push for [social justice], equality and fairness?”

Doyle (2003: 81) discovered that, although TV's broadcasting of civilian home videorecordings of policing "reshapes selected social situations in the world of criminal justice" and "offers some new potential for resistance to police power", such footage faced substantial challenges and difficulties in making it onto the TV airwaves, whereas "powerful institutional players encounter[ed] much less difficulty in getting their preferred videos on to the news." Doyle (2003: 81) concluded that "while some hopeful observers believed that the rise of amateur video on the news would result in 'video democracy'....the various power imbalances...make it more appropriate to speak of 'video inequality'." Doyle (2003: 133-135) found,

...rather than having a liberating effect (Meyrowitz 1985), TV most often has the opposite kinds of impacts...TV largely helped reproduce the established institutional order and often strengthened the position of those who already hold the upper hand...TV does change things, but in ways tailored by police and similar dominant players. The medium is thus not simply the message...Meyrowitz's medium theory (1985) suggested that television 'made visible', 'exposed' or 'revealed' social situations that it broadcast. TV let viewers into newly seen 'back regions' to view 'back stage behaviour'. However, the general tendency across my four studies was that police most often controlled which criminal justice situations were broadcast...Police most often give the authorized definition to these televised situations.

Andrew Goldsmith – Policing's New Visibility (2010)

In 2010 the *British Journal of Criminology* published an article written by Andrew Goldsmith (a Professor at the Flinders University Law School in Australia) titled *Policing's New Visibility*. Goldsmith applied the conceptual framework of 'new visibility' (Thompson 2005; Brighenti 2007)⁴ in examining implications of the widespread availability of visual materials within publicized scandals in contemporary policing, which he theorized places policing activities (and the moral assessment of the propriety of police conduct) before an ever-expanding population across the broad

citizenry. His work focused on “the capacity of [visibility- increasing] technologies in the hands of ordinary citizens and residents to alter the public visibility of policing and thereby to impact upon public perceptions of policing and challenge existing mechanisms for police accountability” (Goldsmith 2010: 916). Goldsmith (2010: 914-915) concluded that this increased visibility, “brought about through developments in visual recording technologies in the past two decades” and particularly of “less flattering or illegal practices”, carries with it the potential for more police-related scandals, the potential for collective damage to the broad institution of police in our society, and the diminishing of police power in the social hierarchy.

Goldsmith (2010: 926) found that many instances highlighted by the ‘new visibility’ relate to police use of force and suggested that user-created content resulting from both citizen’s recording of police and new media dissemination of imagery of police use of force could have an impact on police training and that these technological capabilities in the hands of the citizenry could result in "a more reflective approach [among some police officers] to the use of particular policing technologies and other potentially controversial policing practices." He observed, “The ‘new visibility’ of the last decade represents [a] quantum leap, the implications of which have barely begun to be explored” (Goldsmith 2010: 918). However, no further scholarly contributions have, as yet, followed Goldsmith’s 2010 article, in terms of original empirical research inquiring into the implications for policing of the new socio-technical landscape enabled through new communications technologies.⁵

This Research Project's Contribution to Knowledge

As discussed, Ericson (1995: 161) suggested that new technologies and their capacities for the surveillance of the police would have a fundamental impact on policing. Other Canadian scholars (including Dowler & Fleming 2006; Doyle 2003, 2006; Huey, Walby & Doyle 2006) subsequently also speculated on the impact of increased technologically-enabled societal surveillance of the police. In the 2007 edition of *Media, Crime, and Criminal Justice* Ray Surette (2007: 231) predicted that increasing video recording of police violence would be “interesting” in terms of the effects and the public debate that would accompany incidents captured by new technologies. Sir Paul Stephenson, Metropolitan (London) Police Commissioner from 2009 to 2011, in his testimony before a British parliamentary committee on 19 May 2009 observed, in relation to the potential disclosure of police actions brought about through cameraphone recording by members of the public, “as technology changes there are different ways and many more opportunities for [police] to be caught behaving badly if they choose to behave badly” (Goldsmith 2010: 923).

In this current study I have followed-up on Doyle’s (2003: 5) prediction, a decade ago, that with the merging of TV and the Internet more real-life footage of policing would be broadcast to a public audience and I have taken up his challenge to extend the ways of thinking that he suggested in his project, going forward. Doyle’s (2003: 135) research found that the police (through the process of negotiation of meaning with journalists and given unequal and entrenched institutional power relations within society) most often prevailed in defining televised recordings of policing occurrences. Among its objectives, this project seeks, in part, to determine if a similar finding will hold in the era

of improved and ubiquitous videorecording technology, social interconnecteness, and social media proliferation – in terms of the police maintaining their ability to keep their use of force out of the spotlight and, with random exceptions (as occur from time to time with high profile events that reach a public audience), to keep the question of police violence away from public discourse (Ericson 1995; Lawrence 2000; Martin 2005).

This research project has also built on Goldsmith's initial contribution to the study of a significant and transformative development in the public-police relationship and I have sought to address, in part, the research void he identified by delving specifically into the impact on police of the 'new visibility' of police conduct in contemporary urban Canada – in terms of police use of force. This study has examined how, over the past decade, the remarkable proliferation of mobile telephone videorecording devices (cameraphones) among residents of Canadian cities, the unprecedented social interconnectedness, and the capacity for private citizens to now bypass 'mainstream' media's gatekeeping function through individual direct distribution of videorecordings of police violence through Web 2.0 social media communications (these phenomena together are often referred to as 'citizen journalism') have impacted both on individual front-line police officers as they go about their duties in our urban communities and on the broader social institution of policing.

Researcher's Original (Working) Thesis

Similar to Doyle's (2003) initial speculation that increasing television broadcasting of front-line policing might impact on policing (and police behaviours), my initial suspicions entering into this research were that the new capabilities for civilian videorecording of the police and the capacity for individuals to disseminate that imagery in an unmediated format to a broad public audience were serious concerns for front-line police

officers who work on the streets interacting with citizens – in sometimes confrontational and violent circumstances. I believed that individual police behaviour, in terms of the use of physical force, would have been impacted and modified in response to these new civilian oversight surveillance realities and I also speculated that this increased social visibility of policing actions would represent a significant issue for the institution of policing – vis-à-vis civil litigation, the erosion of public confidence in the integrity of policing, the questioning of police leadership, and deteriorating community relations.

1.2 Origins of the Project

It is interesting (and illuminating) to juxtapose the recent 2009 testimony of one Metropolitan Police Commissioner (Stephenson) with the thoughts (and personal experiences) of a previous Commissioner (from an earlier era of policing) in assisting the reader to appreciate the realities of the transformative impact that widespread, technologically-enabled societal surveillance of the police and concurrent widespread public skepticism toward the institution of policing have had on modern day policing in democratic Western societies (including, of course, urban Canada). Sir Robert Mark was Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police from 1972 to 1977, overseeing a complement of 26,500 officers responsible for policing greater London and also with jurisdiction and various responsibilities throughout England and Wales (Mark 1978). In his *mémoires*, published a year after his retirement, Mark (1978: 28-29) discussed a variety of occurrences and experiences during his forty year policing career, including one particular incident shortly after he joined the Manchester Police in 1937 and during his patrol of a tough area of Manchester known for prostitution and ‘drunken brawling’.

One such incident, had it occurred in today’s enlightened conditions, would certainly have ended my career. Most of us carried, wholly improperly, short rubber truncheons made in a nearby Dunlop factory. One Friday night an

enormous navvy [a slang term of that era for a railway labourer] pushed the head of a constable through a shop window and started quite a battle in which uniformed and plainclothes [police]men cheerfully joined. It grew to quite serious proportions, stopping the traffic in Ardwick Green. At the most critical moment we had this great so-and-so almost in the van, face upwards with one of us pulling him in by the hair and the rest of us trying to help. The crowd was jeering and becoming unpleasantly restive. The man had enormous boots on and his feet were splayed outwards to stop us from getting the last bit of him into the van. I was standing on the van step astride his legs and decided on desperate measures. I stretch out the left side of my mackintosh [a style of overcoat worn by police in that era] for cover, drew my rubber [truncheon] with my right hand and gave him a hefty whack on the shin. Even in his drunken state that registered. He let out a yell, closed his legs and he was in with three of us sitting on various portions of him. The next morning at court, looking sheepish and surprisingly clean, he pleaded guilty, apologized to the court, thanked the officers in the case and was fined the customary ten shillings. As he left the dock my heart stood still. His right leg below the knee was encased in plaster of Paris. He had been taken to the Royal Infirmary during the night and treated for a suspected fracture of the small bone in the lower leg, the tibia or fibula, I can never remember which. Far from there being any hard feelings he greeted me cheerfully and we went off for a drink together. Nowadays, of course, it would have meant a complaint, an enquiry, papers to the Director of Public Prosecutions and a prosecution or discipline case. Not that I didn't deserve it, but times were different, thank goodness.

Personal Motivation for this Research Project

My personal interest in this research project was inspired by my own policing experiences and my recognition in 2010 that the realities of policing in the City of Ottawa had undergone a substantial transformation from those that existed in 1994 (and previous). Significant changes, which had apparently occurred over the intervening sixteen years, were readily apparent to me as I began a new position in front-line uniformed duties as a Patrol Directorate supervisor in Central Division (the downtown core of the City of Ottawa). My previous uniform duties in various communities in Ottawa (primarily in urban districts) had spanned 1986 to 1994 and involved a variety of Constable functions with the then Ottawa Police Force (since rebranded as the Ottawa

Police Service) – including working in Patrol Operations, on Emergency Response Units, and as a member of the Crowd Control Team (in police parlance, the ‘riot squad’). In 1995 I was transferred to the Criminal Investigation Division and worked exclusively in investigative functions, first in undercover drug investigations from 1995 to 2002 and then in major crime investigations (principally investigating homicides), until May 2010.

Some of the realities of the new policing landscape that quickly came to my attention in 2010 are admittedly abstract and qualitative – in that they are related to my personal perceptions of significant changes to the nature of the public-police relationship in Ottawa and specifically what seems obvious to me as a much broader public interest, engagement, and activism in relation to policing. With that methodological qualification stipulated, in short order it became glaringly obvious to me (through my direct interactions with members of the public and my typical daily reading/viewing of local media coverage of police-related stories) that a new tenor of cynicism and skepticism was pervasive throughout ‘the public’ and an unprecedented level of challenge to the legitimacy of the police in both the broad citizenry and in the mainstream media coverage of policing in the City of Ottawa was part of the new policing environment. In their research, Philip Schlesinger and Howard Tumber (1994: 106-107) found, “In short, the very function of policing has become highly contentious and exposed in an increasingly conflictual society.” Robert Reiner (2010: 239) came to a similar understanding in his research on the police, concluding, “The politics of policing in the early twenty-first century is a volatile whirlpool of contradictory currents,” with police facing “periodic crises of legitimacy triggered by scandals about abuse of powers and force.” This new reality that I perceived in 2010 is often discussed in terms of the characteristics of (or

transformations inherent to) late modernity and conceptions around a contemporary ‘risk society’ and such a discussion will be elaborated in Chapter Three of this thesis.

As a front-line police officer from 1986 to 1994 I was involved in numerous violent interactions with individuals who had transgressed Canada’s criminal laws. I was on the receiving end of a variety of aggressive acts and also applied physical force myself in controlling suspected criminals and taking them into custody. Certainly my blood was shed on a number of occasions as was that of several suspects. Some of my bones were broken (as was one of my eardrums, by a suspect’s well executed elbow strike) and some perpetrators’ bones were broken through my actions. I witnessed police colleagues suffer a variety of injuries (including serious woundings and trauma) resulting from the aggressive actions of violent criminals and I also had numerous occasions to observe the use of force by police officers against citizens with whom they were engaged.

During this earlier period in my policing career the Holliday videorecording (of the King occurrence) generated considerable discussions both among my police colleagues and non-police friends and family. At the time my thoughts on that incident were mixed. Having experienced first-hand the dangerousness of some individuals whom the police *must* deal with in our society, as “society’s front line ‘dirty workers’” (Goldsmith 2010: 916), I understood the danger that can exist for police officers in a confrontation between themselves and an individual (about whom the police often have no information) who has behaved in such a way that the police are *mandated*⁶ to take that person under their control and into their custody. I could empathize with the feelings of trepidation and apprehension the Los Angeles police officers likely experienced in the immediate

aftermath of the high-speed pursuit and the initial engagement with an apparently belligerent, non-compliant, and aggressive Rodney King.⁷

However, I was also appalled by the unrelenting and unbridled violence applied by some of the officers who physically engaged Mr. King, which continued well into the occurrence, and I found the justification of the actions of the police by a variety of law enforcement officials and pundits, at the time, disturbing. In my view, as both a citizen and a highly trained police officer, I felt several of the police use of force actions in the King arrest were obviously and blatantly excessive. At the time, the King incident was a frequent topic of conversation among my policing colleagues and views about the propriety of police actions spanned from complete justification to absolute condemnation. Concurrently, the new ability of a private citizen to videorecord surreptitiously and tangibly document the actions of the police in what were historically, for all intents and purposes, 'private' police interactions with citizens, was also a topic of interested discussion and of some concern within my policing environment.⁸

At the time I assumed my new front-line policing role in May 2010 (with the responsibility to supervise a platoon of Constables tasked with uniform patrol duties in downtown Ottawa) I was aware of the ubiquity of cameraphones among Ottawa residents (having two such devices myself) and considered myself relatively attuned to the recent phenomenon of 'citizen journalism' – including citizens documenting instances of alleged police misconduct using these devices and then distributing the imagery both through Web 2.0 social media and/or through collaboration with traditional media. However, looking retrospectively, I came to realize very quickly that I was, in fact, entirely unaware of the actual extent of today's societal scrutiny of the police (which had

changed considerably in the intervening sixteen years) and the public's seemingly instinctive reaction to videorecord the police in instances where there presented some potential for conflict between the police and a citizen.

I was introduced almost immediately to this new reality for front-line Canadian police officers working in urban environments. Upon attending a crowded Ottawa nightclub one evening for a liquor law compliance check, with some of the constables on my platoon, a patron approached our location and proceeded to unleash a barrage of insults and profanity at one of the police officers who was accompanying me, at a decibel level that rivaled the club's dance music. Apparently this individual had some lingering hostility over a previous arrest by this particular officer and was not shy about expressing his displeasure in this very public environment. As the officer and this rather agitated citizen were embroiled in a heated discussion of their differences of opinion, in very close proximity to each other, I observed essentially a phalanx of cameraphones being directed at the ongoing event by numerous patrons and from various vantage points, all recording the verbal altercation, in the event verbal became physical (as several persons indicated to me when I subsequently asked them why they were recording the event).

In my policing career, this was an entirely new experience and this event generated considerable reflection on how different things were now in 2010 than they were in 1994. My recollection of previous incidents in which police officers were engaged by citizens with profanity, disrespect, and an aggressive disposition had those events ending with much different outcomes for the citizens acting in such a manner toward the police (the individual in this 2010 incident was permitted to remain in the nightclub after the discussion with my officer was completed⁹). Historically, in my experience, whatever

bystanders may have been in the vicinity of similar confrontations typically left the area quickly, clearly not wanting to be a witness to any violence that might evolve from verbal antipathy between the police and a citizen who was demonstrating such a non-deferential attitude – an action that categorized such a person as a ‘challenger’ to police authority and therefore a ‘discreditable’ element in the eyes of many in society (Lee 1981).

Even more significantly, I did not expect that the existence of this new reality, in terms of the increased public scrutiny of front line police officers and the proliferation of videorecording technology throughout the citizenry, would have an impact on how I would use force in my own policing duties. However, as I subsequently learned, the ability of citizens to videorecord my conduct did, in fact, have an impact on my use of force behaviours. One particular occurrence perhaps best illustrates the phenomena investigated in this project and was the stimulus for my research.

On 9 October 2010 a 9-1-1 emergency call was placed to Ottawa Police by the manager of a pub, reporting that an individual in the establishment was out of control (and perhaps under the influence of crack cocaine) and that this man had urinated on the bar and punched his hand through a window while threatening the security staff. I was very close to the location when the call was dispatched and therefore I arrived momentarily. I was directed by onlookers to where the suspect was hiding in some shrubbery in a back alley and upon locating the suspect I observed that he was highly agitated. I proceeded to arrest the suspect and to take him into my control. This individual explained (rather profanely and emphatically) that he had no intention of complying with instructions I issued (to submit to arrest and handcuffing) and he attempted to flee. This action forced me to grab a hold of the suspect’s shirt to prevent his escape. The suspect’s

immediate response was to raise and cock his arm and to make a fist in preparation to punch me. To prevent the imminent assault, I instantaneously and instinctively delivered two empty-handed strikes (punches) to the face of the suspect.¹⁰ This application of force was effective in bringing the suspect to the ground and allowing me some measure of control as I pinned him on the ground by straddling him and securing his arms with my knees, which preventing him from using his hands to strike at me. However, in this position parts of my body were vulnerable to an attack by biting and the suspect attempted to bite my leg/groin area; which constituted a further and ongoing assault.

As my mind quickly deliberated how to respond to the initial failed bite attempt (which I had eluded) and to protect myself from the impending second bite attack, my instinctive response (from extensive use of force training and experience) was to strike the suspect's face with an empty-hand blow (punch) to dissuade him from assaulting me further (through what is termed in police use of force jargon as 'pain compliance'). However, my mind was contemporaneously alive to the fact that a large number of patrons, occupying a nearby pub patio on a mild fall evening, were most certainly watching this dynamic and unusual event and in all likelihood videorecording the ongoing activity with their cameraphones. From their vantage point (from a position to my rear, across a distance of perhaps 20 meters, and through the dim artificial street lighting in this back alley environment) what would have been visible to the naked eye (and through the lenses of videorecording devices) would have been a 'large' (I am 187 centimeters tall and weight in excess of 100 kilograms) uniformed police officer, on top of and straddling a smaller man, and inexplicably delivering a punch into the face of the apparently subdued and defenseless suspect. The precipitating and ongoing assaultive

actions of the suspect in trying to bite me, would almost certainly, in this situation, not have been visible to the audience of pub patrons nor their videorecording devices.

Although delivering an empty-handed strike to an assaultive suspect would have been entirely justified at law (pursuant to section 25 of Canada's *Criminal Code*¹¹) and an appropriate response to physical aggression under Ontario's police use of force regulations, I elected instead to use an alternate use of force option – accessing an aerosol weapon from my duty belt and administering a dose of oleoresin capsicum ('pepper') spray to the face of the suspect. This was effective in stopping any further assault on me and was a much less 'aggressive-looking' force response than a punch to the face, if one were assessing it from the perspective of the audience (and what would have been visible through the lenses of their videorecording cameraphones).

After this occurrence I found myself contemplating this 'new visibility' of policing and the new tenor of scrutiny and often cynicism that was now so palpable in many of my dealings with various citizens (across a broad spectrum of the makeup of society – in terms of gender, race, residency, education, and socio-economic circumstances). I wondered how this specific occurrence would look on video – including questions of image clarity and from what angles and from what point in the event's evolution would the various onlookers have captured footage of the event. Among many questions I pondered, I deliberated on what people would have thought if I had delivered another punch to the suspect's face and what would have happened if that strike had caused a significant injury to him.

What would people think if cameraphone videorecordings of this occurrence were posted to *YouTube* and 'went viral' and/or were picked up by mainstream media? How

would the occurrence be characterized and framed in various media and how would the public interpret what the videorecording revealed? Would I be vilified in the so-called court of public opinion? Would my actions be examined (and contested) through police oversight mechanisms – such as the police service’s professional standards bureau or Ontario’s Special Investigations Unit (SIU)?¹² Could I be charged with a crime based on what was visible to the cameraphone lenses and captured in the videorecordings of the on-looking pub patrons (and, in this case, most significantly what was not captured)? Would I be re-assigned to desk duty or suspended from policing and have to prove (in a courtroom some years later) that my actions were justified, lawful, and in response to the assaultive actions of the suspect? How could I reconcile the truth of the event with what would have been depicted in the videorecorded accounts?¹³ Ultimately, I wondered broadly (on both a theoretical plane and in terms of practical manifestations) what this new policing environment meant for front-line police officers in terms of how they conduct themselves in public *milieux* and the implications for police use of force.

1.3 Research Objectives and Research Questions

This study inquires into the impact on urban Canadian police of the technological-enabled changes and social transformations that exemplify the phenomenon of ‘new visibility’ for policing in our contemporary ‘network society’. The project has been guided throughout by specific research questions in order to provide for a comprehensive investigation of these topical socio-political developments and to provide for an organized and coherent presentation of the data, analysis, and findings. These research questions are as follows (and subsumed under the fundamental research question – *How has the pervasiveness of mobile telephone videorecording capabilities among the broad*

citizenry and the ability of citizens to directly disseminate their recordings to ‘the public’ through Web 2.0 social media (YouTube, websites, etc.) impacted on individual police use of force behaviour and on institutional policing policies and practices?):

1. How commonplace is the civilian videorecording of police conduct in contemporary Canadian urban environments?
2. Can the phenomenon be temporally situated in the Canadian context – in terms of when such videorecording began and also in terms of police perceptions of increases or decreases in the prevalence or intensification of such activities?
3. To what extent does the capacity for civilian oversight (monitoring/surveillance/scrutiny) and videorecorded documentation of police actions impact on the front-line police officers consciousness, vis-à-vis awareness and/or concern?
4. Have operational police officers in urban Canada changed their behaviour(s) in response to the capacity of citizens to observe and record their actions?
5. Specifically, have police changed their practices in relation to their use of force in their engagements with citizens?
6. To what extent does the capacity for broad public dissemination of recordings of police conduct through social media impact on police?
7. What has been the response to the phenomena of ‘citizen journalism’ in terms of police organizational policies and training practices?

1.4 Outline of Thesis

Before delving into the theoretical underpinnings that inform this project (Chapter Three), the research methods used in the study (Chapter Four), and ultimately the analysis/discussion of all of the data in its totality – within the overarching context of the

theoretical paradigms that provide a conceptual framework to assist in understanding the findings (Chapters Five and Six), it is important to provide frames of reference in relation to key foundational, historic, and conceptual understandings that are implicated in this study of police-citizen violence in contemporary urban Canada. A logical starting point is with the sociological positioning of the police (the concept of police, the institution of policing in society, and the individual police officer), examined through the lenses of politics and power; followed by a discussion of mainstream (traditional) media – who have historically played an integral role in the way the police are perceived in broad society (as evidenced in Doyle’s 2003 research); and then information pertaining to today’s technologies that enable the social phenomenon of ‘citizen journalism’.¹⁴

NOTES FOR CHAPTER ONE

¹ The term ‘citizen journalism’ has been defined as “the spontaneous actions of ordinary people, caught up in extraordinary events, who felt compelled to adopt the role of a news reporter” (Allan & Thorsen 2009 as cited in Greer and McLaughlin 2010: 1045), and as “people without professional journalism training [using] the tools of modern technology and the global distribution of the Internet to create, augment, or fact-check media on their own or in collaboration with others” (Glazer 2006 as cited in Lievrouw 2011: 126).

² On 1 January 2009 Oscar Grant, a twenty-two year old unarmed man, was shot and killed by Johannes Mehserle, a Bay Area Rapid Transit police officer, as police struggled to detain Grant on a commuter rail platform in Oakland, California. By my count (an unscientific online review of *YouTube* and television news coverage video clips from civilian sources) the event was videorecorded by at least seven different citizens using cellular telephone and digital camera devices. The officer was ultimately convicted of involuntary manslaughter and sentenced to two years’ incarceration. In pronouncing sentence the trial judge indicated that the videorecorded representations are ‘simply overwhelming’, in demonstrating that the officer mistakenly unholstered and fired a round from his pistol into Grant’s back rather than the Taser cartridge he was intending to deploy (Leonard *et al.* 2011).

In his discussion of this event, in the context of our society now ‘seeing *surveillantly*’, Jonathan Finn (2012: 76), related the thoughts of a female passenger on the train (who wished to remain anonymous) as captured on the audio track of her cameraphone videorecording of the Grant occurrence, which I think is relevant and illuminating in terms of the subject matter of this thesis and the understanding that knowledge production (even with clear videorecorded representations of events) involves complex processes of interpretation that are infused with cultural assumptions and other considerations – “‘Get on the train. They just shot him, they just shot that guy.’ [Directing her voice away from fellow transit riders and to the police officers on the platform] ‘I got you motherfuckers’”. The discussion of the interpretation of meaning from videorecorded events is discussed in several locations throughout the thesis and is an important consideration in the discussion of the properties of today’s cameraphone (as a medium).

³ On 1 April 2009 Ian Tomlinson, a forty-seven year old resident of London, was walking home and away from a group of police officers who were on duty in relation to the G20 summit protests, including Simon Harwood, a Metropolitan Police Constable who was deployed in police riot gear. Apparently for no reason, Harwood approached Tomlinson (who was walking with his hands in his pockets and head bowed) from the rear and struck him on the leg with his riot baton and then pushed Tomlinson to the ground. Tomlinson died shortly thereafter due to complications from internal bleeding. Citizens’ video footage of the event, recorded with cameraphones, was subsequently provided to *The Guardian* newspaper, which then authenticated and published the information. Harwood was acquitted at his criminal trial for manslaughter on 19 July 2012 but was subsequently dismissed from the Metropolitan Police Service. His lawyer, Patrick Gibbs, acknowledged, “He [Harwood] completely accepts that the force he used was completely unnecessary” (Walker 2012: n.p.).

⁴ Goldsmith (2010) concludes that the *secondary visibility* brought about through the expansion of contemporary information-sharing from the era of direct observations (*primary visibility*) has expanded consistently and considerably – from mass circulation newspapers, then television, and now the phenomenon of advanced communication and visual technologies (the Internet and new

media). Goldsmith (2010: 914) notes, “Developments in visual recording technologies in the past two decades have made a major contribution to this greater secondary visibility.”

⁵ Kevin Haggerty (2012: 241-242) in his chapter *Surveillance, Crime and the Police* in the 2012 *Routledge Handbook of Surveillance Studies* engages in a brief (two paragraph) discussion of the subject-matter and Tyler Wall (Indiana University) presented a paper titled *Shooting Cops: Citizen Cameras and Police Power in the Age of YouTube* at the International Crime, Media, and Popular Culture Studies Conference in September 2010. Wall’s research focused on the state’s perception that such recording poses a threat to police ‘power of legitimate pronouncement’ and he scrutinized the discursive justifications articulated by the state for controlling citizen photography of police action through intimidation and force.

⁶ The Ontario *Police Services Act* (1990, Revised Statutes of Ontario) mandates that one of the duties of police officers is “apprehending criminals and other offenders and others who may lawfully be taken into custody” (section 42[1][d]). A police officer is liable to internal discipline for neglect of duty under the subsection 2(c) of the Code of Conduct of the Regulations to the *Police Services Act* (2010) if the officer: “(i) without lawful excuse neglects or omits promptly and diligently to perform a duty...(iv) by carelessness or neglect permits a prisoner to escape, [or] (v) fails, when knowing where an offender is to be found, to report him or her or to make due exertions for bringing the offender to justice.” As Chief Bill Blair (2013) of the Toronto Police explained in an interview with the author, “It’s not that we’re entitled to do it. We’re required to use force. We’re required to restrain people...”

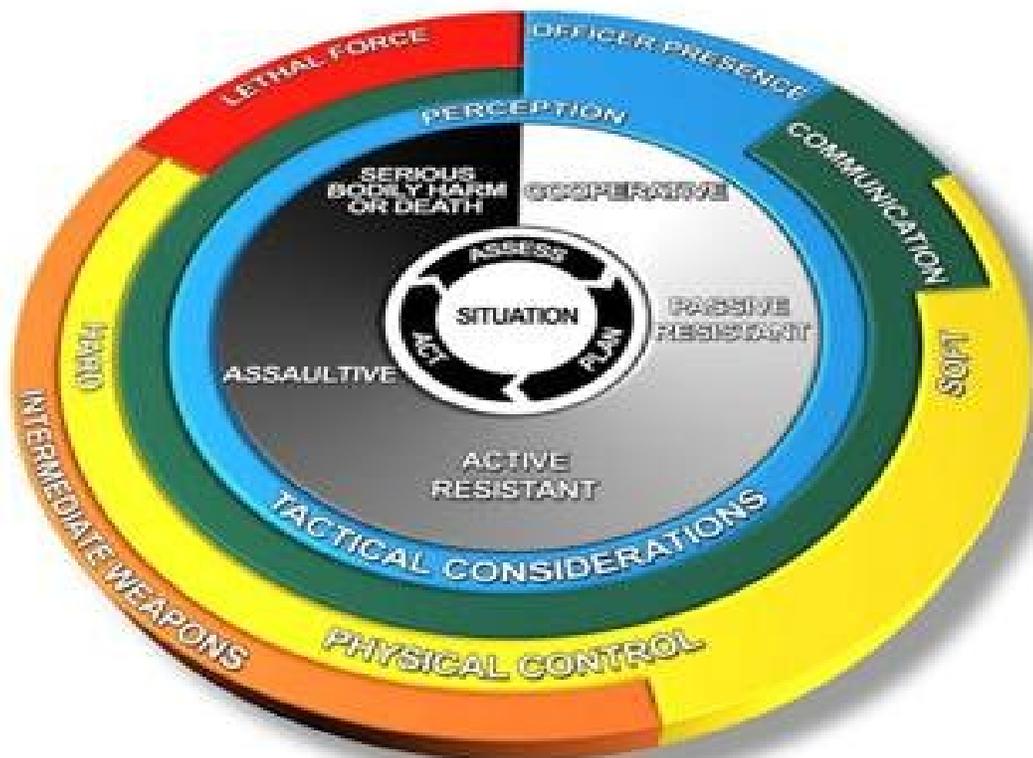
⁷ Although the initial portion of the Holliday videorecording was often edited out in the various media depictions of the King occurrence, it is important (in the interest of factual representation) to note that Mr. King initially charged at the police officers, who were not as yet physically engaging Mr. King but rather issuing verbal commands from some distance to try to gain Mr. King’s compliance with arrest (Myers 2011).

⁸ The first occurrence in Ottawa was a police-citizen highly controversial and contested event involving Constable Martin Cardinal and a citizen named Julie Cayer on 25 November 2000. Ms. Cayer’s arrest, during which her head struck the police cruiser, was videorecorded by an associate of Ms. Cayer who was concealed on the balcony of a nearby apartment building. After much litigation that spanned several years, Constable Cardinal ultimately pleaded guilty to assaulting Ms. Cayer.

⁹ An Ontario court decision, in the months preceding this incident, had ruled that the criminal offence of causing a disturbance in a public place (section 175 of the *Criminal Code*) has to be interpreted in a broader context. Shouting and swearing were ruled to be ‘normal’ conduct late in the evening in and around premises where alcohol was served and therefore members of ‘the public’ would not normally be particularly ‘disturbed’ by such conduct.

¹⁰ Section 6 of the *Ontario Policing Standards Manual* issued by the Ministry of Community Safety and Correctional Services (2010) prescribes the Ministry’s approved use of force options for police in Ontario and mandates that these options must be consistent with the current Use of Force Continuum Model (the graphical representation of which is featured in the figure below). As depicted (and mandated by regulation), the available use of force options for police in Ontario are: officer presence, tactical communication, physical control techniques, the use of intermediate weapons (impact weapons, conducted energy weapons, aerosol weapons) and the use of firearms.

Physical control can be defined as any physical technique used to control a subject that does not involve the use of a weapon. The Ontario Use of Force Model identifies two levels of physical control – soft and hard. Soft techniques are control oriented and have a lower probability of causing injury. They may include restraining techniques, joint locks and non-resisting handcuffing. Hard techniques are intended to stop a subject’s behaviour or to allow application of control techniques and have a higher probability of causing injury. They may include empty hand strikes such as knee strikes, punches and kicks. The use of intermediate weapons involves weapons whose use is not intended to cause serious injury or death. Aerosol spray, conducted energy weapons (commonly known as ‘Tasers’), and impact weapons (batons) fall within this use of force option. Impact weapons can be further divided into soft and hard categories. Used in a soft manner they are used to assist in restraining an individual who resists arrest – normally employed as a tool to augment physical control, restraint, and control techniques. Impact weapons can be used in a hard manner when a police officer or a member of the public, is being physically assaulted. In this capacity, the impact weapon can be used to deliver strikes (White 2011b).



The officer continuously assesses the situation and selects the most reasonable option relative to those circumstances as perceived at that point in time.

Figure 1: Ontario Use of Force Continuum (Graphical representation excerpted from the Ottawa Police Service 2010 Annual Use of Force Report)

This use of force continuum model has three components. The innermost circle involves the police officer's decision-making process during a potential (or ongoing) use of force situation (assessment, planning, and actions). The circular aspect shaded in tones of grey represents the ongoing perceptions of the officer in relation to the behaviour of the subject being engaged by the police. The various coloured components in the four outermost rings represent the potential use of force actions of the police officer in response to the officer's perception of the subject's behaviour. The officer's presence in the event involves a continuous assessment of the officer's perceptions and tactical considerations. In terms of the use, for example, of empty-handed striking techniques (such as punches and/or kicks to the subject) by a police officer – such a use of force option by police is considered appropriate and justified in law in response to a subject perceived by the police officer to be displaying actively resistant or assaultive behaviour.

¹¹ Subsection 25 (1) of Canada's *Criminal Code* stipulates, "Every one who is required or authorized by law to do anything in the administration or enforcement of the law...

(b) as a peace officer or public officer...

is, if he acts on reasonable grounds, justified in doing what he is required or authorized to do and in using as much force as is necessary for that purpose."

¹² The Ontario Special Investigations Unit (S.I.U.) is an independent civilian law enforcement agency operating under the auspices of the Ministry of the Attorney General but at arm's length from police services and the government in Ontario. The mandate of the S.I.U. is to conduct independent (from police services) investigations to determine whether there is evidence of criminal wrongdoing on the part of the police. "The mandate of the S.I.U. is to maintain confidence in Ontario's policing services by assuring the public that police actions resulting in serious injury, death, or allegations of sexual assault are subjected to rigorous, independent investigations" (www.siu.on.ca).

¹³ As things turned out in this specific occurrence, I did not administer a further strike, there was no significant injury to the suspect, and the individual pleaded guilty on 31 July 2012 to criminal offences of assaulting me with the intent of resisting arrest and causing mischief of a value less than \$5,000. Further, none of the onlookers took any issue with my handling of the situation – one witnesses' statement taken during the subsequent investigation was brief but supportive of my actions – (paraphrasing) "The guy took a swing at the cop, the cop dropped him, the cop did what he had to do and did a good job."

¹⁴ As I reflected during the composition of this thesis (and considered the near unanimity in observing this phenomenon among the interviewed veteran police officers and institutional policing officials in this project) I considered engaging a relatively brief discussion around the notion of a transformed public in the current social landscape of democratic Western societies, within the contextual framework chapter (Chapter Two). However, given the imperative, in this project, to address both 'risk society' theory (and related paradigms) and aspects of the contemporary 'law and order' ideologies (and socio-political agendas) that provide a complementary framework for this project's scholarly examination, I have deferred the discussion around a marked cultural shift (or transformation) until Chapter Three.

CHAPTER TWO

TERMS OF REFERENCE/CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS

2.1 The Police

Empirical sociological studies of the police in Western democracies began to emerge in the 1960s, resulting from the cultural upheavals that characterized that decade and concurrent societal criticism of the police (Newburn & Reiner 2012; O' Neill & Singh 2007; Reiner 2010; Schlesinger & Tumber 1994; Van der Vijver & Moor 2012). Loader (1997: 5) observed, "Police sociology...has mushroomed over recent decades and...has, in short, developed a range of significant insights into policing as social action." Michael Banton's "pioneering sociological study of the police" (Reiner 2010: 68), *The Policeman in the Community*, was published in 1964, followed in 1966 by Jerome Skolnick's *Justice Without Trial: Law Enforcement in a Democratic Society*, which included his seminal work on the police officer's subcultural 'working personality'. William Westley's groundbreaking ethnographic study of police use of force practices in the 1950s was published in 1970. Todd Gitlin's (1980) analysis of the live television coverage of the 1968 Chicago 'police riot' is particularly illuminating and relevant in terms of the focus of this study. Despite the protesters' cries that 'the whole world is watching' (the police actions), this tangible visual evidence of unjustified police violence – condemned initially as brutality by national newscaster Walter Cronkite and unsettling many who viewed the occurrence on television – did not penetrate as broadly and deeply into the socio-political consciousness of American society, nor did it function as a catalyst for social action, to the extent that the King incident did 23 years later.¹⁵

Central to the examination of policing and the social is the fundamental conceptualization of power in social relations – in this case, the public-police relationship. In terms of the manifestations of power in our society, I understand, in accord with Castells' (2009: 10) thoughts, that power “is the most fundamental process in society, since society is defined around values and institutions, and what is valued and institutionalized is defined by power relationships.” As an encompassing definition of power in the social context, I understand power to be the capacity of a social actor to exert that actor's will upon another social actor, or put another way, to influence other social actors in such a way that the empowered actor's interests are adopted or, alternatively that the empowered actor's goals are attained (Benkler 2011; Castells 2004a, 2007, 2009, 2011; Mawby 2002b; Mann 1986; Meyrowitz 1985). I also accept that the ability to shape the human mind is the most fundamental form of social power (Castells 2009) and that ‘counter-power’ can best be considered as “the capacity of a social actor to resist and challenge power relations that are institutionalized” (Castells 2007: 239).

Reiner (2010: 7) observed, “Policing is an aspect of social control processes which occurs universally in all social situations in which there is at least the potential for conflict, deviance or disorder.” Ericson, Baranek and Chan (1989: 91-92) characterized the police as possessing political centrality in society and adopted the earlier work of Van Outrive and Fijnaut (1983) in their analysis, observing, “The police...play a role in the democratization process of society...Like the state and society itself, the police are continually the object and the forum of political conflicts.” The police are the formal institutionalization of the policing function in our society – individuals collectively entrusted through the enactment of laws with the capacity to use force, when necessary,

to resolve conflicts in society (Ericson 1989; Goldsmith 2005; Klockars 1985; Manning 2010; Neocleous 2000; Reiner 2010).¹⁶ Police power is a form, or perhaps more accurately a manifestation, of power that is embedded in the institutions of our society (Castells 2000a, 2009; Mann 1986).

The capacity for violence, as well as the actual use of force, is central to the role of police officers in society and essential to the fundamental operation and legitimacy of the police (Lersch & Mieczkowski 2005; Manning 2010). Holmes and Smith (2008: 7) articulated, “Modern democracies employ domestic police agencies to control internal wrongdoers and maintain social order, and the legitimate use of force to protect citizens and officers from the dangerous people in their midst constitutes the essence of the police role.” Anthony Giddens (1994: 106), in applying aspects of Clausewitz's theorem¹⁷ to personal relations and everyday life, advanced that at all levels of social relations “force or violence is resorted to once a 'diplomatic' exchange of views stops.”

Policing, in the situation of an interaction with an individual alleged to have violated a criminal law, is generally not a circumstance of consensus, but rather implicates a divergence of viewpoints and ultimate objectives in terms of the end result of the transaction. Conflict between police officers and persons alleged to be transgressing the law is a constitutive element in the relationship between these fundamentally antagonistic forces and in certain instances the intersection of these actors results in one or both of the parties to the conflict resorting to the use of violence. This premise, while perhaps obvious, is central to critically engaging with issues of police use of force in our society.

The police are bound by law, policy, and social conventions in certain instances to remove an alleged offender's liberty through arrest and detention. If that arrest is resisted (after the exhaustion of a 'diplomatic exchange of views'), other than willfully permitting the offender to escape, the resort to force by the police is the only option available to control the non-compliant perpetrator. In this sense, police use of force, as authorized by law (typically contemplating reasonable, proportional, and justifiable actions by police), has both legal and social legitimacy. Appreciation this point is, in my view, crucial in arriving at an understanding that not all police use of force amounts to brutality and conversely that not all police violence is appropriate.¹⁸

At the interpersonal level, the position of the police officer in relation to the civilian is one of power and control – “[police] powers, mandate, training, and traditions make them inherently offensive” (Goldsmith 2005: 445). In the historical context, the location of power was significantly limited outside of the dominant institutions in society (including policing). Substantial bodies of sociological research have demonstrated the historical inequity in power relations in interactions on the front lines of criminal justice and specifically a hierarchical power imbalance between the police and individuals in the civilian population (for example Doyle 2003; Ericson 1982, 1993; and Newburn and Reiner 2012). As discussed, historically the police embodied institutionally and socially-entrenched presumptions of integrity, honesty, and professionalism and were afforded high levels of trust, credibility, and the unquestioned support of much of the public.

Among other factors (such as non-partisanship, accountability, and respect for the rule of law) the minimizing of the use of force by police contributes to wider public acceptance of the legitimacy of policing (Goldsmith 2005; Manning 2010; Mawby

2002b; Reiner 2010). Goldsmith (2010: 916) observed that police officers have a dual status, as both societal ‘moral agents’ as well as ‘dirty workers’, and “despite their important role as society’s front line ‘dirty workers’, the police are expected to uphold the law and meet public expectations of proper conduct.” Rob Mawby's (2002b: 61-62) observation merits reflection – “There is no greater illegitimizing factor than an institution that breaks its trust, committing the sins which it has been appointed to prosecute.” Manning (2010: 34-35 citing Bittner 1972, 1999, 2008) asserted, “Violence and its use [is] key to understanding policing; but [also] withholding force is as important as the use of it...[The] sanctioning [of police violence] is negotiated continuously in action and in public debate in a democracy.”

Ericson and Haggerty (1997:3) observed, “The police pervade contemporary social life.” Doyle (2003: 5) found “...the world of crime, and its control,..has always been a central focus of public and media fascination.” Erving Goffman (1959: 31) discerned that exemplary police officers “whether real or fictional – become famous and are given a special place in the commercially organized fantasies of the nation.”

However, in a scholarly examination of police and the social, the public’s extraordinary interest in the police must be contextually situated, in that most individuals in our society have neither first-hand experience nor personal exposure to police violence (Surette 2011). Most views in relation to police use force can be related to individual’s anecdotal understandings that have been informed by various media treatments of the police, popular cultural representations, and mediated depictions of purported real-life policing. In our contemporary Canadian society the use of force by police is highly topical in socio-political discourses and spans a wide spectrum of characterizations –

from being celebrated (and the police endorsed) to being vilified (and the police demonized).

In his work, Mawby (2002b: 37) acknowledged “the central position which policing occupies in popular culture”, while Loader (1997: 12) documented a “dominant cultural connection between policing and toughness.” Examples best illustrate these observations. The iconic 1971 Hollywood film *Dirty Harry* (as referenced in the epigraph) was selected in 2012 for preservation in the National Film Registry of the United States Library of Congress, whose stringent criteria for consideration requires “[a work] of enduring importance to American culture ... reflect[ing] who we are as a people and a nation” (Barnes 2012: n.p.). The *Dirty Harry* series of films maintain a socio-political longevity, both in terms of pop cultural status and political presence (with symbolic coherence to the law and order ideological principles of neo-liberalism and conservatism in late modernity).¹⁹ Few readers of this thesis would not be familiar with the scene of actor Clint Eastwood, as San Francisco Police Inspector ‘Dirty Harry’ Callaghan, armed with ‘the most powerful handgun in the world’, and inciting a wounded suspect to reach for a nearby weapon – ‘Do you feel lucky? Well do you – punk?’

Socio-political affective attachments and popular resonance with law and order policing can be found in many other tremendously popular policing films (for example *Die Hard*, *48 Hours*, *The French Connection*) and television programs. In the 1970s the police drama became the most popular genre in American prime-time television (Doyle 2006b; Sparks 1992). Detective Andy Sipowicz of the perennially number-one rated television program *NYPD Blue*, which aired from 1993 to 2005, and Detective Danny Reagan of the currently popular TV show *Blue Bloods*²⁰, come to mind as particularly

illuminating examples of a style of policing that routinely relies on extra-judicial police violence, within a thematic framework developed in these television programs that suggests a prevailing societal support for violent policing tactics in the pursuit of law and order in a chaotic and socially-disorganized society.

Conversely, the current widespread societal discord around the 2008 Stacy Bonds/Ottawa Police cellblock occurrence (and the mediated public excoriation of Sergeant Steven Desjourdy) is emblematic of the public antipathy at the opposite end of the socio-political continuum, vis-à-vis police use of force in society. As an editorial in the *Ottawa Sun* (2013: 5) newspaper on 3 April 2013 stated, “[after Sergeant Desjourdy’s acquittal on the criminal charge] his trial in the court of public opinion isn’t over...” Former Ontario Premier Dalton McGuinty, in an extraordinary 2010 public comment on an ongoing criminal investigation/prosecution (which are typically ‘off limits’ for comment by public officials), requested of the police,

I ask people to remember, but particularly our police, [Stacy Bonds] is somebody’s daughter [and] sister. For all [the police] knew, this might have been somebody’s mother and I just think we have to be very, very careful about how we deal with each other. And it’s very important that the police act in [keeping with what is] right, and appropriate, and lawful. (CTV News 2010)

As is documented in the literature, until recently, police use of force was largely concealed from societal scrutiny, other than in rare publicized instances (Hirschfield & Simon 2010; Krupanski 2012; Lawrence 2000; Reiner 2010; Ross 2000; Thompson & Lee 2005). Policing’s subcultural practices, situating officers in isolation and secrecy from a public perceived as antagonistic (Blake 1981; Chan 2007; Chappel & Lanza-Kaduce 2010; Loftus 2009, 2010; O’Neill & Singh 2007; Skolnick 1966) functioned together with traditional news media’s deferential (Gitlin 1980; Hall *et al.* 1978; Loader

1997) and essentially symbiotic (Antony & Thomas 2010; Doyle & Ericson 2004; Ericson 1989; Reiner 2010) relationship with policing to keep police violence out of the spotlight and, with random exceptions, to keep the question of police violence away from public discourse (Chan 1999; Ericson 1995; Lawrence 2000; Martin 2005). This thesis explores today's societal scrutiny of the police and the technological and social changes that have resulted in the inclusion of police use of force as a topic in the socio-political public discourse and the ever-increasing impossibility for police violence to be segregated from public view.

2.2 The Media

The policing of society is mediated by, and socio-political discourses occur within, the media. This subchapter more directly addresses the impact and theoretical foundations concerning both traditional and new media, in the context of policing.

Traditional Media and the Police (The Historical Context)

Yvonne Jewkes (2004: 18), in reviewing studies that interrogated the historical role of traditional media in the public understanding of criminal justice matters, found that the positions of the powerful were represented while the viewer, reader, or listener was relegated to the role of passive receiver of those hegemonic positions. In their retrospective study of the treatment of police violence in newspapers, Paul Hirschfield and Daniella Simon (2010: 160) determined, "typical news accounts privilege official depictions of police violence as normal, authorized responses to dangerous behavior." They further found that "reliance upon official sources translate into a majority of news accounts that rationalize and normalize police violence by associating it with the performance of a legitimate institutional role" (Hirschfield & Simon 2010: 175).

Historically, through traditional media's consistent reproduction of the prevailing hegemonic ideology, a hierarchy of credibility was established in which the opinions and constructions of powerful social institutions (including policing) were privileged – with legitimacy and authority being conferred on their perspectives of reality, while the ordinary viewer or reader was prevented by lack of comparative material from engaging in critical or comparative thinking (Chermak *et al.* 2006; Ericson *et al.* 1987; Gitlin 1980; Jewkes 2004; Lawrence 2000). Gitlin's (1980) analysis of the Chicago 'police riot' (and particularly Walter Cronkite's spontaneous condemnation of the police violence and then subsequent apology to Mayor Daley and retraction of his criticism) is interesting to consider in terms of the historical notion of a hegemonic ideology that was perpetuated by traditional mass media in furtherance of their relationship to the institution of policing.

In his study of the Rodney King beating, Martin (2005: 314, 323) found, "of crucial importance in the cover-up or exposure of police misconduct is the role of the media" and he determined that "the [Holliday] video enabled *this particular beating* to break through the media's usual reporting of official interpretations of police use of force" (emphasis in original). In the post-King years (until the recent social media 'explosion' in the middle of the last decade), despite the ever-expanding technological capabilities for civilian videorecording throughout society and the availability of increasingly frequent 'incriminating' video footage of police engaged in questionable use of physical force there was generally a lack of public response, in terms of awareness of (and opposition to) alleged improper police violence. Research on police violence during this pre-social media era found that overall public approval of the police (including concerns about violence) did not appreciably change, even with the intermittent surfacing

of extreme instances of unjustified police violence (Chermak *et al.* 2006; Cullen *et al.* 1996; Flanagan & Vaughn 1996; Weitzer 2002). Thompson and Lee (2004: 381) found “...it is common to find majority approval of police [despite evidence of brutality]...our view is that reactions tend to range from excusing the behavior to turning the discussion to point out how most police do a tough job and get too little respect for it.”

As was foreshadowed in the final paragraph of the preceding subchapter, the most reasonable explanation for this lack of resonance with much of the public around illegitimate police violence – despite the technologically-enabled lifting of ‘the veil of secrecy’ that formerly characterized most police use of force occurrences (Meyrowitz 1994; Thompson 2005) – implicates the historical nature of the mediated treatment of earlier occurrences. Until very recently, with the entrenchment of Web 2.0 new and social media across society, there were essentially no alternatives to traditional mass media available to private citizens for the dissemination of videorecorded accounts of police violence to a wide public audience.

As discussed, substantial bodies of research suggested that historically the police exerted considerable influence on mainstream media and that a reciprocal and mutually-beneficial relationship often existed between these major institutions in society and often resulted in media bias in favour of the police (for example, Antony & Thomas 2010; Barak 1994; Castells 2007; Chibnall 1977; Doyle 2003, 2006b; Doyle & Ericson 2004; Ericson 1989, 1995; Gitlin 1980; Goldsmith 2010; Greer & McLaughlin 2010b; Hirschfield & Simon 2010; Lawrence 2000; Loader 1997; Martin 2005; Reiner 2000; Schlesinger & Tumber 1994; Surette 2007, 2011). Ericson *et al.* (1989) corroborated the previous work of Hall *et al.* (1978) – who found that the police occupied a privileged

place as *'primary definers'* in constructing representations of crime events – and determined that the police were considered, at that time, the *'authorized knowers'* in relation to policing events. Research by these same scholars two years later found that journalists depended on the official accounts provided by the police (Doyle & Ericson 2004: 471) and that historically “the news media [were] as much an agency of policing as the law enforcement agencies whose activities and classifications they reported on” (Ericson *et al.* 1991: 74). Schlesinger and Tumber (1994: 25) referenced “a number of studies” that found in the journalist-source relationship the advantage rested with the source, “given the passivity of the media [at that time] in information-gathering.” Chris Greer and Eugene McLaughlin (2010b: 1043) assessed that numerous studies established that historically the police were “‘primary definers’ at the top of the ‘hierarchy of credibility’ and that a pro-police perspective [was] structurally and culturally advantaged, if not necessarily guaranteed (Schlesinger 1989; Tumber 1982; Schlesinger *et al.* 1983; Ericson *et al.* 1989, 1991; Schlesinger & Tumber 1994).”

The Contemporary Context of Media and the Police

In 1989 Ericson perceived a shifting tide, in that the police were, as discussed, in the process of losing their traditional ability to ‘patrol the facts’ in their relationship with the media. Similarly, Ericson *et al.* (1989) found, through their ethnographic research, that there was a complex negotiation taking place between police news sources and the journalists who worked on ‘the police beat’. A “special affinity” was documented between “the inner circle of police-beat reporters and police officers” in which “the police culture usually prevailed [when the values of journalism collided with the values of police culture]” (Ericson *et al.* 1989: 108). However, a second group of police

journalists, in the outer circle (comprised of those who worked for “quality” news outlets) engaged in more objective and critical “forays into the police organization to expose mismanagement, injustice, or wrongdoing” (Ericson *et al.* 1989: 112).

There is a body of scholarship (such as Doyle 2003, 2006b; Doyle & Ericson 2004; Ericson *et al.* 1989; Leishman & Mason 2003; Mawby 2002a, 2002b; Schlesinger & Tumber 1994) that assessed the historical relationship between traditional media and the police as having been more differentiated, involved, complex, and contested than that characterized in the more unconditional and categorical accounts discussed in the last subsection. For example, Doyle and Ericson (2004: 472) acknowledged that the work of Hall *et al.* (1978) was “very influential at a broader level”; however they felt that “its account of police-media relations lacked nuance.” Ericson *et al.* (1989: 378) dismissed the notion of an uncontested dominance of the media by powerful news sources, arguing rather that for sources “the news media are very powerful, in possession of key resources that frequently give them the upper hand.” Doyle (2006b: 870) advanced that the police-media relationship can be “highly contentious.”

In assessing the current commodification and mass consumption of anti-establishment news in today’s information-communication marketplace, Greer and McLaughlin (2010a, 2010b, 2012) determined the existence of significant adversarialism in the news media (in the United Kingdom), which they related to a decline in deference to authority. These researchers also found that policing is now

...subject to intense and critical journalistic scrutiny...The widely cited decline in confidence and trust in institutional authority (Fukuyama 2000; Dogan and Seid 2005; Beck 2006) is manifested in the emergence of what we term a cynical ‘politics of outrage’. This ‘politics of outrage’ is simultaneously expressed and amplified in an increasingly adversarial news media. (Greer & McLaughlin 2010a: 26)

Greer and McLaughlin (2012: 276, 278) discovered that “distrust [is] a defining characteristic of contemporary journalistic culture and public debate” and they identified a “press politics of outrage” as the driving force behind current journalism – a “hyper-adversarial, highly normative style of reporting...”²¹ They also discerned,

...the rise of the citizen journalist has been accompanied, and perhaps encouraged by...a deterioration of trust in official or elite institutions (Fukuyama 2000; Seldon 2009). Public skepticism and outrage are reflected and reinforced, and arguably amplified, across a market-driven news media faced with increasing competition and the acute need to generate audience interest in order to survive...Thus, the widespread decline in deference to authority and the escalation of news media adversarialism have contributed to the creation of an unstable communicative space within which direct and high-visibility challenges to the institutionally powerful have gained cultural, commercial and professional currency. (Greer & McLaughlin 2010b: 1054)

However, in a substantial study of the police-media relationship (also in the United Kingdom) between 2006 and 2008, that revisited the seminal works (and findings) of Steve Chibnall between 1975 and 1981, Mawby (2010: 1073) determined, “The asymmetric police–media relationship identified by Chibnall endures and has become more pronounced in terms of police dominance of the relationship.”

While this academic debate and the conflicting views of scholars in relation to the historical (and, for that matter, the present) treatment of the police by traditional media is interesting and important in establishing historical context as we move forward through this thesis, it does not particularly impact on the focus of this study – that of the present socio-political and cultural dynamics in the mediated treatment of policing and particularly those which have been impacted, enabled, and transformed by Web 2.0 media developments. Perhaps, given the apparent lack of scholarly consensus around the correct characterization of the traditional media-police relationship (Doyle 2006b), it may

be (at least for the limited purposes of this thesis) sufficient to stipulate that in the past a combination of traditional media's bias that generally favoured the police, the technological limitations of earlier videorecording devices, and official constructions circulated by the police (that contradicted and challenged the accuracy and interpretations of videorecorded representation of events), often, in all but the clearest of instances, resulted in a state of confusion in the public *milieu* as to the reality of the situation.

Today's realities, resulting from technological innovations and the development of alternatives to traditional media, have dramatically transformed the topography in the information-sharing landscape. Reiner (2010: 182) advanced that “the recent proliferation of video cameras means that footage fitting the values of news-worthiness but filmed by citizens and showing police violence is increasingly available, so that framing from the police side is challenged.” Greer and Reiner (2010b: 1053) found that the widespread traditional and social media coverage and public outrage that accompanied the disclosure of the Tomlinson videorecordings presents “a direct challenge to previous research findings that the police are superordinate commentators in the ‘hierarchy of credibility’ and foregrounds the rise of the citizen journalist as a key definitional force in the production of news.” Similar to the observations of Greer and Reiner (2010b, 2012) in the context of the United Kingdom, Canadian society has witnessed, tremendous growth in terms of alternative sources of information and communications outside traditional media (due to the Internet, social media, and citizen journalism). Online postings compete with mainstream media coverage, generate discussion, and provide a venue for alternative constructions. “Pervasive new camera and video technologies and social networking practices are creating a new generation of media producers as well as consumers,

contributing to a ‘disappearance of disappearances’ (Haggerty and Ericson 2000) and thus to a ‘new visibility’ in policing” (Goldsmith 2010: 915).

2.3 The Technology

Ken Dowler and Thomas Fleming (2006: 837) observed in 2006, "As residents of a highly technological society undergoing rapid transformations in the conduits of information on crime, we have an increasing array of options in forming our ideas about crime and justice." Similarly Doyle (2006a: 199-200), in the same time frame, predicted, "The increasing role of webcams and Internet videoplayers as a vehicle for capture and broadcast of surveillance video will take the phenomenon to another level." These scholars, looking into the future from their vantage point at the infancy of the contemporary technological and social phenomena that are engaged in this study, could not have appreciated the full extent of the changes coming quickly on the horizon and the magnitude of the impending transformations the innovations in technologies and communications have enabled in socio-political power dynamics. Likely no one could have foreseen the extent of the vast proliferation of both cellular telephones with camera functionalities (cameraphones), the social connectedness enabled by the Internet and social media alternatives to traditional media, the rise of new media to such a prominent social and political positioning, and the socio-cultural entrenchment of ‘citizen journalism’ that has become a defining characteristic of the public-police relationship, and particularly in terms of police use of force. These interrelated phenomena are integral to this study and are the developments that have thrust more and more instances of police use of force into our mediated experiences, onto our personal computing devices, and into our individual and collective cultural experiences and social consciousnesses.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of these technologies is just how rapidly they have become inextricably incorporated into so many aspects of our individual lives and our social worlds. With the rapid passing of time, I suspect few of us realize that the very first cameraphone image was recorded just sixteen years ago, when Philippe Khan (2012: n.p.) cobbled together a digital camera, a cellular telephone, and a laptop personal computer to operationalize his view “that the future for imaging in the 21st century would be based on bringing these various technologies together.” I also suspect, sixteen years later, that each and every reader of this thesis possesses a cellular or smart phone with camera functionality and engages with social media in some form.

Cellular Telephones with Recording Functionalities (Cameraphones)

As I wrote this thesis, one of the topics being discussed widely in various mediated social discourses are the poignant (and tragic) revelations of a recent United Nations study which found (among several things) that more of the world’s population possess mobile telephones than have access to lavatory facilities; with an estimated 6 billion of the 7 billion human inhabitants of this planet owning the ubiquitous cellular communications device (Wang 2013). This startling revelation has substantial empirical support – an investigation by *The Economist* (2010) found that there were an estimated 4.6 billion mobile phones in use worldwide in April 2010, with an additional 800 million units projected to be sold in that year.

At the end of June 2012 there were over 26 million mobile telephone devices active within the Canadian population (Canadian Wireless Telecommunications Association 2012). The Canadian population of individuals 10 years of age and over is just under 30 million (Statistics Canada 2011). Virtually all mobile telephone devices presently in

circulation in Canada (and western democracies) have videorecording and photographic functionality – only a few manufacturers provide a model without such functionality for persons employed in ‘high-security’ workplaces that forbid a recording capacity (CBS Interactive 2011; CNET Asia Staff 2011; Cullum 2010).

After Khan’s invention in 1997, the first commercial cameraphone debuted in 1999 (the Kyocera VP-210), which was able to store up to twenty still photos in JPG format; “at the time having that functionality in a 5.5 oz. package was nothing short of revolutionary” (Yegulaip 2012: n.p.). As some readers of this thesis will undoubtedly recall, “...cell phones were once the size of brick and nearly impossible to take anywhere but in the car” (Good & Moulton 2007: n.p.). In 2003 the burgeoning cameraphone was selected by the editorial panel of *Time* magazine as the best innovation of that year and an estimated 80 million units were sold in that year, with 6 million sold in the United States alone. The author of the *Time* piece observed, “Like the Internet before them, camera phones open up a new and surprisingly spontaneous way to communicate. Because they are inconspicuous – many look like regular cell phone – you can snap pictures as discreetly as any spy and, with the push of a few buttons, pop them into an e-mail or upload them to the Web in less than a minute” (Hamilton 2003: n.p.) The phenomenally popular iPhone was selected by *Time* as the best invention for 2007.

With cameraphones shrinking in size, their tremendous proliferation throughout society, and their ever-present indispensability to contemporary social life (given their level of usage they are often now characterized metaphorically as an extension of the human arm) more and more social activities are being recorded (Bell 2007; Cullum 2010; Doyle 2006a; Good & Moulton 2007; Robinson 2012). In commenting on the launch of

the iPhone and the introduction of the “smart phone frenzy” *ABC News* writer Ki Mae Heussner (2009: n.p.) noted, “Mobile phones used to do one thing only; make phone calls. But now consumers use their handhelds to access the Web, send and receive e-mails, play games, take pictures and watch video.” Brannon Cullum (2010: 47-54) found, “The twenty-first century has seen the rise of mobile phones as powerful devices that have transformed how people create and share information” and he noted that their portability and pervasiveness make them appealing to both individuals and advocacy groups – “one powerful method activists and protesters use to garner attention is sharing of video and photographs captured on mobile phones.”

David Bell (2007: 80-81) noted that mobile phone manufacturer Nokia (at that time) was “the world's biggest camera manufacturer, now that mobile phones have cameras as standard. Having a camera on your phone has made everyone potential *paparazzi*.” Ipsos Reid (2012) found that 70% of Canadian smart phone users in 2012 utilized the image recording capabilities of their mobile devices. In the first quarter of 2013 worldwide smart phone sales were 216 million and feature phone sales were 202 million –both have videorecording functionality (Mick 2013). The ubiquity of videorecording devices throughout society affords a surveillance and videorecorded documentation potentiality for virtually all residents of Canadian cities. During the Oscar Grant occurrence in 2009, at least seven different individuals (from seven different vantage points) used the videorecording function of their cameraphones to document what began as a relatively benign conversation between a group of young persons and the police. The sheer pervasiveness of these devices among the population, their penetration

into the social functioning of our contemporary society, and the clarity of the imagery now being produced by modern cameraphones are all transformational developments.

Clarity of the Cameraphone Image

Castells (2007: 242) articulated, “The most powerful message is a simple message attached to an image.” Brian Thompson and James Lee (2004: 403) found, “Clearly, the most effective strategy for a [police] department defending its officers would be to ‘muddy’ the understanding of a scenario.” Historically, as discussed, a combination of factors (including lack of clarity in the videorecorded representation) most often resulted in confusion in the public’s understanding of police use of force incidents. The absence of a clear record in such events created a challenge for each individual in their interpretive process in arriving at a determination of the actions of the various parties involved. In circumstances in which the record of an event is not clear then the requirement for elaborate and complex processes of interpretation affords the opportunity for institutions (such as the police) to leverage their power and resources in imposing their influence over the interpretation of others (in the common political/journalistic vernacular – to ‘spin’ the event) or, alternatively, to employ a ‘muddying’ tactic in order to achieve a state of confusion in the public’s understanding of such events.

In relation to videorecordings of police actions available a decade ago, Doyle (2003: 72-75) asserted, “surveillance cameras do not simply ‘make visible’ what they record; instead, those who have the power to interpret the images – who produce the authorized definition of the situation – are the ones who hold the upper hand.” Recorded imagery (even the high-definition images produced by today’s digital cameraphones) is not pure vision and does not produce neutral knowledge; rather, it is my position that all

observations are shaped by cultural assumptions and are bound up in a process of interpretation that each individual viewer engages with in making sense of what they are viewing and arriving at the ultimate meaning they will assign to the event — their perception of reality (Thompson 1995, 2005; Doyle 2003, 2011). Each individual acquires, through a gradual process of inculcation, a set of understandings — “a kind of implicit background knowledge” that functions as a framework for the interpretation of information (Thompson 1995: 41). Doyle (2011: 293) observed, “...people are not simply blank slates on which the synoptic media impose a message” and that “the cultural toolkit one draws on in making...interpretations [is] crucial.” Diverse political, cultural, and ideological considerations can influence how each individual views (and interprets) events as represented in recorded imagery. I suggest it is uncontroversial to stipulate that all of us engage with a hermeneutic process of interpretation in defining our realities (Thompson 1995: 40) and that reality, in terms of social phenomena, is socially constructed (Berger and Luckmann 1966). Put simply, as we all know from our everyday experiences, other individuals can, and do, see things much differently than we do when considering the same information.

In elaborating my epistemological/ontological position before moving forward in this discussion, I understand that there is a physical reality that exists. However, in my view, it can only ever be partially known and it is always subject to the processes of interpretation as described. Within this line of reasoning (and in bringing this into the context of videorecordings of police violence), I advance that while all facts in such an occurrence are, to varying degrees, interpretive, some videorecorded representations of facts are closer to the physical reality than others. In other words, some representations

capture reality better than others. I suggest that a clear and detailed videorecorded representation of an event provides information that is closer to the actual physical reality of that event than does an out of focus, grainy, dim, and fuzzy representation. The elevated degree of accuracy afforded by technologies that produce substantially clearer and more detailed videorecorded imagery than was available previously has some important effects (particularly in relation to serious police violence occurrences). Such imagery reduces confusion in people's understanding of an event, diminishes the effectiveness of any 'muddying' tactics by those seeking to foment uncertainty and doubt, and prevents powerful institutions from successfully superimposing their desired definition of a situation over the clear representation that vividly documents the physical reality. In other words, each individual will interpret their ultimate reality based on any number of individualized considerations; however, the availability of clear imagery increases the likelihood that those interpretations are closer to the physical reality for more people than would be the case with imagery of a lesser quality.

Contemporary cameraphones are no longer hindered by the technical limitations of earlier camcorders or cameraphone prototypes, in terms of their ability to produce clear imagery. Excepting non-technological issues of vantage point (as was the situation with the pub patrons situated behind me in the occurrence I related in the previous chapter), natural obstructions, and atmospheric visibility challenges (darkness, rain, fog) today's cameraphone technologies can often produce a remarkably clear representation of the recorded event (including the capacity now for high definition digital recording).²² In other words, this technology is an entirely different medium than Holliday's camcorder that produced the distant, grainy, dim, and blurry (and intensely contested) mediocre-

quality VHS recording of the King incident (Finn 2012). The King occurrence is, in fact, the ideal example of the more complex and confusing interpretation process that was involved in the public's consideration of earlier inferior quality videorecorded representations of physical reality. In the aftermath of the broadcasting of the King police beating there were widely discordant opinions throughout society about the actions of both King and the police officers involved and the appropriateness of the force used by those officers. Despite the suggestion of Regina Lawrence (2000: 71-73), that “the vividness of the video” made it “impossible for the official response to convincingly rebut the recorded images as the source [of the public’s construction of the event]”, my review of the literature and reportage around the King occurrence suggests just the opposite. In fact, my assessment is that the meaning of the overall event was highly controversial and widely contested – including the acquittal of the involved police officers in a unanimous 12-person jury verdict on 29 April 1992. Mydans (1992: 1) reported,

After hearing seven weeks of detailed testimony and studying the 81-second amateur videotape of the beating, the jury concluded that the policemen, all of whom are white, had not broken any laws when they clubbed and kicked the mostly prone motorist, Rodney G. King...The beating last spring, with its kicks and its 56 baton swings, was shown over and over on television. It immediately became one of the most visible uses of force by police in this country's history and put the issue of police brutality on the national agenda...Ted Koppel, the anchor of the ABC News program 'Nightline,' said he had interviewed a juror who declined to be identified...Mr. Koppel said *the juror criticized the video as unsteady and out of focus...*(emphasis added)

I ask the reader to reflect on whether it is possible that disparities in the ultimate construction of an event (the meaning and ultimately the reality attached to it) can be attributable to a lack of clarity in the recorded imagery, resulting from the technical

limitations of the device used to record an event and its inability to clearly document minutiae in the actions of persons involved. In Chapter Three this consideration will be discussed further in the context of medium theory.

In sharp contrast to the King camcorder footage, Goldsmith (2010: 925) found in relation to the Pritchard cameraphone imagery of the Dziekański confrontation, “While [the Pritchard footage] is indeed only one account of what occurred, its visual form provided a potency and status in the ensuing investigations and public discussions that far outweighed other sources and points of reference.” Similarly, Dustin Robinson (2012: 1416) referenced the United States Supreme Court's reliance on, and preference of, new generation police vehicle ‘dash camera’ videorecorded footage over the facts pled in the case *Scott v Harris* and Justice Antonin Scalia's rebuke (for the majority) of Justice Stevens' dissent. In explicitly inviting the public to view the videorecording for themselves in arriving at the truth of what occurred, Scalia stated, ‘We are happy to allow the videotape to speak for itself.’ As discussed, in convicting officer Johannes Mehserle of involuntary manslaughter, rather than murder, in the shooting of Oscar Grant, the trial judge relied on the ‘simply overwhelming’ evidence captured in the multiple videorecorded representations of the event – demonstrating (and corroborating the officer’s evidence) that the fatal shooting resulted from the officer’s tragic mistake (in drawing and firing his firearm instead of his Taser) rather than an intentional act.

New technology can provide a substantially clearer visual representation of a physical event (setting aside issues of image manipulation which are a potential that is inherent in essentially all imaging technologies) from which individuals can make more accurate determinations of physical reality (whatever those might be in each individual’s

ultimate interpretation of an event). Put simply, both misapprehensions and misrepresentations of physical reality are less likely and less possible given the clarity of the imagery today – for example, the police in the Dziekański occurrence could not have plausibly suggested that they had not been present during that event in the Vancouver airport or that Dziekański had produced a gun with which he endangered the lives of the police. As Gary Marx (2002: 22-23) observed, “Through offering *high quality* documentary evidence...the new surveillance may enhance due process, fairness and legitimacy” (emphasis added). The technical capability to provide high-quality and clear representations of an event is the ultimate strength of the cameraphone medium.²³

Social Interconnectedness through the Internet and Web 2.0 Social Media

In 2010, 82.7% of Canadian households had a computer in the home (Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development 2013) and, in terms of Internet usage, Canadians are ranked first in the world (Canadian Internet Registration Authority 2013). In 2010, 80% of the Canadian population used the Internet (Haight, Corbett & Quan-Haase 2012) and 78.4% of Canadians had access to the Internet right in their homes (OECD 2013). Ipsos Reid (2012) found that 86% of Canadians in 2012 had Internet access, with 80% having that access right from their homes.²⁴ Interestingly, their research determined that the rate of Internet access was at 95% for those Canadians 55 years of age and younger in 2012.

In terms of the use of social media, Ipsos Reid (2012: n.p.) found, “...the majority of online Canadians now use online social networking sites, with a large portion doing so daily.” In 2006 *YouTube* was selected by the editorial panel of *Time* as the best innovation of that year. The video file-sharing site was founded in February 2005, gained

prominence very quickly, and became the world's third most visited website (after Google and Facebook) – by 2010 *YouTube*'s users were logging more than two billion views every day (Fitzpatrick 2010). Heussner (2009: n.p.) observed,

YouTube and other social media sites also gave the average person unprecedented influence over the media. With just a cheap, handheld video camera, anyone in the world could record and broadcast political embarrassments, protests, and more....The user-generated movement reached such pitch that in 2006 Time magazine named 'You' its Person of the Year....'It's a story about community and collaboration on a scale never seen before'...wrote Time's Lev Grossman....'It's about the many wrestling power from the few and helping one another for nothing and how that will not only change the world, but also change the way the world changes.'

The 'Digital Divide'?

The notion of a 'digital divide' characterizes a concern expressed by some that access to, and use of, the Internet (and to a lesser extent other contemporary communications technologies) is unevenly distributed across different societies and throughout various populations – a situation that exacerbates inequalities between the informational poor and rich (Norris 2001; Warschauer 2004). For example, Andrew Chadwick and James Stanyer (2010, as cited in McCahill 2012: 250) expressed concerns, in 2010, about the persistence of a 'digital divide' in the United Kingdom – in terms of access to social-networking sites and video-sharing platforms (with, as they suggested, up to 30% of the population not having Internet at home) and the resulting limitations on the democratizing potential of the new technologies (and the inability for some in society to participate in the new online public sphere of social interaction). They argued, "those that take advantage of new technologies...remain a minority and still tend to be wealthy, well educated and younger" (Chadwick & Stanyer 2010: 37).

In assessing the current Canadian situation, it is clear that any notion of a 'digital divide' in urban centres in 2013 is simply not supported by the evidence. In his 2012 investigation of public surveillance, the Internet, and police misconduct, Robinson (2012: 1421) noted, in the American context, "*near universal access* to the Internet makes it a powerful source for information dissemination and acquisition."

The New Technology and Communication Reality for Policing

An illustration of the integration of the new 'citizen journalism' technological elements with the broad social media phenomenon is afforded by the example of Janis Krums, an ordinary New Yorker who used his cameraphone to videorecord the 2009 emergency landing of a commercial airliner in the Hudson River and then to instantaneously tweet the imagery via Twitpic to a vast public audience rather than calling a television station or newspaper. Myers (2011: n.p.) observed, "These days, when someone comes across a big story, they're more likely to do what Krums did – share their amazing photo or video with their social networks."

Both technology and society have revolutionized within a generation (Robinson 2012). The impact on policing has been profound. Modern technologies have enabled the social phenomenon of 'citizen journalism', which has produced a 'new visibility' of policing in our urban communities. The tremendous proliferation of cameraphones across all social strata in Canadian cities has resulted in the potential for citizen scrutiny and oversight, overt and covert citizen surveillance of the police, and tangible documentation of police conduct in almost any environment in which the police could be visible to a citizen (which is essentially and literally almost everywhere). Robinson (2012: 1435) asserted, "Undoubtedly, law enforcement occupies a crucial and valuable role in any

society, but the state power must be kept in check by a vigilant citizenry.” Citizens’ use of videorecording technology and social media communications are effective tools for exposing abuses of authority and police misconduct to a wide audience and holding those in power accountable for their actions (Lautt 2012; Robinson 2012). The production of alternative discourses and more truthful representations of reality (to paraphrase the thoughts of Castells 2009 and Foucault 1980) brought about through technologically-enabled increases in the visibility of policing (specifically in relation to police violence and the accompanying shifts in the power dynamic within a transformed socio-cultural ‘public’) will be a focus of discussion in the next chapter in this thesis – which focuses on both the wealth of scholarly literature available to inform this project and on the various sociological theories that have applicability and provide contextual and paradigmatic frameworks for the analysis and discussion of the study’s research findings.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER TWO

¹⁵ The confrontation between a massive police and military force and demonstrators at the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago came to be characterized as a ‘*police riot*’ because of the actions of the police in unleashing violent measures in response to protestors. The National (Eisenhower) Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (1969) “recommended taking the 1968 Chicago demonstration, a clear example of the escalated force style, as a model of how police should *not* proceed” (Schweingruber 2000: 380, emphasis in original). Doyle (2003: 84) suggested that this was “perhaps the most controversial episode of televised protest policing” and that “powerful images of police brutality on TV news fed a crisis of institutional legitimacy”. He concluded that subsequently reporting was generally more sympathetic toward demonstrators and that “the police began to adopt softer styles of protest policing in response to the dangers of increased media visibility (Fillieule 1998).”

Frank Kusch, in his book *Battleground Chicago: The Police and the 1968 Democratic National Convention*, provides an interesting analysis on the policing of the demonstration (by 11,900 Chicago Police officers backed up by 5,000 National Guard troops and 5,000 regular Army troops requested by Mayor Richard Daley). Kusch (2008: 2) observed that the brutal actions of the police amounted to “a clash between the counterculture and the practitioners of Middle American orthodoxy. When the hippies came to Chicago, the police and city governors were planning to do more than teach a ‘spoiled’ generation a lesson... The seeds for the harsh treatment against protestors on the streets of Chicago... lay in the city’s history – a heritage that shaped its police officers long before they wore a badge.” Bittner (1990) as cited in Manning (2010: 35) found that excessive violence, such as that used by police in response to civil disorders in the 1960s, ‘damaged’ the mandate of the police to legitimately use state-sanctioned violence.

Walter Cronkite, anchor of the CBS national news, was appalled at the police violence and condemned it initially, however, “...later in the week thought better of this breach of neutrality and apologized to Mayor Daley” (Gitlin, 1980: 195-197). It is interesting to consider this police use of force occurrence in the contexts of: the historical notions of a hegemonic ideology perpetuated by traditional media in conjunction with their relationship to the institution of policing; considerations around the framing and interpretation of images; and in terms of the changes in the levels of penetration into societies’ consciousnesses and the intensity of social reaction (relative to the effect as impetus for marked social change) from 1968 to 1991 (the King occurrence) and then onward to the changes that have occurred very recently.

¹⁶ Police power, in my opinion, is relatively straightforward and consistent with the Weberian tradition and can appropriately be viewed within the context of the ‘social contract’, in the tradition of Hobbes, Rousseau, and Locke. As Manning (2010: 34) observed, “The mandate [of the police to use violence] includes the exclusion of citizens in general from free use of violence toward each other.” Police powers “are not distributed evenly across the population, hence the privileged position and power of the police. This places them in a position of formal trust, whether or not their actions accord with their official responsibilities” (Goldsmith 2005: 445). Mawby’s (2002b: 56-57) analysis of key terminologies is informative in considering police-citizen violence:

Legitimacy is bound up with the related concepts of *power*, *authority* and *force*. *Power* as a concept is much debated...but here can be considered in the general sense of the ability or capacity to bring about the ‘production of intended effects’

(Russell 1938: 25)...*Authority* is an attribute of social organization and can be vested in persons, offices or organizations. Its ‘hallmark is unquestioning recognition by those who are asked to obey; neither coercion nor persuasion is needed’ (Arendt 1970: 45)...*Force* can be used in support of these relationships, being associated with the rightful exercise of authority or use of power.

Reiner ‘s (2010: 26) observations in this regard are also illuminating – “Who guards the guardians is of course one of the most ancient conundrums of governance...accountability [implicates] minimizing any abuse or injustice in the use of coercive powers.”

¹⁷ Carl von Clausewitz, a Prussian military leader, wrote *On War* (1832) in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars. His works on military strategies are expansive, however the most famous and central theorem Clausewitz advanced was that war is essentially the continuation of politics by other means, or in other words, war is merely an instrument of policy (Paret 1976).

¹⁸ This is a very important point for individuals and broader society to understand – and is often a point of incendiary disagreement in the aftermath of contentious instances in which police violence is spotlighted in public discourse. This aspect of police-citizen violence is the subject of my wider doctoral project, examining differences of opinions and perceptions in relation to police use of force. It should not be controversial (in my view), in the context of our contemporary Canadian society, to recognize that there are two (and only two) categories of police violence – what I term ‘professional use of force’ versus ‘unlawful use of force’. The former recognizes that the police are mandated by law to use force when its’ use is necessary during an arrest and that force used that is reasonable in the circumstances of the event is not inappropriate (unlawful). In stipulating this, it is crucial to appreciate that the police are trained (by statutory regulation) in the use of force and some officers are quite proficient at various disciplines of martial arts, boxing, etc. A lawful empty-handed strike or an impact weapon strike to an assaultive subject can cause significant injury (the shedding of significant amounts of blood from lacerations, grotesque fractures, the infliction of excruciating pain, etc.) and can most certainly present to ‘the public’ as distressing/disconcerting/unpleasant (‘*brutal*’) in terms of the visual imagery resulting from the application of that lawfully-sanctioned ‘professional’ use of force by the police. However, such lawful police use of force cannot be properly disembedded from its lawfulness and resituated as unlawful because of visceral reactions in the public milieu to the result of the event. Conversely, *any* application of force by the police that is not authorized by law as reasonable in the circumstances of the transaction is by definition ‘unlawful’ and can often be properly characterized by the colloquialism ‘police brutality’. Force that is applied by the police that is unnecessary or excessive (in my view, often emerging from the onset of personal anger in a dynamic situation, the desire to punish, or the worldview that the police should impose extra-judicial retribution on an offender at the moment of apprehension), rather than resulting from the professional assessment of the threat presented by the subject at that moment, is ‘unlawful’. Put another way, professional, lawful, and entirely appropriate police use of force can be just as bloody and vicious in its appearance as unlawful police violence properly characterized as ‘brutality’ – it is the nature of the application of the force that is the key determinant of its legitimacy, not the amount of blood, or the agenda-driven ideological convictions of police apologists (on the one pole) and police critics (on the other).

Loader (1997: 15) averts to the work of British anthropologist Geoffrey Gorer (1955: 310) and in my view this captures (minus the gendered characterization) the essence of ‘professional’ police use of force in society, “The policeman has been for his peers not only an object of respect,

but also a model of the ideal male character, self-controlled, possessing more strength than he ever has to use except in the gravest emergency”.

¹⁹ Actor Clint Eastwood punctuated his speech at the 2012 Republican National Convention by challenging the Democratic opponents ‘Go ahead – make my day’ (a line immortalized in the contemporary lexicon when ‘Dirty Harry’, after shooting the other robbers, aimed his .44 Magnum revolver at the head of the hostage-taker and dared him to shoot the diner waitress being held captive). In a 1985 speech celebrated among the politically conservative, President Ronald Reagan challenged, "I have my veto pen...ready for any tax increase that Congress might even think of sending up. And I have only one thing to say to the tax increasers. Go ahead — make my day” (Church 1985: n.p.).

²⁰ According to the results compiled by consumer research company Neilson for the week of 3 June to 9 June 2013, and reported by USA Today (<http://www.usatoday.com/story/life/tv/2013/06/11/nielsen-chart-june-3-june-9/2413039>), *Blue Bloods* ranked as the nineteenth most popular television broadcast across the United States for that week (with a viewership of 5.87 million households).

²¹ In advancing my non-empirically grounded view on the nature of police reporting by traditional media in the City of Ottawa, I would suggest that certainly over the past ten, or so, years there has been a marked shift to a more critical and perhaps even adversarial journalism around police conduct. I base this opinion on admittedly subjective observations in reviewing print and television stories over the years, buttressed, however, by anecdotal conversations I have had with four experienced print journalists who have extensive experience in covering the police and court beats in Ottawa, and a first-hand experience with false and misleading reporting. The latter ‘evidence’ of adversarial journalism in relation to the police involved the reporting of a former court reporter with the *Ottawa Citizen* newspaper (who was subsequently removed from that position), which was the subject of a civil lawsuit settlement and the publication of a retraction and apology by that newspaper on 28 January 2006 that read as follows:

An article published November 1, 2005 about the judicial proceedings in the case of *R. v. Obiorah* was not a fair and accurate report of the actions of Sgt. Greg Brown. The Citizen erroneously reported that certain findings made by Justice Fraser of the Ontario Court of Justice respecting actions of police that breached the accused's Charter rights and led to the exclusion of evidence were attributable to the actions of Sgt. Brown. In this respect the article was false and misleading. The Citizen retracts statements to this effect in the article and confirms that the Court did not find that Sgt. Brown had misled a Justice, that he acted in bad faith, that he falsely implicated the accused in a murder investigation, nor that he violated the accused's rights. The Citizen acknowledges that Sgt. Brown is a highly experienced police officer. The Citizen apologizes to Sgt. Brown for these inaccuracies. (Ottawa Citizen: 2006: E1)

²² Recent correspondence I received from Apple extols the technical virtues of the new iPhone 5. "iPhone is the most popular camera in the world. For good reason. Photos look so stunning, it's hard to believe they were taken with a mobile phone...The gyroscope, A6 chip, and Camera app work together to create one seamless, high-resolution panorama up to 28 megapixels. Imagine sidesplitting, adventure-filled, must-see flicks produced by you and shot on iPhone 5. Record

stunning 1080p HD video with the iSight camera. Improved video stabilization helps prevent shaky footage.

²³ I ask the reader to review the cameraphone videorecording of a police use of force occurrence in Calgary on 31 August 2008 and the court testimony of one of the officers (as reported in a web-video produced by the *Toronto Star*) at <http://www.thestar.com/videozone/1168064-star-investigation-when-police-lie> (Dwulit 2012). This videorecorded representation provides a tangible example to put this discussion in context. In this event, the clarity of the videorecorded imagery persuaded the judge, Justice Terry Semenuk, to acquit the Hells Angels' member involved in the occurrence of all charges while finding that the police officers were "not reliable or credible" and that their evidence varied from the physical reality as depicted in the videorecording (Van Rassel 2013: n.p.). This is but one example of the implications in relation to the clarity of today's high definition cameraphone imagery (which now far exceeds that of this imagery from 2008) for the police and more broadly for the interpretation of such events across society.

²⁴ It should also be noted that in Canadian urban centres public libraries, social services outlets, and homeless shelters provide free computer and Internet access for the poor, homeless, and marginalized.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW AND ESTABLISHING A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction to the Literature Review and Theoretical Development

As described in the preceding chapters, this research project has investigated the relational implications of the phenomena of police-citizen violence, intensified social surveillance of the police, and the technological advances of the contemporary ‘digital age’. This examination was engaged specifically within the contexts of policing’s interpersonal and institutional power and the conduct of the police while in public *milieux* (and particularly the impact on front-line officer’s use of force behaviours) given the recent proliferation of civilian recording capabilities and concurrent Web 2.0 social media communication innovations that together have enabled the dissemination of imagery of police use of force events to a wide public audience, absent the type of editorial control or intervening framing (‘spin’) historically characteristic of traditional media’s treatment of such occurrences. These interrelated phenomena (presenting as a new and important social issue) have substantial sociological significance, because I believe most scholars would concur with Manuel Castells’ (2009: 10) observation, “Power is the most fundamental process in society, since society is defined around values and institutions, and what is valued and institutionalized is defined by power relationships.” Castells’ (2009: 8) concise thoughts on social change, as he laid out the premise of his ‘network society’ grand theory, are also highly relevant in terms of the transformation in the public-police relationship explored in this study –

My assumption, which will be tested, is that the greater the autonomy provided to the users by the technologies of communication, the greater the chances that new values and new interests will enter the realm of socialized communication, so reaching the public mind. Thus, the rise of mass self-communication, as I call the new forms of networked communication, enhances the opportunities for social change.

Another influential sociologist, C. Wright Mills (1959), contributed to the broad theoretical orientation of this project through his illuminating observation that among the most compelling aspects of the ‘sociological imagination’ is the linking of ‘personal troubles’ with public issues through the lenses of social and political theory. Mills (1959: 8-9) argued that certain areas of social life involving a limited number of individuals and their immediate *milieux* “transcend [the] local environments of the individual” and rather “have to do with the organization of many such *milieux* into the institutions of society...a public matter...involv[ing] a crisis in institutional arrangements.” Lyon (2006b: 10), in acknowledging that media and technology theories are also significant in assessing the structuring of social relations, lauded Mills’ theoretical approach in the linking of individual concerns with broader sociological issues, which Lyon suggested is consistent with the traditions of the best social and political theories. Michael Burawoy (2012: x), in referencing Mills’ observation that a ‘sociological imagination’ may expose social structure as the source of certain individual problems, contended that in practicing public sociology, what is required, in addition to a ‘sociological imagination’, is also a “‘political imagination’ to turn personal troubles into public issues.” Lyon (2007: 116) also offered – “A sociology of surveillance enables us to see ‘personal troubles’ as ‘public issues’ (Mills 1959) and perhaps even to act accordingly.”

Mills’ thoughts on the linking of ‘personal troubles’ with broad socio-political structural issues in society has dual applicability in this study (as will be elaborated

further in the chapters to follow). First, while the vast majority of individuals in our society are never personally involved with police-citizen violence (Surette 2011), the issue of police conduct in such occurrences (which obviously has particular relevance for those directly involved in such ‘personal troubles’) has broad and significant implications for one of the most important socio-political relationships in advanced societies, that between the public and the state’s enforcement arm (entrusted with a legally-entrenched monopoly on the legitimate use of force in society) – the police. Secondly, the issue of illegitimate police violence transcends the actions of the particular individual officers who do ‘cross the line’²⁵ – impacting broadly and negatively not only on all police officers (within the context of public-police interpersonal relationships) but also on the legitimacy of the institution of policing, which relies on the confidence of the public in support of its authority (Goldsmith 2005, 2010; Krupanski 2012; Levi *et al.* 2009; Manning 2010; Mawby 2002b; Reiner 2010).

This chapter positions the current study within the most relevant areas of existing scholarship and also situates it within the most applicable theoretical frameworks to inform the results, analysis, and discussion of the project’s findings. Through an extensive review of a wide variety of scholarly literature, the researcher has determined (given the scope of this project) that the discussion of germane works and theoretical paradigms in this thesis is best captured (and presented) within the following broad thematic categorizations (in no particular order in terms of significance): surveillance studies; panoptic surveillance; the ‘new visibility’; the ‘performance of self’; ‘network society’; medium theory; web 2.0 activism in the digital age; the police occupational culture; and contemporary social/political/cultural transformations (in terms of both

contemporary ‘risk society’ and the punitive law and order agenda). As the reader will appreciate in working through these subchapters, many categories and concepts are interrelated, overlapping, and mutually reinforcing, which is why this chapter was structured as it is – with the objective of providing the reader with a complete contextual framework to inform the understanding of the study moving forward into its specifics. It is not my intention here to systematically and exhaustively consider these contributions in detail, but rather to selectively draw upon insights and to highlight relevance to this investigation. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the use of sociological theory in research initiatives and an explanation of how various theoretical approaches have been applied in this study.

3.2 Surveillance Studies

In introducing the recent edition of the *Routledge Handbook of Surveillance*, prominent surveillance scholars Kristie Ball, Kevin Haggerty, and David Lyon (2012: 15) advanced, “The study of surveillance addresses some of the most significant questions of our day, often dealing with pressing issues of power, culture, identity, inequality, ethics and resistance.” Joshua Meyrowitz (whose work on medium theory will be elaborated) noted that different cultures and different historical periods are characterized by different role structures which are impacted by “who knows what about whom”; and therefore the possession (or absence) of such knowledge greatly affects social networks and can ultimately alter social identities (Meyrowitz 1994: 57). Gary Marx (2012: xxix) observed that the social studies of surveillance have “great moral bite” and that “scholars are drawn to [surveillance studies] because they are concerned over implications for the kind of society we are, are becoming, or might become, as technology and changing life

conditions alter [society]...” Such studies, involving various implications and particular aspects of surveillance in contemporary society, have been significant areas of intensifying sociological inquiry (and public debate) for the past 25 years or so (Ball *et al.* 2012; Lyon 2004, 2006b, 2007; Lyon, Doyle & Lippert 2012; Lyon & Wood 2012), as can be attested by the subjects’ increasing prominence and prevalence in academic (and popular culture) literature and discourses.²⁶

Prior to this emergent interest in studying surveillance in society, Giddens (1987) had questioned whether surveillance had been given sufficient prominence in social scientists’ considerations of modernity in the latter part of the twentieth century (Ball *et al.* 2012). Discussion around the notion of a ‘surveillance society’ had originated in 1985 with Gary Marx’s examination of this phenomenon at the beginning of the ‘digital age’, in terms of the threat to society of (Orwellian) *Nineteen-Eighty-Four* technologies. This concept was then further consolidated with Oscar Gandy’s (1989) work on information technologies and social control in the ‘surveillance society’ (Wood 2009). David Lyon, in his 1988 sociological analysis of the issues presenting with the advent of the ‘information society’, established that social surveillance was one of the major developing issues with the rapid growth of information technology in society. Mark Poster (1990: 85-86), in this same time frame, observed that surveillance was emerging as “a major form of power in the mode of information.”

In concurring with Giddens’ (1985, 1987, 1990) earlier determinations that surveillance was one of the main institutional components of late modernity, Haggerty and Ericson (2000: 605-606) found, at the turn of the century, that there had been a “contemporary intensification of surveillance technologies” and a “quantitative increase

in surveillance in western societies.” For example, David Murakami Wood (2009: 186-187) noted that in the United Kingdom CCTV surveillance at the turn of the century had become “normalized as an expected feature of public space” – with over 4.2 million cameras in operation (Norris & McCahill 2002). Where the concept of surveillance traditionally brought to mind notions of police and state monitoring of individuals and certain elements within society (Finn 2012; Lyon 2013) and was “typically positioned as a material, technological apparatus and/or function of the state in control of populations”, surveillance in the contemporary context now exists “more as a constitutive element of social life” – a widespread social practice (Finn 2012: 67, 71-72).

Over the last few years many scholars have concurred with this characterization by Finn and similarly with Lyon’s (2007: 25) observation that presently “our whole way of life in the contemporary world is suffused with surveillance.” Today, surveillance, in its various forms, has undoubtedly become a routine aspect of daily life; an everyday occurrence that increasingly involves everyone and takes place essentially everywhere (Finn 2012; Loftus & Goold 2011; Lyon 2004, 2007, 2013). William Bogard (2006: 76), for example, found, “The powers of monitoring and recording have expanded exponentially in postmodern societies, to the point where virtually every space, interior and exterior, has become a space of observations.”

Surveillance and visibility are widespread, complex, and multifaceted concepts that are now in operation at all social strata throughout society (Haggerty 2006; Haggerty & Ericson 2006; Loader 2008; Lyon 2013; McGrath 2012). Today, our society can be best characterized as exhibiting a far-reaching and omnipresent ‘*culture of surveillance*’, having moved beyond aspects of state surveillance and the ‘surveillance society’; not

only in the sense that surveillance has become a prominent dimension in our daily lives, but now implicating cultural developments related directly to surveillance (including disciplinary aspects) – a surveillance *habitus* (Lyon 2007, 2013). There are now cultural features woven in with the socio-technical aspects in which surveillance is imbedded throughout society, impacting on “the very way that social relations are shaped” (Lyon 2007: 191). In findings similar to Lyon’s, John McGrath (2012: 83) asserted,

The first decade of the twenty-first century could, with some justification, be described as the decade of universal surveillance – the decade in which the prospect of continuous, comprehensive surveillance was accepted as a likelihood in most societies and a reality in many. [Surveillance has become] primarily a citizen (or consumer) activity...in the space of ten years we have gone from a dystopic fantasy-fear of universal surveillance...to a largely apathetic acceptance, to an apparent ecstasy of engagement...The story of surveillance has turned out...[to be] one of cultural practice.

Technological Innovation and Surveillance Studies

Lyon (2006b: 1) attributed the growth of surveillance to “both rapid developments in governance and new technologies...From the last part of the twentieth century onwards, it became clear that new technologies would be implicated decisively in surveillance processes.” Ball *et al.* (2012: 1) found that various technological developments in surveillance within contemporary society,

...have overcome historical limitations to vision (and the other senses). This has produced downstream social changes in the dynamics of power, identity, institutional practice and interpersonal relations on a scale comparable to the changes brought by industrialization, globalization or the historical rise of urbanization.

Lyon (2007: 54-56) determined, “Without the enablement of new technologies, the extension of ‘vision’ would be restricted...Surveillance is universal in the sense that no one is immune from the gaze.” Similarly, Jonathan Finn (2012) recently found that the rise of surveillance technologies and practices is now “woven into the fabric of everyday

life in our society” and has led all of us to now “see *surveillantly*.” Judy Chen’s (2007: 3) observations of six years ago are particularly relevant to this study – “An emerging technology that is democratizing surveillance is the cameraphone...equip[ping] the everyday consumer with a cheap, portable surveillance device...The cameraphone has commissioned the general public with the power of surveillance.”

‘Democratization’ and Surveillance Studies

Lyon (2013: n.p.) opines that surveillance “is always ambivalent”, in that while it has always been “highly consequential as a social justice issue” surveillance is “not intrinsically ‘good’ or ‘bad’.” Today’s surveillance is not just ‘top-down’ but rather a situation in which many persons across society are engaging with surveillance – with broad citizen participation in social surveillance (Lyon 2013). Surveillance has a dual function (or ‘Janus face’) – capable of both constraining and enabling social relations (Bogard 2006; Lyon 1994, 2001). Referencing Giddens’ (1982) ‘*dialectic of control*’²⁷, Lyon (2007: 190) observed that with contemporary surveillance in society,

...at many levels the dialectic of control still seems to hold. In addition to ambivalent surveillance, the terrain of technology is also ambivalent. The same means of expanding surveillance capacity may also be used in sometimes-unexpected countervailing ways. Indeed, as information technologies have facilitated the growth of the surveillance society and the safety state, with their large-scale surveillance assemblages, so too they facilitate new means of questioning existing power formations and of undermining existing authorities through the dissemination of alternative outlooks and practices. The politics of information...includes prominently the issues of surveillance.

Giddens (1985), himself, expressed his belief in the democratizing potentials of surveillance in its supervision of social life and Haggerty (2006, 2013), in finding that surveillance is fundamentally neutral, critiqued the neglect by many scholars of the study of the democratization elements of surveillance and surveillance practices that might be

accepted as a positive development. In this same vein, Lyon (2007: 175-176) wrote, “Today’s surveillance is multi-faceted, continuous, networked, and it may well appear to actually be beneficial to the individual...For some, the advent of ubiquitous everyday surveillance means that we have reached the ‘end of privacy’, in the sense that there are fewer and fewer ‘places to hide’.” Of particularly direct relevance to this study, William Bogard (2006: 101) observed, “If surveillance is about control and the police, it also has these ‘anti-police’, ‘anti-control’ tendencies too...”

Ball *et al.* (2012: 3) advanced that “the democratization of surveillance” was a current trend in surveillance studies, “such that even groups that historically were largely unscrutinized are now monitored by major institutions and sometimes by other citizens (Mathiesen 1997; Goldsmith 2010). As surveillance becomes a generalized response to any number of social issues, it is hard for anyone to remain free from scrutiny.” Haggerty (2006: 29) observed,

While powerful institutions continue to use surveillance to scrutinize less powerful groups, an exclusive focus on that dynamic excludes a vital development in contemporary surveillance. Traditional hierarchies of visibility are being undermined and reconfigured. Surveillance is not directed exclusively at the poor and disposed, but is now omnipresent, with people from all segments of the social hierarchy coming under scrutiny according to their [among several things] occupations and the institutions with which they are aligned (Nock 1993). The increasing visibility of the powerful is most apparent when individuals are transformed from respected citizen to social pariah.

Surveillance Studies Moving Forward – Research Directions

Lyon (2001: 107-109), in a chapter titled *New Directions in Theory*, observed, “At the start of the twenty-first century it is clear that communication and information technologies have become central to understanding social change” and that developing “adequate” theory “depends crucially on understanding what kind of power is exercised

in surveillance societies today.” However, Mark Andrejevic (2005: 487) found, “Much of the focus in both the academic and popular presses has focused on the proliferation of practices and technologies of top-down forms of surveillance by both state authorities and private corporations.” Lynsey Dubbeld (2006: 190) articulated,

Perspectives on the surveillance society do allow for more nuanced accounts of surveillance, but they have little to say about how to conduct empirical studies...Therefore, what surveillance theory needs is a set of theoretical and methodological notions that allow for recognition that the use of surveillance-enabling devices is changeable rather than inherently negative, and a number of methodological starting points for conducting balanced studies of surveillance practices.

In his scholarship on surveillance over the last decade, Lyon has provided advice on surveillance studies research moving forward, while acknowledging (quite usefully for the purposes of this particular study) that such studies have “some direct relevance to those engaged in specific tasks, such as policing...” (Lyon 2002: 5). He asserted in 2002, “We simply do not understand at present the full implications of networked surveillance for power relationships...Surveillance is a central and now, necessary feature of today’s advanced societies, but exactly how it developed, how it works, and what its consequences are is as yet unclear” (Lyon 2002: 4). Two years later, Lyon (2004), echoing the thoughts of Nikolas Rose (1999), suggested that the consequences of surveillance for governance is an important area of study, requiring ‘careful’ sociological research. Most recently (in a lecture I attended on 7 June 2013) Lyon implored sociologists to think in “more socio-cultural terms” about surveillance and encouraged that the study of the sociology of surveillance needs “a new multi-level analysis” to expose the effects in society. This study has been informed by such sage advice.

3.3 The Panopticon

Michel Foucault's metaphoric application of Jeremy Bentham's late eighteenth-century vision of architectural panoptic control of prison inmates to contemporary social surveillance and control in the 'disciplinary society' has been a central theoretical construction for analyzing surveillance throughout broad society since the publication of *Discipline and Punish* (Caluya 2010; Haggerty 2006; Huey, Walby & Doyle 2006; Kroener & Neyland 2012; Lyon 2006a, 2006b, 2007). Gilbert Caluya (2010: 622) articulated, "By bringing into sharp relief the play of visibility and power in modernity, the Panopticon quickly became the staple metaphor in the growing surveillance studies that sought to explore the expansion of surveillance in contemporary societies." As described by Foucault (1975/1977: 201), the major effect of the Panopticon is "to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power."

Haggerty (2006: 27), in critiquing the applicability of the panoptic metaphor given recent technological innovations, observed, "Foucault continues to reign supreme in surveillance studies and it is perhaps time to cut off the head of the king." Similarly, Lyon (2006b) found that the generalizability of Foucault's Panopticon is questionable in our contemporary society. Regardless, the study of issues implicating social visibility, surveillance, power, and changes in social relationships within today's society requires some discussion of Foucault's work and interrelated theoretical approaches.

Foucault used the concept of panoptic surveillance in a sweeping theoretical application in order to explain the dramatic social transformations of the 1800s and to characterize the dominant form of social control and power relations in western

democratic states in their transition to modernity. Foucault contended that a dystopic system of social surveillance, in which the few (who held the power) watched over the activities of the many, was embedded within society and applied to many social arrangements, institutions, and structures. Foucauldian scholars have argued that the Panopticon functions as a metaphor with general application as a method of surveillance to myriad institutions. Haggerty and Ericson (2000: 607), in assessing Foucault's treatment of social power, concluded, "Foucault proposed that the Panopticon served as a diagram for a new model of power which extended beyond the prison to take hold in other disciplinary institutions characteristic of this era, such as the factory, hospital, military, and school." Similarly, Lyon (2007: 105), in examining the Panopticon in relation to conceptions of social control in the city, suggested that Foucault's panoptic principle of "hierarchy, surveillance, and classification [was theorized as] spreading well beyond prisons into quotidian urban life."

Panoptic theory explained the structural transformation of society (and social visibility) from the era of 'public spectacle' to the situation where 'the few see the many' and the resulting socio-cultural development in which individuals controlled their behaviour through the establishment of a self-imposed disciplinary control, emerging because of the surveillance capacity of the few to monitor the conduct of the many across society. Foucault advanced that this surveillance capacity ultimately instilled a self-disciplined acquiescence throughout the population under surveillance – who were brought into compliance with the norms and behaviours desired of them by those in powerful positions in society. "It is the fact of being constantly seen, of being able always to be seen, that maintains the disciplined individual in his subjection" (Foucault

1975/1977: 187). A key component in this ‘soul training’ process is that the individual must be conscious that they are (or could be) under scrutiny, as it is the awareness of real (or perceived) omnipresent surveillance that provides the constant pressure to conform (Foucault 1975/1977; Haggerty 2006). Mathiesen (1997: 218) assessed, “It is the normalizing gaze of panopticism which presumably produces that subjectivity, that self-control, which disciplines people to fit into a democratic capitalist society.”

Haggerty and Ericson (2000: 607) appropriately critiqued Foucault’s “curious silence” on developments in surveillance technology, as “it is these technologies which give his analysis particular currency among contemporary commentators on surveillance.” Haggerty (2006: 32) found that the “technologization of surveillance”, entirely absent from Foucault’s account, “has arguably been the most distinctive development [in surveillance] in the past half-century.” Foucault’s model also neglects the breadth of surveillance in contemporary society, focusing only on the “unidirectional gaze of the powerful” in “the monitoring of people who reside at a lower point in the social hierarchy...specific marginalized or dangerous groups” (Haggerty 2006: 29).

Synoptic Surveillance

Thomas Mathiesen (1997: 218-219) agreed that “we certainly live in a society where the few see the many”; however his revisiting of panoptic theory revolved around Foucault's overlooking of the opposite modern surveillance process (facilitated largely by the mass media and particularly television) in which “a unique and enormously extensive system” enable the “the many to see and contemplate the few.” In advancing the Synopticon as a generalized metaphoric model for characterizing the organization of power relations in modern society, Mathiesen (1997: 219-220) concluded that both the

panoptic and synoptic social processes have occurred simultaneously in modernity, both “serve decisive control functions” in modern society, and both have situated western societies in “a dualistic ‘viewer society’.” Mathiesen's analysis around the control functions of both panopticism and synopticism is relevant to this present study; control being framed by Mathiesen (1997: 230) as “change in behaviour or attitude in a wide sense, following from the influence of others. ‘Control’...is something more than ‘surveillance’; it implies the regulation of behavior or attitude which may follow for example from ‘surveillance’.” Mathiesen's (1997: 230) principal contention in this regard was that “synopticism...directs and controls or disciplines our consciousness...inducing self-control and making us fit into the requirements of modernity.”

Mathiesen (1997: 220) designated television as the ‘fourth wave’ of mediated communication in society and the most significant in terms of surveillance. He suggested that “enormous technological advances in the form of video, cables and satellites...digital technology, and entirely new pathways of communication” could be considered as ‘fifth wave’ and he observed that panopticism and synopticism share the same modern technologies (Mathiesen 1997: 221-223). Mathiesen, however, missed the impending significance of the Internet and the transformative impact of new communications technologies (Doyle 2011). Mathiesen (1997: 224-224) asserted, “...the Internet and the Web are hardly for everyone” and predicted that the Internet would “rapidly and in the near future [develop] into what may be called an interactive one-way medium.”

The ‘Surveillant Assemblage’ and the ‘Superpanopticon’

Doyle’s analysis (2011: 283-284) found that Mathiesen’s approach neglected significant contemporary realities, including “the increasing centrality of the Internet”,

and he observed, "...the notion of the Synopticon is television-driven and needs to be rethought in the context of dramatic shifts in the world of communications since 'the viewer society' appeared...[including] the evolution of the web and digital world." Like Mathiesen, Doyle (2011) pointed to the limitations of Foucault's panopticism, with Doyle carrying his critique to the similarly reductive nature of the Synopticon. Doyle (2011) assessed other theoretical approaches that might better capture the contemporary dynamics of surveillance, such as the 'surveillant assemblage', a conceptual framework for contemporary surveillance practices, developed by Haggerty and Ericson (2000).

Those scholars, in advancing the concept of a 'surveillant assemblage' to redress the inadequacy of two dominant metaphors for understanding contemporary surveillance (Orwell's 'Big Brother' and Foucault's Panopticon), argued, "rapid technological developments, particularly the rise of computerized databases, require use to rethink the panoptic metaphor" (Haggerty and Ericson 2000: 607). Their reassessment implicated the connections of "disparate arrays of people, technologies, and organizations which become connected to make 'surveillance assemblages', in contrast to the static, unidirectional Panopticon metaphor" (Ball 2006: 300). In their influential work, Haggerty and Ericson (2000: 605-606), concurred with Giddens' (1990) view that surveillance is one of the main institutional components of late modernity, and they documented "an exponential multiplication of visibility on our city streets", a "quantitative increase in surveillance in western societies", "the contemporary intensification of surveillance technologies", and "the rhizomatic leveling of the hierarchy of surveillance." The principal theme of Haggerty and Ericson's (2000: 606) work was that, "[presently] we are witnessing a convergence of what were once discreet surveillance systems to the point

that we can now speak of an emerging ‘surveillance assemblage’.” Their observations around the importance of photographic technologies in undermining the former anonymity of social actors; the increasing monitoring of those groups previously exempt from routine surveillance (for example, the police); and the “remarkable marriage of computers and optics which we see today” (Haggerty & Ericson 2000: 606) are all relevant to this present study²⁸; however the central premise – the existence of an assemblage, while interesting, does not have direct implications for this project.

Mark Poster (1990: 93), in synthesizing early theorizing of innovations in technologies and communications with his critique of Foucault’s neglect of the significance of new surveillance technologies, developed his own conceptualization of a new panoptic surveillance – in which “Today’s ‘circuits of communication’ and the databases they generate constitute a *Superpanopticon*, a system of surveillance without walls, windows, towers, or guards.” As we have seen in the intervening years, the proliferation of Web 2.0 technologies have revolutionized contemporary communication, social discourse, and surveillance – including increasing openings for resistance and a variety of greater democratic practices (Doyle 2011; Pickard 2008). Poster’s work centres on information collected in computer databases and therefore is of no particular relevance to the present study, although it too is quite interesting in its own regard.

Considerations of ‘Palinopticism’ or ‘Pluraopticism’

As discussed, given “sweeping social and technological changes” (Doyle 2011: 285), neither the panoptic nor synoptic metaphors accurately capture the contemporary realities of broad social surveillance across Canadian society and therefore should be strongly reconsidered (Doyle 2011: 295). Further, the medium of television, which was

central to Mathiesen's theoretical approach, while still significant in our society, no longer holds the dominant position, in terms of being "the mechanism through which 'the many' saw 'the few'" (Doyle 2011: 286). Mathiesen's dismissal of the Internet's socio-political liberating potential, was also, in retrospect, a significant misjudgment.

Doyle (2011: 289), in supporting Lyon's (2007) finding, observed that in recent years surveillance has become much more widespread and dispersed beyond the state into many other areas of society. Lyon (2006: 40), in the context of the panoptic/synoptic debate, advanced, "The many watching the few does not give way to the few watching the many. Rather, both occur simultaneously, and both depend increasingly on similar electronic communication technologies." To accurately characterize the phenomenon of social surveillance (and social visibility) in its current circumstances I suggest that it is most accurate to consider a theoretical model that recognizes *the many* watching (or even more importantly, having the capability to watch) *the many* throughout society. Perhaps the terminology 'palinopticon' (Bruno 2012: 345) – using the Greek root '*palin*' (describing a two-way process) or 'pluraopticon' – using the Greek root '*plura*' (describing many persons) would best characterize the current circumstances of who is watching whom (or who can watch whom) in today's society.²⁹

The notions of 'pluraopticism' and 'palinopticism' are consistent with the type of viewer/participant society I perceive we live in today – a society in which representatives of the state, various institutions and organizations, and a variety of entities can view the population, but also a society in which individuals within the population (at virtually any social strata), enabled by technology, have the capability to (and do) view (monitor, scrutinize, and document the activities of) other individuals, entities, institutions,

organizations, and the state . Fundamentally, everyone in our society is viewing (or has the capacity to view) and being (or in a position to be) viewed.

Interestingly (and highly probative in terms of this project), in *Power/Knowledge* (1980: 152), written five years after *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault discussed “a modern project of ordering” (Kroener & Neyland 2012: 144) that involved

...the dream of a transparent society, visible and legible in each of its own parts, the dream of there no longer existing any zones of darkness, zones established by the privilege of royal power or the prerogative of some corporation. It was the dream that each individual, whatever position he occupied, might be able to see the whole of society.

The ‘Participatory Panopticon’

Poster (1990), in his work, discussed the notion of ‘participatory surveillance’; a situation occurring in society given the rise of new communications technologies – a society which is not so much disciplined (as in Foucault’s panoptic surveillance) but rather one in which all individuals take an active part in social surveillance. Fernanda Bruno (2012: 350) assessed that this “positive” conceptualization of ‘participatory surveillance’, in which the “mutual, voluntary and horizontal nature of surveillance in [social] networks”,

...ensures that users become empowered as they build their social relationships and their subjectivities (Albreschtslund 2008)...the term [is also used] to designate ‘*sousveillance*’ practices constituting a ‘participatory Panopticon’; a transparent society constantly watched and recorded not by states and large corporations but by citizens themselves. According to Cascio (2005), ‘the participatory panopticon will be...a bottom-up version of the constantly watched society.

In the 2005 article referred to by Bruno, Jamais Cascio elaborated his thoughts on the ‘participatory Panopticon’ – a society he suggested was emerging and in which traditional state and corporate monitoring of the public would still exist,

...but it will be overwhelmed by the millions of cameras and recorders in the hands of millions of Little Brothers and Little Sisters...in the world of the participatory Panopticon, this constant surveillance is done by the citizens themselves, and is done by choice...the emergent result of myriad independent rational decisions, a bottom-up version of the constantly watched society. You may not be aware of it, but the cameraphone in your pocket is the harbinger of a massive social transformation, one already underway...every citizen with a cameraphone can be a reporter. Citizens can capture [virtually any action within eyesight] and make sure those images are seen around the world. The lack of traditional cameras snapping away can no longer be an opportunity for public figures to relax. [Authorities] have to assume that their actions and words are being recorded, even if no cameras are evident, as long as citizens are present.

Proponents of [this '*sousveillance*'] see it as an equalizer, making it possible for individual citizens to keep tabs on those in charge. For the *sousveillance* movement, if the question is 'who watches the watchmen?' the answer is 'all of us.'...[T]he effect of cameraphones will prove even more exasperating to those in power (than regular digital cameras). The proliferation of small, easily concealed and readily networked digital cameras can be a headache for those trying to retain some degree of privacy, but they're a nightmare for those trying to keep hold of some degree of secrecy. But the world of the participatory panopticon is not as interested in privacy, or even secrecy, as it is in lies. *A police officer lying about hitting a protestor*, a politician lying about human rights abuses...all of these are harder in a world where everything might be on the record. The participatory panopticon is a world where accusations can easily be documented...It's a world where we can all be witnesses with perfect recall. Ironically, it's a world where trust is easy, because lying is hard (Cascio 2005: n.p., emphasis added).³⁰

'Sousveillance', 'Coveillance', and 'Equivveillance'

Steve Mann and colleagues (2003) discussed the conceptual use of panoptic technologies as a means of self-empowerment for individuals in society (who are typically the object of state or organizational surveillance) to observe those in authority and to oppose modern technologies of surveillance though balancing the otherwise one-sided surveillance society – calling this inversion of the Panopticon '*sousveillance*', applying the French root word '*sous*' (meaning below). These scholars linked this concept with 'reflectionism' (Mann 1998) – a technique that is directed toward

...uncovering the Panopticon and undercutting its primacy and privilege [and] relocating the relationship of the surveillance society within a more traditional commons notion of observability...related to '*detournement*', the tactic of appropriating tools of social controllers and resituating these tools in a disorienting manner (Rogers 1994)...Reflectionism seeks to increase the equality between surveiller and the person being surveilled (surveillee), including enabling the surveillee to surveil the surveiller (Mann *et al.* 2003: 333).

In acknowledging that "surveillance techniques have increasingly become embedded in technology", the concept of 'sousveillance' (as envisioned by the authors) implicated the use of wearable computerized cameras on the persons of the surveilled; "allow[ing] for a transformation of surveillance techniques into sousveillance techniques in order to watch the watchers...The surveilled become sousveilleurs who engage social controllers...by using devices that mirror those used by these social controllers" (Mann *et al.* 2003: 336). In *Cyborglogging With Camera Phones*, Mann and other colleagues defined 'sousveillance' as the recording of an event by a participant in that event which "decentralizes observation to produce transparency in all directions...and reverse[s] the otherwise one-sided panoptic gaze" (Mann *et al.* 2006: 177).

In this conceptualization, the surveillance process is situated in the larger context of democratic social responsibility – "In such a coveillance society, the actions of all may, in theory, be observable and accountable to all...In affording all people to be simultaneously master and subject of the gaze, wearable computing devices offer a new voice in the usually one-sided dialogue of surveillance" (Mann *et al.* 2003: 347). Huey, Walby and Doyle (2006: 159) encouraged, "sousveillance is not simply a phenomenon to be described and analyzed but rather a process for rendering institutions democratically accountable and thus something to be promoted within the public sphere." Mann *et al.* (2006: 179-180) proposed that whereas the conceptual framework of 'sousveillance' was

envisioned as an “open [visible] process, ‘equeveillance’ applies new technologies, such as the ubiquitous cameraphone, to surreptitiously record those who are being surveilled”, thereby “increasing reciprocal transparency” and “providing a counterpoint” to the established surveillance practices of powerful entities in society.

3.4 The ‘New Visibility’

In his analysis of Foucault’s panoptic metaphor as a “generalizable model for the organization of power relations in modern societies” Thompson (2005: 40) suggested there now exists “a new system of power in which visibility is a means of control” and he critiqued Foucault’s neglect of the role of communication media and his single-minded focus on surveillance – the former being significant in understanding the “changing relation between power and visibility in our societies.” One can argue (as will be elaborated) that this ‘new visibility’ could function as a means of controlling illegitimate police violence (a form of deterrence) and for the shifting of power relations in our societies’ public-police relationship (essentially a social leveling effect). Lyon (2002: 2), in analyzing how the “surveillance of all has become routine”, determined, “Visibility became a social and a political issue in a new way.” In the same vein, Andrea Brighenti (2007: 336) found, “The mere fact of being aware of one’s own visibility status – and not the fact of being under actual control – effectively influences one’s behavior.”

As discussed, Andrew Goldsmith’s 2010 article that related the concept of ‘new visibility’ to contemporary policing established some of the theoretical undergirding for this present study. Goldsmith’s work, in turn, derived its theoretical frame of reference from the work of John Thompson – who refined his previous contributions to critical social theory of communication media (1990, 1994, 1995) in a 2005 article *The New*

Visibility, in which Thompson examined the operation of a ‘new visibility’ in contemporary Western democratic societies that functions to expose previously hidden events to public scrutiny. This new form of visibility, which “has become a pervasive feature of the world in which we live today” (Thompson 2005: 32), is aligned with the rise of new computer and digital technologies (which is corroborative of the work of Castells in relation to contemporary ‘network society’), and is shaped by a “range of social and technical considerations”, including the properties (or distinctive characteristics) of medium now in use (Thompson 2005: 33-36). Secondary visibility, brought about through the expansion of information-sharing from the era of direct observations (primary visibility), has expanded consistently – from mass circulation newspapers, then television, and now, even more considerably, with developments in technology, the Internet, and new media (Thompson 2005).

In contrast to the previous low visibility of police use of force occurrences (excepting public order policing of mass demonstrations and protests³¹), which rendered complaints against police misconduct often unsustainable and/or unsubstantiated (Goldsmith & Lewis 2000; Newburn & Hayman 2001; Newburn & Reiner 2012; Smith 2009), innovations in technology have substantially enlarged the field of the socially visible, with a much wider range of individuals, throughout broad society, now enabled in the creation and dissemination of content that they observe as they go about their lives (Brighenti 2007; Goldsmith 2010; Thompson 2005). Haggerty (2012: 241) observed,

The police are often referred to as a ‘low visibility’ profession, one where officers work outside of the limelight of public scrutiny and away from the direct oversight of supervisors. It is clear, however, that this image has been inaccurate for some time. Officers are monitored by practices that operate both internally and externally to the police organizations.

The ‘viewer society’, in which individuals were consumers of imagery, has now transitioned to the ‘media producer society’, in which members of the public are now producers as well as consumers of imagery (Mathiesen 1997) – given the ability for many individuals throughout broad society to now record and disseminate images of events they observe (Goldsmith 2010). Goldsmith (2010: 919) attributed this transformation to the incorporation of camera-recording capabilities within mobile telephones (allowing widespread and often surreptitious documenting of events unfolding within view of most citizens) and the “almost simultaneous development of video-sharing and social network sites.” The police are clearly distinguishable as they go about their duties in society, given their distinctive uniforms, and as Brighenti (2007) and Goldsmith (2010) both noted, the police are highly visible social actors and therefore their conduct (or most often potential misconduct) is an attractive target for the newfound surveillance capacity of the citizenry. Thompson (2005: 40-41) determined, given the confluence of contemporary social surveillance developments, “it is [now] primarily those who exercise power, rather than those over whom power is exercised, who are subjected to a new kind of visibility.”

Given this new social landscape, throwing a ‘veil of secrecy’ around the formerly private behaviours of public figures is difficult (Brighenti 2007; Goldsmith 2010; Thompson 2005). Increasingly sophisticated technologies “provide a powerful array of devices that can be used to increase the leakage of back-region behavior into front regions where, coupled with [mediated dissemination], they can be turned into highly visible events” (Thompson 2005: 44). There is now “a vast array of channels, decentralized and impossible to monitor and control completely, through which images and information can flow” (Thompson 2005: 42). Thompson (2005: 38) found that

“given the nature of the Internet, it is much more difficult to control the flow of symbolic content within it, and hence much more difficult for those in power to ensure that the images made available to individuals are those they would wish to see circulated.”

User created content (UCC) can now be broadly disseminated without reliance upon traditional media and without regard to their gatekeeping constraints and institutional practices (and allegiances). “Less and less can police rely upon close relations with particular journalists, news photographers and trusted local news outlets to shape what is reported publicly about them” (Goldsmith 2010: 918). Goldsmith (2010: 920) determined that video-sharing platforms “amplify the significance of mass access to mobile camera phones, providing alternative outlets to official media for mass viewing of UCC.” He further found, “Once [an image is] captured, the Internet offers a ‘generative’ system that takes away a fundamental means of controlling the flow of information and images from those traditionally in charge of broadcasting” (Goldsmith 2010: 919). The linking of UCC and video-sharing platforms (like *YouTube*) with social networking sites (such as Facebook and Twitter) has dramatically increased the ability to reach new and expanded audiences (Goldsmith 2010).

Brighenti (2007: 335) tied increased visibility to scandal – “The scandal is a mechanism whereby some actions, behaviors or state of affairs that were assumed to remain invisible are suddenly revealed to a wide public.” Thompson (2000: 244), along the same lines, articulated, “scandals are struggles over symbolic power in which reputation and trust are at stake.” As discussed, several notorious incidents of police violence have developed into widespread social scandals, accompanied by a loss of legitimacy and damage to public confidence in the institution of policing. Goldsmith

(2010: 925) observed, “the public scandal that accompanies the publicity given to these recordings [of apparent police brutality] can prompt investigations into the appropriateness of particular police practices.” Goldsmith (2010: 926) also spoke of the particularly “damaging double-whammy” that can result when UCC materials (that demonstrate the ‘official’ explanations to be false) comes to light after the police have advanced and publicly endorsed their ‘official’ construction of an event.

3.5 The Presentation of Self

Aspects of Erving Goffman’s (1959) classic symbolic interactionist analysis of the organization of social life, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, were incorporated within both the works of Thompson (2005) and Goldsmith (2010), as it has been in other sociological examinations relied on in this thesis, including Meyrowitz (1985) and Doyle (2003). The observation that policing’s back-region behaviour has now leaked into front regions because of a ‘new visibility’ of police actions emerged from Goffman’s dramaturgical model of social behaviours and relationships. The essence of this sociological model is that social interactions can be conceived as theatrical representations – individuals, in their interaction with others in society, make efforts to put forth a presentation that will foster a particular impression and these interactions in social life provide “a clear-cut dimension for formal sociological analysis” (Goffman 1959: 15).³² Ann Branaman (1997: lvix) characterized Goffman’s model as “describ[ing] social life in a way that reveals the interplay of manipulation and morality.”

Through engaging with their own subjectivities and managing their presentations, in terms of their actions and what they choose to reveal and to withhold from their ‘audience’, social actors can (or can try to) control the impression they make on others

and influence the definition of the situation (Goffman 1959: 1-7). Goffman (1959: 34-35) wrote of performances that present an idealized view of the situation; performances that are “socialized” to conform to societies’ understandings and expectations – “Thus when the individual presents himself before others, his performance will tend to incorporate and exemplify the officially accredited values of the society.” An idealized impression can be presented by a social actor by accentuating certain facts while concealing from an audience other information or activities that are incompatible with an idealized version of a performance (Branaman 1997; Chriss 1999; Goffman 1959). In Goffman’s (1959: 44) terms, “...we tend to conceal from our audience all evidence of ‘dirty work’, whether we do this work in private or allocate it to a servant.”

“The crucial sociological consideration...[is] that impressions fostered in everyday performances are subject to disruption...Failure to regulate the information acquired by the audience involves possible disruption of the projected definition of the situation” (Goffman 1959: 66-67). Goffman (1959: 56) observed, “...the impression of reality fostered by a performance is a delicate, fragile thing that can be shattered by very minor mishaps.” To prevent damaging disruptions in social interactions, certain preventive practices are employed, which Goffman characterized as the ‘art of impression management’. Performers use control measures to try to prevent inconsistencies and ‘dramaturgical trouble’ and also to correct or compensate for discrediting occurrences that were not successfully avoided, in order to safeguard the idealized impression (Branaman 1997; Goffman 1959).

“Mystification of the audience” involves the placing of restrictions on contact between performer and audience and the “maintenance of a social distance that deprives

the audience of knowledge” (Goffman 1959: 67). The capacity for idealization is enhanced by audience segregation and when this tactic fails, and an outsider happens upon a performance that was to be concealed from view, then difficult problems in impression management arise (Goffman 1959: 49, 139). Goffman (1959: 93) found, “Control of the setting is an advantage during interaction. In a narrow sense, this control allows a team to introduce strategic devices for determining the information the audience is able to acquire.” He further observed, “...performances often depend upon the segregation of social space into ‘front regions’ and ‘back regions’” (Goffman 1959: 27).

Performances in a front region define the institutionalized situation, in terms of the “abstract stereotyped” social expectations, and provide a “collective representation” that defines the situation for those who observe the performance (Goffman 1959: 22-27).

Front region interactions give the appearance that the activity “maintains and embodies certain standards”, which includes “the way in which the performer comports himself while in visual or aural range of the audience” (Goffman 1959: 107). Conversely, the “‘back region’ or ‘backstage’ [is] where the suppressed facts make an appearance”

(Goffman 1959: 112). Goffman (1959: 113-114) elaborated,

...the back region will be the place where the performer can reliably expect that no member of the audience will intrude...Since the vital secrets of a show are visible backstage and performers behave out of character while there, it is natural to expect that the passage from the front region to the back region will be kept closed to members of the audience or that the entire back region will be kept hidden from them. This is a widely practiced technique of impression management...Obviously, control of backstage plays a significant role in the process of ‘work control’...

Performers employ certain protective practices to keep audience members from accessing secret areas, including restricting access to back regions. One such practice is that of “loyalty among performers”, who adhere to the “moral obligation” of “not

betray[ing] the secrets of the team” (Goffman 1959: 212). Citing the unpublished dissertation of Westley (1952, that was subsequently published in 1970), Goffman (1959: 90-91) particularized the solidarity of the police;

For example in a recent study of the police we learn that a patrolling team of two policemen, who witness each other’s illegal and semi-illegal acts and who are in an excellent position to discredit each other’s show of legality before the judge, possess heroic solidarity and will stick by each other’s story no matter what atrocity it covers up or how little chance there is of anyone believing it.

Goffman (1959: 119) also discussed the interesting (and particularly relevant) examples of backstage difficulties and exposures of “secret information” that have occurred with radio and television broadcasting (and are even more pronounced with the ubiquity of the cameraphone in today’s society),

In these situations, back region tends to be defined as all places where the camera is not focused at the moment or all places out of range of ‘live’ microphones...[There are] exemplary tales of how persons who thought they were backstage were in fact on the air and how this backstage conduct discredited the definition of the situation being maintained on the air.

Goldsmith (2010: 917) determined that the concealment of back region activities that constituted police misconduct historically advanced the image of police professionalism and “public attributions of competence, trust, and respect.” However, with the “‘performance’ of policing” now being carried out in the context of ‘new visibility’, Goldsmith (2010: 917) found, “The police are no longer the only actors, nor do they control all elements of stage production. There is simultaneously more participation in the staging (through the production of unofficial recordings...of policing events), as well as a larger and more heterogeneous audience for those stagings.”

Changes that have increased the visibility of policing activities have moved the line between front and back region performances, with more and more of the performance

being exposed from the back, or off-stage, region – “in which the performers can act ‘out of role’ in ways that might distract the public were they to become visible, reveal improper actions, and thus undermine the credibility of the performance” (Goldsmith 2010: 917). As Goffman (1959: 209) elaborated,

When an outsider accidentally enters a region in which a performance is being given, or when a member of the audience inadvertently enters the backstage, the intruder is likely to catch those present *flagrante delicto*. Through no one’s intention, the person present in the region may find that they have patently been witnessed in activity that is quite incompatible with the impression that they are, for wider social reasons, under obligation to maintain to the intruder. We deal here with what are sometimes called ‘inopportune intrusions’.

Doyle (2003: 15), in applying Goffman’s dramaturgical model, characterized the front region information of print media as “formal” information that the social actors involved in the event “want you to see”. In a similar vein, Meyrowitz (1985) determined that, in comparison to print media, television has exposed the more candid and authentic backstage information instead of the more scripted and presentable front region information. In relation to the exposure of back region conduct with the advent of the televising of certain policing events, Doyle (2003: 19, emphasis in original) deliberated skeptically, “...although TV has properties that *could* allow it to convey more revealing types of ‘back region’ information, the question still remains whether or not TV cameras will be allowed to *record* that back-region information, and if so, who will control the circumstances in which that occurs.”

Meyrowitz (1985: 8) treated the concept of front and back region information synonymously with public and private behaviours and incorporated these with proximal considerations (physical and social locations) – “...because electronic media merge formerly distinct public spheres, blur the dividing line between private and public

behaviours, and sever the traditional link between physical place and social ‘place’, we have witnessed a resulting...flattening of hierarchies.” Goffman's concept of region is synonymous with the visibility (or invisibility) that is central to the ‘new visibility’ (as discussed). He wrote, “A region may be defined as any place that is bounded, to some degree, by barriers to perception. Regions vary, of course, in the degree to which they are bounded and according to the media of communication in which the barriers to perception occur” (Goffman 1959: 106).

I see considerable value in Goffman’s dramaturgical model as an integrating theoretical framework for the study of the “structure of social encounters” (Goffman 1959: 254). The model informs social phenomena implicating surveillance and ‘new visibility’ and the examination of how social actors conduct themselves based on their understanding of the dividing line between today’s private and public spaces.

3.6 ‘Network Society’

Manuel Castells’ ‘network society’ theory provides a comprehensive and highly relevant theoretical platform for examination of the broad phenomena implicated with police-citizen violence and social change in today’s Canadian society. His theory developed from voluminous scholarship³³ and advances that recent and significant technological transformations have resulted in the transitioning of society to a distinct new social structure, which Castells terms the ‘network society’. In his most recent book-length treatment, Castells (2012: ix-x) explained the development of his theory; “[In] studying the transformation of power relationships in interaction with the transformation of communications...I detected the development of a new pattern of social movements, perhaps the new forms of social change in the twenty-first century.” His works provide a

substantial framework that assists in interpreting various aspects of the new social reality — similar to the broad application of the seminal scholarship of Daniel Bell (1973).

Yochai Benkler (2011: 723) assessed that ‘network society’ involves this “particular historical moment” in which “networks of information and communication...[now] play a particularly large role, and...[have] realign[ed] in fairly substantial ways the organization of production, power, and meaning making in contemporary society.”³⁴ For example, in examining the Tunisian popular revolts of 2011 in his most recent research into the implications of the ‘network society’, Castells (2012: 27) observed “a symbiotic relationship between mobile phone citizen journalists uploading images and information to *YouTube* and *Al Jazeera* using feeds from citizen journalism and then broadcasting them to the population at large.”

Felix Stadler (2006: 1), in analyzing Castells’ theory, observed, “networks, as the name indicates, are what the theory is all about. Its central claim is that in all sectors of society we are witnessing a transformation in how their constitutive processes are organized, a shift from hierarchies to networks.” Castells (2000a: 12) documented the “rise of an interactive audience, superseding the uniformity of the mass audience [given] the inclusiveness and flexibility of this system to symbolic exchange”, and he noted the transformation from the world of traditional mass media “[to a] new media system [which] is not characterized by one-way undifferentiated messages.” Castells (2000b: 152) explained the foundational basis of his ‘network society’ theory as follows:

What is new about this society is something very simple...***the technology***. The technology is new. It does not mean that the technology produces society. Technology is part of the society. It is one inextricable dimension of the society at large. The fact that we have new technologies allows possibilities of social and economic organization that did not exist before. In other words, the new information technologies are not the cause of the social

transformation, but without these technologies the processes that lead to social transformation could not happen (emphasis in original).

Power and Counter-Power

A fundamental premise in Castells' (2012: 5) theoretical worldview is,

....that power relationships are constitutive of society because those who have power construct the institutions of society according to their values and interests. Power is exercised by means of coercion (the monopoly of violence, legitimate or not, by the control of the state) and/or by the construction of meaning in people's minds, through mechanisms of symbolic manipulation. Power relations are embedded in the institutions of society, and particularly in the state. However since societies are contradictory and conflictive, wherever there is power there is also counterpower, which I understand to be the capacity of social actors to challenge the power embedded in the institutions of society for the purpose of claiming representation for their own values and interests.

In the modern 'network society' social power relies on and resides with the control of communication, as counter-power depends on breaking through such control (Castells 2004a, 2007, 2011). Castells (2007: 238) assessed, "Throughout history communications and information have been fundamental sources of power and counter-power, of domination and social change." This relates to the most fundamental power struggle in society – the battle over the construction of meaning in the minds of the people, as the thoughts of the people determine societies' norms and values (Castells 2007, 2011, 2012). Castells (2004b: 425) determined, "The new power lies in the codes of information and in the images of representation around which societies organize their institutions, and people build their lives, and decide their behaviour. The sites of this power are people's minds...power is a function of an endless battle around the cultural codes of society." Fundamentally, it can be asserted that communication power is at the heart of the power-making structure and dynamics of society.

In this new society, power is no longer controlled by the state and concentrated in major institutions (such as the police), organizations (capitalist firms), and those in control of symbols (corporate media, churches); power is diffused in global networks of information, images, wealth, and influence (Van Dijk 1999). Social communication operates according to the structure, culture, organization, and technology of communication in a given society (Castells 2009, 2010a). The communication process decisively mediates the way in which power relationships are constructed and challenged in every domain of social practice (Castells 2009). Castells (2009: 4) found that the rise of digital networks of communication, which he determined are the “fundamental symbol processing system of our time”, have “decisively transformed” power relationships in the ‘network society’.

Castells (2004a: 30) observed, “The commons of society are made up of electronic networks, be it the [new] media inherited from the mass media age, but deeply transformed by digitization, or the new communication systems built in and around the Internet.” Benkler (2011: 728) provided a concise formulation of Castells’ treatment of ‘counter-power’ – “...the set of actions available to those who are subject to domination, which allow them to act on those who are dominant in ways that disrupt the domination.” The Internet provides a venue for social discourse, “function[ing] as an alternative form of sociopolitical presence, using the input of grassroots power” (Castells 2004a: 31).

Castells (2007: 250) determined, “For new social movements, the Internet provides the essential platform for debate, their means of acting on people’s mind, and ultimately serves as their most potent political weapon.” As Marx (2002: 24) observed, “In democratic free market societies... individuals (or groups) [are not] simply passive reeds

in a technological hurricane. They have resources to fight back.” Today’s Internet social networks are “spaces of autonomy, largely beyond the control of governments and corporations that had monopolized the channels of communication as the foundation of their power, throughout history” (Castells 2012: 2).

In their discussion of the ‘contours of control’ in contemporary societies, Sarah Armstrong and Leslie McAra (2006: 5) observed, “One of the most profound transformations during the past twenty years has been the rise of mass information technologies and systems of communication.” They found that the “sheer weight of information” that is now available through the Internet has substantially altered the role of traditional media and they observed that “there is no editorial control across the Internet, eyewitnesses speak to us directly...alternative takes on official information abound. The [new social] media, in this context, provides a multiplicity of discourse, one that enables the various audiences...(including the wider public) to question and fight back” (Armstrong & McAra 2006: 16). Of particular applicability to this study, Dustin Robinson (2012: 1420) found, “The Internet, in particular, has profoundly augmented the ability of citizens to retaliate against police misconduct by airing inhumane conduct in the technological commons of the World Wide Web.”

Social Movements, Social Change, and Sub-Politics

Castells’ (2009: 3) inquiries have involved why, how, and by whom power relationships are constructed and exercised through the management of communication processes, and how social actors, aiming for social change by influencing the public mind, can alter these power relationships. Castells (2004b: 415) articulated,

Electronic communication [offers the opportunity] to enhance political participation and horizontal communication among citizens. Indeed, on-line

information access and computer-mediated communication facilitate the diffusion and retrieval of information, and offer possibilities for interaction and debate in an autonomous, electronic forum, bypassing the control of the media...citizens could form, and are forming their own political and ideological constellations, circumventing established political structures.

A key argument in ‘network society’ theory involves the location of power in contemporary social relationships (and the capacity of social movements to challenge established and institutionalized practices in governance and social practice) – now involving as the crucial determinant the *inclusion* or *exclusion* of people in the communications technologies (Castells 2009, 2010); somewhat akin to Bourdieu’s theories of class that implicated ‘cultural capital’ as the determinant (Cavanagh 2007). Inclusion (or exclusion) has displaced traditional sociological notions of class in “configur[ing] dominant processes and functions in our societies” (Castells 2010: 501). Within the ‘network society’ the ability to achieve positional predominance is dependent on *inclusion* in the discourse (not former class considerations) and the ability to control and influence flows of information. The stratification system has profoundly changed; class has become outmoded by new forms of social division and class politics have been superseded by new social movements (Halcli & Webster 2000: 68). For Castells (2012: 12-14), social movements are the source of social change; “for a social movement to form, the emotional activation of individuals must connect to other individuals. This requires a communication process from one individual experience to others.”

Castells (2004: 417) put forth the proliferation of both the anti-globalization and environmental movements as evidence of

...how the Internet can contribute to enhance the autonomy of citizens to organize and mobilize around issues that are not properly processed in the institutional system. It appears that it is in the realm of symbolic politics, and in the development of issue-oriented mobilizations by groups and individuals

outside the mainstream political system, that new electronic communication may have the most dramatic effects.³⁵

Risto Heiskala (2005: 241) examined Castells' conception of a new *sub-politics* in Castells' analysis of counter-movements (such as the environmental and feminist movements) and found that Castells made a determination that influence is no longer based as much on political power but now much more on the ability to "transform the cultural horizon of interpretation and action of entire societies." As discussed, the influential power positioning of traditional media in our contemporary society no longer prevails, having been exposed and replaced by the new media of networks (Antony & Thomas 2010; Armstrong & McAra 2003). Castells' (2009: 53) observations are illuminating on this point, "Alternative projects and values put forward by social actors aiming to reprogram society must go through the communications networks to transform consciousness and views in people's minds in order to challenge the powers that be." Giddens (1994: 208), earlier writings on the modern social order (bringing to mind aspects of Habermas' work on the 'public sphere' that will be discussed later in this thesis) assist in understanding Castells' contemporary treatment of *sub-politics*,

At stake now...is the social construction of reality...a set of meaning to be disseminated among the lay public and framing their reality...[drawing on Niklas Luhmann] only in very recent late modernity has a cultural sphere fully and finally differentiated off from social, political and economic life...Only now is there a possibility of a self-organizing sub-politics in which the stake is the cultural creation of reality.

Mass Self-Communication

Castells (2012: 6) wrote, "In recent years, the fundamental change in the realm of communications has been the rise of what I have called mass self-communication – the use of the Internet and wireless networks as platforms..." Castells (2012: 7) suggested,

“Mass self-communication is based on horizontal networks of interactive communication that, by and large, are difficult to control by the government or corporations...and provides the technological platform for the construction of the autonomy of the social actor, be it individual or collective, vis-à-vis the institutions of society.” He elaborated,

Actors of social change...by engaging in the production of mass media messages, and by developing autonomous networks of horizontal communication...become able to...build their projects by sharing their experiences. They subvert the practice of communication as usual by occupying the medium and creating the message...Social movements, throughout history, are the producers of new values and goals around which the institutions of society are transformed to represent these values by creating new norms to organize social life. Social movements exercise counterpower by constructing themselves in the first place through a process of autonomous communication, free from the control of those holding institutional power. Because mass media are largely controlled by governments and media corporations, in the network society communicative autonomy is primarily constructed in the Internet networks and in the platforms of wireless communication. Digital social networks offer the possibility of largely unfettered deliberation and coordination of action (Castells 2012: 9-10).

Castells (2007: 249) noted the technological imperative now in operation in such transformative change – “Under this cultural and technological paradigm, the social movements...and the new forms of political mobilization are widely using the means of mass self-communication.” In his most recent analysis Castells (2012: 15) has determined, “In our time, multimodal, digital networks of horizontal communication are the fastest and most autonomous, interactive, reprogrammable and self-expanding means of communication in history.” He adds, “The emergence of mass self-communication offers an extraordinary medium for social movements and rebellious individuals to build their autonomy and confront the institutions of society in their own terms and around their own projects. Naturally, social movements are not originated by technology, they use technology” (Castells 2007: 249).

Technological Determinism

In terms of the notion of technological determinism, Castells (2000b: 151, emphasis added) has found “the network society of the contemporary age is centrally organized around new information communication technologies which have ***enabled, rather than technologically determined***, extraordinary changes in the social structure.” Castells (2010a) asserts that there is a dialectical interaction between technology and society; technology does not determine society, nor have the new social processes in our network society emerged directly as a consequence of technological changes. Similar to the rejection of determinism put forth by Meyrowitz (1985: 328), Castells (2001: 5) asserts, “The internet is a particularly malleable technology, susceptible of being deeply modified by its social practice, and leading to a whole range of potential social outcomes – to be discovered by experience and not proclaimed beforehand.” Castells (2010a: 5) forcefully dismisses any determinist criticism³⁶,

Of course, technology does not determine society. Nor does society script the course of technological change, since many factors, including individual inventiveness and entrepreneurialism, intervene in the process of scientific discovery, technological innovation, and social applications, so that the final outcome depends on a complex pattern of interaction. Indeed, the dilemma of technological determinism is probably a false problem, since technology *is* society, and society cannot be understood or represented without its technological tools.

Similarly, Earl and Kimport (2011: 14) asserted that a crucial point is that “Technologies don’t change societies or social processes through their mere existence...[It is] people’s usage of technology – not technology itself – that can change social processes.” Benkler (2006: 17-18) contributed,

Neither deterministic nor wholly malleable, technology sets some parameters of individual and social action. It can make some actions, relationships, organizations and institutions easier to pursue, and other harder...it can result

in very different social relations that emerge around a technology...There is no guarantee that networked information technology will lead to the improvements in innovation, freedom, and justice that I suggest are possible. That is a choice we face as a society.

3.7 Medium Theory

Thompson (1995: vii) asserted, “If we wish to understand the cultural transformations associated with the rise of modern societies, then we must give a central role to the development of communication media and their impact.” He continued, “We must see that the use of communication media involves the creation of new forms of action and interaction in the social world, new kinds of social relationships and new ways of relating to others and to oneself...and new modes of exercising power” (Thompson 1995: 4). In discussing the ‘new visibility’ in society, Thompson (2005: 33-36) articulated that the distinctive properties of the communication medium employed determine the field of vision (which is “no longer constrained by the spatial and temporal properties of here and now”) and also shape the nature of social interaction in this new technologically-enabled and mediated visibility environment (of the ‘network society’).³⁷

Specifically in relation to contemporary social surveillance, Bruno (2012: 343) found, “The recent history of surveillance is very closely linked with information and communication technologies. With the convergence of information technology and telecommunications, distributed communications networks such as the Internet have expanded significantly the possibilities for monitoring [and surveillance].” Similarly, Ball *et al.* (2012: 2) advanced,

A primary candidate in trying to understand the growth of surveillance has been the new information technologies which can relatively inexpensively and easily monitor more people in more detail than was previously possible...This is not to say that the technology is determinative in any way

but also does not shy away from the fact that such artifacts are a vital precondition for many of the changes that we are witnessing.

Goldsmith (2010: 919) found that the significant increase in the visibility of policing “occurred when the capacity to photograph and film policing activity became widely available in the hands of ordinary people, principally through the incorporation of camera recording capacity within mobile phones. The almost simultaneous development of video-sharing and social networking sites also played a crucial role.”

‘Camcorder Cults’

Jon Dovey contributed two informative works in his pioneering scholarship on video within the developing digital new media (1996) and ‘camcorder cults’ (2004), both of which provided important historical context to the current project. Dovey (1996: 117-118) traced “the failed ‘utopian’ vision of 1960s and 1970s liberal oppositional movements” who saw the emergence of early consumer videorecording capability as “inherently democratic... [and] inevitably positive. It was seen as challenging of prevailing orders of media... [however] neither the work nor the organizational abilities of the countercultural video movement proved able to deliver the promise which had created such excitement.” He assessed “the overtly political uses of camcorder technology” which he characterized as echoing the earlier optimism around videotape – the camcorder was “seen as implicitly democratic when used in the particular cultural context that was concerned to challenge dominant power relations” (Dovey 1996: 121). Dovey (1996: 122-126) identified the camcorder as a potential technology of evidence gathering and he referenced examples that included the Holliday recording of the King beating, “video as evidence against police or state oppression”, and the issuing of

camcorders and fax machines to members of The Witness Project to document and disseminate human rights abuses.

Dovey (1996: 130-131) advanced that “the utopian project of [early] video failed because the political movements in which it was embedded failed...What is crucial here is that the technology can only be seen as one aspect of a complex set of wider cultural and economic shifts.” In his subsequent scholarship, Dovey (2004: 558-560) extolled the technical characteristics of the developing camcorder medium (the ‘camcorder cult’); particularly its miniaturization and mobility and its use by “a whole sector of semi-professional camcorder news journalists” in “reveal[ing] an essential ‘truth about some otherwise hidden aspect of society.” Dovey (2004: 563) ascribed a “sense of the authentic” to camcorder videorecordings –

...the pre-eminent signs of an indexical truthfulness. When we see the ‘amateur video’ caption on broadcast news we are meant to understand amateurishness as a guarantor of truth, in the sense of being, ‘unmediated’ raw data, ‘captured’ outside of the usual institutional procedures of news production...cutting through the institution of the simulacrum.³⁸

Meyrowitz’s Treatment of Medium Theory

Doyle (2003: 14), in his selection of theory to inform his research on policing in front of the television camera, observed that “in focusing attention on the social importance of the properties of particular media” social theorists such as Marshall McLuhan, Harold Innis, Mark Poster, Jean Baudrillard and John Thompson “made broad, society-wide arguments about the importance for social theory of historical shifts in the predominant media of communication.” However Doyle (2003: 14) found that Meyrowitz’s treatment of medium theory “[had] developed the most coherent, specific, and systematic body of arguments” to explain how media properties influence social

situations” and Doyle (2003: 17) commended Meyrowitz for “draw[ing] attention to the neglected sociological importance of the formal properties of television as a medium...[and how] these formal properties affect the redefined social situations...”

McLuhan's assertion that ‘*the medium is the message*’ is an iconic sociological concept, related to structural changes introduced by innovation. Medium theorists (such as Innis, McLuhan, and Meyrowitz), in applying the discipline of sociology to communication, consider the social influences of forms of communication technologies (a medium) and focus on the particular characteristics of each medium. Rather than exploring the effects of mediated content on society, medium theorists investigate the features of communications technologies and how their properties make the medium socially different from other interactions and how that medium impacts on society. Medium theorists argue that specific properties of the technology influence the medium's uses and its social, political, and psychological impacts (Meyrowitz 1994; Marx 2012).

In his analysis of developments related specifically to the innovative medium of television, Meyrowitz (1985: 309) determined,

By merging discrete communities of discourse, television has made nearly every topic and issue a valid subject of interest and concern for virtually every member of the public. Further, many formerly private and isolated behaviours have been brought out into the large unitary public arena...We...our police officers...are all performing roles in new theatres.

Meyrowitz (1985, 1994) found that historically people of different status in society had access to different information and social experiences and he suggested that the exposure of previously concealed and invisible social truths resulted from televisions’ lifting of the old ‘veils of secrecy.’ In relation to television’s broadcasting of real-life incidents, Meyrowitz’s medium theory advanced that the increased visibility and exposure of

various social phenomena (through the inclusion of a wider public audience in new information systems that are enabled by the specific properties of that medium) results in a ‘*social leveling*’ throughout society (Doyle 2003, 2006a; Meyrowitz 1985, 1994).

Meyrowitz (1985: 325) seems to have had the ability to predict developments around alternative information systems in social communications when, in 1985, he suggested, “the computer may further democratize information access” and “increase informational mobility.” He also considered the potential integration of computers with other media technologies, with “audio/videorecorders” incorporated into “one large information network” (Meyrowitz 1985: 328). In what could be characterized as a prophetic analysis and strong corroboration of one of the fundamental tenets of Castells’ ‘network society’ theory, Meyrowitz (1985: 322) assessed the potential impact on hierarchical power relations, exposures of abuses of power, and *leveling effects* resulting from access to information previously unavailable to ‘average people’ when he wrote:

Electronic media not only weaken authority by allowing those low on the ladder of hierarchy to gain access to much information, but also by allowing increased opportunities for the sharing of information horizontally...It is the person who tries to stand apart or above, not the average citizen, who is most damaged by lack of privacy. We may be aesthetically uncomfortable with the thought of full and open access to information, but all other things being equal, such access would tend to level hierarchies rather than erect them. Even the evidence we have been gathering recently about our leaders’ ‘abuses of power’ may, in this sense, testify more to our relatively increased ability to gather information on leaders than to an absolute increase in the abuse of power...As of now, electronic media may best support a ‘hierarchy of the people’. For electronic media give a distinct advantage to the average person. Average people now have access to social information that once was not available to them.

Marx (2002) assists in the framing of medium theory; in his consideration of the specific properties of surveillance technologies he observed that those technological innovations with the clearest social implications are those that extend the senses, have

low visibility, permit remoteness in operation, and are available at lesser cost. “These [technologies] create a potential for a very different kind of society...in extending the senses they challenge fundamental assumptions about personal and social borders (these after all have been maintained not only by values and norms and social organization, but by the limits of technology to cross them)” (Marx 2002: 16). In the same vein, Haggerty and Ericson (2006: 13) noted, “Some of the most distinctive attributes of contemporary surveillance derive from their technological abilities to see more, at greater distances and in real time.”

Of specific relevance to this study, Marx (2002: 22) articulated, “Developments such as video phones...and the merging of the cell phone and still camera further illustrate the dynamic nature of the situation and the mixture of empowering and controlling elements in this technology.” Doyle (2006a: 211) similarly appreciated that “the minituarization and proliferation of video cameras, [have enabled] more and more of social activity [to be] recorded.” Huey, Walby and Doyle (2006: 149) found that the proliferation of certain technologies in the early twenty-first century made possible new practices of social monitoring by the public – “The mass production of camcorders, cell phone cams, spy cams, and other monitoring and recording devices has, for better or for worse, put in the hands of anyone who can afford it the means of televisual surveillance.”

Doyle’s Critical Model

Doyle (2003) considered Meyrowitz’s work on medium theory in studying the impact of televising certain police activities and the making available of new information into public *milieux*. In assessing Meyrowitz’s (1985) arguments, Doyle (2003: 34) examined “what happens when viewers of *Cops* are introduced to the social situation of

front-line policing. Does television bring about social changes because it ‘exposes’ the reality of policing in new ways, as Meyrowitz might speculate?” Doyle (2003) also inquired whether the prevalence of consumer videocamera devices in society (the technologies that, in addition to fixed surveillance cameras, provided prospective footage to television broadcasters) might alter particular criminal justice situations and that this new reality might have broad effects on criminal justice institutions.

Doyle (2003: 6-7) explored whether the televising of police events would change “the standard operating procedures...given that [such things as police traffic stops] would have become high-profile events” and if the medium of television “would essentially create a new social situation on the front lines of criminal justice.” In others words, Doyle pondered whether the technology of that era might affect, among other things, individual police behaviours (perhaps whether police excesses might be *deterred* and curtailed) and whether police organizations might institute changes to prevent the public dissemination of embarrassing disclosures.

However, Doyle's (2003: 81) analysis resulted in a justified criticism of Meyrowitz's ‘medium theory’, vis-à-vis the televising of police situations in that era:

...while [amateur video] offers some new potential for resistance to police power, [it] faces more challenges in making it onto the TV airwaves than does surveillance footage from police cameras. Some hopeful observers believed that *the rise of amateur video on the news would result in ‘video democracy’*. *This would fit well with Meyrowitz’s arguments, if it were in fact the case*. However, the various power imbalances [discussed in Doyle’s research] make it more appropriate to speak of ‘video inequality’. Powerful institutional players encounter much less difficulty in getting their preferred video on to the news...(emphasis added).

Doyle (2003: 134-135) did find that while the police were “somewhat vulnerable” to their behaviour being captured in public locations they maintained “almost complete

control” over their visibility in all other environments. Doyle (2003) demonstrated that medium theory ignored both the gatekeeping control of mainstream media and the persuasive ideological influence of traditional media on their viewership (both resulting from the institutionalized interrelationships between criminal justice actors and mainstream media). In a similar finding, Lyon (2006: 38-39) observed that traditional media, through their institutionalized power, monopolized the dissemination of images; “While in principle everyone can indeed watch everyone else in mediated ways – [in] screening the results – some forms of watching carry more weight than others.” Doyle (2003:131) concluded that medium theory needed to be “resituated in a more critical vein”, accounting more for the “social contexts in which media operate, and the power differentials in [those] contexts.”

The Applicability of Medium Theory in this Study

While Doyle (2003, 2006a) appropriately addressed a fundamental flaw with Meyrowitz's failure to apply a more critical lens in relation to institutional power arrangements in that society and how the medium of television interacted with key institutional players (including the police) and therefore influenced the information received by much of the population, in my view, Meyrowitz's theoretical approach now has significant relevance. Doyle's critique is no longer valid when considering the present applicability of medium theory to policing, contemporary social interaction, and communication. This is because the fundamental circumstances of mediated communications have changed dramatically from the time of Doyle's assessment in relation to the medium of television. Along with Doyle's critical model, (and the contributions of other scholars relied on in this project – such as Castells and Thompson)

Meyrowitz's treatment of medium theory offers a valid and illuminating perspective from which to examine the technologies of contemporary 'network society' and their specific relevance to the issue of police-citizen violence in today's fundamentally transformed social landscape.

3.8 Web 2.0 Activism in the 'Digital Age'

Echoing the thoughts of Castells, Brian Loader (2008: 1922-1926) concluded that communicative power is "at the very interstices of networked social action" – the Internet "provides alternative channels by which social movements can challenge the dominant communicative power of mainstream political and mass media institutions...enabling access to competing interpretative frames that may alter public perceptions." As discussed, individuals in contemporary 'network society' participate in interactive horizontal networks of mass self-communication – with the opportunity to consider various sources of information, to actively engage in informing themselves, and to consider a variety of vantage points and perspectives on issues (Castells 2007, 2008, 2009). While traditional media remain important, social movements and socio-political activist groups are now able to intervene and impact decisively in the new communication space of mass self-communication over the Internet and wireless communication networks (Castells 2007, 2009, 2012). In their sociological analysis of the fatal police shooting of Oscar Grant, Mary Antony and Ryan Thomas (2010: 1290) illuminated the transformative impact of the Web on social activism, specifically, in this case, in relation to police use of force,

...the Internet and *YouTube* [provide] a forum for voices of the oppressed and subjugated. It constitutes a democratic yet subversive platform where the citizen can reclaim power that has been usurped and wielded by corrupt authorities, either through direct physical action, or through technological

artifacts. In this sense, these responses express a reversal of the typical Big Brother metaphor that characterizes the relation between state and citizen. Although surveillance technologies are increasingly used to scrutinize the actions of citizens, *YouTube* and cellphone cameras provide the opportunity to reverse this power dynamic and afford citizens the potential to monitor state agents.

Armstrong and McAra (2006: 5) also found that contemporary Web technologies “function to liberate, principally by creating a space in which counter-narratives of resistance can flourish. The Internet...enables us to hear the voices of oppressed minorities, of political freedom fighters, of victims and survivors, and of ordinary individuals.” Doyle (2011) made similar observations around the two-way medium of the Internet that provides a mechanism for the broad dissemination of information in support of countercurrents, cyberactivism, and critical resistance. Referencing the works of Clay Shirky (2008) and Victor Pickard (2008), Doyle (2011: 295) advanced that new technologies present “manifold new openings for resistance in the age of Web 2.0” and “[have] created massive new openings for cyberactivism in communicating to global audiences.” Pickard (2008: 642) concluded, “Although some scholars now dismiss the revolutionary potential of the Internet, there is convincing evidence that the Internet continues to increase the potential for a variety of democratic practices...the Internet amplifies even the most radical democratic forms.”

Interactivity and Participation in the Digital Culture

Leah Lievrouw (2011: 12-13) identified two key factors of new media that have consequences or outcomes for society and culture – “the sense of *ubiquity* that [new media] encourage” and “ [that new media] are fundamentally *interactive*...[which] is particularly important in the process of social/political change because it supports or provides conditions for participation” (emphasis in original). Castells (2010a: 385)

observed, “Unlike the mass media of the McLuhan Galaxy, [the Internet and its related technologies] have technologically and culturally embedded properties of interactivity.” As has been discussed, with contemporary Internet information-sharing platforms and dialogical discourses, individuals in society are no longer simply passive recipients of the messaging chosen by media institutions, historically perpetuating the hegemonic ideology of the time. Internet media’s properties require active engagement with the technology – the Web encourages communal interaction and therefore creates the potential for cultural transformations.

Interactivity involves technological advancements such as websites, chat rooms, blogs, peer-to-peer (p2p) file-sharing networks, social media platforms, and Twitter. Interactivity embodies a range of individual engagement with the technology, from simple consumption and consideration of content, to participation in discussion, to the posting of original materials. Loader (2008: 1923) articulated,

The interactive capacity of new media increasingly enables individuals to create their own content to be published and disseminated...through [Web 2.0 applications]. They thereby provide the possibility for social movements to circumvent the communicative power of such traditional mass media, corporate, and political institutions as the press, television broadcasting, government, business agencies, and political parties.

In other words, Web 2.0 interactivity provides an effective platform for emancipatory, anti-institutional, and/or participatory journalism and participatory democracy (Atton 2004; Deuze 2006; Lievrouw 2011; Pickard 2008).

Jennifer Earl and Katrina Kimport (2011) found that the ease of participation in Internet-based activism is a crucial aspect in the mobilization of large numbers of people, who typically respond in episodic intervals to particular issues that provide motivation to engage. Bruno (2012: 343) determined,

[The] processes [of monitoring and surveillance with the Internet] increased in intensity with the consolidation of the so-called Web 2.0, a term that refers broadly to a new generation of Internet services and platforms whose content is produced or made available as a result of participation by users themselves...Participation has been understood as the defining principle of digital culture, having consolidated itself as one of the most important models for action, sociability, communication, and content production and distribution, especially on the Internet.

No formal organization is required for individual citizens to become engaged in meaningful collaborative responses to an issue of concern – the importance of both copresence and formal organizations is substantially diminished with Internet-based social activism (Earl & Kimport 2011).

Meyrowitz (1994: 62) asserted, “The introduction of a new media into a culture restructures the social world in the same way as building or removing walls may either isolate people into different groups or unite them into the same environment.” Mary Joyce (2010) concluded that the most significant new media devices in digital activism today are the computer and the mobile phone. As discussed (in the context of the ‘digital divide’ and elsewhere), in 2013 the necessary technology for participation in the ‘network society’ is, with few exceptions, available to all adults in Western democracies. Knowledge is no longer a segregated commodity and individuals are no longer isolated in ignorance because of class considerations. Inclusiveness has transcended former socio-economic boundaries and has been enabled by Web 2.0 technological advancements.

The Transformed Public Sphere in the Digital Age

Jürgen Habermas (1989) wrote of a bourgeois public sphere that consisted of private individuals who came together to discuss the regulation of civil society and the conduct of the state. This public sphere was not affiliated with the state but was, on the contrary, a forum “in which the activities of the state could be confronted and subjected

to criticism” (Thompson 1995: 70). Habermas (1989, 1992) found that places such as coffeehouses and saloons (that emerged in eighteenth century societies) promoted a dialogical exchange among individuals and the formation of a public critical reasoning.

Craig Calhoun (1992: 33-37), in dismissing the pessimism around the apparent contemporary demise of the public sphere (including that previously expressed by Habermas), suggested that the potential existed for “alternative democratic media strategies” and prophetically predicted the establishment of “alternative, discursively-constructed public spheres” (Downey & Fenton 2003: 186). Habermas has since moved beyond his original exposition to recognize alternative public spheres (Downey and Fenton 2003: 187). Poster (2006) also supported the applicability of Habermas’ concept of the public sphere to the new realm of Internet social communication, as has Castells (2008), who suggested that the Internet has become the location where civil society now communicates and finds expression. Benkler (2006: 10) asserted that the development of the ‘information society’ set the stage for a shift from the mass-mediated public sphere to a networked public sphere, enabled by “the increasing freedom individuals enjoy to participate in creating information and knowledge.”

Andrew Edgar (2006: 124-125) articulated that the ‘transformed’ public sphere (the contemporary reworking of the normative dimension of Habermas’ public sphere) involves “social institutions that allow for open and rational debate between citizens in order to form public opinion...mediated by...new electronic forms of communication ...The political public sphere thus comes into existence through this amalgam of diverse media and institutions.” Thompson (1995: 260) suggested Habermas’ notion of publicness (*Offenlichkeit*) involves “the idea that the personal opinions of private

individuals could evolve into public opinion through a process of rational critical debate which was open to all and free from domination.” I find these scholars’ observations and, in general, the concept of a transformed and contemporary public sphere complementary to the thoughts of Foucault (1980) and Castells (2009) on the influence of social discourse on power relations in society. As discussed, Castells (2009: 16) determined, “To challenge existing power relationships, it is necessary to produce alternative discourses that have the potential to overwhelm the disciplinary discursive capacity of the state as a necessary step to neutralizing its use of violence.” Foucault’s (1980: 93) illuminating thoughts on power, truth, and discourse are similar and corroborative –

In any society, there are manifold relations of power which permeate, characterize and constitute the social body and these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation, and functioning of a discourse...we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth.

Symbolic Power and Video Activism in the Digital Age

Lijun Tang and Peidong Yang (2011: 686-687) characterized the Internet as “an alternative medium, a space in which alternative views and voices have the possibility of being made visible and obtaining potency” and they focused on the capability for the Internet to transmit and receive meaningful symbolic forms – drawing on the concept of symbolic power as developed by Bourdieu (1991)³⁹ and Thompson (1995) – and the follow-up discourse that is engaged once a powerful symbol has been disseminated into the public milieu.

The symbol, easily recognizable and embodying a collective sentiment, offers the possibility of solidarity among a large group of people. With access to the Internet and inspired by the symbol, people produce follow-up discourses, which in turn help the symbol to create a symbolic network and take root in the society quickly and deeply. Thus, very like the spread of a virus, symbolic power seems to come out from nowhere and, when the conditions are right, it

spreads quickly in the form of follow-up discourses into a ‘situation’ that is difficult to control...[translating] into tangible social effects (Tang & Yang 2011: 687).

Powerful videorecorded symbolic forms such as those emerging from police interactions with Robert Dziekański and Stacy Bonds (to name only a few in the recent Canadian context), widely disseminated and discussed through the decentralized and autonomous space of the Internet and engendering substantial follow-up discourses and grassroots solidarity of dissent, illustrate this aspect of the phenomenon.

3.9 Police Occupational Culture

Any academic treatment of the police must, in my view, address widely held beliefs and considerable volumes of literature about the internal workings of the police and the prevalent notion of a monolithic police subculture. Eugene Paoline (2003: 200) defined police occupational culture as “the accepted practices and underlying attitudes and values that construct and transmit norms of how to be a police officer and how to do policing.” Megan O’Neill and Anne-Marie Singh (2007: 2) suggested that “police occupational culture can best be considered as the ‘way things are done around here’ for the officers, not always ‘by the book’, but not always without it either. Police...have socially constructed ways of viewing the world, their place in it, and the appropriate action to take in their jobs.”

While this chapter is designed to examine and give consideration to literature and theory relevant to this project’s investigation, I feel compelled to contextualize this particular discussion with some personal observations from my policing career. I can certainly confirm the tendencies among many operational police officers I have worked with over the years in relation to internal solidarity and shared secrecy with their

colleagues, social isolation (in terms of shying away from social relationship with civilians), and a pervasive cynicism (or skepticism) in relation to both trusting members of the public and also in relation to the public's ability to understand the challenges of front line police work – including the dangers and violence that are inherent to patrolling urban Canadian environments. Reiner (2010) suggested that these characteristics form the core characteristics of police officers and of 'cop culture' (but Reiner also accepted that police occupational norms are neither monolithic, universal, nor unchanging).

These subcultural characteristics of police officers were well documented in any number of earlier police ethnographies, for example – Blake 1981; Ericson 1982, 1989; Skolnick 1966; Skolnick and Fyfe 1993; Westley 1970; and Young 1991. Findings from those studies have been referenced and reiterated in subsequent scholarship on policing. As Bethan Loftus (2009) observed, research on the police has long acknowledged the important role that the informal occupational norms, values, and assumptions associated with the rank and file play in shaping their everyday decisions and practices. Similarly, Newburn and Reiner (2012: 811) found, "The impact of the informal culture of the rank and file is the most common explanation of police working practices found in the research literature."

The Police Subculture and Use of Force

David Sklansky (2007: 23) assessed that William Westley (1970) had argued that "the key to understanding the police was to understand their shared mentality – their subculture [and it was] this set of premises [that] became the central motif of police studies in the 1960s and 1970s." Westley (1970) found that violence was a central part of routine police work, and this was cemented by the cultural traits of silence, secrecy, and

solidarity. Similarly, David Bayley (1995: 95) observed a police occupational culture that “excuses and encourages abuses of power.” Malcolm Holmes and Brad Smith (2008: 7), in examining race and police brutality, suggested,

The quasi-military structure of policing...and extensive training in the use of force undoubtedly sets the stage for [violent] transgressions (Chambliss 2001)...within the subculture of policing, extra-legal force is considered a normal, essential instrument of control for handling those individuals perceived as threatening or who are otherwise discredited (Hunt 1985; Skolnick and Fyfe 1993; Van Maanen 1974; Westley 1970). The extra-legal quality of police brutality makes it expedient for situations in which legal responses are judged inappropriate or insufficient.

Scot Wortley (2006: 10-11) advanced that the scholarly literature examining the impact of the police subculture on the nature and extent of police violence reveals a number of reasons why this subculture may increase the likelihood of police violence.

The militaristic ‘war on crime’ orientation that permeates most modern police services creates an ‘us against them’ mentality among police officers...The police subculture puts emphasis on ‘toughness’ and ‘courage’. New officers are often not accepted until they have proven that they can handle a violent or dangerous civilian encounter. This increases the likelihood that officers will want to prove their courage and demonstrate their willingness to resort to physical force. It also reduces the probability that officers will try to diffuse citizen confrontations through non-violent methods. The police subculture places an emphasis on respect. A good officer demands respect and is able to quickly establish their legal authority when dealing with civilians. The subculture also reinforces the belief that it is sometimes okay for officers to respond to citizen hostility, disrespect or disobedience with violence. Within the police subculture, ‘contempt of cop’ is an offence that deserves punishment...The police subculture creates a code of silence among police officers...This makes investigations into the illegitimate use of force difficult if not impossible to conduct. In other words, the code of silence protects officers who may use force in an illegitimate fashion and thus ensures that this type of behaviour will continue.

Contemporary Changes in the Police Occupational Culture

Contemporary policing scholars have begun to challenge the sociological orthodoxy of the findings from earlier studies on the existence and conceptualized

assumptions of a monolithic police culture and its core characteristics –ideas that are now thought to be cliché (Loftus 2007, 2009; O’Neill & Singh 2007; Sklansky 2007). In advocating for new lines of research to determine how today’s police experience the new policing realities in a changed, and changing world, Loftus (2009: x-xi) found that most studies involving the idea of police culture are outdated and as a result “we are left...with an account of police culture which largely predates the transformations which have since taken place inside police organizations and in newly identified social fields of policing.”

Loftus (2007: 184) expanded,

Contemporary understandings of police culture have been shaped by the findings of classic ethnographies...that reflect police environments and culture of an earlier and different social, economic and political context. Many of the studies were conducted over twenty years ago...[and] we are left, therefore, with an account of police culture which largely predates many of the significant changes which have since taken place...changes in the internal and external policing landscape have altered the character of the differing ‘publics’ that the police come into contact with. The classic ‘police culture’ paradigm which has been much invoked to describe and explain a range of police attributes is by now somewhat exhausted, and new lines of research and reflection are needed to track the shifts in the wider field of policing.

An important distinction in the consideration of a police culture is that between police discourse and actual practices. The real life experiences of ‘cop culture’ and the bravado of the ‘canteen culture’ should not be conflated (Loftus 2009; Reiner 2000, 2010). Maurice Punch (2007) found that the archetypal ‘cop’ has been altered given the recruitment of more mature and better-educated officers (Loftus 2009). He observed that presently “there are many cultures within policing and police ‘culture’ is not monolithic; it is more of a complex matrix than an easily defined, one-dimensional concept” (Punch 2007: 107). Punch (2007: 125) added, “Doubtless there will always remain a resilient residue of the cynicism, solidarity, secrecy, negative stereotypes of outsiders and

superiors, emphasis on physical prowess, lauding of practical skills and disparagement of theoretical knowledge that have been the hallmarks of traditional police culture.” Loftus (2009: 18) suggested that the key to understanding contemporary policing “is to appreciate the influence of police culture and the wider context in which it takes place” and she referenced the work of Chan (1997), who suggested, “Social and political sensitivities in the wider political landscape have the potential to shape the culture of police organizations.” Chan (1997: 66) found,

Most accounts [of policing’s subculture] imply that the ‘acculturation process’ is one-way and thereby portrays officers as manipulated and docile learners. This approach is too deterministic and fails to appreciate the agency of officers in making up their own mind as to whether or not they accept the features of the culture – and, furthermore, to what extent they accept them.

Loftus (2009: 17) critiqued the conceptualization of a universal and immutable police culture with its “assumed insularity from the broader social, economic, legal, and political landscape in which it operates.” Cockcroft (2007: 91) concurred, observing, “The pitfalls of investigating police culture without taking into account socio-political factors leads to a reading of police work that situates it in a sociological cul-de-sac devoid of sufficiently broad cultural appreciation – wider culture does not simply ‘end’ at the front door of the police station.” Loftus (2009) observed that occupational value systems and practices of officers have been shaped by reconfigurations in policing, in the context of social, economic and political changes.

In concluding this subchapter, I must disclose that I find considerable merit in the various policing scholars’ observations around a transformed police occupational culture as it presents in urban Canadian policing in 2013. Put simply, I have observed considerable changes through various eras in my policing career. That being said, I

understand the observations of Ericson (2007: 378-380) to have endured and maintain their contemporary applicability as fundamental tenets of policing: “There are very strong codes of behavior in police culture – for example, back-up police colleagues in trouble, do not blow the whistle on deviant colleagues, and do not let a challenge to police authority pass without response.”

3.10 Contemporary Socio-Political Transformations – A Cultural Shift

As described at various junctures throughout this thesis, the sociological phenomena being investigated and the various considerations being engaged in this project are inextricably intertwined with recent social and political developments that have become entrenched as fundamental aspects of Canadian urban society – what I perceive (particularly as it relates to policing) as a significant and transformative cultural shift. I understand that widespread participation in ‘citizen journalism’ concurrent with two socio-political narratives has contributed to a new dynamic in the public-police relationship. The first implicates an elevated tenor of social critique and activism across society, involving, in part, a pervasive skepticism felt by many citizens in relation to government, agencies of the state, and major institutions (including the police and traditional media) accompanied by a more active and pronounced engagement of ‘the public’ in sub-political discourses on a variety of social issues (including police violence). This can be theoretically contextualized most effectively through considering aspects of the ‘risk society’ thesis and the various works of scholars who have examined concepts or developments associated to the notion of risk and social transformation.⁴⁰ The second interrelated development involves what has come to be referred to as the law and order approach to criminal justice (and its various other characterizations). In the context

of the impact on the public-police relationship of this ideology (and the legal measures enacted in furtherance of it) there are essentially polar results – with some in our society supportive of punitive tough on crime measures and aggressive policing tactics while others are opposed to such approaches in the law and in the policing of society. The latter group is the focus in this discussion of a cultural shift in relation to the public’s attitude toward the police and specifically in relation to police use of force.

Reiner (2010: 253, emphasis added), in addressing the issue of police misconduct in today’s society, and succinctly expressing my similar understanding in relation to police use of force at present, observed, “it is plausible that what appears to be a growing amount of police malpractice is largely just a greater likelihood of it coming to light, due to a much more *deep-seated cultural change*.” Castells’ (2009: 11) findings, on a theoretical plane, are also instructive to the discussion in this subchapter – in relation to cultural shifts, power relationships, and institutional change,

In any power relationship there is a certain degree of compliance and acceptance by those subjected to power. When resistance and rejection become significantly stronger than compliance and acceptance, power relationships are transformed: the terms of the relationship change, the powerful lose power, and ultimately there is a process of institutional change or structural change, depending on the extent of the transformation of power relationships.

My intention in this subchapter is not to engage in comprehensive analyses of ‘risk society’ theory or the considerable body of academic work addressing law and order ideology and policies, but rather, to provide for the reader a sound theoretical lens through which one can understand how cultural transformations in urban Canadian society are relevant to this investigation and how these socio-

political shifts have substantially impacted on the public-police relationship and more specifically on the central issue of police use force.

'Risk Society'

In considering the effects of the transition from the industrial society to the information society, Ulrich Beck (1992) advanced the 'risk society' thesis as an explanation for contemporary social changes in what he considered a paradigmatic shift to a second modernity. Anthony Giddens collaborated with Beck on mutual projects and also provided his own contributions in developing risk-related social theory.⁴¹ Both Beck and Giddens found that late modernity (characterized by risk and reflexive modernity) was, as articulated by Deborah Lupton (1999: 4),

...characterized by a critique of the processes of modernity...now seen to produce many of the dangers or 'bads' from which we feel threatened. The central institutions of late modernity – government, industry and science – are singled out as the main producers of risk. An emphasis on risk...is thus an integral feature of a society which has come to reflect on itself, to critique itself.

Beck (1992) asserted, as one of his core findings, that the public's increased awareness of risk had instigated significant social changes, arising from a distrust of expertise and major institutions, and which had led to demands throughout society for, among other things, more accountability and transparency from the state and its institutions.

Numerous scholars, from diverse theoretical and disciplinary positions, have conducted analyses of the sweeping social, political, and cultural dimensions of the 'risk society' and in doing so have applied a multiplicity of conceptions related to risk – which, as discussed, have become integral to a wide range of socio-political considerations (and sociological theorizing) in the contemporary world (Doyle 2007; Ericson & Doyle 2003, Ericson & Haggerty 1997; Garland 2003; Zinn 2008b).⁴² These

scholars (and many others who were influenced by the scholarship of Beck, Giddens, and Foucault) examined new fundamental arrangements in the social world that resulted from socio-political transformations and that involved processes of individualization, reflexive modernization, and a broad societal disenchantment with major institutions (among the many social consequences stemming from the entrenchment of the ‘risk society’). David Garland (2003: 69-70) found that risk had become both a topic of considerable study in the social sciences and a defining characteristic of society (in that risk had permeated personal lives as well as socio-political arrangements in society). Giddens (2000: 39) also provided an illuminating observation – “th[e] apparently simple notion [of risk] unlocks some of the most basic characteristics of the world in which we now live.”

Academic treatments of risk in contemporary society are both voluminous and expansive and therefore for the limited purposes of this study I have collapsed various components of social theories of risk, following the approach of Ericson and Haggerty (1997) and Doyle (2007), and have focused on particular aspects that are directly relevant to policing in the context of cultural shifts in society. Inga Kroener and Daniel Neyland (2012: 143) suggested, “Such an approach [to the use of risk theory] enables us to think of surveillance technologies and issues of security and insecurity in broad terms.” It is a broad conception of the notion of risk and a focused treatment of its impact on society that I rely on in the discussion in this subchapter.⁴³

Social Theories of Risk and the Cultural Shift

The climate of doubt and fear that characterizes ‘risk society’ (as described by Beck and Giddens in their various works) has resulted in an “increasingly endemic sense of insecurity” (Garland 2003: 78). Loftus (2009) articulated that the increasingly unstable

nature of the social order engendered pervasive feelings of ontological insecurity (Giddens 1991, Young 1999) and that the resulting sense of instability found expression in an increased risk consciousness. The onset of risk as an important feature of contemporary culture and society has presented in the population as a sense of “considerable anxiety” that is related to “increased social expectations, decreased levels of trust, and new sources of insecurity” (Garland 2003: 70-71). Nikolas Rose (1996: 343) suggested that there exist ‘assemblages of risk’ stemming from the uncertainty and anxiety that developed from the ‘re-responsibilization’ of individuals for managing risk.

The declining trust of experts, characteristic of ‘risk society’, had consequences for public trust in governments, large-scale organizations, and major social institutions – including the police and traditional media (Doyle 2007; Garland 2003; Lievrouw 2011). Margaret Levi (1998: 88) found that “major sources of distrust [in the state]” include (among several things) “the antagonism of government actions toward those they are supposed to serve.” A broad skepticism is pervasive throughout society, “including a distrust of those providing security at a time when a yearning for security is profound” (Doyle 2007: 10). In juxtaposing the works of Beck (2009) and Mathiesen (2007), Doyle (2011: 292) advanced, “Rather than a passive public seduced by messages from ‘the few’, we have an anxious, questioning one, not knowing whom to trust.”

Thompson (1995: 147) suggested that one of the consequences of increased visibility may be to “nourish the suspicion and cynicism” which much of the populace feel towards politics and established state institutions.⁴⁴ In the same vein, Doyle (2006a, 2007, 2011) determined that an unprecedented level of higher education and access to knowledge through the Internet, while adding to the climate of perpetual doubt, has

resulted in a public that thinks more critically and is skeptical of major social institutions. Castells (2012: 218-219) contends that contemporary social movements “are prompted by a deep distrust of the political institutions managing society.” Similarly, Doyle (2007: 12) discerned that the population is now

...more politically aware, and are less trusting of conventional politics. [People] are more inclined to participate in politics outside of institutional channels, and in social movements, than ever before...People are also more inclined to be proactive and to seek out information for themselves from the vast array of new and alternative sources available, notably the Internet.

In addressing the socio-political cultural shift to the present “highly reflexive, low trust culture” (Garland 2003: 78) and the heightened social engagement and activism of today, Castells (2012: 2-3) found both to have been “provoked by the cynicism and arrogance of those in power, be it financial, political or cultural, that brought together those who turned fear into outrage, and outrage into hope for a better humanity.”⁴⁵

Contemporary Policing in the ‘Risk Society’

Historically police violence was essentially invisible in socio-political discourse (Gordon 2006; Holmes & Smith 2008; Reiner 2010) and was of no particular significance for much of the populace, who, for the most part, trusted in the integrity and professionalism of the police and their judgment in what was required to carry out their responsibilities in controlling crime and maintaining safe communities.⁴⁶ Even in the rare instances in which police brutality rose to widespread public attention, research found that the general attitude of citizens toward police violence did not appreciably change and there was little impact on public perceptions of police integrity or legitimacy (Chermak *et al.* 2006; Thompson & Lee 2004; Weitzer 2002). Lawrence (2000: 59) observed that historically the widespread cultural discourse tended to give police “considerable leeway”

in relation to “what levels and uses of force are appropriate in the ‘war’ against crime”; a wide latitude with deep cultural and historical roots in a deferential public (Hirschfield & Simon 2010; Reiner 2010). An understanding of police use of force and its generally unchallenged acceptance throughout most of society allows for the understanding of historic realities in the public-police relationship, such as the ability of the police to maintain unconditional legitimacy, the broad (and largely unquestioned) public acceptance of police integrity, and the “affective attachments” and “largely unconditional support” for the police (Loader 1997: 7-10).

Policing the Risk Society (1997), the seminal work in the application of risk theory to policing, highlights the direct connections between risk, policing, and surveillance (Lyon & Wood 2012).⁴⁷ Ericson and Haggerty (1997: 1) found that “policing and the society in which it takes place are best understood in terms of the model of risk communications.” The central thesis of the book advanced that the function of the police now prioritizes collaboration, and the sharing of knowledge, with other major institutions in the management of risk and establishment of security (Ericson & Haggerty 1997: 3).⁴⁸ The authors found, “Coincident with the surveillance of suspect citizens is the surveillance of the police as a suspect population. There is probably no occupation as thoroughly scrutinized as the police. This surveillance arises out of distrust, which is endemic in risk society (Giddens 1990)” (Ericson & Haggerty 1997: 56). Ericson and Haggerty (1997: 58) also put forth the modern police station (with its CCTV systems) as “an icon of surveillance in risk society, treating both citizens and police officers as cunning, corrupted, untrustworthy, risky, guilty.”

Michael McCahill (2012: 249) observed that the new ‘bottom-up’ scrutiny of the police, carried out by citizen journalists who capture images of police wrongdoing, requires situating in a wider political context (which is the objective of this subchapter). John Tulloch (2008: 148) found that the reflexive nature of modernity involves the risk-making institutions (including the government and state agencies, such as the police) coming under increasing public scrutiny from “a ‘subpolitics’ of advocacy groups.” Beck (1992: 194) discussed “cooperatively organized antagonists” who confronted political leaders with a “definition making power” in his argument that top-down governance was eroded by challenges from “coalitions of anxiety” (Beck 1992: 36). Jens Zinn (2008a: 193), in examining Beck’s risk theorizing, suggested that these new challenges were initiated by “situational coalitions of organized and individual actors” who controlled the subpolitical sphere (the new location for public discussions of what was formerly decided within the formalized political system) in which new interest groups were “able to inform, direct, and mobilize significant parts of the public and political consumers.”

Loftus (2009) confirmed that police conduct has come under increased scrutiny in recent years and that there has been a significant shift in public sentiment toward the police – the police now deal with a less compliant and more demanding public. Reiner (2010: 119) found that “the decline of deference has made police authority increasingly questioned.” Leon Anderson and Michelle Brown (2010: 546) asserted, “...the lack of trust in social institutions for managing risks have dramatically influenced the organization of criminal justice and policing in risk society.”

Loader (1997) suggested that the notion of a broad popular attachment to the police may well have referred largely to the middle and upper classes in society and that there is

now a much different dynamic in place, with broad empathy for persons at the receiving end of police violence and a heightened suspicion of police. Similarly, Reiner (2010: 253) suggested that the more frequent scandals that come to public attention and which reveal serious police malpractice may not be related to any diminished standards of integrity, as is the “unquestioned assumption”, but rather that such abuses in the past were not revealed, given “the much more deferential culture of the social strata at the receiving end of policing, and the [sympathetic treatment of the police by] media and the educated middle class.”⁴⁹ Police violence today is clearly situated in a different social reality; it is now scrutinized and evaluated by a more engaged and activist public with unprecedented access to information – the ‘self-politics’ or ‘self culture’ discussed by Beck (1992) and Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002) – that transcends former socio-economic class considerations. Zinn (2008b: 36) determined that this growing ‘self-culture’ “is not restricted to the middle class but rather affects all societal strata.”

Today, across Canadian society, there is often controversy around police violence and situations in which police apply unjustified force garner instant and widespread publicity and scrutiny because of the proliferation of videorecording devices in society (Reiner 2010) and the exponential increase in the amount of shared experience for different people brought about through the expansion of Internet mediated communications (Meyrowitz 1994). In this regard, Lutt (2012: 352-354) observed,

Instances of police corruption and misconduct shatter public trust and confidence in law enforcement institutions...This mistrust engenders a culture of skepticism and cynicism toward the exercise of police authority...Now the driving force behind the public’s awareness of police activity is citizens armed with camera phones and a healthy skepticism of authority.

The Law and Order Agenda

Several social commentators (including Chan 1999, Doyle & Ericson 2004, Garland 2001, Hudson 2003, and O'Malley 2006, 2010) have linked concepts of risk with various aspects of criminal justice. For example, the perception of increased risk manifests in a lack of understanding around criminality and intolerance for what is considered a new *classe dangereuse* (Stenson 2001 as cited in Walgrave 2009: 1). Our current socio-cultural obsession with risk, uncertainty, anxiety, and insecurity also informs the tough on crime discourse – both in terms of public opinion and also in relation to state initiatives to combat crime (Arnoldi 2009: 170). Situating his analysis within the ‘risk society’ framework and examining how risk, anxiety, and fear of crime affect people and their perceptions of criminal justice, Michael Tonry (2004: 50) found that the expressive discourse (often featured in public discussions of crime, policing, and corrections) is often impacted by frightening stereotypes and is often in response to the tough on crime rhetoric advanced in politics and mass media; however he also determined that “ordinary people’s views [of criminal justice] are more complex, ambivalent, and temperate than is widely recognized.”

Similarly, Katherine Beckett and Theodore Sasson (2004: 9) found that “public opinion is ambivalent toward ‘tough on crime’” approaches in policing and corrections and they determined that the apparent intensification of popular punitiveness is a consequence of political initiatives in criminal justice – “popular attitudes increasingly reflect the claims and narratives about crime that dominate political rhetoric and saturate the mass media.” Tim Newburn (2002: 176) observed, “toughness [is] the most potent

form of symbolism in penal-political discourse in recent times, [while] being soft on crime [is] the crowning curse of political discourse.”

The neo-liberal agenda of late modernity includes a variety of policing practices subsumed under what can be termed a law and order reorientation of the police role (particularly in urban settings) and in concordance with a more expressive and punitive response across all fields of criminal justice – such things as zero tolerance policing, the war on drugs, tough on crime, and the popular urban policing approach characterized as broken windows policing (in combating social disorder in communities afflicted with high level of crime through aggressive enforcement measures) (Beckett & Herbert 2008; Doyle 2003; Doyle & Ericson 2004; Gordon 2006; Wacquant 2000; Waller 2008). The objective of zero tolerance policing is to maintain social order through “hyper-aggressive” police tactics (Greene 1999: 175). Various policing scholars have examined the public appetite for more forceful policing in response to the law and order agenda dictated by legal and social policy shifts from the state. Chan (1999: 264) perceived “general public support for aggressive policing and the administering of ‘street justice’ as a corrective for the allegedly ineffective criminal justice system (Skolnick and Fyfe 1993: 189)”. Reiner (2010: 103) found that “there seems to be a deep diversity of opinion, but a widespread mood of pragmatic acceptance that tougher tactics – risking mistakes and malpractice – are necessitated by the problems the police face” and Goldsmith (2005: 456) determined “while excessive force contributes to the alienation of citizens from the police...populist support for ‘get tough’ measures on crime lends credence to the use of extreme force at the cost of further polarization of public opinion towards the police.”

Timothy Flanagan and Michael Vaughn (1995: 126; 1996: 113) found a broad public ambivalence toward the police and concluded “different segments of society and incongruous community groups want different kinds of police practices.” Similarly, Garland (2001: 203) found that “public attitudes about crime and control are deeply ambivalent.” He concluded that the public is amenable to a variety of strategies in controlling crime and protecting persons and property; however politicians have tended to take the easy route – opting for intensified law enforcement tactics, segregation, and increased punishment (Garland 2001). Greer and McLaughlin (2010b: 1056) observed that the sensational exposure of police misconduct in the Tomlinson occurrence “resonated with widespread public sensibilities” in opposition to aggressive policing.

The findings of a public ambivalence and a polarization in the opinions of individuals throughout society, as outlined in this subchapter, is confirmed in the Canadian context by Willem De Lint and Alan Hall (2009: 267), who found, “The current rightward movement of federal politics [may impact upon] police posture, although there is no clear shift in Canadian public opinion supporting tighter police controls at the cost of human rights or freedoms.” While it is undeniable that some Canadians condone and/or endorse the various manifestations of the more vigorous policing and punishment policies that have come to characterize the transformed social topography in this neo-liberal and socially conservative era, it is equally true that a significant constituency are antagonistic to and challenge the intensified rhetoric, the punitive legislative turn, and the increasingly aggressive policing tactics (Cook & Roesch 2012; Gordon 2006; Greenspan & Doob 2012; Piché 2012; Waller 2008).

Evidence of widespread public discontent (and of a cultural shift in opposition to more aggressive policing) presents unmistakably with all too frequent scandals in policing related to questionable use of force by police – episodes such as the Taser death of Robert Dziekański in 2007, the handling of Stacy Bonds in the Ottawa Police cellblock in 2008, the public order policing tactics employed during the 2010 G20 summit in Toronto and the Québec student protests in Montréal throughout 2012, and, most recently, the fatal shooting of Sammy Yatim by a Toronto Police officer on 27 July 2013. In their investigation of zero tolerance policing in Winnipeg, Elizabeth Comack and Jim Silver (2008: 818) found that although such aggressive policing tactics were “enthusiastically promoted” by politicians, “there does not appear to be community-based support for the strategy.” Interviews with residents of three inner city Winnipeg neighbourhoods, targeted with such policing, revealed a deep concern around safety and security issues and criticism of the police role in the community, especially in relation to aggressive, get tough policing strategies (Comack & Silver 2008).

3.11 The Use of Theory in this Study

I have taken guidance on the scholarly application of theory to a sociological research inquiry from the practices of Castells (2000a, 2011) and Foucault (1994), who both subscribed to the use of theory as a ‘toolbox’ to aid in the conduct of the study and the interpretation of the studies’ results. Foucault (1994: 523) wrote, “I would like my books to be a kind of toolbox which others can rummage through to find a tool which they can use however they wish.” Similarly, Castells (2011: 6) advised, “I use theories, any theory, in the same way that I hope my theory will be used by anyone; as a toolbox to

understand social reality. So I use what I find useful and I do not consider what is not directly related to the purpose of my investigation.”

I have used the experience and advice of these eminent sociologists to inform my own theoretical approach to this study – that theories are essentially disposable tools in the production of knowledge (Castells, 2000a; 2011; Foucault 1994). I have, in the conduct of this study, used a wide variety of works by Castells, Foucault, and many other scholars to inform all stages of the research – from the conceptualization of the project and the deliberation on research questions, to the operationalization and implementation of research methods, and, of course, to provide for a theoretically informed understanding of the empirical results in the analysis of the data and discussion of the project’s findings. In support of this approach, I advance the tack taken by Haggerty and Ericson (2000: 608), who, in endorsing the practices of Gilles Deleuze, Félix Guattari, and Michel Foucault (in relation to the application of theory in research projects) explained, “Our approach is entirely in keeping with their philosophy...to approach theory not as something to genuflect before, but as a tool kit from which to draw selectively in light of the analytical task at hand (Deleuze & Foucault 1977: 208).”

In conducting this inquiry into the implications for policing of new technologies in operation in the contemporary Canadian ‘network society’ this project has contributed to the production of sociological knowledge in this important aspect of our contemporary social world. Further, in the same way that this study has benefitted from the work of numerous theorists and researchers who have conducted related work, I seek to make a contribution to the scholarly discourse that can be relied on by others. For example, this study has relied on Castells’ grand theory of ‘network society’ to illuminate aspects of the

contemporary public-police relationship and this study also aspires to perhaps make a reciprocal contribution to Castells' theoretical work, informing his theory through a practical and tangible real-life, and on the ground, empirical case study of a significant societal issue that demonstrates the impact of 'network society' social transformations. In this sense, this project was informed by Castells' theoretical work and potentially also functions to inform this same theory. Having reviewed the theoretical framing materials incorporated within the first three chapters of this thesis, the reader will appreciate that there are several other works that are similarly situated, in terms of scholarship that has functioned to inform the present study and that can also be informed by the results of this research project – such as, for example, the works of Doyle (2003), Goffman (1959), Goldsmith (2010), Meyrowitz (1985, 1994), and Thompson (2005).

Scholarly Insights on Theorizing and Empirical Study in the Conduct of Research

Lyon and Wood (2012: 318) call for “more systematic sociological attention” to surveillance, “because [it is a] field of study crying out for careful and critical analysis of a kind that sociology offers...connected both with major currents of political-economic and technological power and also with everyday routines of mundane life and thus qualify...as [a] key topic for sociological imagination (Mills 1959).” Castells (2012: 7) exhorted, “To understand under which conditions [the] processes [of counterpower prevail over the networks of power embedded in the organization of society]...and which are the social outcomes that result from each specific process cannot be a matter of formal theory. It requires one to ground the analysis on observation.”

Lyon (2006b: 10) applauded the scholarship of Ericson and Haggerty in *Policing the Risk Society* (1997); a work that is “exemplary for the way [it] brings together

different theoretical strands” and for their approach to the conduct of that research project – incorporating not only a strong theoretical foundation but also applying “empirical work of observation and analysis of institutions and systems.” Lyon (2006b: 18) also cautioned, “Without careful theorizing, the growth of contemporary surveillance will be seen only in relatively shallow and superficial ways in media accounts and policy reports.” In a similar vein, Ball *et al.* (2012: 9) asserted, “For the future, it important to theorize surveillance as something which has [among several things] productive and constructive effects on the objects it seeks to govern.”

Ball *et al.* (2012: 5) added, “Newer [concepts] like ‘social sorting,’ ‘surveillant assemblage,’ ‘visibility’ or ‘exposure’ are sensitizing concepts, used to alert us to new dimensions of social practice, but are still in need of further specification, empirical analysis and comparative study in different contexts.” Eugene McLaughlin (2007: ix) encouraged, “it has never been more important to forge a critical police studies that is capable of conceptualizing policing developments against socio-cultural, economic and political transformations.” McCahill (2012: 250) suggested,

The ‘democratizing’ impact of ‘citizen journalism’ requires further research. For instance, some have spoken of the ‘new visibility’ of policing whereby ‘the capacity to photograph and film’ the police has become ‘widely available in the hands of ordinary people’ (Goldsmith 2010: 919). These arguments are clearly important but require some qualification and critical scrutiny.

Garland (2004: 163) imparted a particularly well-phrased assessment in addressing “the place and purpose of theory”, which I adopted as the objective of this study – “Theory and research achieve maximum synergy when a focused empirical inquiry throws light upon a more abiding matter of philosophical or sociological importance.”

NOTES FOR CHAPTER THREE

²⁵ While the quantification of illegitimate police use of force is unascertainable (Gordon 2006; Holmes & Smith 2008; Reiner 2010), the researcher suggests it is reasonable (and not controversial) to stipulate, for the purposes of this study, that the majority of current Canadian police officers do not routinely engage in inappropriate use of force in their engagements with citizens, given that no evidence to the contrary is in existence (suggestive of widespread and systemic unlawful police violence) despite considerable research on this topic. Even Ericson's (2007: 369) assessment of early police research (for example Manning 1977; Ericson 1981, 1982; Smith & Gray 1985), directed explicitly at documenting how 'police officers go beyond the rules and engage in unlawful acts', characterized such historic rule-breaking as, at its highest, 'frequent' (without explicating any quantification of data to substantiate that verbal characterization). Marc Krupanski, a program officer with the Open Society Justice Initiative (<http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org>), a human rights and justice advocacy organization, observed, "It is important to stress...that most daily interactions between police and civilians occur without incident or abuse and the majority of police officers conduct their duty with respect and dignity for themselves, the badge, the law – and most importantly – the people and communities they serve."

²⁶ In 2012, for example, Routledge published for the first time the expansive *Handbook of Surveillance Studies* (with over 400 pages of analysis and discussion by some 52 different scholars). Similarly, in Oxford's 2007 *Handbook of Information and Communication Technologies* the publishers included a chapter on *Surveillance, Power, and Everyday Life*. The study of surveillance has its own dedicated journal, *Surveillance & Society*, and a host of introductory and advanced academic texts specifically addressing this topic. In 2012 Routledge published an edited collection of major research papers on the specific subtopic of camera surveillance in society, *Eyes Everywhere: The Global Growth of Camera Surveillance*. Further, the list of collaborators involved with ongoing scholarly initiatives in relation to surveillance in contemporary Canadian society (such as *The New Transparency: Surveillance and Social Sorting* and the *Surveillance Camera Awareness Network* projects) reads like a 'who's who' of prominent and accomplished Canadian sociologists and criminologists.

²⁷ Giddens (1982: 32) articulated, "In all social systems there is a dialectic of control, such that there are normally continually shifting balances of resources, altering the overall distribution of power."

²⁸ An example which illustrates this observation of Haggerty and Ericson (2000) is the website G20JUSTICE.COM (<http://www.g20justice.com/lineup.asp>) which appeals to citizens with photographic and/or video imagery of police committing acts of alleged misconduct during the Toronto G20 Summit in 2010 to post such images in a 'lineup' section of the website – "This section of the site will be used for identifying members of the Integrated Security Unit involved in criminal activity at the Toronto G20 (including witnesses who as officers of the law are obligated to report illegal behaviour)... This is for identification purposes, matching offenders and witnesses to crimes!" As will be discussed in Chapter Five of this thesis, contemporary cameraphone technology, so widespread in society, has the potential to 'undermine' the anonymity of police officers engaged with a citizen. A photographic image can clearly establish the identity of an individual and the permanent nature of this medium preserves the observation in the original form (from the vantage point of the photographer). Similarly, the widespread use of such surveillance techniques by citizens, in relation to the actions of police, eliminates any notion

of police being 'exempt' from such routine surveillance in society and can be argued as 'leveling the hierarchy of surveillance' – a situation in which the state conducts surveillance of the citizenry and the citizenry conducts surveillance of law enforcement representatives of the state. This website also demonstrates the potential when 'optics' (photographs and videorecordings) are merged with computer applications (websites which can disseminate information and also which provide a venue for those interested in an issue to engage and contribute to the discourse).

²⁹ In the tradition of the *panopticon* (the few seeing the many) and the *synopticon* (the many watching the few), the Latin root word '*plura*' corresponds to the concept of 'many' persons, the Latin root word '*palin*' describes a two-way process, while *opticon* is Latin terminology for seeing.

³⁰ This piece written by Cascio (2005) is germane to this study and quite interesting. The writer commends the reader to review the article in its entirety (<http://www.worldchanging.com/archives/002651.html>) and, in addition to the quoted passage in the text, provides these additional selected informative excerpts:

Mobile phones are designed presuming that users will leave them on, only turning them off for limited periods. For the most part, they rest in your pocket or bag, waiting for activity which could come at any time. Because of that connection, it's possible to take a snapshot with a cameraphone and send it off in email or post it to a web page with a push of a button or two. So let's take a look at what the Participatory Panopticon is today. We're just starting to see the potential of cameraphones for doing more than sharing snapshots of amusing signs and naked friends. But the Panopticon aspect is really most visible in the world of politics and activism. In the US, in last November's national election, a group calling itself 'video vote vigil' asked citizens to keep a watch for polling place abuses and problems, recording them if possible with digital cameras or camera phones. In the UK, the delightfully-named 'Blair Watch Project' was an effort, coordinated by the newspaper *The Guardian*, to keep tabs on Prime Minister Tony Blair as he campaigns around the country. The project was prompted by the Labour party's decision to limit Blair's media exposure on the trail; instead he was covered by more cameras than ever.

Even if the term *sousveillance* is recent, the action isn't. An early well-known *sousveillance* effort - long pre-dating the term - is the Witness project. Founded in 1992 by musician Peter Gabriel, Witness has partnered with over 200 human rights groups in 50 countries, supplying video cameras and communication gear to allow people on the scene to document abuses of human rights. Witness attempts to create pressure for change by shining a light on injustice around the world. These are remarkably brave people. If the worst *sousveillance* supporters in the US may face is being escorted out of a department store, the worst Witness activists might face is torture and death. But the Witness cameras stand alone; their only connection is via the hand delivery of videotape. Things change when you can send your exposé over the Internet. Once damning photos or video have been released onto the web, there's no bringing them back.

The three-step process of See, Snap, Send, when empowered by digital technology, can be revolutionary action.

Unfortunately, people carrying video cameras, even small ones, are pretty obvious. But people carrying mobile phones are not. Videophones and higher-bandwidth networks will transform activism. It's easy to alter images from a single camera. Somewhat less simple, but still quite possible, is the alteration of images from a few cameras, owned by different photographers or media outlets. But when you have images from dozens or hundreds or thousands of digital cameras and cameraphones, in the hands of citizen witnesses? At that point, I start siding with the pictures being real.

³¹ The works of Della Porta and Reiter (1998); Doyle (2003); Fillieulle and Tartakowsky (2013); and Marx (1998) established that the presence of mass media's cameras at mass public demonstrations has a 'moderating' or 'pacifying' effect on police use of force toward members of the public participating in such events. For example, Marx (1998: 257) found, in the context of the policing of highly-mediated public demonstrations, "Police may conclude that rigidly enforcing the law through the use of overwhelming force will be counterproductive... The presence of the mass media is an important factor here serving to moderate police behavior." Similarly, Fillieulle and Tartakowsky (2013: 111) also observed that the presence of media scrutiny 'on the ground' affects how the police manage the maintenance of order – "[the police] are aware that the presence of the media limits their room to maneuver by forcing them to behave correctly. When we consider the propensity of the rank-and-file to exercise unwarranted violence against demonstrators, we realize the full import of this point."

³² While there is some sociological debate in relation to the applicability of Goffman's theory of dramaturgy outside the context of the 'total institution', the researcher advances, with the support of various scholars cited in this study (Doyle, Goldsmith, Meyrowitz, Thompson), that this model has significant relevance and applicability in examining the conduct of individuals in other situations, including (for the purposes of this project) the conduct of the police while in public *milieux*.

³³ Castells works on this subject matter began in (or around) 1996; in that year his article *The Net and the Self: Working Notes for a Critical Theory of the Informational Society* was published. His most recent published work is the 2012 book *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age*. Castells' most famous work is likely his *Information Age* trilogy: *The Rise of the Network Society*, *The Power of Identity*, and *End of the Millennium*. Halcli and Webster (2000: 79) characterize the three-volume work as "a compelling synthesis of theory and empirically grounded comparative case studies." Frank Webster (2006: 98) lauds Castells as "the leading living thinker on the character of contemporary society" and favourably compares his sociological significance to that of Marx, Weber, and Durkheim.

³⁴ Castells related the present historical transformations to three major independent global processes begun in the 1960s and 1970s: the economic crises in both Western capitalism and Soviet statism; the new information and technological paradigm; and the cultural challenges instigated by social movements – for example, environmentalism and feminism (Castells 2010a: 1-27). These three processes have resulted in a new economic reality (the globalized information-based economy), a new social structure (the 'network society'), and a new culture (the culture of 'real virtuality' organized around the new electronic media) on a global scale — "...in sum...there emerged a new form of social organization, the network society" (Castells 2004a: 22). Castells (2010a: 500) advanced,

As an historical trend, dominant functions and processes in the Information Age are increasingly organized around networks. Networks constitute the new social morphology of our societies, and the diffusion of networking logic substantially modifies the operation and outcomes in processes of production, experience, power, and culture. While the networking form of social organization has existed in other times and spaces, the new information technology paradigm provides the basis for its pervasive expansion throughout the entire social structure.

“A network society is a society whose social structure is made of networks powered by microelectronics-based information and communication technologies” (Castells 2004a: 3). Castells (2004c: 3) defined social structure as “the organizational arrangements of humans in relation to production, consumption, reproduction, experience, and power expressed in meaningful communication coded by culture.” He defined a network as a decentralized matrix of interconnected ‘nodes’ through which communication occurs with multidirectional freedom that is neither time-bound nor spatially restricted (Castells 2001: 116-136, 2010a: 500-501). Castells (2010a: 501, emphasis added) applied the concept of ‘nodes’ from ‘Information Theory’ to his conceptualization of the ‘network society’ — ‘nodes’ (in their practical applications) “depend on the kind of concrete networks of which we speak. They are...[among a litany of things] television systems...news teams, and *mobile devices* generating, transmitting, and receiving signals in the global network of *the new media at the roots of cultural expression and public opinion in the Information Age*.”

³⁵ Castells (2004b: 8-9) distinguished three types of social movement identities: *legitimizing* (manifest in the “dominant institutions of society”), *resistance* (“building trenches of resistance and survival on the basis of principles different from, or opposed to, those permeating the institutions of society...[leading] to the formation of communes”), and *project* (“social actors, on the basis of whatever cultural materials are available to them, build a new identity that redefines their position in society and, by so doing, seek the transformation of overall social structure”). Calabrese (1999: 177) concurred, in relation to Castells’ ‘trichotomy of identities’, that *project identities* can transform civil society if they are able to alter state power — “in contrast to *resistance identities*, *project identities* seek to move beyond relations of exclusion by seeking to transform existing institutions or by constructing new ones.” The feminist movement is an example of a *project identity*. I suggest (and elaborate in Chapters Five and Six) that a considerable constituency in our contemporary society can be characterized as a *project identity* — in terms of a significant cultural shift resulting from growing citizen’s concerns with police-citizen violence and their demands for more accountable and professional policing.

³⁶ In *The Network Society: A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (2004: 14-32), Castells devoted an entire chapter in dispelling the notion of technological determinism or the idea that social evolution led inevitably to the ‘network society’.

³⁷ In his analysis of ‘network society’ technologies Thompson (2005: 37-38) articulated his views, which are consistent with those of Meyrowitz, Castells, and this researcher (and he presents a significant contribution to the discussion of police-citizen violent interactions):

The rise of the Internet and other digital technologies has amplified the significance of the new forms of visibility created by the media and at the same time rendered them more complex. They have greatly increased the flow of audio-visual content

into the networks of communication and enabled a much wider range of individuals to create and disseminate this content. Moreover, given the nature of the Internet, it is much more difficult to control the flow of symbolic content within it, and hence much more difficult for those in power to ensure that the images made available to individuals are those they would wish to see circulated. Ever since the advent of print, political rulers have found it impossible to control completely the new kind of visibility made possible by the media and to shape it entirely to their liking; now, with the rise of the Internet and other digital technologies, it is more difficult than ever.

³⁸ Dovey's assessment is interesting in the context of the discussion engaged throughout this thesis in relation to medium, processes of interpretation, and the notion of 'seeing is believing'.

³⁹ Interestingly, Ian Loader (1997: 3-5) previously asserted, in a historical context, that the police not only manifested coercive power but also symbolic power (which he characterized as an elaboration of the work of Bourdieu) – “a power of constituting the given through...making people see and believe...of confirming or transforming the vision of the world...an almost magical power which enables one to obtain the equivalent of what is obtained through force.”

⁴⁰ In defining the concept of risk in this context, Ericson and Doyle (2003: 2) related, “the basic idea is simple: risk refers to threats or dangers attributed to persons, technologies, or nature. It also refers to the chance or probability that these threats or dangers will result in adverse consequences for a specified party.”

⁴¹ Scholars influenced by Foucault's work on governmentality addressed important social issues around risk and governance from a different theoretical perspective than those of Beck and Giddens.

⁴² Lupton (2006: 19) advanced, “While most sociological research on risk has thus far focused on environmental, health and technological risks, a number of intriguing studies conducted by sociologists have examined other aspects of risk.”

⁴³ In their Introduction to *Risk and Morality* (2003: 14) Ericson and Doyle observed that the substantial social change associated with the concept of risk (as approached by Beck) “perhaps” justifies the use of the term ‘risk society’, “albeit in a way markedly different from Beck's use of it” (as was executed in this book's chapters authored by Ian Hacking and David Garland). I understand (and have proceeded on the basis that) the broad concept of risk in our ‘risk society’ is useful and applicable to analysis of a range of socio-political and cultural issues, phenomena, and transformations.

⁴⁴ Political actors are more visible to more people and more closely scrutinized than they ever were in the past and more exposed to the risk that their actions may be disclosed in ways that conflict with the images they wish to project (Thompson 2005). “Activities that were carried out clandestinely or in privacy were suddenly made visible in the public domain, ...” (Thompson 2005: 42). Thompson's observations around political actors can seamlessly be substituted for police actors in relation to police violence in society. With the new visibility in our society police activities that were carried out in secrecy and subject to official explanations and denials, augmented through cooperation with traditional media, are now exposed to the broad citizenry. The institution of policing cannot control the flow of information nor offer viable counter-

constructions capable of challenging the images made available through citizen journalism. Scandal can accompany such disclosures of police misconduct; as such behaviours are contradictory to expectations of police in our society and can engender significant public outrage (as was the case in the King and Dziekański occurrences and in the Toronto G20 police response to protests).

⁴⁵ Garland (2003: 78-79) found that the process of individualization has “been a recipe for insecurity, for low levels of commitment and diminishing social trust” and he articulated that destabilized social relations are sources of insecurity.

And insecurities, like risks, are interactive, feeding off one another and corroding the trust upon which modern social life increasingly depends. If we live in a ‘risk society’ it is not in the sense of one that is more dangerous by any objective measure. If we live in a risk society it is because we are now more democratically engaged, more reflexively rational, and more prone to distrust in our engagement with the phenomenon that were previous generations.

⁴⁶ Of course, in certain minority and marginalized communities issues with police were viewed as a significant and longstanding problem but such concerns had little prominence outside these relatively isolated social pockets of resistance to the hegemonic societal approval of the police.

⁴⁷ Other scholars have specifically addressed risk and surveillance, which are also relevant considerations, as discussed earlier in this chapter. For example, David Lyon (2004: 137) found that “surveillance has become increasingly bound up with the mediation of risk”, while George Rigakos (2002) asserted that risk narratives are intertwined with the discipline and social surveillance inherent to the contemporary social order. Bethan Loftus and Benjamin Goold (2011: 276) suggested that “the obsession with surveillance is [driven by] anxiety around potential future risk behaviours” and that surveillance developments can be understood in the context of managing risk, which is “itself a response to the feelings of fear and insecurity which are endemic to the fragmented communities of late modernity.”

⁴⁸ Rigakos (2002: 17) challenges the veracity of the claims of Ericson and Haggerty (1997) in relation to the impact of risk narratives on police actions and decision making power in society and takes issue with the characterization of the police as “automatons enslaved by risk information demands.”

⁴⁹ Reiner (2010) discussed the notion of ‘police property’ as it related to persons in society that were shunned and left to be dealt with by police, in whatever manner the police chose to employ in managing the challenges presented by these persons to mainstream society. “A category becomes police property when the dominant powers of society...leave the problems of social control of that category to the police.’ They are low-status, powerless groups who the dominant majority sees as problematic or distasteful. The majority is prepared to let the police deal with their ‘property’ and turn a blind eye to the manner in which this is done” (Lee 1981 53-54 as cited by Reiner 2010: 123).

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH METHODS

4.1 The Research Question

How has the pervasiveness of mobile telephone videorecording capabilities among the broad citizenry and the ability of citizens to directly disseminate their recordings to 'the public' through Web 2.0 social media (YouTube, websites, etc.) impacted on individual police use of force behaviour and on institutional policing policies and practices? This fundamental research question, seeking to develop an understanding of interrelated contemporary social phenomena, functioned throughout the project to provide an overarching structuring which informed both the methodological conceptualizations (the philosophical framework and research assumptions) and the ultimate research design and choices of research method. Sharlene Hesse-Biber (2010: 24-30) insisted that the research question itself should be the 'pivotal' consideration in guiding the design of the research project; she applies the 'cart before the horse' metaphor in cautioning against the tendency to pursue '*methods-centric*' research – in which a "methods focus sometimes turns into the driving force" and data collection becomes unrelated to a theoretical perspective. Subsidiary questions were developed which operationalized the studies' specific areas of inquiry and the problematic.

4.2 Research Design

The design stage of research involves a series of important decisions about the project. Bruce Berg (2009: 41-42) reviewed some of the significant questions implicated in designing social sciences research projects: What type of information will be gathered and what methods of data collection are best suited to the project's objectives? What

overall approach will the research follow – qualitative, quantitative, mixed methods, or others? Where will the research be undertaken and among what group of people? Will the study be framed by a single overarching theory or will it be informed by several interrelated theories? Through careful deliberation around the research question and the project’s objectives these questions were operationalized in the final research design – which ultimately involves a case study of urban policing in Ontario (at two different data sites), approached pragmatically through the employment of mixed methods research, within a paradigm of interpretivism (with a critical edge that entertains considerations of power and control – *critical interpretivism*)⁵⁰ and informed by relevant and illuminating theories (as discussed in Chapter Three).

4.3 Methodologies, Assumptions, Reflexivity, and Researcher Positionality

All studies are informed and guided by the worldviews of the researcher(s) – the underlying philosophical assumptions and understandings about the world and the nature of knowledge that unquestionably influence research design and the conduct of research projects (Creswell & Plano-Clark 2007; Denzin 2004; Guba & Lincoln 2005; Hesse-Biber & Leavy 2004; Olson 2011; Schulenberg 2007; Teddlie & Tashakkari 2003). Natasha Mauthner and Andrea Doucet (2003: 415) articulated that social sciences methods are not neutral techniques but rather that they are infused with epistemological assumptions. Hesse-Biber and Patricia Leavy (2004: 7) observed, “methodological questions address how a researcher can ascertain the information believed to be knowable. In other words, what methods of inquiry will access the data a researcher is interested in?” Mauthner and Doucet (2003: 416-424) cautioned that the researcher must be aware of (and articulate) subjectivities and epistemological assumptions underpinning

the researcher's knowledge construction – including the researcher's social, emotional, and intellectual location. They further found that interpersonal, political, and institutional contexts in which researchers are embedded play a key role in choices in research. Given my position as an operational police officer during some of this research project, researcher reflexivity was an important consideration and this thesis contains explicit disclosure of my relevant biography, subjectivities, and assumptions.

Ontological and epistemological assumptions of the researcher can be best characterized within the broad philosophical framework of interpretivism, which advances the fundamental premise that the perspective of those who experience and make sense of ('live within') a phenomenon (and who construct its meaning and interpret it) is the best source of understanding of that phenomenon. Such an understanding incorporates a holistic worldview that accepts the premise that meanings and realities are socially constructed, individual, dynamic, and contextual and that they can be diverse, varied, and subject to change based on perceptions. I approached this study using a hybrid paradigmatic scheme that embraced constructivism and pragmatism in the project's research methodologies.

The constructivist paradigm stands for the premise that meaning is formed through the subjective views of research participants. "When participants provide their understandings, they speak from meanings shaped by social interaction with others and from their own personal histories. In this form of inquiry, research is shaped 'from the bottom up'; from individual perspectives to broad patterns and, ultimately to theory" (Creswell & Plano-Clark 2007: 22). Pragmatism, typically associated with mixed methods research and 'real-world' research practices, focuses on "the primary importance

of the question asked rather than the methods, and multiple methods of data collection inform the problem under study. Thus it is pluralistic and oriented toward ‘what works’ and practice” (Creswell & Plano-Clark 2007: 23).

Researcher Reflexivity

The competent researcher must be reflexive about the underlying ontological and epistemological assumptions that influence the methodological choices in the project (such as the paradigm from which the researcher will approach the study) and that are inevitably built into the research design. Reflexivity refers to the range of influences on the researcher and the researcher's held beliefs and feelings about the world (Denzin & Lincoln 2005; Findlay 2003; Guba & Lincoln 2005; Mauthner & Doucet 2003). The essence of reflexivity involves introspection by the researcher in being responsive to, and reflecting on, potential assumptions, worldviews, or tacit theories in their research design and practice. In other words, researcher reflexivity involves the critical examination of one's subjectivities and the identification of how they interact with, impact on, and transform the research process (Findlay 2003; Greene 2007; Kirby *et al.* 2006; Mason & Dale 2011; Olson 2011; Teddlie & Tashakkori 2003). Charles Gallagher (2004: 217) advanced, “Data does not ‘speak for itself’ nor does it ‘emerge’ in a vacuum. Who we are (and appear to be in a specific context) influences the questions we ask, the responses we get, and the scholarship we produce...”

Objectivity is a cornerstone in traditional natural sciences research, in terms of notions of validity and reliability. Bent Flyvbjerg (2001) rejected the application of natural sciences' standards for objectivity and validity (among other considerations) while asserting that social research and knowledge creation are value-laden activities and given

that social sciences knowledge production is interpretive, then reflexivity is important. Similarly, Mauthner and Doucet (2003: 424) cautioned that “research which relies on the interpretation of subject accounts can only make sense with a high degree of reflexivity and awareness about the epistemological, theoretical, and ontological conceptions of subjects and subjectivities that bear on [the] research practices.” The practice of sound reflexive practices in social research substantially mitigates methodological traditionalists’ concerns in relation to objectivity and reliability of the study.

Research Paradigms and this Studies’ Pragmatic Use of Mixed Methods

Put simply, quantitative methods of investigation are most often situated within the positivist and post-positivist paradigms, seeking to discover objective truths, and involve precise and accurate scientific measurements “capturing aspects of the social world [and expressed through] numbers, percentages, probability values, variance ratios, etc.” (King & Horrocks 2010: 7). Qualitative research methods, on the other hand, adopt a hermeneutic perspective and do not rely on numeric representations as the unit of analysis, but rather on data that is assumed to be subjective and interpretive. Such research examines the social world through the interpretation of subjective experiences – the meanings that research participants ascribe to the phenomenon being investigated (Denzin & Lincoln 2005; Hesse-Biber & Leavy 2004; King & Horrocks 2010; Porta & Keating 2008; Small 2011). Hesse-Biber (2010: 12) provided an illuminating observation, noting, “A methodological perspective is not inherently quantitative or qualitative in terms of its use of method.”

Given some researchers’ longstanding foundational assumptions of how knowledge is developed (Hesse-Biber 2010) and the divisiveness in relation to paradigmatic

consistency (epistemologically and ontologically coherence with research methods) a brief discussion is required to provide a frame of reference for the researcher's methodological pragmatism and use of mixed methods research in this particular study. So-called traditionalist researchers contend that qualitative and quantitative paradigms hold fundamentally different epistemological assumptions, that methods are inherently either quantitative or qualitative, and therefore the methods that correspond to particular methodological paradigms are incompatible and incapable of effectively coexisting in a single study (Brannen 2005; Brent & Kraska 2012; Denzin & Lincoln 2005; King & Horrocks 2010; Onwuegbuzie & Leech 2005; Porta & Keating 2008; Schulenberg 2007). Distinctions about the nature of research involving "ontology, epistemology, axiology, rhetoric, logic, generalizations and causal linkages" (Onwuegbuzie & Leech 2005: 376) are advanced by purists as disqualifying the mixing of the two research approaches – a '*methodological exclusivism*' (Brent & Kraska 2012). Methodological paradigm wars "involved disputes 'between individuals convinced of the 'paradigm purity' of their own position'" (Teddlie & Tashakkori 2003 as cited in Denzin & Giardina 2009: 43).

In embracing the use of a mixed methods research design I rejected the fundamental premises of the paradigm wars of the past and endorsed the pragmatist contention that the purists' characterization of an exclusionary dichotomy between approaches to research is misguided. Adoption of a pragmatic research orientation renounces the thesis of methodological incompatibility in favour of an inclusive methodology in which different research methods can be effectively and legitimately employed in empirical inquiries (Denzin & Giardina 2009; Greene 2007; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie 2004; Morse 2003; Schulenberg 2007; Teddlie & Tashakkori 2003). I have

allowed the research question (not traditionalist research conventions or epistemological loyalty to a method) to guide the choice of methods in this study (Teddlie & Tashakkori 2003). A pragmatism-based mixed methods epistemological perspective involves the “basic belief that pragmatism, by prioritizing the act of discovery over the justifications for knowledge, may provide the appropriate theoretical scaffolding” (Small 2011: 62). Schulenberg (2007: 101) asserted, “Since the philosophy of pragmatism provides a platform for the pluralism of method, researchers adopting mixed methods suggest that the research question within each stage of the research cycle ‘is more important than either the method they use or the paradigm that underlies the method’ (Teddlie & Tashakkori 2003: 21).”

I advance that the inherent strengths of the various methods relied on in this study are complementary to each other and to the overall project and therefore have contributed a better overall understanding of the social phenomena studied than would be the case with the reliance on single method. Substantial scholarly support endorses my position on the propriety and effectiveness of mixed methods research. For example, Hesse-Biber (2010: 4) observed that ‘*complementarity*’ of quantitative and qualitative data allows for an understanding of “the social story in its entirety.” Norman Denzin and Michael Giardina (2009: 19) asserted, “No one could refute the argument that the use of more than one method produced stronger inferences, answered research questions that other methodologies could not, and allowed greater diversity of findings (Creswell & Clark 2007; Teddlie & Tashakkori 2003).” Hesse-Biber (2010: 2) articulated, “mixed methods research holds greater potential to address [complex social inquiry emanating from new theoretical contributions] by the dynamic interconnections that traditional research

methods have not adequately addressed.”

I posit that through the practice of reflexivity and adherence to research ethics, the concerns of Julia Brannen (2005: 176), in relation to assumptions “raising their heads in the encounter with data” during data analysis and interpretation, have been alleviated in this study. I concur with Jennifer Shulenberg's (2007: 101) observation (in her mixed methods study of police decision making) that “the use of mixed methods allows for the presentation of a larger spectrum of divergent views.” I suggest that it is rather obvious (and perhaps non-controversial – at this juncture in methodological developments and the now widespread use of mixed methods research) that the use of a variety of research methods yields more complete knowledge of a multi-faceted issue (such as that which is the subject of this investigation) than can any single method. Schulenberg (2007: 116) observed that the adoption of a mixed method approach, given different traditional research purposes – to verify (confirmatory) versus to generate (exploratory) theory, “requires a certain degree of conceptual gymnastics on the part of the researcher and the audience.” Through complimentary and compatible mixed research methods in the investigation of this subject, I feel confident that such concerns are not problematic to the reader’s understanding in this study. Teddlie and Tashakkori (2003: 15) concluded that mixed methods research “enables the researcher to simultaneously answer confirmatory and exploratory questions and therefore verify and generate theory in the same study.”

Researcher ‘Positionality’ and Insider/Outsider Research

I addressed the study from a position inside the policing institution and with the benefit of considerable experience as an operational police officer and with police use of force. Engaging in research from ‘insider’ positions can, in some projects, present ethical

and/or methodological dilemmas (aspects of which have been discussed in this thesis in the context of reflexivity and others will be examined later in the section titled *Potential Problems and Ethical Issues/Considerations*). Given my insider positioning in this project, some framing of scholarly positions on this issue is necessary in addressing this aspect of the data collection.

Insider research has historically been treated as suspect, a position taken by some scholars arising from methodological challenges to researcher positionality based on perceived lack of objectivity, in the context of the larger paradigmatic disputes, and debates on “knowledge creation and transfer between practitioners and academics” (Rynes *et al.* 2001 as cited in Brannick & Coghlan 2007: 61). The outsider doctrine, in what some methodology scholars consider to be a dichotomous contrast to that of the insider doctrine, can be succinctly characterized as exemplifying the tenets of positivism and notions of the scientific ideal in the neutral, distanced, and detached researcher – subscribing to Georg Simmel’s (1950) assertion that “only the neutral outsider can achieve an objective account of human interactions” (Mercer 2007: 5). Janice Morse (1998: 61) suggested, “It is not wise for an investigator to conduct a qualitative study in a setting where he or she is already employed and has a work role. The dual roles of the investigator and employee are incompatible, and they may place the researcher in an untenable position.”

Robert Merton instigated much of the contemporary insider versus outsider researcher debates in the 1970s (Labaree 2002; Mercer 2007) and he advanced,

...the insider-outsider position [is] an epistemological principle centered on the issue of access...In this framework, the insider is an individual who possesses intimate knowledge of the community and its members due to previous and ongoing association with that community and its members. The

general assumption is that this intimate knowledge offers insights that are difficult or impossible to access by an outsider (Labaree 2002: 100 citing Merton 1972).

Similarly, Merton (1972: 15) characterized the outsider as “[having] a structurally imposed incapacity to comprehend alien groups, statuses, cultures and societies... [because the researcher]...has neither been socialized in the group nor has engaged in the run of experience that makes up its life...”

Justine Mercer (2007: 5-6, echoing the findings of Hammersley 1993) suggested, “There are no overwhelming advantages to being an insider or an outsider. Each position has advantages and disadvantages, although these will take on slightly different weights depending on the particular circumstances and purposes of the research.” John Stanfield (2011: 286), in rejecting the insider/outsider dichotomy in sociological research, advanced a line of thought that observed, “only those researchers emerging from the life worlds of their ‘subject’ can be adequate interpreters of such experiences.” As is clear from the way this project was conducted, I subscribe to the body of methodological scholarship that supports the value of insider research and appreciate, in the final analysis, the significant advantages this positionality afforded me in the particular circumstances and purposes of the research.

In their advocacy for insider research and their repudiation of the position of Morse (1998) – who suggested an inherent incompatibility, Teresa Brannick and David Coghlan (2007: 60) endorsed that through the practice of reflexive awareness “researchers as actors immersed in local situations generating contextually embedded knowledge that emerges from experience...” can produce valuable and valid scholarship. They concluded, “In our view, insider research is not problematic in itself and is respectable

research in whatever paradigm it is undertaken (Brannick & Coghlan 2007: 72). In assessing the value of 'insiderness' Robert Labaree (2002: 103) found insider researchers can have privileged access to information unobtainable otherwise and is therefore valuable in some research initiatives in exposing otherwise "hidden truths the public is unaware of" or "the 'unseen reality'". He determined, "The idea is that the relative position of the participant observer can reveal a new perspective, a hidden meaning, or a unique understanding that is not otherwise achievable by an outsider" (Labaree 2002: 103). Research benefits can also be realized because the status of insider can contribute to the establishment of initial levels of trust and may result in informants sharing more information in more open exchanges with the researcher (Hsiung 1996; Labaree 2002).

C. Wright Mills (1959: 195-196, emphasis added) perhaps most eloquently described the views of this researcher on the insider-outsider researcher discussion within social research as he imparted a personal statement on how he went about his craft while addressing prospective social science scholars who were beginning their own independent work,

...the most admirable thinkers within the scholarly community you have chosen to join do not split their work from their lives...But you will have recognized that as a scholar you have the exceptional opportunity of designing a way of living which will encourage the habits of good workmanship. Scholarship is a choice of how to live as well as a choice of career..***What this means is that you must learn to use your life experience in your intellectual work: continually to examine and interpret it.*** In this sense craftsmanship is the center of yourself and you are personally involved in every intellectual product upon which you may work.

4.4 Case Study Research

Through the generation of concrete, practical, and context-dependent knowledge the case study can provide reliable information about a broader issue (Flyvbjerg 2001,

2006). Micro-level analyses contribute to more general theoretical accounts by focusing on specific points in the larger setting, thereby providing them with their inspiration and raw material (Berg 2009; Garland 2001). It is through the application of ‘on the ground’ case studies that theory can be informed; this project involved a descriptive case study – in which theory guided the collection of data and ultimately the data obtained informed theory.

Robert Yin (2003: 1) advised, “In general, case studies are the preferred strategy when ‘how’ or ‘why’ questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon with some real life context.” This investigation applied an interpretive approach to the research and can be considered an instrumental case study – as contrasted with intrinsic or collective case studies (Stake 1995, 2005) and a descriptive case study – as contrasted with exploratory or explanatory case studies (Yin 2003). An instrumental case study involves the examination of a particular case to develop insight into a wider issue or make a contribution to a theory. The case investigated is in support of a greater understanding of a particular phenomenon. A descriptive case study is often used to illustrate events and their specific contexts. This specific case was chosen because it could afford an understanding of one significant aspect of a wider phenomenon – the social transformations that have occurred with the new visibility of contemporary ‘network society’ (Castells).

Robert Stake (2005: 450) observed, “Achieving the greatest understanding of the critical phenomena depends on choosing the case well.” Case studies are particularly well suited to sociological inquiries involving holistic, in-depth investigation and are designed

to tease out details from the viewpoint of the research participants by using multiple sources of data (Tellis 1997). Flyvbjerg (2001) found that locating a critical case requires experience and it was my policing experience (as discussed) that led the operational decision-making in this study, which I consider a well-chosen case. One of the considerations in this case selection was practicality, in that this study was reasonable in size and complexity for the scope of the present project while yet still allowing for a meaningful contribution to knowledge and an insightful examination of the phenomena under investigation.

Another consideration in this study was that of access to the necessary data to complete such a project. While being situated within the case setting presents some fodder for skeptics to pose challenges related to objectivity and validity claims (and mandates the practice of researcher reflexivity, as discussed) it also presented a unique opportunity at entry into a challenging and secretive subculture and access to honest and unreserved data that is not normally available to academic researchers (a very significant consideration that will be elaborated later in this thesis).

I was mindful during the design of this research (and its analysis) of Stake's (2005) guidance in regard to the epistemological question of what can be learned about the single case, in the context of designing the study to optimize understanding of the case rather than looking to generalize beyond it. Stake (2005: 448) cautioned, "Damage occurs when the commitment to generalize or to theorize runs so strong that the researcher's attention is drawn away from features important to understanding the case itself." Flyvbjerg (2001:77) found that "the 'generalizability' of case studies can be increased by strategic selection of *critical cases*" (original emphasis). Dennis Rosenbaum (2010: 146)

observed, “Case studies can be problematic for making... ‘general causal inferences’ to other agencies or settings (Shadish *et al.* 2002)...[however] these problems can be addressed by using...multiple methods and measures, and multiple locations.”

4. 5 Mixed Methods Research

Flyvbjerg (2001: 75) advanced that “the choice of method should clearly depend on the problem under study and its circumstances.” While acknowledging a lack of definitional consensus among mixed methods research scholars, John Creswell and Vicki Plano-Clark (2007: 5) provided a broad definition of this research method,

...a research design with philosophical assumptions as well as methods of inquiry. As a methodology, it involves philosophical assumptions that guide the direction of the collection and analysis of data and the mixture of qualitative and quantitative approaches in many phases of the research process. As a method, it focuses on collecting, analyzing, and mixing both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study or series of studies. Its central premise is that the use of quantitative and qualitative approaches in combination provides a better understanding of research problems than either approach alone.

As discussed, mixed methods research is ideal for studies in which one source of data (evidence) would be inadequate to produce a complete understanding of the phenomena under investigation (Creswell & Plano-Clark 2007; Hesse-Biber 2010; Porta & Keating 2008; Teddlie & Tashakkori 2003). This research design allows “words, pictures, and narrative [to] be used to add meaning to numbers” (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie 2004: 21).

Through the use of mixed methods the strengths of each method offsets the weaknesses of other methods employed – often referred to as ‘*complementarity*’ (Onwuegbuzie & Leech 2005; Small 2011). In this study, the use of quantitative data alone would not have allowed for further contextualization and expansion of the issues explored in the survey; the ‘voices’ of research participants, providing rich descriptions,

would not be heard; and the researcher's data contribution and potential biases and interpretations would not have been discussed. Alternatively, an exclusively qualitative would be unable to provide information on the scope (or breadth) of the phenomena across a larger population under investigation or to generalize findings to the larger context, given the small sample size of police officers in the qualitative interview phase of the project (Creswell & Plano-Clark 2007).

This mixed methods research project employed a follow-up explanations model within the two-phase explanatory sequential design. "The overall purpose of this design is that qualitative data helps explain or build upon initial quantitative results....The follow-up explanations model is used when a researcher needs qualitative data to explain or expand on quantitative results" (Creswell & Plano-Clark 2007: 71-72). In arriving at the decision to use this model, I made the determination, after careful deliberation, that this research design best answered the research questions and also ideally addressed the nature of the research problem under investigation – in that it was important to initially identify whether the phenomenon actually existed in a 'real world' context (as opposed to the more theoretically-oriented analysis of Goldsmith 2010) and if so, to what extent did the issue manifest for the two aspects of policing being studied (front line individual police officers and the policing institution)?

Building upon the analysis of the 231 survey questionnaires returned in the study, the second phase of the research was engaged to provide a variety of perspectives, explanations, and rich detailed descriptions in arriving at a comprehensive understanding of the issues being studied. Jennifer Greene *et al.* (1989: 259 as cited in Hesse-Biber 2010: 5) framed this as a "synergistic effect", whereby the "results from one

method...help develop or inform the other method.” Hesse-Biber (2010: 5) advanced, “For example, statistical data collected from a quantitative method can often shape interview questions for the qualitative portion of one’s study” – which was the regimen followed in this research project.

Through using a complementary variety of qualitative and quantitative methods to plumb the depths of this research I have achieved (in my opinion) the “judgment and expertise in social and political affairs” that Flyvbjerg (2001: 86) advances stems from “researchers who engage with the minutiae of case narratives [and thereby] gain an awareness of the issues under study that cannot be obtained through other methods.” For example, Northey *et al.* 2012: 82) advocated that ethnographic research is “often effectively combined with interviews to gain a deeper understanding of the norms and rules of the subculture and the observed behaviours of the members.” This combination of methods was used in this research project and allowed penetration into the inner workings of police subculture, which, as will be elaborated, is a challenging task in policing research.

Triangulation

Flyvbjerg (2005: 81) contended that “...the value of the case study will depend on the validity claims which researchers can place on their study.” The arguments of researchers, in relation to credibility in their research findings and validity in their research designs, can be strengthened when their declarations originate from a multiplicity of data sources, each making the subject under investigation visible in a different way and achieving redundancy of data (Stake 2005). This mutual confirmation of measures and validation of findings through multiple sources of data is often referred

to as triangulation – the combining of several lines of sight directed at the same point and a convergence of the data, or in other words, the verification of findings emerging from one source of data with those derived from another data source (Berg 2009; Denzin & Lincoln 2005; Hesse-Biber 2010; Kadushin *et al.* 2008; Small 2011; Tashakkori & Teddlie 2003; Woodside 2010). Such a protocol allows researchers to “obtain a better, more substantive picture of reality...and a means of verifying many of these elements” (Berg 2009: 5). The potential for the triangulation of results was an objective that was considered and then incorporated into this project’s research design and therefore the use of multiple data-gathering techniques through a mixed methods model made this achievement a *possibility* (which will be assessed and discussed later in this thesis).

4.6 Potential Problems and Ethical Issues/Considerations

Ethics Clearance for Research with Human Subjects

As this research project involved interaction with human subjects, ethics clearance was sought from the Research Ethics Board of Carleton University, who found that this project met appropriate ethical standards as outlined in the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans* (second edition) and internal university policies. Ethics clearance was granted on 31 August 2012 (refer to Appendix A).

Challenges to Accessing Data in Policing Research

Loftus (2009: 202) advanced, “Researchers have long documented the challenges and issues associated with gaining access to the police for academic study.” Paul Dawson and Emma Williams (2009: 373-374), who worked within the Metropolitan (London) Police in that agencies’ Research Unit, noted, “...it is no exaggeration to state that the relationship between the police and research has been uneasy over the years...[and that]

defining features of police organizations are their apparent sense of loyalty and skepticism of research.” Similarly, Brannick and Coghlan (2007: 71) related the observations of insider researcher Malcolm Young (1991) who served in the Newcastle (United Kingdom) Police while pursuing academic research and who “reported how there was a culture of secrecy within the police force of which he was a member. Social science research was equated with claptrap and anyone engaged in it ran the risk of being labeled a traitor...” Holmes and Smith (2008: 9) found, “Undoubtedly, methodological problems confound efforts to study the clandestine behavior of the police”; while Scot Wortley (2006:5) concluded, “The few Canadian studies that have been conducted (into police use of force and potential racial bias) have been plagued by methodological issues including small sample size and a reliance on newspaper coverage of police shooting incidents.”

As was discussed in the preceding chapters, the police subculture can manifest a code of silence among police officers and a sweeping suspicion of ‘civilians’ (Blake 1981; Chan 2007; Chappel & Lanza-Kaduce 2010; Loftus 2009, 2010; O’Neill *et al.* 2007; Skolnick 1966, Wortley 2006). This has potential implications in relation to police violence that will be discussed later; however this policing mindset and worldview also impacts significantly on the ability of researchers to access meaningful data in studies of particular aspects of policing (particularly the probing of insider police workings and interpersonal issues and conflict). As Loftus (2009: 203) found, “The initial stages of the research were characterized by widespread suspicion towards me and the study.” Ericson (1982: 50) also found that police officers he studied only opened-up after spending

“endless hours...in the privacy of the patrol car with no shift activity.” Rosenbaum (2010: 144) found,

Too often the police practitioner views the outside researcher as potentially harmful and, at best, irrelevant...On the other side, researchers often view [the police] as defensive, unwilling to critically examine existing practices...Many researchers have been critical of police practices, questioning their decision-making without having detailed knowledge of the internal and external constraints at play.

Chappell and Lanza-Kaduce (2010) discussed the challenges faced by outside researchers in gaining access, and more significantly acceptance, into the traditionally insular and reticent policing subculture. In their research they cite previous scholarship by Van Maanen (1978) and Adler and Adler (1987) confirming the impediments academics face in researching the police. Wortley (2006: 10) established that there “is a general subcultural dictate that a police officer should never ‘snitch’ or ‘rat’ on a fellow officer.” In the context of ‘police property’ (Lee 1981), as discussed earlier, Reiner (2010: 123-124) enumerated and discussed seven police-relevant categories, “generated by their power to cause problems, and their congruency [or incongruency] to the police value system”, one of which are ‘*challengers*’ (Holdaway 1983: 71-77) – who are defined as,

...those whose job routinely allows them to penetrate the secrecy of police culture, and gives them power and information with which they might challenge police control of their ‘property’....Doctors, lawyers, journalists, and social workers are in this position (*as are police researchers!*). Efforts will be made to minimize their intrusions and presentations skill used to colour what they see....[and to thwart] penetration of the backstage areas of the police milieu...and [the] piercing [of] the low visibility which shrouds police decisions on the street and in the station...(Reiner 2010: 134, emphasis added, exclamation point in original).

Given my operational policing experience it was anticipated in the project design that my insider positioning might facilitate access to the research participants (the key informants) required for the sampling in this project (Labaree 2002). As discussed,

insiders can, in certain instances, overcome traditional research impediments, including gatekeeper exclusions. However, Loftus (2009: 203), in corroborating the findings of Ericson (1982), found that “being granted formal access by senior officers can in fact heighten the suspicions of the lower ranking members of the police organization.

Although I had been granted access by senior officers, accomplishing the trust of the rank and file was something I needed to negotiate on a daily basis.” Police at the lower ranks are the most resistant to being investigated by academic researchers (Ericson 1982; Marks 2004). Penetrating barriers to trust presented as the most significant (and daunting) research impediment in the research design, given that the objectives of the study was to inquire into the very private and personal views and behaviours of individual front line police officers. As will be elaborated, it was by establishing trust with research participants and accessing data that is essentially inaccessible to most other researchers that this project sought to make a unique contribution to sociological inquiry and to the limited scholarship in this important area of contemporary social relations.

Power Relations

In relation to power relations, an important consideration in the conduct of research with human subjects, in this project the researcher adhered to a regimen that was developed after much reflection and particularized in ethics clearance. This regimen was designed to mitigate potential deleterious effects on the discursive production of knowledge during the administering of surveys and the interviewing of research participants. The academic research role of the researcher in data collection initiatives (as *strictly* a graduate student pursuing academic research and *specifically not* as a police officer or in any affiliation to the Ottawa Police Service) was explicitly articulated in both

printed materials and in preambles to personal interaction with research participants and prior to the collection of any data. Further, a protocol was developed, and adhered to, in which no research participant was included within the project over whom the researcher had, at any time, any supervisory capacity or influence, in terms of their career, nor was anyone eligible for participation in the study with whom the researcher had ever worked, or had any form of professional or personal relationship (other than sharing the same employer or occupation). As the actual data collection progressed, it was found that very few of the police officers who participated in the study were known by the researcher (none of the participants from the Toronto Police were known and less than 20% of those from the Ottawa Police were persons who were even superficially familiar to the researcher through being employed by the same organization).

Disclosure of Potentially Problematic/Consequential Information

One potentially problematic issue to this study (that was not encountered in any of the literature reviewed) arose during research design deliberations. I developed a concern that, under Canadian law, no protection-of-identity privilege attaches to information received by an academic researcher from a research participant in relation to the commission of criminal acts or the participant's witnessing of a criminal occurrence. Unlike other entrenched provisions in law, which specifically proscribe the disclosure of the identity of an individual who provides confidential information (such as the solicitor/client privilege and the confidential police informer privilege), no such protection would be applicable to the identity of a research participant in the circumstances of this study.

Given that this research inquired into police use of force, I was alive to the potential for research participants to disclose their prior use of unlawful force in their policing career (as was earlier described in the context of the mémoires of Metropolitan Police Commissioner Robert Mark) or to disclose witnessing a policing colleague doing so. The unlawful use of force is essentially a synonym for the crime of assault (punishable within Canada's *Criminal Code*) or, alternatively, a police disciplinary infraction of abuse of authority or the use of excessive force (under Ontario's *Police Services Act*). While highly unlikely in practice, but certainly a relevant consideration on theoretical and ethical planes in terms of anonymity and confidentiality protections afforded to research participants, legal efforts could (at least in theory) be pursued by police agencies in attempts to compel disclosure of a research participant's identity in furtherance of an investigation into an event disclosed by a research participant in the research setting.

The appreciation of this potentiality required the development of an innovative mechanism that would protect the anonymity of front-line police officers that participated in interviews, in the event any of them possessed such knowledge and were comfortable enough to make disclosure of such information to me. The protocol that was developed, and approved through ethics clearance, involved the verbal cautioning of all front-line police officers at the outset of each interview against disclosing any potentially 'sensitive' information during the interview (including information in relation to that interviewee engaging in police use of force that could be interpreted as inappropriate or misconduct, and/or potentially unlawful, or witnessing any such actions by another police officer). Similar written instructions formed part of the Operational Police - Interview

Consent Form (refer to Appendix B) that were carefully reviewed with each participant prior to each interview.

Research participants were instructed that in the event they possessed knowledge of any such 'sensitive' information that might be of potential interest to the study and that they felt comfortable sharing with the researcher and having included in the studies' data, they could send a follow-up document, absent any identifiers, by post to my attention at the Sociology Department. Through this protocol any such 'sensitive' data would arrive into the study from a source entirely unknown to the researcher and would thus be impossible for anyone to attribute the received document to any particular research participant. Six such documents arrived to the researcher's attention, from research participants that are unidentifiable and unascertainable.

4.7 Data Collection Methods

Research Data Sites – Urban Environments

In organizing my emerging thoughts around the phenomenon of increased social visibility of policing in our society and its impact on operational police officer (and then in conceptualizing this study) I engaged in many conversations with police officers I came across over the past few years on this topic. Through those informal and anecdotal discussions I came to realize that this phenomenon is particular to areas where there are concentrations of people. As explained by several officers from the Ontario Provincial Police, whose duties are conducted in rural or small town environments, there is essentially no CCTV surveillance in such locations and most often no bystanders or onlookers to observe the interactions of the police with a citizen on a farm property or

along the roadside on a rural concession. For police officers working in those *milieux* the phenomenon of ‘new visibility’ seldom presents.⁵¹

Using the research question as the overarching rationale to select the most appropriate location of the research it was apparent that the investigation of this specific issue must be situated at sites in which the researcher could access relevant and meaningful data from individual police officers and also those in a position to speak authoritatively in relation to institutional policing policies and practices. To explore the impact of ‘citizen journalism’ on the police the research must be situated in an environment in which the phenomena are most likely to be present (Luker 2008). Lyon (2007: 95) particularized the ubiquity of surveillance in the urban environment – “In going about daily life in urban spaces, surveillance is experienced constantly.” In their work on policing the risk society, Ericson and Haggerty (1997) demonstrated that “the use of digital technologies is transforming the ways in which order is created and maintained in *urban* areas” (Lyon 2007: 106, emphasis added).

Urban settings are those in which there are most commonly concentrations of individuals possessing cameraphones and sharing spaces with the police. They are the environments in which the potential for civilian recording of a police-citizen violent interaction would present most often and those in which such issues are most forefront in the consciousness of individual police officers while on duty in the community and also of most significance to policing institutions. In other words, cities are the locale in which the data is most dense, and therefore, the ideal research setting to illuminate the phenomena studied in this project. The two largest urban police services in Ontario were the logical and obvious choice for a two-site, mixed methods case study.

Toronto Police Service

The Toronto Police Service is responsible for primary policing functions in the City of Toronto⁵², with a population of approximately 2,800,000 residents (2,615,060 in the 2011 census) – the largest city in Ontario and the largest city in Canada (Statistics Canada 2011). Toronto has surpassed Chicago in population as of March 2013 and is now considered the fourth largest city in North America (Moloney 2013). Sergeant Sheila Richardson (personal communication, 7 February 2013) of the Chief's Office advised that Toronto Police has a current complement of approximately 5,500 sworn police officers – making it the largest municipal police agency in Canada (Statistics Canada 2010). Dorian Folo (personal communication, 11 February 2013), a Senior Application Specialist, indicated that 2,834 Toronto Police officers are assigned to what are considered front line patrol functions⁵³ at the ranks of Constable and Sergeant.

Ottawa Police Service

The Ottawa Police Service is responsible for municipal policing in the City of Ottawa, with a population of approximately 900,000 residents (883,391 in the 2011 census) – the second largest city in Ontario and the sixth largest city in Canada (Statistics Canada 2011). The Ottawa Police Service is the second largest municipal police service in Ontario and the fifth largest in Canada (Statistics Canada 2010)⁵⁴. According to Heather Roberts (personal communication, 13 February 2013), Manager of Workforce Management, this police agency has a current complement of 1,326 sworn police officers, with 572 assigned to what are considered front line patrol functions⁵⁵ at the ranks of Constable and Sergeant.

Research Subjects – Veteran, Front-Line Police Officers

During the conceptualization of the project and formulation of the primary research question, and then the secondary interrogations pursued in the study, I concluded that sampling should be done, for the specific purposes of this research, exclusively with police officers deployed in a front-line policing capacity. These police officers are those who are operational (as opposed to administrative, investigative, or assigned to support functions) and who, as the core of their duties, patrol our cities' streets and neighbourhoods and engage routinely with citizens in a wide variety of contexts. These research participants are those police officers who account for the vast majority of police-citizen interactions and police use of force occurrences (Krupanski 2012) and therefore can provide the most insight into the impact of technological and social changes, vis-à-vis police use of force across broad society.

Further, a decision was made to sample only veteran police officers, which for the purposes of this project are defined as those with ten or more years of urban policing experience. The rationale for selecting officers with this level of experience is twofold. These research participants have the most exposure to interactions involving both citizen videorecording of the police and also police use of force, given their sheer years of service, and therefore they are more data dense (possessing more *experiential relevance*, as phrased by Schulenberg 2007). Secondly, this population of police officers allowed for an exploration into whether the phenomenon of citizen videorecording of the police had a historical introductory point and also whether there had been intensification in such activity and/or any changes in the perceptions/responses of officers to this phenomenon over time.

More junior officers, if they were sampled, would only be able to provide data in relation to recent observations (spanning, if all patrol officers were included in the sample, from one day to nine years). Such officers, given their lack of experiences, would be involved in a more limited numbers of occurrences than veteran officers and would not be in a position to disclose information about changes over time, or in response to particular historic events. More junior officers, as I learned in speaking with a variety of them in conceptualizing this project (and as was subsequently borne out in the research) have effectively always worked in the current techno-social environment of citizen surveillance and ubiquitous videorecording of the police and therefore for these officers the phenomena do not present as a new reality, requiring the consideration of adaptations in behaviour(s).⁵⁶

Of the 2,834 Toronto Police front line patrol officers, 1,135 have ten or more years of service in policing (Folo, personal communication, 11 February 2013) and were therefore potential research participants for this study. Table 1 elaborates a further breakdown of years of service for veteran Toronto Police patrol officers.

Table 1: Percentage of Length of Service for Veteran Toronto Police Patrol Officers (2013)

	Toronto % (n)
11-15 years ⁵⁷	42.7% (485)
16-20 years	9.2% (104)
21-25 years	27.2% (309)
26-30 years	8.4% (95)
31 years +	12.5% (142)

Of the 572 Ottawa Police front line officers, 202 (of the 572) have ten or more years of service in policing (Roberts, personal communication, 13 February 2013) and were therefore possible respondents for this survey research. Table 2 elaborates a further breakdown of years of service for ‘veteran’ Ottawa Police patrol officers.

Table 2: Percentage of Length of Service for Veteran Ottawa Police Patrol Officers (2013)

	Ottawa % (n)
10.0-14.9 years	41.1% (83)
15.0-19.9 years	27.7% (56)
20.0-24.9 years	12.4% (25)
25.0-29.9 years	15.3% (31)
30.0 years +	3.5% (7)

Introduction to Data-Collection Methods

As discussed, after a review of scholarly literature and careful consideration of which sources of data could be the most advantageous in answering the research question and obtaining the most relevant and insightful data for the project, I settled on a mixed methods research model, employing one quantitative series of measurements and two qualitative data-collection methods. Implicit in such a decision-making process is the exclusion of other methods, judged to be less applicable to the specific investigation – for example, content or discourse analysis was thought to be less effective in yielding data that would illuminate the issues being explored in this investigation.

The methods ultimately employed in this study were: first, surveying of the front-line veteran police officers; next, reflection on, and analysis of, the participant observations/experiential knowledge of the researcher; and finally, in-depth interviewing

of research participants – both from a random selection of operational police officers who participated in the survey and indicated a willingness to be further interviewed, and also with specifically-selected institutional policing officials.

The methods were sequenced based on considerations of the complementary nature of the methods and the logical ordering of the information leading into the next method, as discussed. Small (2011: 67-68) discussed sequencing of methods and used a 2002 study (Pearce) to demonstrate the effectiveness of this research strategy,

Pearce used survey data collection and analysis to directly inform in-depth interview data collection and analysis, which, in turn directly informed survey analysis. In all of these studies, the conclusions derived explicitly from a process in which prior data collection informed the nature and form of the subsequent alternative type of data. Their argumentative strength derives from their ability to resolve specific questions that emerge in the process of data collection with additional data collection.

Survey Research

The first phase of data collection, which began on 1 November 2012 (and was completed in February 2013), involved the collection and subsequent analysis of quantitative data that was derived from the administration of survey questionnaires to veteran police patrol officers serving in both the Ottawa Police Service and the Toronto Police Service (the survey questionnaire instrument can be located at Appendix C). Flyvbjerg (2001: 87) discussed the importance of surveys “in understanding the degree to which certain phenomena are present in a given group or how they vary across cases.” Schulenberg (2007: 107) observed, “This numeric precision allows for a more extensive documentation of the data concerning a social phenomenon.”

Nonprobability convenience sampling (also known as nonprobability qualitative purpose sampling or availability sampling) was used in this study. In this form of

sampling the research question and its specific requirements for data determined “the elements selected in the sample” (Hesse-Biber 2010: 50). This procedure was not random sampling; rather it involved selecting respondents who were available to the researcher and therefore the results of data obtained can only be considered suggestive, as there are number of intervening factors that could impact on who is sampled in this technique (Northey *et al.* 2012: 74). With this form of sampling the results are not statistically generalizable to a wider population.

As discussed, my insider positionality likely factored into the institutional bureaucratic decision-making in granting organizational consent to the researcher to conduct his investigation with members of the Toronto Police Service and the Ottawa Police Service and within their police facilities. In my view, it is also probable that my insider status also afforded a level of trust from the veteran police officers completing the surveys, resulting in a high level of compliance and the receipt in this project of data that is likely more thoughtful, explicit, and truthful than might be the case with an outside researcher entering (or perhaps viewed as intruding) into the world of veteran police officers. This will be elaborated in the discussion in Chapter Five.

Surveys were administered where veteran front-line officers could be found – on roll-call (parade), in divisional stations and police facilities, at coffee shops, in breakfast joints, at hospital emergency departments, and in parking lots. On several occasions those completing surveys directed me to locations where other veteran officers were most likely to be located. The majority of the completed surveys were distributed directly by myself to the participating officer(s) who I encountered during data collection initiatives and who satisfied the participation criteria (in terms of their years of experience in urban

policing and their duties in front-line policing functions). Most completed surveys were returned to me shortly thereafter (most participants completed the surveys on the spot within less than five minutes) within the sealed envelope that was provided. Some surveys were distributed through internal mechanisms of the two policing agencies, directly to police officers who were known to satisfy the participation criteria (Sergeant Sheila Richardson of the Toronto Police Service was of tremendous assistance in facilitating this process in Toronto). Through such a directed sampling effort, the rate of return for the survey research was 82.5% (231 of the 280 surveys distributed were received into the project). The original goal in the study was to acquire 100 completed surveys from each agency and this objective was achieved.

Fifty-six percent (55.8%) of all survey respondents in this study were from the Toronto Police (129 of the 231 officers who participated) and this sample comprises 11.8% of Toronto Police patrol officers with ten or more years of policing experience. The 102 Ottawa Police survey respondents comprise 50.5% of Ottawa Police patrol officers with ten or more years of policing experience. The 231 participants in the survey self-reported their years worked in urban policing (with any police service) as in Table 3.

Table 3: Percentage Distribution of Length of Service in Urban Policing

	Overall % (n)	Toronto % (n)	Ottawa % (n)
10-15 years	45.5% (105)	51.9% (67)	37.3% (38)
15-20 years	19.5% (45)	15.5% (20)	24.5% (25)
20-25 years	16.5% (38)	16.3% (21)	16.7% (17)
25-30 years	13.0% (30)	12.4% (16)	13.7% (14)
30 years +	5.6% (13)	3.9% (5)	7.8% (8)

In this study male and female officers were sampled, as were white officers and those of ethnicities considered visible minorities in Canadian society. In Toronto, officers from thirteen of the seventeen patrol divisions were sampled⁵⁸ as were officers from Police Headquarters. In Ottawa, officers from all patrol divisions were sampled.

Distributed along with the survey questionnaire was a separate document requesting that the research participant consider authorizing contact from the researcher to discuss potential inclusion of the research participant in a pool of veteran officers from which ten participants from each police service would be randomly selected to take part in semi-structured interviewing at a future date. Completed surveys and contact information sheets were sealed by research participants in separate return envelopes and the researcher subsequently processed these *en masse* (separately and without any cross-referencing).

Participant Observation/Situated Experiential Knowledge/Ethnography

Data emerging from the situational knowledge of the researcher during his 28-year policing career (1985-2013) was relied on to illuminate the issues addressed in this study and formed a portion of the body of data relied on in the project's analysis and discussion. Much of this knowledge stemmed from my personal exposure to police-citizen violence over time, and more recently to observations, as discussed, in relation to the introduction of the phenomenon of 'citizen journalism'.

Denzin (2004: 464) described a model of *interpretive interactionism* – which “begins and ends with the biography and the self of the researcher. The events and troubles that are written about are the ones the writer has already experienced and witnessed firsthand.” With such research methods (subsuming ethnography, situated

experiential knowledge, and participant observation), the core of the interpretive research data is the personal experiences that the researcher discloses in relation to the phenomenon being investigated. Ethnographic research has many definitions, but in general it is concerned with the understanding and description of the culture of a social group from an insider's perspective (Loftus 2009; Northey *et al.* 2012). With such research, "the researcher abandons strict objectivity and gets inside the study environment. Done this way, ethnography accomplishes the twin goals of scholarship and engagement" (Northey *et al.* 2012: 81). Loftus (2009: 201) suggested, "With its emphasis on participant observation, an ethnographic approach is undoubtedly the most appropriate method available to access the inner world of policing... Yet the problems of access and trust, which are integral to most social science research, are particularly intensified in police research."

My understanding of insider research (and the interrelated experiential knowledge data relied on in this thesis) is that as defined by Mats Alvesson (2003: 174) and endorsed by Brannick and Coghlan (2007: 60):

...a study and a text in which the researcher-author describes a cultural setting to which s/he has a 'natural access', is an active participant, more or less on equal terms with other participants. The researcher works and/or lives in the setting and then uses the experiences, knowledge and access to empirical material for research purposes.

Flyvbjerg (2001: 83) provided his endorsement, "The most advanced form of understanding is achieved when researchers place themselves within the context being studied. Only in this way can researchers understand the viewpoints and the behaviour which characterizes social actors." Giddens (1982: 15) observed, "I have accepted that it is right to say that the condition of generating descriptions of social activity is being able

in principle to participate in it. It involves ‘mutual knowledge’, shared by observer and participants whose action constitutes and reconstitutes the social world.”

Narrative first-person vignettes (such as those featured in the introductory chapter and in Chapter Five) are relied on as data in this study. Michael Humphrey (2005: 842) endorsed the use of such data in his ethnographic research, validating the contextual richness such data contributes to research – providing “vivid portrayal(s) of the conduct of an event of everyday life” and affording tangible insight into the researcher’s processes of reflexivity.

Qualitative Interviewing

John Schostak (2006: 5-6) articulated, “It would be so simple if there were a theory of interviewing to be applied, and a set of methods that incorporate well defined procedures and techniques resolving splits and conflicts and hence reducing the sense of the researcher’s political and ethical angst.” Given the lack of defined protocols and scholarly consensus in relation to qualitative interviewing, I relied on an interviewing technique that was successful in a previous study – involving in-depth interviewing (with assurances of anonymity when required) conducted by a researcher with first-hand experience in the subject matter under investigation. William Miller and Benjamin Crabtree (2004: 188) suggested that such an approach to interviewing is an “optimal data-gathering technique”; “facilitating a co-construction of the interviewer’s and informant’s experience and understanding of the topic of interest.” The interview should entail an interactive process in which the interviewer is engaged and contributing, rather than the more traditional role of passivity and dispassionate objectivity (Enosh & Buchbinder 2005; Fontana & Frey 2005).

With such an interview protocol the researcher's subjectivities are engaged and therefore researcher reflexivity must be a live issue in the research design (along with the acknowledgement that the experiences that research participants relate to the interviewer are subjectively and discursively constructed). As discussed, in relation to researcher reflexivity, the researcher's appreciation for how their subjectivities may impact on the interviewee, the interview process, and ultimately on the discursive production of knowledge is a significant consideration with interactive semi-structured interviewing as a data collection method.

Benefitting from the sequential design of the mixed methods research model relied on in this study, I was able to initially formulate, and then modify as needed, a semi-structured interview question guide (or roadmap) as preliminary quantitative data analysis was undertaken on an ongoing basis. Based on the survey questionnaire responses, certain areas of investigation were prioritized and some aspects, that had not been considered previously, became obvious topics to be follow-up on in the interview phase of the data collection. For example, question 4 in the survey questionnaire asked about *any* type of behavioural change by police in response to the proliferation of cameraphone videorecording capacity in the public environment – without requesting any specificity in the behaviours that police officers have modified. Given the volume of affirmative responses disclosed in the survey data it became obvious that non use-of-force behavioural changes by the police was an area to be canvassed further during in-depth semi-structured interviewing with the interview sample of front line police officers.

Beginning in January 2013, the researcher commenced two different streams of interviews. The institutional police interviews were conducted with policing officials who

were thought to be in positions in which they could contribute to the project's understanding of institutional considerations of the topic being investigated, vis-à-vis organizational reactions to incidents, policy changes, procedural adjustments, historical shifts, etc. I met with, and conducted intensive semi-structured interviews with the following research participants: Chief Charles Bordeleau (Ottawa Police), Chief William Blair (Toronto Police), Ottawa City Councillor (and Deputy Mayor) Eli El-Chantiry (Chair of the Ottawa Police Services Board), Dr. Alok Mukherjee (Chair of the Toronto Police Services Board), Matt Skof (President of the Ottawa Police Association), Mike McCormack (President of the Toronto Police Association), Sergeant Nick Mitielines (officer-in-charge of Use of Force Training, Ottawa Police) and Staff Sergeant John Stockfish (officer-in-charge of Use of Force Training, Toronto Police). These interview participants were not anonymous in this study, given their positions as public officials and/or persons in their organizations whose duties involve discussion of such subject matter in public discourses. These interviews were audio-recorded and subsequently transcribed by a certified court reporter (engaged by the researcher to provide transcripts). Refer to Appendix D for a copy of the Consent Form for this interview stream.

Arch Woodside (2010: 263-264) articulated that open-ended, semi-structured interviewing with key informants (those persons with special knowledge, experiences, and insights) is intended to develop thick descriptions of individual cases through “learning the thinking, feeling, and doing processes of the informants, including an understanding of the informants’ worldview of the topic under study in their own language.” Beginning in February 2013 the researcher began contacting and interviewing front line veteran officers from both the Ottawa Police and the Toronto Police who had

communicated an interest in being interviewed in this project. Ten officers from each police service were subsequently interviewed, after being drawn from a random pool of respondents (in total there were 29 Ottawa Police officers and 26 Toronto Police officers who indicated an expression of interest in being interviewed and these officers made up the two respective pools for each city). In terms of the demographics of the 20 research participants chosen, it can be disclosed that two of the front-line police officers were women and three were of ethnicities considered visible minorities in Canadian society.

As stipulated in this project's ethics clearance and particularized in the Consent Form these interviews were not audio or video-recorded (the researcher made contemporaneous handwritten notes of data throughout the interviews) and the research participants were anonymous. During the design phase of the project it was determined by the researcher that given some aspects of the police subcultural psyche, related to suspicion and secrecy, these interviews would elicit more honest and complete information if these research participants' anxieties and skepticism around recordings of their participation (and the content of their interviews) were mitigated through a non-recording and anonymity research protocol. As will be elaborated in Chapter Five, this interview technique was highly successful in achieving the research objective of obtaining contributions of candid and uncensored data into the study.

4.8 Data Analysis and Data Inclusion Criteria

Karin Olson (2011: 77) articulated, "...the objective of the analytical phase [of the research project] is to sift through all of the data...and use the links that run through these data sources to construct an answer to the research question." The framework advanced by Onwuegbuzie and Teddlie (2003) in reconceptualizing quantitative and qualitative

data analysis into *exploratory* (descriptive statistics and thematic analysis) and *confirmatory* (testing theory-driven thematic analysis) was used in this study. The data analysis approaches of various social sciences research methods scholars, including: Berg 2009; Charmaz 2004; Creswell and Plano-Clark 2007; Denzin 2004; Denzin and Lincoln 2005; Kirby *et al.* 2006; Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2006; Noaks and Wincup 2006; Olson 2011; and Onwuegbuzie and Teddlie 2003, were used to provide a foundation for the data analysis regimen used in this study.

The quantitative survey data was processed and coordinated using IBM SPSS software. The focus was on descriptive analysis of the survey participants' responses and not on generalizing through statistical significance or inference to a larger population. Thus, no tests of statistical significance are presented. Rather the strength of association was considered in the relationship between variables. This approach allowed for an assessment of possible relationships that could be explored thematically in the confirmatory part of the analysis. The results of this descriptive analysis and assessment of association are located in Chapter Five.

The researcher's experiential knowledge data and interview data was analyzed through the lens of deductive strategies within the interactive paradigm (Kirby *et al.* 2006; Miles & Huberman 1994). These data sets were considered using a hybrid (and two-stage) system of initial analysis and reflection and then formal coding and organization, prioritization, and categorization in relationship to the research question and subsidiary areas of inquiry in the project. The research experiences of Matthew Miles and Michael Huberman (1994: 155) were helpful in resolving the researcher's decision in the inductive/deductive data analysis debate; "Without clear initial conceptualizing we were

drowned in tidal waves of shapeless data. We learned – inductively – that a somewhat more deductive approach would have reduced and focused our data set without losing juice or meaning.” In the present study, much of the theoretical legwork had been done by Goldsmith (2010), which allowed for clearer operationalization of the project initially and then more focused and organized qualitative data analysis.

During the first stage of both the experiential knowledge and interview analysis processes, I allowed thoughts to be directed by the data itself and in doing so was able to discern emerging patterns and potential linkages to reviewed literature and to available theoretical constructions. With the interview data, I followed the guidance of Olson (2011: 72-73) in first discerning *in vivo* codes from the words of the research participants themselves and then developing codes further through my analysis of the all of the interview materials in their totality. This next stage of qualitative data analysis (applied to both interview and ethnographic data) involved coordination and analysis using deductive coding – a process which allows research findings to be considered in the context of applicable theoretical frameworks. Coding of data organized bits of data based on similarities and applicability of salient themes (Kirby *et al.* 2006; Miles & Huberman 1994; Noaks & Wincup 2006; Olson 2011; Schulenberg 2007) and identified emergent themes that occurred frequently or were judged to be of particular importance to the research question under investigation. From these processes, clear themes within the context of theory became readily apparent and were organized in the grouping of patterned data into memos through the use of axial coding. Charmaz (2004: 515) refers to this “more precise, analytical, and incisive processes [as the sorting of memo-writing into] theoretical categories.”

The admittedly subjective selection criteria I used in determining the information to include in Chapters Five and Chapter Six of this thesis was as follows. In relation to the data originating from qualitative interviews with the 20 anonymous front-line police officers, I selected (from the memos) that information that I judged to be most relevant and informative, vis-à-vis the topic under discussion or the specific research question being analyzed, and also substantially representative of the views of other interviewed officers. Anomalous data (that which could be characterized as an outlier) was excluded from inclusion in the analysis. In terms of the information provided by the institutional policing officials, who were not treated anonymously in this study, I selected that data which was most relevant to the specific research question being investigated. The data originating from the researcher's experiential knowledge, similarly, was selected based on its relevance to the specific research question to which the information applied.

4.9 Conclusion

The fundamental objective of this study was the production of relevant and accurate information through appropriate case selection, proper methodological approaches, and data collection and analysis that respects established sociological research conventions. Through this knowledge production process I sought to illuminate the contemporary realities of this important issue in our society. Mawby (2002b), in his work on policing and image work, employed a similar mixed methods research model to the one used in this study. He relied on the quantitative method of a questionnaire survey to “map out empirically the range of image work existing across the police service” (Mawby 2002b: 78) – which is similar to how this project used the survey to determine the extent of the effects of ‘citizen journalism’ within Canadian urban policing (the degree to which this

presents as an issue for front line police officers). Mawby (2002b: 78) combined the survey “with the qualitative methods of interviews [and] observation...to generate data on police image work through complimentary methods of data collection, utilizing what Layder (1993: 108) has described as a ‘multistrategy’ approach...planned over three stages which integrated the ...data collection.”

As discussed, this project has been informed by the works of several methodological scholars and researcher reflexivity has been engaged through the explicit disclosure and consideration of my professional linkages to policing in Ontario, my positionality in this study, and my constructivist/pragmatist worldview (within the paradigmatic orientation of interpretivism) on the nature of reality. All have undoubtedly influenced my worldview in relation to how knowledge is acquired (my epistemological considerations). One of Goldsmith’s (2010: 918) conclusions merits reiteration – “The ‘new visibility’ [of the police in society over] the last decade represents a quantum leap, the implications of which have barely begun to be explored.” Through the two-site case study of the largest urban police services in the Province of Ontario this project explored and illuminated the implications of one specific manifestation of ‘policing’s new visibility’ (Goldsmith 2010) and its on the ground impact.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER FOUR

⁵⁰ For example, Debra Howcroft and Eileen Moore, editors of the *Handbook of Critical Information Systems Research: Theory and Application* (2005) discussed the chapter authored by Bill Doulin and Laurie McLeod in which those researchers applied a *critical interpretivist* paradigm to case studies from the perspectives of social theorists Foucault, Latour, and Giddens. They observed, “interpretivist research could add a critical edge in the form of critical interpretivism. Such an approach would draw upon the empirical richness of interpretivist research and supplement this with a reflective approach that questions and disrupts the status quo, and entertains considerations of power and control” (Howcroft and Moore 2005: 10).

⁵¹ Several Ontario Provincial Police officers did express that the phenomenon of citizen videorecorded oversight had presented in their experience (although rarely) – occurring when they had attended at more public locations within towns where there was a gathering of multiple persons at a social event (examples including a fight in the spectator bleachers of a hockey arena, a melee at the local tavern that spilled into a parking lot, and a drunken disturbance that escalated into an assault on a police officer at an agricultural fair).

⁵² In both Toronto and Ottawa certain (and limited) policing functions are carried out by the Ontario Provincial Police and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Some other law enforcement functions are the responsibility of other provincial and federal agencies – Canada Border Services Agency, Ministry of Transportation, Ministry of the Environment, etc.

⁵³ In the Toronto Police Service, patrol functions are carried out by those officers assigned to Primary Response units (including Traffic Services) and Community Response units.

⁵⁴ The Peel Regional Police Service (1,895) and York Regional Police Service (1,433) have more sworn police officers (in terms of ‘authorized strength’ of officers) than the Ottawa Police Service, however they have be distinguished from ‘municipal’ police services because they police much larger regional areas with multiple large populations centers.

⁵⁵ In the Ottawa Police Service, patrol functions are carried out by those officers assigned to Patrol Directorate platoons and include ‘neighbourhood’ officers, community police centre officers, and officers assigned to the Macdonald-Cartier International Airport.

⁵⁶ As an illustration of this strategic sampling decision, Toronto Police Association President Mike McCormack explained that 70% of Toronto Police officers have less than 7 years of service and “*they have grown up with cameras in [the cruisers] so they haven’t known any different.*”

⁵⁷ There is a difference in the way the two police services report their years of service. For example, Ottawa Police 10.0 years to 14.9 years has been corresponded to the survey category ‘10 to 15 years’. Toronto Police refer to the year of experience that the officer is currently ‘in’ (for example, an officer in their eleventh year of service reflects 10 completed years of policing plus whatever portion of their 11th year they have completed).

⁵⁸ Officers from the following divisions provided survey questionnaire responses (in no particular order and not indicative of the quantity of surveys emerging from each division): 31, 12, 11, 32, 33, 14, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 41, and 43. No officers from 23, 22, 13, or 42 divisions were sampled in the surveying.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction to Analysis and Discussion

The architecture of this chapter, which engages analysis and discussion of the data, is structured around the series of research questions that informed and framed this project. In addition, this chapter presents in-depth discussion in relation to research methods and studies of policing that situates the data in the wider scope of scholarship on issues related to researcher positionality, insider versus outsider research, anonymity and protection of research participants, and the establishment of trust and the acquisition of honest and complete evidence.

Earl and Kimport (2011) observed that only a few years ago no one could have predicted how technological innovations would impact on the process of social change. Many instances highlighted by the ‘new visibility’ (Thompson 2005) relate to the use of force by the police (Brighenti 2007; Goldsmith 2010; Mawby 2002b). Lutt (2012: 352) determined “In 1991 [the year in which Holliday videorecorded the King occurrence], the chances that someone with a video camera was ‘watching’ were relatively small... However the technological advances of the last decade have ushered in a new, unprecedented era of heightened police visibility.” In a similar vein, Robinson (2012: 14) articulated, “Society may have become overly dependent on Blackberries, iPhones and Androids but the omnipresence of these items has the power to transform any citizen into a potential vindicator of civil rights.” Earl and Kimport (2011: 197) provided valuable guidance to this project, counseling that “while scholars can’t predict in advance how technology will change, and, in turn, how people will use technology, we nonetheless

have a responsibility to analyze these uses. As anecdotal accounts abound...social scientists can bring empirical precision to these stories and contextualize what they mean in a changing social world.”

The ‘new visibility’, enabled by technological innovations that developed in tandem with the ‘network society’ and concurrent to a pronounced socio-political cultural shift (which includes a broad and intensified engagement of the citizenry with the policing of Canadian society), has fundamentally transformed the relationship between the police and the public, including the use of force by police. This new reality has profoundly impacted the front-line policing of our urban communities. This chapter presents data and discussion to answer how this has happened and how the various interconnected phenomena have specifically impacted on individual police use of force behaviour and on institutional policing policies and practices.

5.2 Research Methods – Trust, Positionality, and Innovation

In 1981, *Making Crime: A Study of Detective Work* was published. This book, authored by the late University of Toronto criminologist Richard Ericson, was the result of observational research conducted by Ericson and a graduate student, who tagged along with six different Peel Regional Police detective teams on 179 shifts (Ericson 1981). The public disclosure of certain information acquired during the research (including an allegation that detectives forged the signature of a judicial official on search warrants) provoked significant controversy that was reported in Canadian print media and a backlash response from the police. Police officials questioned the accuracy and reliability of Ericson’s empirical study and challenged both his findings and his academic integrity. Staff Inspector Joseph Terdik, the officer in charge of the Peel force’s Criminal

Intelligence Branch, who conducted his own investigation into allegations of police impropriety contained in the book, concluded that Ericson's book was "a crock of garbage" and said the force "seriously questions Prof. Ericson's bias in policing" (Kashmeri 1981: 9). Similarly, Peel's Chief of Police, Douglas Burrows, indicated that he "welcomes research by outsiders into police activities, but is concerned about the effect on the public and on police morale, of research that draws sweeping and 'false' conclusions" (Steen 1981: 16).

The experience with Ericson's policing research provides a tangible contextualization in contributing to the discussion engaged earlier in Chapter Four around the challenges for outsider academic research to penetrate into the inner sanctum of policing, and the even more significant challenge for a researcher to be granted access to the candid, complete, and innermost experiences and thoughts of individual front-line police officers. That intimate access (that can have significant consequences for the individual officer depending on what their uncensored data entails) can only be granted by the individual officer, regardless of institutional sanctioning of a research project.

Management can give the ok for you to talk to us, but unless you can prove to me that I can trust you, all you're going to get is politically correct mumbo jumbo full of the buzzwords of the day. If you spend any time down on College [Toronto Police Headquarters is located at 40 College Street] I think you will become familiar with the term bullshit baffles brains...[Providing an example of the kind of answer a researcher could expect in the absence of trust in the researcher] 'Blah, blah, blah we treat all community members with the greatest of respect and would never use any force that was not entirely appropriate and in keeping with the bridges we have built with our stakeholders in the community.' (anonymous Toronto Police officer, TPS participant 3⁵⁹)

This sentiment was borne out in many (more than ten) of the twenty in-depth interviews conducted with front-line officers and confirmed the earlier understanding, as discussed,

that rank-and-file police officers, in terms of the entire police population, are the most resistant to academic intrusions into their working practices (Ericson 1982; Marks 2004).

As Monique Marks (2004: 871) concluded in her police research, “Police members are often suspicious of outsiders. The information that researchers who are not familiar with the internal workings of the police organization may receive may be somewhat less than reliable, as police members conceal what they believe to be ‘in house’ knowledge.” She also found that without intensive researcher participation within the police subculture only superficial relations could be developed “that would have rendered the interviews bald and possibly invalid” (Marks 2004: 872). In the words of a Toronto Police officer,

As far as I know, I can't say for sure all, but I am sure most of your associates in the universities want to interview cops to get some controversial angle on something, or twist the words to make it that way and then write a book about how the police do racial profiling, beat up homeless people, or plant evidence and fudge their evidence. There is always a political angle to those kind of studies and the conclusion is usually already written before one questions get asked. Some smart guy with a doctoral degree comes in with his mind made up and his study paid for, asks questions until he gets what he can work with and twist around and then writes something that fits his ideas and who he is trying to please. Those guys can't get any real information because nobody in their right mind is going to give them the time of day and their opinion is already bought and sold. (TPS participant 10)

This officer's thoughts mesh with the observations of Rosenbaum (2010: 145), who found that “the findings from the critical perspective are more prone to criticism because they lack the ‘inside’ contextual information...This type of knowledge can only be obtained by having researchers ‘on the ground’ or ‘embedded’ within [policing].”

The research in this project was, as discussed, undertaken with an original working thesis; however I had no particular socio-political agenda, preordained outcome, or driving motivation to uncover critical (or uncritical) information. The project was designed as an empirical investigation into the impact of contemporary phenomena on

policing, whatever that impact (if there was any) ultimately entailed. This research orientation was made clear to the front-line interview participants (almost all of whom made elaborate inquiries about my biography, intentions, and affiliations before disclosing any information in the interview setting). All that I asked of the front-line police research participants was for them to tell me the truth and to feel comfortable in entrusting me with that truth (and the protection of their anonymity).⁶⁰

In conjunction with: the guarantees of anonymity and safeguards put in place, the protocols developed for data collection in the study (and particularized in the ethics clearance), and the researcher's credibility that derived from operational policing experience (situating me as an insider researcher), this research project was able to hurdle the *challenges* usually encountered with this type of policing research that arise (and perhaps are not appreciated by the researchers) due to the suspicions and skepticisms that characterize the mindset of front-line police officers and impact on their worldview of academic research into policing. As discussed, there have been many studies of the police conducted by a variety of researchers who have approached the research participants from various locations (but primarily as outsider academics attempting to probe the inner workings of policing). Also discussed (and meriting reiteration), Ping-Chun Hsiung (1996) and Robert Labaree (2002), for example, found that the status of insider can contribute to the establishment of initial levels of trust and may result in the sharing of more information in more open exchanges between key informants and the researcher.

It is important to articulate specifically what I mean by the use of the terminology '*challenges*' because several of the front-line police interviews raised significant concerns and illuminate what I feel distinguishes the research in this study. It is an

obvious proposition that all researchers seek to obtain factual and complete data on which to base their investigations. By ‘*challenges*’ I am not referring to straightforward refusals to participate in a study or declining to answer a question, I am referring to participating police officers intentionally furnishing incorrect and/or incomplete data that is ultimately incorporated into a study as honest and comprehensive data. The reliance on such data calls into question the reliability and validity of any study in which such false information formed part of the data. This is clearly a serious concern (and one I had never before appreciated as I read and assessed other policing studies).

Many front-line police interview participants told me bluntly that they would not have participated in the survey and/or the interview, or alternatively would have provided ‘*superficial*’, ‘*politically-correct*’, ‘*neutral*’, ‘*meaningless*’, ‘*bare minimum*’, ‘*by-the-book*’ answers to the survey questions and/or the interview questions, or would have outright lied, had they not determined in their own minds that they could trust both the researcher and my objectives in conducting the research. As an Ottawa Police officer articulated,

If I hadn't have heard of you and you didn't explain why you are doing this work and if I didn't trust that you are really trying to figure something out without having your mind already made up there would be no way I would be telling you some of this stuff I have told you and I probably am going to send something your way in the mail. Nobody is going to risk some guy from a university screwing them over with information that could get you fired. To get into that kind of serious shit from the past you have to trust, really trust the person. I actually read that consent thing line by line and I can tell you for sure that if there was a tape recorder sitting on this table you would be getting 'yes', 'no', 'yes', 'maybe', 'no, we would never do that, that would be a violation of an individual's rights'. (OPS participant 2)

The repeated references by interview research participants to the provision of (or withholding of) truthful, complete and forthright data was a revelation I had not expected

and something that likely warrants more investigation in considering police research generally. Peter Shadgett (now Chief Superintendent with the Ontario Provincial Police) completed a thesis at the University of Toronto in 1990 titled *An Observational Study of Police Patrol Work* that collected data through ethnographic observations and interviews with front-line patrol officers. His interview work was relied on and cited by Ericson and Haggerty (1997). Shadgett (personal communication, 14 August 2013) advised that he interviewed patrol colleagues on his shift and determined, “The only reason they spoke with me is because I was a cop on their shift. They would not speak to an academic.” Rick Parent, a Delta police officer for 30 years and now a criminology professor at Simon Fraser University, conducted in-depth interviews with police officers in his dissertation research. He observed that while there are no studies that address variables related to the data provided by research participants to researchers who are police officers, “There is clearly a level of comfort and trust that allows for robust data gathering that would otherwise be non-reported or weak (Parent, personal communication, 15 August 2013).

The twenty front-line police officers that were interviewed in this project provided assurances to me that the data they provided was honest, encompassing, and uncensored (several with the caveat that if their information ‘*comes back to bite [them] in the ass*’ they would be having a very unpleasant discussion with me about such a turn of events). Many expressed an appreciation that: their identities would only be known to me, their interview notes would not be cross-referenced with their identifies, consent documents and notes would be accessible only to me, and the interviews were not being tape recorded. Six of the twenty officers clearly felt comfortable enough with the studies’ safeguards (and that the study was important enough) to take their time to ensure that the

data they provided was as complete as possible – as these officers sent additional information anonymously by mail to be included in the study. One such officer began her/his anonymous follow-up mailing with,

I never thought I would be telling somebody researching me about how it was an unwritten rule between us and the bad guys not so many years ago that if you run from us once you will never run from us again. Because the beating you get after the first time you will remember for the rest of your life...

Marks (2004: 881) found that “The personality of the researcher is key to the stories that are told or hidden, and the exposure the researcher will be afforded in the everyday lives of those whom he/she is studying.” I think that what is even more important than the personality of the researcher (which I agree is likely quite significant although judging my own personality seems beyond the scope of my academic training) is the biography of the researcher and the position from which the researcher is coming into the research. These are significant considerations in terms of establishing a mutual researcher-research participant relationship of trust and in affording the research participant with assurances that the researcher is impartial, ethical, and possessed of integrity. Several (more than three) of the research participants advised me that before consenting to participate in interviews they had conducted investigations into my biography by speaking with persons apparently mutually known to both that research participant and myself. In contrasting the findings of their ‘investigations’, several Toronto Police participants discussed the enmity apparently felt by much of the rank-and-file of the Toronto Police Service for a particular police researcher from a university in that city, who was characterized as (among the more polite comments)

...[knowing] as much about policing as I know about the history of Bolivia; he’s never worked a day as a cop, he is a jilted cop wanna be who couldn’t make it, and no cop with any brains or real experience has ever given that

guy the time of day much less any true information. What he gets are the company men and the up-and-climbers who are willing to talk about stuff they don't know anything about themselves, and then he writes a load of crap that slams the police about racial profiling and how we handle gangs as if he knows what really goes on. It's incredible to me that he can convince anyone he is an expert about policing because I forgot more about policing after my first day on the job than he has ever learned. (TPS participant 4)

In terms of methodologies and methods, this study has been distinguished by the ability of the researcher to receive uncensored and comprehensive data from research participants. Through establishing the confidence and trust of the research participants and through specific anonymity mechanisms and safeguards in the research protocols and ethics clearance this potential trust relationship was created. Without exception, all front-line interviewees indicated their appreciation that the study did not involve tape recording and indicated that if tape recording was part of the protocol it would have impacted on either their decision to participate or on the candidness of the information they would have felt comfortable providing in the interview setting. Several of these front-line officers expressed gratitude that the research protocol called for the researcher to explicitly caution participants at the outset of the interview in relation to not disclosing information that was particularly 'sensitive' (such as having committed or witnessed acts by policing colleagues that could be considered criminal or serious misconduct). The term 'hypothetically' was invoked on many occasions (usually accompanied by a smile and/or a wink) during the front-line police officer interviews. This disclaimer typically arose in situations when the officer was discussing information that perhaps could be considered 'sensitive' if it were not hypothetical. The anonymous mailing procedure that was developed for this study was commented on positively by several front-line policing interviewees, as a mechanism they felt comfortable with in enabling them to provide

further follow-up information of a ‘sensitive’ nature without fear of any deleterious consequences being visited upon them.

5.3 How commonplace is the civilian recording of police conduct in contemporary Canadian urban environments?

Citizen videorecording of police officers participating in this study was almost universally reported (see Table 4). The vast majority (93.9%) of the 231 participating veteran front line police officers in this study reported *being aware* that they had been videorecorded by a member of the public (not a media videographer) using a cameraphone or similar device while they were engaged in the execution of their policing duties. The awareness consideration is significant. With advancements in cameraphone technologies, the units have become progressively smaller and their capabilities to record with clarity from distance have continually improved (Ball *et al.* 2012; Bruno 2012; Doyle 2006a; Haggerty & Ericson 2006; Lyon 2007; Marx 2002). Further, in dense urban environments and in the midst of a dynamic situation, a police officer’s attention is usually focused exclusively on the issue at hand and not in surveying the periphery to assess whether a bystander might be using a cameraphone to record the event.

Table 4: Percentage of Research Participants who have been Videorecorded by a Citizen

	Overall % (n)	Toronto % (n)	Ottawa % (n)
Officers Recorded	93.9% (217)	92.2% (119)	96.1% (98)
Officers Not Recorded	6.1% (14)	7.8% (10)	3.9% (4)

Those 217 police officers who reported knowing that they had been videorecorded by a member of the public were asked to indicate how many times they had experienced being videorecorded in this manner (to their knowledge). On average they reported

seventeen (17) independent occurrences. Forty-one non-numeric responses to this survey question were received (and seven officers did not answer this question).⁶¹

This survey questionnaire data substantiates the observations of Bogard (2006), Castells (2009, 2012), Goldsmith (2010), Haggerty and Ericson (2000), Lauth (2012), and McGrath (2012) who concluded that recent technological advancements have enabled an exponential multiplication in the public capacity for surveillance, including surveillance of the police by the citizenry – an unprecedented era of heightened police visibility on our city streets. Haggerty (2006: 29-30) found, “Today there is undeniably a greater visual and documentary scrutiny of the powerful than at any point in the past. New technologies contribute to this transformation... This is no minor development, and we are only on the cusp of appreciating the implications of this change. It raises questions about potential transformations to the politics of surveillance. ”

Matt Skof, an Ottawa Police Sergeant (with sixteen years of urban policing experience) and President of the Ottawa Police Association (the labour organization representing all Ottawa Police employees except senior management), advised in an interview on 26 February 2013⁶² that he has been videorecorded by a member of the public “*hundreds*” of times in his former role as a front-line policing supervisor of a squad of officers working in the downtown core. He related,

Especially in the last couple of years...[my officers and I] were watching download videos of us just walking our beat [foot patrol]. You know, somebody was just following us, [not that] we were about to make an arrest or something. No, it was just us walking...[It happens] all the time.

A front-line Ottawa Police officer interviewed in the study explained,

If you work in the [Byward] Market [a bustling entertainment district that also shares space with shelters for the homeless and luxury high-rise condominiums] it's just a matter of time before you get jammed. You will be

recorded by some do-gooder every time you put hands on one of the drunks, crackheads, and homeless crazy people that should be in a hospital. None of those people listen when you tell them to put their hands behind their backs to be cuffed, they are aggressive by nature and getting arrested sets them off. Inevitably you wind up hands-on, using force and trying not get their spit, or blood, or God knows what else on you and then getting second-guessed by some rich yuppie from one of the fancy condos who thinks it's trendy to live down there. Officer, I don't think you really had to be so rough; even though the guy just took a swing at you could you not have talked to him and calmed him down? All it takes is a momentary loss of judgment or to lose your temper for a split-second and you are done – you are on video and that video goes with the complaint from John Q. Citizen to SIU and YouTube. Working there you are recorded every time you go hands on, which is pretty much every day. (OPS participant 5)

Two particular occurrences, in which I was involved, were discussed in the introductory chapter but these were not by any means isolated or rare events in my front-line experiences from 2010 to 2013 – nor apparently would they be characterized as atypical or infrequent occurrences for the vast majority of front-line officers who took part in this study (given the data that was generated from these officers in this study). The two occurrences previously discussed were offered as framing representations of the transformations brought about in policing as a result of two significant developments – the technological enabling of intensified citizen surveillance and tangible documentation of police actions (through videorecording) and the cultural shift in the attitudes of some in society toward the police. Two other particular occurrences that I was involved with in 2011 merit inclusion in the data considered in this subchapter in explaining different aspects of the phenomena of ‘citizen journalism’ and citizen oversight of the police.

On 26 August 2011 I responded to calls from officers dealing with a mentally-unstable and suicidal male subject who had not succeeded in getting run over by a truck on a busy city street and was, at that point, standing in the middle of the roadway with a knife to his throat and indicating he was going to take his life. The officers had blocked

traffic and had contained the subject away from any other persons in the area and were requesting my presence with the Taser I carried (in Ottawa, front-line supervisors are required to maintain Taser qualifications as part of the less lethal use of force options deployed on the streets) as a potential option in preventing the subject from killing himself. As I arrived at the location I scanned the area to orient myself and determine a strategy. Vehicles were stationary and abandoned (with occupants standing outside their vehicles watching) and I observed the subject standing in the middle of the road holding a knife that was pressing into the side of his neck and he was yelling at the ten or so uniformed officers surrounding him and encouraging them to shoot him. The officers were maintaining a safe distance and trying to talk to the subject and calm him. As I exited my police cruiser and prepared the Taser for possible deployment I overheard a bystander yell to another person nearby who was videorecording the event with a cameraphone 'Look at this guy, something's going to happen now, he's got a Taser, make sure you get [record] him'. This caused my focus to expand momentarily from the subject to the more complete environment, at which time I observed what was essentially an amphitheatre-like setting in the immediate backdrop behind the subject and the containing police officers, with hundreds of civilians watching the event and a phalanx of cameraphones held in people's hands, pointed in the direction of the unfolding drama in the middle of the roadway.

Two days later, I was assisting an officer with the arrest of a male subject who was intoxicated and aggressive, having assaulted another individual on the street. The setting for this event was a very busy intersection in a bar district that was congested with pedestrian and vehicular traffic. This subject was struggling and resisting our efforts to

handcuff him. As I applied a joint-lock technique to better control the subject's arm he began yelling to the crowd of citizens watching the event, 'Anyone with a camera get this', 'Put this on *YouTube*', and 'Send it to [a particularly adversarial criminal defence lawyer in Ottawa]'. After successfully applying the handcuffs and then allowing my attention to move to the crowd, I saw that perhaps 10 different individuals were pointing their cameraphones in my direction. What I found ironic was that as soon as it became obvious I was now looking at the crowd, without exception all of the persons who had been recording hurriedly concealed their cameraphones (I am not sure what significance to attribute to this action by members of the public but it strikes me as an interesting reaction to having one's videorecording of a public event being found out).

An Ottawa Police officer who now works in a patrol capacity in a predominantly suburban area related,

I would say now I would be recorded by a cameraphone maybe once every couple of months. I had one a week ago when I was dealing with an impaired driver and his girlfriend was recording everything. I didn't care, all it did was make me make sure I did everything perfectly by the book. It happened a lot more when I worked downtown, there were just more people around most every call and they were always recording 'just in case'. (OPS participant 6)

A Toronto Police officer who has worked in the downtown core for many years provided the following insight,

So, did you see the shooting in the Urban Eatery [at the Toronto Eaton Centre in 2012]? For me that pretty much sums it all up. You've got lead [bullets] flying everywhere, people getting shot [one fatally and seven wounded], and how many people have video from it? A half dozen? A dozen? There is video from a whole lot of stupid people who should have had their heads down or got the hell out of there but who are so caught up in this idea that if something interesting is happening they should record it. It's exactly the same for us. If we get to the call for some guy acting crazy or a fight in progress there are already a bunch of people ready with their phones to see what are the cops going to do with this guy who is going to scrap them when they get here. (TPS participant 8)

As discussed, and as will be further elaborated in the context of an examination of the cultural transformation I suggest has impacted on the public-police relationship, what I characterize as the ‘citizen journalism’ *instinct* has become pervasive in our urban cultural sensibilities. Finn (2012: 77) characterized this instinct as the public now “seeing [their world] *surveillantly*” and McGrath (2012: 83) spoke of the “ecstasy of engagement” among the public in the new reality of surveillance as “a citizen (or consumer) activity.” The instinctive response to activate one’s cameraphone and begin recording an event with potential newsworthiness seems an engrained response in the consciousness of a significant portion of the broad citizenry. This *instinct* has been consistently demonstrated in occurrences related by front-line police officers participating in this study. Finn (2012: 76), who used the Oscar Grant occurrence as a case study in his research, found that the multiple citizen-generated videorecordings of that event are “indicative of a pervasive cultural trend on citizens documenting police activity.”

William (Bill) Blair, Chief of the Toronto Police Service, was interviewed on 18 March 2013, and he commented on this trend,

And it’s not just sort of a technical issue but there’s a cultural issue as well. People are recording events and it’s pretty quite extraordinary now. When you see something happening, at one time somebody fell on the street [and] people would rush to their assistance, now half of the people are recording the event, which is really quite extraordinary and then busily uploading it. And so that has also become a bit of ... sort of a cultural reality in I would say a lot of different centres because that’s my experience. I suspect that something is happening in most places...People [in the Urban Eatery during the shooting] are diving for cover but there’s still people holding up their phones.

In his thesis, Francois de Soete (2004: 3-4), of the University of British Columbia, sought to identify how police power “manifests itself on the streets, where cameras are

not ordinarily present to monitor officers...[and] in day to day situations [when] civilians are alone with the police, away from the scope of video cameras...civilians are largely defenceless should an officer choose to harm them in some way.” Nine years later, the environment is clearly an entirely different one than that assessed by de Soete in 2004, in terms of the scope of potential and actual video monitoring of the police.

de Soete (2004) relied on the work of Foucault on disciplinary power dynamics in advancing his argument. I also argue (clearly in a much different direction than de Soete) that Foucault’s treatment of discipline, as related to the potential for surveillance implicit in the concept of panoptic surveillance, is of fundamental importance to the functioning of deterrence, which is a crucial consideration in terms of understanding police conduct in today’s society, and which will be elaborated in detail. de Soete (2004: 31) found that in terms of the reality of societal functions on the street, “...it would be fallacious to suggest that police officers are equally subject to the gaze. While police officers cannot obscure themselves entirely from the gaze, the gaze still does not descend on officers with the same degree of infiltration as it does on the average civilian since police officers themselves are primary agents for the socio-juridical gaze.”

I take no issue with de Soete’s observation around the police and their role in the socio-juridical gaze; however I take an entirely different view of the gaze (supported by substantial empirical data) to which the police are subject as they perform their duties in the urban environment. I am in agreement with Lyon’s (2007: 56) observation that new technologies have enabled a universal surveillance, “in the sense that no one is immune from the gaze.” In Foucauldian terms, I advance that across society no longer does anyone operate in a “zone of darkness” (Foucault 1980: 152). As discussed, notions of

the ‘surveillant assemblage’ (Haggerty & Ericson 2000), ‘palinoptic’ surveillance (Bruno 2012), ‘pluraoptic’ surveillance (the researcher), ‘participatory surveillance’ (Poster 1990), the ‘participatory Panopticon’ (Cascio 2005), ‘coveillance’ (Mann *et al.* 2003), and “‘equiveillance’ (Mann *et al.* 2006) all suggested that the possibilities for surveillance of the powerful in society now exist. Writing sixteen years ago, Ericson and Haggerty (1997: 56) found, “Coincident with the surveillance of suspect citizens is the surveillance of the police as a suspect population. There is probably no occupation as thoroughly scrutinized as the police. This surveillance arises out of distrust, which is endemic in risk society (Giddens 1990).”

As established by the totality of the evidence compiled in this study, in 2013 not only can the police *not* obscure themselves *entirely* from the gaze of others, but it is more accurate to characterize the present circumstances as the police being in a situation in which they can *rarely* obscure themselves from the media producer society’s (Mathiesen 1997) gaze. Further, and perhaps more significantly, the police are in a situation in which they can *never* be immune from the omnipresent *potential* gaze that has been enabled by technological innovations and the ubiquity of monitoring devices in our society (Lievrouw 2011; Myers 2012) and indoctrinated through a pronounced socio-political cultural shift in public sentiment toward the police across a less compliant and more demanding populace (Loftus 2009). Such are the new realities brought about by the “sweeping social and technological changes” that characterize the broad social surveillance across Canadian society (Doyle 2011: 285) and the state of “universal ...continuous, comprehensive surveillance” McGrath (2012: 83).

The police are most certainly subjected to levels of both social and institutional surveillance that exceeds that experienced by the vast majority of civilians in today's urban Canadian society (Brighenti 2007; Ericson & Haggerty 1997; Goldsmith 2010; Haggerty 2012; Loftus 2009; Thompson 2005). Through the phenomenon of 'citizen journalism', within the media producer society that now 'sees *surveillantly*' (Finn 2012) and ecstatically embraces their role in surveillance (McGrath 2012) – in conjunction with the various surveillance programs introduced within police organizations (such as the Toronto Police's in-car camera system project in which all police patrol vehicles have two digital video cameras mounted therein or the high-definition digital video system in the Ottawa Police cellblock) today's urban police officers are subject to extensive, if not omnipresent, oversight and videorecorded documentation of their conduct.

5.4 Can the phenomenon be temporally situated in the Canadian context?

Heussner (2009: n.p.) posed an interesting question in relation to her analysis of the top 10 innovations of the decade, "Can you even recall a time when...you couldn't surf the Web, send an e-mail, and take a picture from a palm-sized device that fits in your pocket?" While the cameraphone was invented in 1997, the first commercially available model did not debut until 1999. Even in the year the device was proclaimed the innovation of the year by *Time* only 80 million cameraphones were put into circulation worldwide in 2003 (Hamilton 2003).

As discussed, the new technology innovations of recent years have been key developments in the unprecedented proliferation of surveillance in our society (Haggerty 2006; Lyon 2006b; Mann *et al.* 2003). Marx (2002) suggested that technologies that are affordable, have low visibility, and extend the senses are those that clearly have

significant social implications. Certainly the integration of a videorecording function with something that most people in contemporary Western democratic societies can afford (Ball *et al.* 2012) and have readily-accessible at all times – the ubiquitous mobile telephone, allowed for the phenomenal growth of ‘citizen journalism’. While this practice was possible with the introduction of camcorders to the consumer market in the 1980s those obtrusive and bulky devices were relatively expensive and one-dimensional (Robinson 2012: 1413), and were usually brought out of storage for a specific purpose. Few persons hauled around a camcorder for no specific reason as they went about their daily routines. Now the technical capacity to record (with high definition clarity) anything that occurs within view is always present within most people's immediate control and in near-constant use during waking hours (texting, surfing, gaming, and conversing). Good and Moulton (2007: n.p.) observed,

Cell phone cameras are quickly becoming the best source for on-the-spot photojournalism simply because so many people carry a phone equipped with a camera with them during the day. With access to a phone at any point during a daily routine, there is no telling what events a person might be able to capture...Cameraphones provide access to spur of the moment documentation of events.

Sergeant Nick Mitilineos, a 23-year veteran of the Ottawa Police who is in charge of the use of force training program, was interviewed on 2 April 2013 in relation to his professional knowledge and experience with police use of force. One of his first observations was in relation to cameraphones –

...sitting on the table [in front of us] we have phones, and all our phones have a camera...now we don't even take a camera to a birthday party, right? Why would I do that? I have my iPhone or my Galaxy III...that has a better camera on it and it's readily available. So we've tailored some training towards that just because it's progressive. (Mitilineos 2013)

As was borne out in the survey data, few participating police officers (only 6.2% of respondents) were aware of any form of citizen videorecording of their on-duty conduct prior to 2000. Almost half of the officers who participated in the survey (46%) recalled the period of 2004-2007 as that in which they experienced the first videorecording of their activities by a citizen (with 2005 being the most common response by year – 13.4% of respondents). Figure 2 provides a graphical representation of the grouped data.

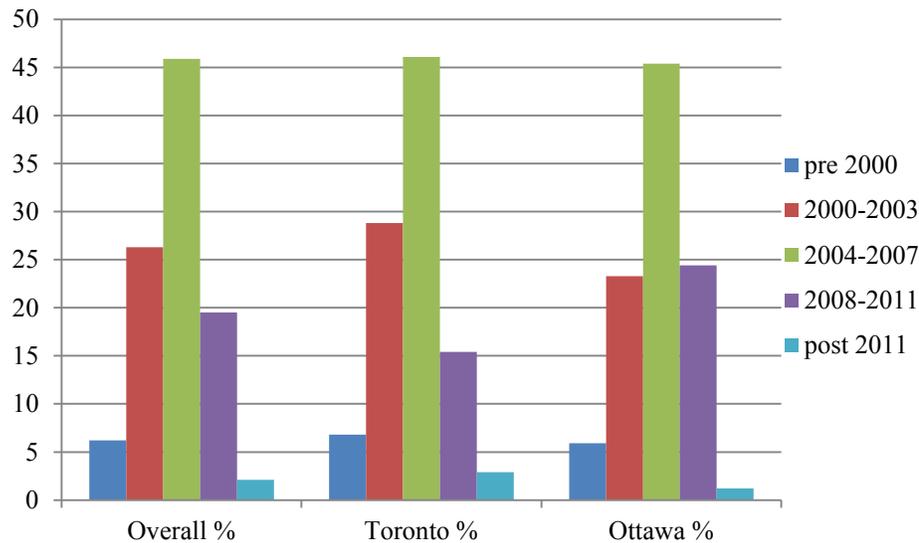


Figure 2: Years of First Occurrence of Citizen Videorecording of Officers

Blair (2013) assessed that it was “*in the last ten years*” that civilian digital videorecording devices “*began to make a difference*”, with advances in the devices “*everybody’s got one now.*” An Ottawa officer provided observations on the evolution of civilian technology-enabled surveillance,

As these things [producing his/her own cameraphone for effect] got cheaper and cheaper and smaller and smaller it almost seemed like overnight everyone had them. And then when everyone had one everyone started using them all the time. You would look around and suddenly everyone had one in their hand and they were texting, playing a game, chatting to someone. Even the ‘crackers’ [those individuals believed to be dependent on crack cocaine] at ‘Shep’s’ [The Shepherds of Good Hope shelter and soup kitchen] and the ‘Sally Ann’ [The Salvation Army shelter] somehow had them. I guess at \$30 a

month everyone could afford them. These things were always out, as though it was impossible for people, myself included, to leave them at home or in the car...I would think that would have been around 2003-2004 when suddenly they were everywhere. And then, the fun started...it would have been 2004 when I had my first starring role when I was fighting with a guy who had just pounded his girlfriend's head off the wall in the hallway at [a certain public housing project highrise building]. I see a door open and a hand stick out and the guy's filming me with his phone. (OPS participant 9)

A Toronto Police officer observed,

I would say that for about the last ten years or so, or whenever someone thought to put cameras on cell phones, just about every time I have been involved in a call where there was some level of confrontation or someone had to be taken down hard there was at least one, and usually more than one person trying to be nonchalant, 'Who me? I'm not looking at you officer', with their cameraphone not so secretly video 'ing us and hoping that one of us would do something stupid and they would have the big story on the 6 o'clock news and all over the Internet. (TPS participant 8)

Another Toronto Police officer recalled,

I think it was 2005 or 2006 when it first happened to me. There had been an incident in Scarborough that was recorded and on social media and the news and that seemed to raise people's awareness that they could record us and get us into shit. We went on a pretty routine call and as we were walking the guy out to the cruiser there was some lady standing on the sidewalk with her phone filming us. I asked her what she was doing and she said it was her right and she was making sure the guy didn't 'fall down' by 'accident' [implying that the police might injure the subject and claim the injury had occurred as a result of an accidental fall]. (TPS participant 5)

Several officers from each police service related that both citizen videorecording activities and 'hostile', 'adversarial', or 'negative' sentiment (as officers who were interviewed characterized the prevailing public sentiment toward the police) escalated noticeably in the aftermath of widely publicized police use of force occurrences in their own cities and elsewhere. Eight of the twenty officers interviewed referenced the public disclosure of the citizen videorecording of the Dziekański occurrence at the Vancouver airport in 2007 as triggering an increased amount of internal police discussion of citizen

videorecording and a perception among these eight officers that ‘citizen journalism’ in relation to the police also became more topical in the public discourse and was the catalyst for a higher incidence of civilian recording of police-citizen interactions. Several of the Ottawa Police officers felt that the public release of the Stacy Bonds cellblock videorecording in 2010 had resulted in increases in videorecording of them by the public and in negative public sentiment toward the police and their handling of citizens who are in police custody. One Toronto officer spoke about a traditional and social media publicized arrest of an individual by two Toronto officers that was videorecorded by a bystander in 2008 and subsequently was featured on local television news (the footage is located at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E_WeHMSWJNg and as of 15 July 2013 had 1,193,405 views).⁶³ This officer felt that the publicity surrounding this occurrence and “*it going viral on the Internet*” was a trigger for what the officer perceived was a “*significant increase in the amount of people who were videoing us; suddenly it was literally every time we were arresting someone there was at least one person standing there with their phone, some people didn’t even try to be discreet.*” (TPS participant 2)

All ten of the Toronto Police front-line officers interviewed spoke about the 2010 G20 summit civilian video footage of ‘*alleged*’ (as was often characterized by the interviewees) police misconduct and brutality that was a staple of traditional news and online social media discussion for months after the event and they felt this extensive publicity was the catalyst for a noticeable escalation in the amount of citizen videorecording of the police and a heightened public consciousness around police interactions with citizens and the ability of citizens to use their cameraphones to

document such interactions that still exists today in Toronto. A Toronto Police officer expressed a representative thought on the G20 effect,

I think some of the things that happened and then the way the media and people online whipped it up really changed things for the worse for both the police and the community. We were watched even more, and if the cameraphone thing was bad before, we got recorded even more after. And, those on the fence went over to the people in Toronto who think we are all just a bunch of goons with guns who took off our name badges so we could abuse people. There has always been that group; the vocal minority who think anything the police do is sinister, racist, corrupt, whatever but that group grew after G20 because of the way things got exaggerated with a few incidents on YouTube and on the news. (TPS participant 3)

Similarly, one Ottawa Police officer succinctly captured the majorities' characterization of the present situation with civilian videorecording of police conduct,

If I am going to arrest someone anywhere other than in a storm-sewer underground, and they probably have video in there now too, and either his voice or my voice becomes more intense you can almost guarantee that someone somewhere has seen what is going down, figures something more is coming, and has their phone out and recording, just in case. That's just the way it is today. (OPS participant 1)

This officer shares the same assessment as Bogard (2006: 76), who found that monitoring and recording throughout society have “expanded exponentially” and “to the point where virtually every space, interior and exterior, has become a space of observations.”

5.5 To what extent does the capacity for civilian oversight (monitoring/surveillance/scrutiny) and videorecorded documentation of police actions impact on the ‘front-line’ police officers consciousness, vis-à-vis awareness and/or concern?

Mawby (2010: 1060) captured the current landscape of civilian video oversight of the police with his observation, “Policing operates in an increasingly mediated world in which police forces and their officers are scrutinized by professional news-gatherers and citizen journalists in a 24/7 multi-platform media milieu.” Surveillance is a key feature of

contemporary societies and now a more public and collective phenomenon through a new type of “watching public” (Doyle 2006a: 218) and sometimes to “an obsessive degree” (Lyon 2006: 40). In their works on surveillance and visibility, Haggerty and Ericson (2000: 606) established that there has developed “an exponential multiplication of visibility on our city streets.” They further observed, “Hierarchies of visibility are being leveled, as people from all social backgrounds are now under surveillance (Nock 1993). While surveillance has not eliminated social inequalities, certain groups no longer stand outside the practice of routine monitoring. Individuals at every location in the social hierarchy are now scrutinized” (Haggerty & Ericson 2006: 6).

Doyle (2003) found, in relation to earlier televising of real-life police action, that various structural and institutional impediments prevented TV cameras from accessing and recording certain ‘back-region’ policing settings. He also determined that previously, although the police were “somewhat vulnerable” to citizen surveillance in traditionally public settings, they had succeeded in maintaining “almost complete control” of the penetration of back-region settings (Doyle 2003: 134-135). It is my contention (grounded in the evidence assembled in this study and the substantial corroborative support in the literature) that the police, in their routine duties and engagements with citizens, are no longer outside the (now pervasive) practices of social and institutional monitoring (Goldsmith 2010; Thompson 2005). The officer on duty in our communities can no longer rely on the lack of contact with an audience to maintain a social distance, which formerly deprived the audience of knowledge and which thereby enabled the police to manage the presentation of their conduct to the public audience (Goffman 1959; Goldsmith 2010). Now, the police are constantly under observation and scrutiny, or can

and should reasonably expect to be under some form of scrutiny – whether overt or surreptitious, seen or unseen (Cascio 2005) – in this era of “continuous, comprehensive surveillance” (McGrath 2012: 83) and policing’s ‘new visibility’ (Goldsmith 2010).

I think it is clear that contemporary technologies, the phenomenon of ‘citizen journalism’, and socio-cultural and sub-political transformations have provided the opportunity for individuals to “overcome historical limitations to vision” (Ball *et al.* 2012: 1) and to engage with social issues and social change in a way never before available. Marx (2002: 16) advanced that technological limitations previously hindered the challenging of “fundamental assumptions about personal and social borders” and that the new surveillance technologies “create a potential for a very different kind of society.” With the proliferation of ‘citizen journalism’ (as a media form, as a social value implicit in the new socio-political landscape, and as a mechanical action that has become instinctual in our society) and the omnipresence of millions of cameraphones throughout the urban Canadian constituency, the police no longer have control of the circumstances in which they are recorded or the access to policing’s former ‘back regions’.

The technological capabilities of contemporary cameraphones permit much more to be seen and recorded than ever before and therefore facilitate the unprecedented social surveillance of the police that is now in operation (Doyle 2006a; Haggerty & Ericson 2006; Huey, Walby & Doyle 2006; Meyrowitz 1994). As Meyrowitz (1985: 309) found in relation to television, and which I advance is now a far more pronounced manifestation with contemporary ‘citizen journalism’, “...many formerly private and isolated behaviours have been brought out in the large unitary public arena...our police officers,..[are] performing roles in new theatres.”

Surveillance and visibility are now multidimensional, widespread, and complex processes that transcend considerations of social strata (Cascio 2005; Haggerty 2006; Haggerty & Ericson 2006; Loader 2008; Lyon 2013; McGrath 2012). Inclusion or exclusion in the ‘network society’, through engagement with today’s technologies, are the determinants of citizen participation in social surveillance and socio-political discourses on a variety of issues – including the public-police relationship (Castells 2007, 2009, 2010). As has been discussed, and demonstrated empirically (in Chapter Two), the vast majority of Canadians are today included in the ‘network society’. Computer and Internet access and ownership of cameraphones are essentially universal for adult Canadian city dwellers. Individuals today are empowered (and can be more easily united) through information and networking technologies and this has restructured the social world (Meyrowitz 1994: 62) and enabled social movements with the capacity to challenge and influence both institutional policing practices and individual police conduct. Now, social movements seeking to modify the power dynamic in the interaction of police with citizens in potential conflict situations and to alter the socio-political discourse and landscape, bring forth videorecorded documentation of alleged police misconduct (originating through ‘citizen journalism’ that has been practiced in all kinds of settings – including those formerly thought of as typically private) into the online discourse of the public sphere, seeking to undermine the credibility of individual police officer(s) and to challenge the legitimacy of the institution of policing, as it is now constituted.

Put simply, today there are few, if any, settings in which police officers can be reasonably confident that they are not, at a minimum, ‘somewhat vulnerable’ (Doyle 2003) to their behaviour being somehow visible and documented through videorecording. There have been many examples over the past few years of police officers caught behaving badly in circumstances in which the officer surely believed (wrongly) that the behaviour was invisible to any potential outside civilian observer. This is the backdrop to contemporary urban policing and is the framing around which I sought to assess the degree that this new social landscape weighs on the minds of front-line police officers as they go about their duties and engage with members of the public in our communities.

Through the survey instrument, research participants were asked to rate (on a scale of 1 to 10) their individual level of awareness/concern – with the value 1 representing it never entering the officer’s mind and the value 10 representing something that is always present in the officer’s consciousness whenever they are on duty and in the public eye. All 231 police officers surveyed responded to this question and slightly over half of them (50.6%) reported the maximum level of 10 out a possible 10. For these 117 participating police officers their being videorecorded (including surreptitiously) by citizens while on duty in the public eye was something that was *always present* in their consciousness, vis-à-vis their level of concern/awareness in relation to the ‘citizen journalism’ capabilities for videorecorded surveillance and documentation of police actions. Only 16.4% of respondents reported a level of concern/awareness less than 7 out of 10. Figure 3 presents a graphical representation of the grouped data.

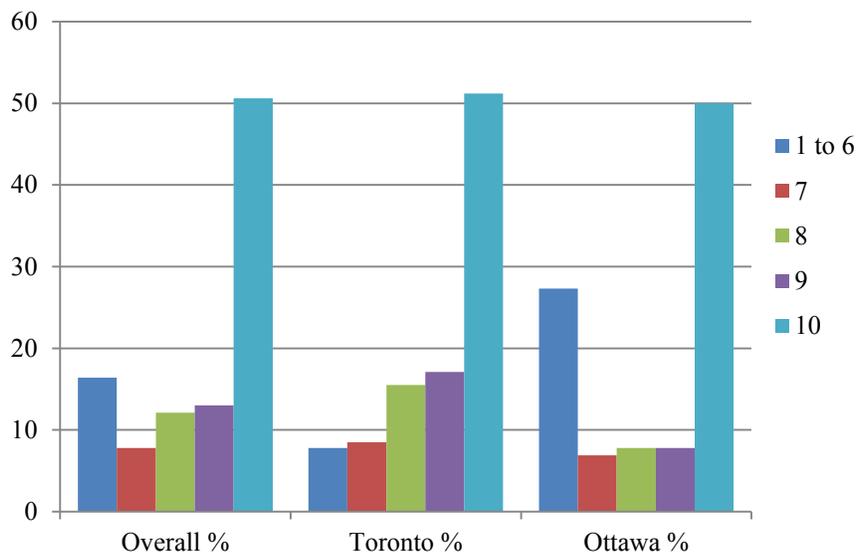


Figure 3: Level of Concern/Awareness for Patrol Officers

While interviewing Toronto Police Association President Mike McCormack (on 10 January 2013) an issue with the blended wording ‘concern/awareness’ in the survey question was raised and caused me some reflection as, in retrospect, this critique has merit. As McCormack (2013) explained, the two words can have different meanings, with concern having a somewhat negative connotation.⁶⁴ The rationale for the wording was the result of my informal discussions with a variety of front-line police officers in the formulation of this research project and those officers used the two words interchangeably to reflect the same idea. Of the 231 survey responses received, only one officer differentiated between the two terminologies – an Ottawa Police officer who bifurcated his/her answer, ‘8 out of 10 awareness – 2 out of 10 concern’.

Fortunately the research methods employed in this study were sequenced and therefore in-depth qualitative interviewing was, by design, informed by the quantitative results and also by the preceding interviews. All 20 of the front-line veteran police officers interviews followed the McCormack (2013) interview and therefore I was able to

canvass this issue in some detail with each of those officers. After the potential issue was explained and discussed only one of the twenty officers (an Ottawa Police officer) expressed a differential (or dissimilar) understanding of the meaning of ‘concern/awareness’ and would have, had she/he thought about it more thoroughly, answered the question differently. Rather than an overall 9 out of 10 assessment of the officer’s level of concern/awareness, this officer would have answered 9 out of 10 in relation to ‘awareness’ and 10 out of 10 in relation to ‘concern’. One Toronto Police officer captured the essential common elements of the positions of the other 19 officers –

*Listen, if you are **aware** that citizens can be literally anywhere videorecording you at any time and any place then you are **concerned** too! The two mean the same to me... It is possible that an officer could be aware of how it is but not concerned about it, but then he would be an idiot. How can you realize that this is the way it is now, basically doing your work with somebody always watching you, or someone might be always watching you and you can't see them, and then being able to hit 'record' if you do anything out of the ordinary or out of policy, but not be concerned about how things might play out depending on what happens, what the video shows, where the video winds up?..You are always going to have a few officers who are, I know about it but I'm not changing anything I do because of it. Like I said there are a few idiots in every profession. (TPS participant 6)*

In this subset of the sample group nine officers reported that they had originally answered 10 (out of 10); five answered 9 (out of 10); three answered 8 (out of 10); one answered 7 (out of 10); one answered 5 (out of 10) and one answered 4 (out of 10).

Charles Bordeleau, Chief of the Ottawa Police Service, was interviewed on 8 February 2013 and he explained that the presence of a cameraphone in a situation in which he had to use force would not change his actions; however “*it would probably change my awareness and the consciousness of somebody now watching me and videotaping me. So I don't think it would impact what I would do. But certainly, from a consciousness perspective, it would play on me.*”

The results of another question in the quantitative survey provided a different measure of the extent to which the phenomena of ‘citizen journalism’ (in relation to police-citizen violent occurrences) has penetrated into the consciousness of police officers. The question inquired into the conversations between each of the participating police officers and her/his policing colleagues, vis-à-vis the prevalence in those discussions of the topic of citizen videorecording of police officers and the accompanying online and/or traditional media notoriety with some of those videorecordings that feature police-citizen violent occurrences. The underlying premise of the question is that the more such conversations are a featured topic in the police subcultural discourse, the stronger it can be reasonably inferred that the phenomena of ‘citizen journalism’ around police use force has impacted on the consciousness of front-line police officers.

All 231 participating officers answered this question. Discussions of ‘citizen journalism’ and police-citizen violence were *often the primary topic* of work-related conversation for 31% of the officers. Thirty-eight percent (37.6%) of the respondents engaged in such discussions *fairly often* with their colleagues. *Occasional* discussion of this subject was reported by 29% of the participating officers, while less than 2% of respondents indicated that this subject was *never* a topic in their work-related conversations. Figure 4 presents a graphical representation of this data.

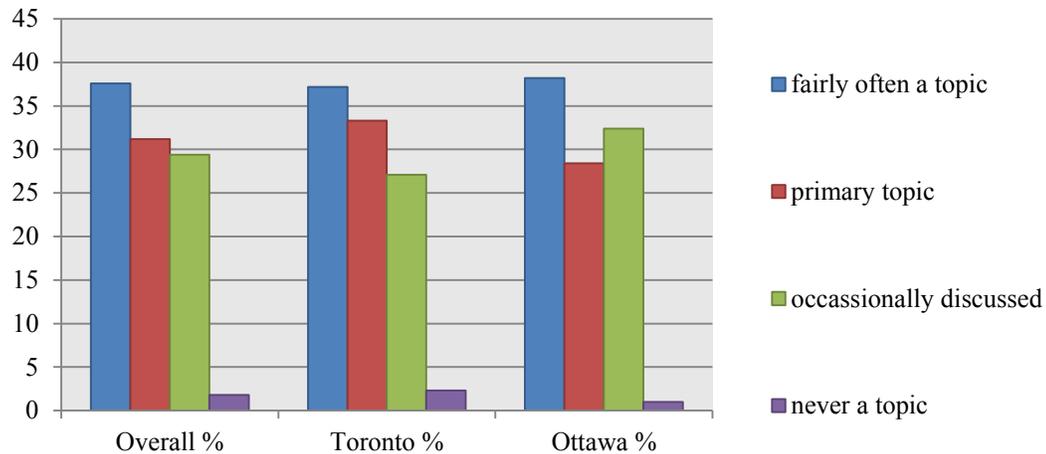


Figure 4: 'Citizen Journalism' as a Topic in Police Subculture

Skof (2013) expressed that in his discussion with Ottawa Police membership the majority feel that citizen recording of police use of force incidents is “*significant, for sure.*” It is something of which Skof is “*very conscious*” and a situation that is discussed “*all the time*” with his policing colleagues and in his policing circles. One of his Association members, a front-line veteran Ottawa Police officer, explained,

For me, I talk about it [civilians recording the police and disseminating controversial footage] every shift. Think about it, if you read the paper or surf the Net it's just about every day that there is something somewhere about a cop using excessive force and getting caught by a recording. It is something I think about every time I go out on the road and I think that is why I have avoided getting caught up in something like those messes. Most of the guys talk about it a lot and I think it helps reinforce for all of us how careful we have to be all the time...When something like the [Stacy] Bonds thing blows up well then it's all the public talks, or yells at you about and it becomes THE conversation at the station and the club [the police bar]. (OPS participant 7)

Bordeleau (2013) advised that he discusses social media coverage of police use of force “*very often with my colleagues here but also with my other Chiefs across the province and Canada, it is the impact of social media on policing and how quickly news spreads...So those discussions do take place in policing across Canada and it is very much so on our minds.*”

A veteran front-line Toronto Police officer contributed,

With everyone with a cameraphone, including the drug dealers and the gangsters, and their girlfriends and mothers, etcetera, you would have to be retarded not to be concerned about what could happen on a call where there was resistance and use of force was required. So, you are fighting with the guy and you go to a use of force option that is not allowed by the 'rules' [sarcastic tone accompanied by eye rolling] and say he gets hurt bad. Now you've got SIU and they've got a video that shows exactly what he was doing and exactly what you did, and what you did is 'technically' against policy and therefore illegal. So yeah, that is a big concern for me. A big concern! I don't want to lose my job over something like that or over some piece of shit drug dealer who puts up a fight. These cameraphones everywhere is a game-changer and anyone who tells you they are not concerned or they haven't changed how they do some things is full of shit. (TPS participant 7)

In not quite the same scholarly language, this officer expressed one of the fundamental premises of Thompson's social theory of communication, which merits reiterating at this juncture in the discussion, "If we wish to understand the cultural transformations associated with the rise of modern societies, then we must give a central role to the development of communication media and their impact." Clearly the development of the cameraphone medium has had a significant impact on the cultural transformation of the police, or co-opting Meyrowitz's (1985, 1994) work on medium theory, how the formal properties of the cameraphone as a medium have redesigned the social situation of police conflict with the public. Lutt (2012: 354) articulated, "Now the driving force behind the public's awareness of police activity is citizens armed with cameraphones and a healthy skepticism of authority."

An Ottawa Police officer provided some insight into how scrutiny and scandals have impacted on how she/he does front-line patrol work today,

I would say that once the Marty Cardinal thing happened [in 2000] and then with the appeals by upper management to make sure the public was satisfied and got its pound of flesh I did a lot of thinking about my career. I was one of those go-getters and wasn't too worried about a Rodney King thing and this

kind of stuff really never worried me or was on my mind. But when I saw the way the public freaked out over what was really a minor use of force incident and the way management bent over backwards to make sure the vocal minority who love to criticize the police got their way I changed how I do my job. I do what is required, period, and I make sure I am always aware of what is going on around me, what I am doing, and the potential for something to look bad to the public. The last thing I or my family needs is to be part of the next big incident all over YouTube or the front page of The [Ottawa] Citizen. Look at the guy in Toronto, with the bubbles...If that was me, I wouldn't say a word. Let them blow bubbles, let them disrespect the police. Let them riot. You gotta know cameras are on everything and they are trying to provoke you. Today, the motto, and I know even the young guys today who come on the job with this idea that they are going to change the world don't take long to realize, do what you are required to do on your shift but don't do anything that could be part of a controversy and get you in trouble or fired. If that means letting things go, let it go, at the end of the day no one cares, you still get paid, and you go home...If the citizens really want that kind of society,..one where gang bangers get off on technicalities and the police are the one's getting into trouble for stopping their car full of crack and guns they can have it and we will just do the bare minimum...A lot of us now don't arrest aggressive drunk people anymore because of the way the [Stacy] Bond[s'] thing was so crazy in court and then with the public bandwagon and the Chief throwing all of us who do the job under the bus. I hope the public who was apparently so upset with the police likes having these people wandering around them and the police doing nothing about it because why would we?...A lot of us don't pull over a suspicious car when we would have without a doubt years ago, who wants to be the next racial profiler? (OPS participant 4)

Communication media enable the phenomenon of scandal to accompany particular egregious and/or sensational incidents made public through 'new visibility' (Thompson 2005: 48). The public scandals that follow the mediated dissemination of (and publicity around) videorecordings of police misconduct – today consisting of the 'double-whammy' of Web 2.0 social media and traditional print and television journalism – can prompt formal investigations into the legality or appropriateness of such police conduct (Goldsmith 2010) and exacerbate the already widespread distrust of the police. Lauth (2012: 352) suggests that these videorecorded and publicized instances of police misconduct "shatter public trust and confidence in law enforcement institutions...This

mistrust engenders a culture of skepticism and cynicism toward the exercise of police authority.”

The Erosion of the Trust in the Police

As discussed, the public’s trust in major social institutions (including the police) in today’s society is tenuous (Doyle 2006a, 2007, 2011; Garland 2003; Lievrouw 2011). A pervasive skepticism of the police is a major feature of today’s public-police relationship. Blair (2013) assesses “*a cultural shift*”, featuring “*a much higher level of skepticism*” of the police and all public institutions. At a time when the public is seeking security from the uncertainties and challenges in the contemporary ‘risk society’ they are experiencing “*a distrust of those providing security*” (Doyle 2007: 10). Skof (2013) perceives “*an erosion in societies’ confidence*” in the police and an undeniable cultural shift in the populace, with some subscribing to “*that sort of culture where they are always trying to expose something...politicized groups.*”

Several of the front-line police officers interviewed spoke of judicial and political developments that they associate with deteriorations in confidence and trust in the police. They cited various court decisions that have diminished presumptions of integrity and trustworthiness that was traditionally afforded the police in the courts and the introduction of civilian (and as several characterized, ‘*political*’) oversight agencies such as the SIU, the Office of the Independent Police Review Director (OIPRD), and the Ontario Civilian Police Commission (OCPC). More than one of the more senior officers interviewed (in terms of years of police experience) spoke about earlier understandings in the courts that a police officer testifying under oath was presumed to be providing

truthful evidence. That has now changed, as described in the observations of a veteran Toronto Police officer who echoed the experiences of several other officers interviewed,

The first step was the presumptive inadmissibility of notebook or written statements, for civilians [reading this] I am talking about confessions here. It used to be that if a suspect wrote out his confession that was it, it was true and he was guilty. Then the courts decided that the police could not be trusted, all of us apparently used coercion and extorted these statements out of innocent people, which is bullshit, and so for a statement to be accepted in court it had to be audio recorded. Then video recorded. Then video recorded from different angles and four different cameras to prove that I guess there wasn't another detective in the room hiding in the corner pointing a gun at the guy's head to force him to say what the police told him to say. Basically what has happened is that the word of a police officer used to be evidence that was trusted and relied on. To put it in your academic language, now police officer's evidence has to be corroborated to substantiate the claims that the police are making. You could say that today there is a presumptive distrust of the police I guess. (TPS participant 2)

Ericson and Haggerty (2007) previously addressed this situation, observing that the criminal justice system's solution to the police tendencies not to adhere to rules was to develop rules and technologies that could police the police and thereby maintain trust in the police institution. They observed that in this culture of distrust, the audio (and then video) recording of police interviews became required by law – a strong indicator of distrust in the police (Ericson & Haggerty 2007:56). Skof (2013) asserts that the police “are second-guessed by a judicial body that I believe have completely eroded the confidence in policing as well as the officer's confidence in the ability to do their job...This erosion is huge. It's systematic and...it affects us completely.” This socio-political cultural shift, both institutionally-based and also manifesting across the citizenry, provides important context in relation to the mindsets and worldviews of front-line police officers, and the impact of contemporary ‘citizen journalism’ developments on their awareness, concerns, and behaviours.

On the capabilities of today's social media, Bordeleau (2013) noted, "*it's allowed the whole concept of public discourse to happen on a large scale*" and in relation to how citizen journalism and citizen oversight has impacted policing he observed,

I think where we've seen it is from an accountability, a public accountability perspective. So we've had a number of events in policing in the profession take place where it's brought about a more heavy layer of accountability whether it be through the OCPC, OIPRD, SIU, so all those bodies came about events that have taken place that the public citizenry has demanded independence and oversight. And I think what we've seen with social media and the reporting from individuals has added yet another layer of accountability because regular day-to-day events now are being spread across social media without any context and now we are brought about to account around those things.

Given the frequency with which the terminology 'scrutiny' and the phrase 'under a microscope' were referenced by the veteran police officers interviewed in this project it strikes me that depending on the location in policing of the observer (and their experiences) their perspective of the shift to the present canopy of oversight as 'scrutiny' or 'accountability' (as characterized by Bordeleau 2013) can be viewed as synonymous.

Front-line officers interviewed characterized today's scrutiny as, among other terms, 'unwarranted' and 'obstructionist'. This 'onerous' scrutiny '*impedes policing and changes the way officers should do their jobs to best protect the public*', '*intrudes into how [police] think about the job*', and '*affects how [police] view the public*'. A front-line Toronto Police officer apportioned some of the blame for the diminished public trust in the police on police management,

They just feed into it [the skepticism and distrust]. The cameras in the cars, the video in the cells, those aren't there to protect US [emphatically] or help us do our job. Those are there to appease the small minority of people who don't trust us and to gather evidence against us when we screw up. So, it becomes a vicious circle, people who don't like the police and don't know a

thing about crime and criminals complain, and then more politically-correct measures are put in by politically-motivated senior officers and PSB [Police Services Board] members to satisfy the minority of so-called community activists [sarcastic tone] who actually don't speak for the majority of people in this city who want the policing of 20 years ago and want law and order not shooting and gangs...Those new things that get brought in, like SIU and video and rules on contact cards, are more things for the cop-haters to complain about. What's next? Daily polygraphs asking if we have broken any laws, orders, policies, guidelines, rules or what-have-you during our shift? ...Basically the bottom-line is that unless there is some independent verifiable proof, like video or some solid civilians who will back up what we say happened then we are assumed to be untrustworthy. Our word and our oath mean nothing and to answer your question, yes these are things that are always on our mind...like, where is the cameras and how is what we do going to look on video? But what's even more on my mind when I think about what is going on now, is what are some parts of this city going to look like once all the cops worry more about videos and perceptions and politics and stop doing the hard parts of this job – Detroit? (TPS participant 10)

5.6 Have operational police officers in urban Canada changed their behaviour(s) in response to the capacity of citizens to observe and record their actions?

Brighenti's (2007) observation is informative in relation to how the scrutiny and monitoring implicit in social surveillance impact on the consciousness of police officers and also brings about behavioural changes – “The mere fact of being aware of one's own visibility status, and not the fact of being under actual control, effectively influences one's behavior.” As discussed, today those who exercise power (such as the police) are those who are the focus of the ‘new visibility’ (Antony & Thomas 2010; Goldsmith 2010; Thompson 2005) – a social transformation that has been enabled by the technologies that are now an inextricable dimension of contemporary urban society (Castells 2000b, 2004, 2009, 2010a). The potential for the actions of a police officer to be somehow observed through citizen surveillance (through the reach enabled by the technological and cinematographic properties of modern cameraphones and their

sheer ubiquity) clearly weighs on the minds of many Canadian police officers working in urban areas and this visibility also functions to constrain and control (as it can also enable and empower in other situation) certain social relations between the police and the citizenry (Bogard 2006; Lyon 1994, 2001; Marx 2002). In other words, policing's 'new visibility' can function as a deterrent influence on the behaviour of the police. This subchapter explores the effects (in terms of changes in policing practices) that stem from both the actual presence and also the potentiality of today's social surveillance, in the contexts of the awareness of this phenomenon in officer's consciousnesses and the concurrent and interrelated socio-political reconfigurations in policing (Loftus 2009).

The Panopticon (and Related Theoretical Considerations) and Police Behaviour

George Rigakos and Alexandra Law (2009: 83) suggested, "...a Foucauldian understanding of power focuses not on its possession by individuals, but on power as a set of techniques (Foucault 1980). Perhaps the best-known example of such a technique is panoptic surveillance." As discussed, Foucault's work was silent on developments in surveillance technologies (Doyle 2011; Haggerty 2006; Haggerty & Ericson 2000), unidirectional (Haggerty 2006) and not directly generalizable to today's circumstances (Lyon 2006b). However, Foucault's appreciation for the fundamental importance of the phenomenon of surveillance in society (and the other social theorists who addressed this issue through approaches similar to Foucault, as discussed – Bruno, Cascio, Haggerty and Ericson, Mann and his colleagues, and Mathiesen) functions effectively as a broad theoretical lens through which to understand the significance of social power and the technological innovations and concurrent sweeping social changes that have enabled

today's unprecedented civilian surveillance, the documenting of police actions, and the establishment of a deterrent social configuration.

Clearly, the metaphor of panoptic surveillance *per se* is not the most applicable construction to describe today's circumstances of social surveillance, which now can be more precisely articulated as the many watching (or having the potential to watch) the many. However, the fundamental tenet of the Panopticon and similar approaches in explaining social power and social surveillance makes them a valuable tool for assessing, for example, transformations in the behaviour of police officers in response to their 'new visibility'. Lyon (2007: 61) provided support for this approach in finding, "The panoptic idea still has some merits for surveillance theory in that...the uncertainty of being watched may still act as a deterrent to deviance."

Foucault's (1975/1977: 201) assessment of the major effect of the Panopticon can be rephrased to present what I assert is the current situation in relation to the police and the social constraint on their behaviour brought about through today's social surveillance reality and potentiality – "to induce in the [police officer] a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of [approved police conduct]." Panoptic theory, in seeking to explain the structural transformation of society, examined socio-cultural developments, arising from increased surveillance capabilities. Resulting from new surveillance regimens and their potential to make people's actions visible, individuals ultimately came to control their own behaviours (and were brought into compliance with the expectations of those in society who possessed the power to define expectations) through the installation in their subconsciousness of a self-disciplined acquiescence and the establishment of self-imposed controls on their own conduct. "It is

the fact of being constantly seen, of being able always to be seen, that maintains the disciplined individual in his subjection” (Foucault 1975/1977: 187). Mathiesen’s (1997: 230) synopticism similarly implicates a system which “disciplines our consciousness ...inducing self-control and making us fit into the requirements of modernity.”

Foucault (1980: 158) theorized, “In the Panopticon each person, depending on his place, is watched by all or certain of the others. You have an apparatus of total and circulating mistrust, because there is no absolute point.” The power of panoptic (and related forms) of surveillance derives from its unverifiability (Bogard 2006; Chen 2007), as there is no way for the object of potential surveillance to determine if or when observation is taking place or how many potential watchers are watching. Chen (2007: 1) observed, “The mental uncertainty amplified the power of the prison guards and enabled the Panopticon to serve as a nonstop surveillance machine.” Doyle (2011: 289) observed, “...the panoptic metaphor did not necessarily mean that ‘the few’ were even actually watching ‘the many’. It conveyed instead simply that ‘the many’ did not know whether they were being watched or not, and understood they might be watched at any time....surveillance was something that was built into a system, rather than necessarily being conducted by individuals.” Rigakos and Law (2009: 84) articulated that a self-controlling aspect becomes part of the background consciousness of subjects, functioning even when there is no one actually observing, “because [subjects] know that every transgression *may* be seen (Foucault 1977, 1980).” It is this surveillance *potential* – enabled by the proliferation of cameraphones in our society and entrenched in the present socio-political and cultural ‘system’ (to borrow from Doyle’s characterization) of ‘citizen

journalism' (incorporating a mistrust of the police) that presented as a crucial consideration in this study.

The ability for essentially everyone in today's urban environments to: *potentially* monitor, incontrovertibly document (through cameraphone technologies) and widely disseminate (through the Internet) the conduct of others (including the police), is key to understanding the deterrent impact on the behaviour of individual police officers, in those instances where police misconduct by an officer might have formerly occurred. In other words, this study has assessed whether the potential for misconduct, that was formerly carried out in 'private', or in Goffman's (1959) metaphoric treatment – in the 'back region' (because of its isolation from the view of an audience), has been altered because such police behaviour can now be not only witnessed by a more engaged and concerned citizenry but also tangibly documented (through a high-definition videorecording with clear imagery) by this more activist and distrusting constituency in today's urban *milieux*.

Police Behavioural Changes Not Related to Use of Force

As discussed, one of the unintended consequences of the quantitative aspect of this study was the generation of data related to police behavioural changes that is ***not*** related to police use of force. All 231 survey research participants answered a question that inquired whether they have changed their behaviour *in any way* while on duty because of the prevalence of cameraphones among members of the public in the cities they police. Seventy four percent (73.6%) of the police officers reported a behavioural change, with 42 of those participants (25% of these officers) not reporting a behavioural change related to police use of force. The examination of behavioural changes not related to use of force, that have been brought about through policing's 'new visibility', was not originally

envisioned in the project; however given the results of the survey this aspect of the phenomenon was explored further in the qualitative in-depth interviewing.

Shifting from the theoretical to the on the ground manifestations of today's version of panoptic social control and the deterrent influences on the police, a veteran front-line Toronto Police officer shared,

You used to be able to grab a slice [of pizza], a coffee, have a smoke and relax in the cruiser between calls without anyone fucking with you or recording you. Now, who wants to be that guy? On the front page of the Toronto Star breaking the City's by-law on smoking in city property. Guys are even paranoid about picking their nose or looking like they're enjoying a woman flirting with them at the cruiser. What if some jackass you can't even see, with an iPhone, is zoomed right in on you from half a block away and the next thing you know you are viral on YouTube? They [management] doesn't need to tell you to be careful, look at all the coppers who have been jammed with these recordings by 'citizens' [sarcastic]; working downtown you just always presume that you are always being recorded somewhere and by someone. (TPS participant 5)

Bordeleau (2013) referred to videorecordings of police (mis)conduct he has watched on YouTube, “[which are] not just from a use of force perspective. Maybe one can classify them as questionable behaviour or conduct from police officers being in an awkward position from the public’s perspective.” The Chair of the Toronto Police Services Board, Dr. Alok Mukherjee (interviewed on 18 March 2013), while discussing the camera functionality incorporated in both his Blackberry and iPhone, shared (with a friendly smile), “Sometimes I’ve been tempted, I should admit, when I see some police officer on the road, particularly on [a] paid duty [contracted overtime providing a policing service outside of regular duties] who’s not wearing his cap or has a coffee or a cigar in his hand, it’s been tempting to take a photo and send it to the Chief, but I’ve resisted temptation.” Mitilineos (2013) explained that Ottawa Police use of force training has incorporated the new pervasiveness of citizen videorecording in the curricula,

Well, we had to discuss video cameras and the fact that you may or most likely are being recorded...So we introduced, first of all we started to mention it. Assume you're being recorded. So if you slipped into that alley to go to the bathroom because you're walking the beat and that's what you want to do 'cause its faster, you may be recorded, right. So you should, and one thing we would always start off with is everything you do should be considered you're being recorded and that you can articulate why you did [what you did].

The responses of interviewed veteran officers to the types of behaviours that have been curtailed or deterred by the omnipresent potential for civilian documentation (and the attendant risk of internal disciplinary sanctions and/or, more importantly, as expressed by the majority of officers interviewed, the public humiliation that would result in the event such imagery was posted on the Internet or being featured prominently in traditional media) amounted to a lengthy list of conduct that spanned (perhaps in most eyes) the frivolous to the significantly more serious non-violent police misconduct. Examples (in no particular order) included: nose-picking, smoking, falling asleep in the cruiser (*"I use to like to go somewhere really out of the way and private for a few minutes and grab a few winks but now who wants to somebody recording them snoring away and throwing that up on YouTube?"*), attending a donut shop, flirting with pretty girls outside the bars, parking illegal, [*"hypothetically"*] having oral sex performed on them in the cruiser, running personal errands while on duty (buying groceries, waiting in line at a bank, *'grabbing some stuff you need for tomorrow from the Home Depot'*), eating in the cruiser (*"How embarrassing would it be to be video'd as your digging into a Big Mac or with shawarma sauce dripping off your chin while you're in uniform in a cop car?"*), attending a hockey arena or soccer pitch to watch a child's game while on duty, and bringing a marked cruiser to a police recreational hockey league game and having it parked in public view for two hours.

As Robinson (2012: 1434) found, “[Video]recordings provide appropriate pressure to the police to engage in best practices and to curtail misconduct.” In the same vein, Cascio (2005) observed that public figures no longer can relax and assume they are out of sight of surveillance, now having to assume that their actions are always subject to monitoring even when the presence of cameras is not detected. Goffman (1959: 34-35) theorized (in his treatment of the presentation of self and the management of impressions) that individuals typically strive for their presentation in public view (‘front regions’) to accord with societies’ expectations of that performance and efforts are usually made to behave in such a way that these expectations are met.

Publicly visible behaviour, in other words, is expected “to incorporate and exemplify the officially accredited values of society” (Goffman 1959: 35). The police are expected to behave in an idealized way and, as discussed, are expected to conform to societies’ expectations (which are now very much critical of certain aspects of policing). Presently, the environment in which the police operate in Canadian cities is one in which there are essentially no more ‘back regions’ and concealing evidence of any ‘dirty work’ by attempting to do this work in private (Goffman 1959: 44) is now rarely possible and undertaken at great risk (of exposure and the consequences that flow from such an exposure) – given the penetration of former ‘back regions’ by policing’s ‘new visibility’. In other words, ‘back regions’, where impression management, through the concealment of information from the audience, maintained social expectations and standards (Goffman 1959) of the police, have now essentially disappeared. There is no longer a barrier between front and back regions, a dividing line between ‘private’ and ‘public’ spaces. Formerly, idealized impressions could be maintained by social actors (such as the police)

through concealment from the audience of those activities that are incompatible with an idealized version of a performance (Branaman 1997; Chriss 1999; Goffman 1959).

Blair (2013) provided insight on this development from 36 years in policing,

...police officers need to recognize whether we bring a camera [an in-car camera mounted in a police cruiser or police videographers who commonly cover public order occurrences] to the event, they're being recorded. They're being observed and they're being recorded. And I want my people to understand that that level of surveillance exists. We want them to conduct themselves appropriately whether that level of surveillance exists. But people, I think, you know, a police officer knowing that his actions are being recorded, ideally they're on their best behaviour all the time but I think for those who might be sort of ... sometimes people act very human and might respond in anger or say something inappropriate and I would hope that knowing that there's a level of accountability in place through the presence of cameras and recorders that they'll be on their best behaviour... I honestly believe and I've been doing this for a very long time that most of the time coppers do the right thing. That's been my experience. They mostly do the right thing. They're not looking for trouble. They're not looking for a problem and so I think they do the right thing most of the time. And if we, through supervision, through accountability, through video can encourage them to do the right thing more often or all the time then that's a very good thing. And quite frankly when they don't, there needs to be accountability... Ideally they know they're being recorded and they conduct themselves appropriately.

Staff Sergeant John Stockfish, a 17-year veteran of the Toronto Police Service and in charge of use of force training for Toronto officers, was interviewed on 19 March 2013. He finds that technology's impact and the new reality for policing is “a factor that can't be denied...[or] overlooked”, characterizing it as “a game changer”. In terms of the effects on operational officers as they go about their duties, Stockfish (2013) observes,

I know from direct feedback from [use of force] colleagues and fellow officers that absolutely the presence of cell phone cameras, even audio recordings, I think it has played a profound impact on the way that officers approach, conduct themselves. I mean as I said before I think that there's always been a strive for a level of professionalism. And I think that there's that higher expectation as a police officer that, you know, you're above and beyond the [expectations of an] average person. And I think what the camera and the citizen in some ways [does, is] tests those boundaries and situations with officers.

McCormack (2013) opined, “*So I think overall I would definitely say that officer behaviour has adapted to the realities of policing in the 21st century and that is audio and video recordings. And anyone that goes out there has that concept that they are going to be recorded.*” Mukherjee (2013) in discussing videorecording and accountability explained, “*...we say to our [new] officers at graduation that it’s no longer the old days. Somewhere there’s an image of what you did, so we [notify the officers] officially.*”

In relation to: accountability, omnipresent civilian oversight, ‘citizen journalism’, and the realities of today’s policing in an environment characterized by an adversarial police-citizen relationship, a veteran front-line Toronto officer offered,

It’s really simple. There is no way I would accept a transfer to certain divisions. Who would want to work somewhere where a majority of the public hate the police? Why would you want to try to survive as a cop and risk your career in that situation – where everyone is suspicious of you all the time and God forbid if something goes for a shit you have 100 witnesses whose default position is the police were in the wrong; we used too much force, we provoked it, we should have done something different, we were racist, we were profiling. Does the public, and the courts are even worse, do they understand that if this keeps going like this, cops are not stupid...If we work somewhere else that is nice and quiet and civilized or don’t get involved in the serious calls and the bullshit we still get paid and make it to pension and where does that leave them, who are they going to call when all hell is breaking lose in those neighbourhoods and the gangs are running the show? 9-1-1 will get you political correctness, social work, and the cops showing up after it’s all over. I know you’ve heard of F.I.D.O. [the ‘fuck it, drive on’ principle]; well that’s alive and well and every time one of these public scandals break out with the public taking default anti-police positions with video that is debatable and some officer or officers, who were trying to do their job under a microscope and in situations where Joe Public would piss his pants and run away, get charged and wind up trying to defend their actions in court...more and more guys look in the mirror and think what the hell am I doing risking my job? (TPS participant 8)

Skof (2013) has found that some police officers do not want the “liability” that accompanies the heightened video activism in certain communities in Ottawa. Among those interviewed in this study, the ‘F.I.D.O.’ mindset was something present in the

worldview of several officers (from both Toronto and Ottawa) and was characterized by the majority of officers in each city as something that is now “*prevalent*” and “*growing*”.

Lautt (2012: 351) observed, “The phenomenon of citizen-conducted video surveillance of police officers has revealed a startling pattern of behavior by some of those sworn to serve and protect, ranging from troubling to downright criminal. The wide publicity of these videos has sparked public outrage and renewed calls for police reform.” Cullum (2010: 59-60) found similarly, “The growth in applications available for mobile devices also increases the potential for average citizens to actively monitor government [and] law enforcement... Corruption [and] police brutality...have become harder to conceal since anyone with a mobile has the power to play watchdog.” Usually this civilian videorecording occurs haphazardly and on an event-by-event basis; however it can also be a conscious policy of groups concerned about police violence, such as cop watch organizations that seek out and record police behavior (Goldsmith 2010; Huey, Walby & Doyle 2006).

This increasing prevalence of policing in front of the camera poses a host of challenges for the police. As discussed, it can manifest in behavioural changes for individual police officers, but it can also elevate non-routine and perhaps unrepresentative occurrences to the status of highly symbolic and politicized events (scandals). This, in turn, makes it increasingly difficult for the police to control the public sphere narratives that characterize their actions. Haggerty (2012: 242) expressed observations that coincide with the findings in this study – “So surveillance technologies are not only used by the police, but are increasingly directed at police officers by different constituencies, changing the day-to-day practices of policing while increasing

the risk of scandal.” The widespread availability of visual materials has placed policing activities (and the assessment of the propriety of police conduct) up for scrutiny across much of society (Ball *et al.* 2012; Brighenti 2007; Goldsmith 2010; Haggerty 2006; Lyon 2007; Thompson 2005). The exponential growth in citizens’ use of cameraphones and the Internet has dramatically increased the visibility of the police in our society (Cullum 2010; Goldsmith 2010; Lutt 2012) and this increased visibility, particularly of “less flattering or illegal practices” (Goldsmith 2010: 915) carries with it the potential for more scandals, the potential for collective damage to the broad institution of police in our society, and the diminishing of legitimacy and police power in the social hierarchy.

5.7 Specifically, have police changed their practices in relation to their use of force in their engagements with citizens?

Mitilineos (2013) is instructive on the impossible task of quantifying police use of force, presenting, as discussed, the same challenges as the unascertainable nature of inappropriate police violence (Gordon 2006; Holmes & Smith 2008; Reiner 2010),

...use of force reports go in when there's injury. We [Ottawa Police Service officers] are not using force...700 times a year. We're using it much, much more. We have thousands, hundreds of thousands of calls. I'm trying to think of in 23 years [of his policing experience] the only people that really were easy to arrest had lots of guns pointed at them...But usually...it was hang on, ground them [through use of force techniques maneuver the subject to the ground], and get control. You know, not too many people I walked up [to] and said 'Sir, you're under arrest. I need you to turn around, place your hands behind your back and lean forward, [and] look the other way.' Honestly? They'd look at me, like, come on, man...'How do you want this to go?'...So that's why we have the tools and the training and the cuffs and when it's time to fight – decisive, quick; if the video camera is on, hopefully it catches my good side.

Blair (2013) also provided an interesting framework for the discussion in this subchapter,

You know, they'll show the picture of the guy the next day and there's a black eye and maybe a broken elbow or bone and his nose has been pushed around and he's got some marks on him and people are you know this is evidence [of

*police use of force misconduct]. [They will suggest] 'It's outrageous that this happened.' But sometimes force is a necessary part of it. It's not that we're entitled to do it. **We're required to use force. We're required to restrain people** and you have to justify use of force and you can't use any more than is necessary to do it but it still isn't pretty. And it needs to be explained sometimes and at one time I think we could give those explanations. Video can be very helpful or not. Quite frankly, it's one of the challenges our force faces. And then when we do use of force training we let them know you know, you're being observed. And it isn't so much you had to strike the guy or you had to take them to the ground, it's that last blow [after the subject is under control] or [another officer] comes in from outside and does the unnecessary.*

A competing framework is afforded by the comments of former Los Angeles Police officer Timothy Wind (who was involved in the King occurrence), who discussed a widely publicized use of force event in June 2004 (in which a citizen videorecorded Los Angeles Police officer John Hatfield striking car theft suspect Stanley Miller eleven times with a flashlight) – "They didn't learn the lessons of Rodney King...The lessons are that when you use force, when you're out there doing your job, you're being watched under a microscope. What are you doing going around whacking people?" (Renaud 2004: 1).

Police Use of Force 'In the Old Days'

As discussed throughout this thesis, historically, uses of force by police in their interactions with the citizenry were elusive social occurrences that were largely concealed from both public view and public discourse (Hirschfield & Simon 2010; Krupanski 2012; Lawrence 2000; Reiner 2010; Ross 2000; Thompson & Lee 2005). In my own policing experiences dating back to 1986 I can confirm this historical reality. My assessment is that use of force in policing at that time was both significantly more entrenched in the police psyche and substantially less a concern for the citizenry. Violence was resorted to by the police of that era with more frequency and in response to lesser degrees of legal necessity or, in some cases, in retaliation to interpersonal provocations. My observations

coincide with earlier ethnographic studies of policing, including that of Westley (1970), who found that violence was central to routine police patrol work and was supplemented through other police subcultural traits – secrecy, silence, and solidarity among officers.

The public’s deference to the police on use of force decision-making was articulated quite effectively by a veteran Ottawa Police officer (whose experience coincides with that of many of the interviewed officers and with some of my own historical experiences),

How times have changed. People used to avoid police, it was a much different time and place than today’s microscope examination that comes from all directions in this city; lawyers, judges, community groups, the media, SIU, even Joe Public. Joe Public used to approve of police violence and liked that HIS [emphasized] police would not turn the other cheek, cower, worry about bad public relations, or ignore crime. Police were given and demanded respect in this city. Policing was something the police did and something the public didn’t want to know much about or get in the way of... There was crime and criminals and it was the police’s job to deal with that. If some punk told a cop to ‘fuck off’ in public he would get a slap across the mouth and hauled off for obviously being drunk. If someone was not intoxicated who would say something like that to the police, they must be drunk. And if that attitude arrived in the cellblock that could be pretty nasty... People in this city used to respect the police and the job we had to do that no one else wanted to do. Everyone knew not to mess with the police and what the consequences were and that is what the public not only wanted but what they demanded. If someone needed to be spoken to in an alley and (‘hypothetically’) taught a bit of a lesson... instead of a call to SIU and a video on the news you’d get ‘Don’t worry officer, I didn’t see anything’ or ‘Don’t worry officer, I saw him take a swing at you first’. (OPS participant 10)

As this officer explained, historically, issues around police of force in their interactions with citizens violating the law were seldom intruded upon by the generally deferential public (Hirschfield & Simon 2010; Lawrence 2000; Reiner 2010). Lawrence’s (2000: 59) observations on this point merit reiteration – she found that the widespread cultural discourse of that time tended to give police “considerable leeway” in the decision of “what levels and uses of force are appropriate.”

In relation to the historical subcultural entrenchment of violence in policing
Hodgson (2001: 536), incorporating Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967). suggested,

The development of favourable attitudes toward, and the use of, violence in this [policing] subculture involves learned behaviour in the process of differential learning, association, or identification. The use of violence in a subculture is not necessarily viewed as illicit conduct, and the users, therefore, do not have to deal with feelings of guilt about their aggression...Thus, for police officers, violence is a learned value, which is acquired in the same manner as other values. Police officers...learn to regard violence positively as either an appropriate means to an end or as an end in itself. Police officers will likely behave violently when the situation is conducive to their doing so.

Based on my experiences, observations, and the evidence in the literature, I subscribe to the most recent line of scholarship around the police occupational culture that challenges the orthodox notion of a monolithic police subculture (Loftus 2007, 2009; O'Neill & Singh 2007; Punch 2007; Sklansky 2007). However, I think there is some validity and merit, in the historical context, in observations such as those of Wortley (2006), who suggested that policing's subculture generally emphasized toughness, the resort to physical force, and the acceptability of responding to disrespect or disobedience from a citizen with violence.

A veteran Ottawa Police officer interviewed in this study spoke of the hiring practices of the past and the way police maintained discipline over disrespectful or assaultive criminal suspects,

Officers were hired because they were tough. Guys came out of the navy or pro football or off farms. Men who knew how to handle themselves when the time for talking was over. My coach officer impressed on me that cops had to be tough and had to be able not to ask for respect but to demand it. 'We are the biggest street-gang in town and we are the meanest and toughest sons-of-bitches', he used to say...If someone [a criminal suspect] got into it with the cops they would invariably fall down a flight of stairs, maybe have a raccoon run out in front of the cruiser at 100 miles an hour so the guy's face smashed into the cage [divider], or he just might get an old fashioned beating because

you just didn't fight with the police back then. That was the code and everyone knew it, cops, bad guys, lawyers, judges, even the news guys. There were Ottawa cops who were notorious...all the bad guys feared, but also respected them, it was a strange kind of relationship. (OPS participant 2)

In a similar vein, a veteran front-line Toronto Police officer spoke about a song that was written about alleged excessive use of force by officers in downtown Toronto,

There was a song years ago about Cherry Beach....back then everyone knew that was how policing was done....the public not only accepted it, that is what they wanted, tough cops who didn't take shit from the shitheads who were breaking into their houses and cars. The bad guys knew the rules and the consequences if they ran from you or took a swing. The courts had started to do jack [nothing] and the taxpayers counted on the cops to protect them not the judges. (TPS participant 6)

An excerpt of the lyrics of the song *Cherry Beach Express*, which was performed by Toronto band The Pukka Orchestra and released on an album in 1984, is as follows (from the Web address www.songlyrics.com/pukka-orchestra/cherry-beach-express-lyrics/):

I got a bone to pick with you, Not-so-friendly boys in blue, When you come out of the station and into the street, Everybody beats a hasty retreat, Well it was late one Friday, I'm a little bit wrecked, You're on your way to serve and protect, You buzz out of the cruiser like bees from a hive, And ask me if I want to go for a drive - go for a drive? (chorus) That's why I'm riding on the Cherry Beach Express, My ribs are broken and my face is in a mess, And a name on my statement's under duress.

Perhaps the most efficient and effective way of characterizing the historical situation with police use of force, and its reverence in both the policing and in the public spheres of some communities in society, is through an article published in the *Ottawa Citizen* last year upon the death of a legendary Ottawa Police officer. In considering its context, I draw the reader's attention to the earlier discussions around socio-political attachments with law and order policing and the findings of Loader (1997: 12) in documenting a cultural resonance "between policing and toughness". Columnist Kelly Egan (2012) lauded,

Pop Thompson was a cop from the old school, when life, and policing, were less complicated. This is shorthand for saying he belonged to the era of Ottawa policemen who ate meatball sandwiches [at the storied cop hangout The Prescott Tavern] for lunch and served knuckle sandwiches any old time. ‘Pop Thompson was an icon in the Ottawa Police Force,’ said Superintendent Mike Flanagan...[Thompson] was known to share a quart [of beer] with men he’d arrested. Family tell of bottles of wine showing up at their table at restaurant meals; courtesy of an ex-con a couple of tables over. Thompson, it is said, had way of ‘cleaning up’ a messy situation, often without relying on the courts and judges. The crooks were apparently grateful.

McCormack (2013), in assessing the mentality of policing when he began on the Toronto Police Force and how things have transitioned, contributed,

[Veteran officers said] ‘Okay, these are our streets. We are taking the streets back and everybody else is a criminal and we are going to go knock some heads and that is the way it’s going to be done.’ And that was the mentality. But the reality was they are not our streets. It’s the people who live there and we are just there to work with these people and do that. That sort of, you know, the whole structure of the quasi-military sort of foundations of policing doesn’t apply anymore. So that was a huge transition to get into that and to get away from that mentality of they are our streets and we are taking back the streets. Because the perception from police officers was, ‘If somebody was a smart ass or whatever, I’m going to take this guy and I’m going to take him in the laneway and I’m going to give him a couple of thumps and then he will change his behaviour.’ But it doesn’t change his behaviour. It makes it worse and not only that why would you want to jeopardize your job because the public is not going to say, ‘Hey, great job, George. You went out and thumped that guy in the laneway. Great job.’ They are going to say, ‘You are a brutal police officer. You need to be gone.’

McCormack’s observations support the findings of Chan (1997), Cockcroft (2007), and Lofhus (2009), who determined that the culture of policing can be transformed through the influence of the wider socio-political contexts in which it takes place.

Police Violence with the Advent of ‘Citizen Journalism’

Reiner (2010: 102-103), in looking forward, suggested, “The escalation of controversy about police use of force is likely...[there are certain to be] more cases of unjustified or mistaken use of force, and these will gain high, instant publicity because of

the proliferation of video-recording devices.” Doyle (2003: 75) observed that post-King speculation suggested, “...with the emergence of the camcorder, police behaviour would be constrained.” Illustrating the transition, or transformation, into the present circumstances around police use of force, a veteran Ottawa Police officer offered,

There is no way any cop who is not retired is going to admit to tuning-up the odd bad guy who desperately deserved a punch in the head, but I can tell you (‘hypothetically’) that used to be the way policing was done. No one ever ran from the police twice in their lifetime; what they got the first time they got caught made sure they never ran again. Cops knew it, bad guys knew it, judges knew it, even the guy’s lawyer knew it. Now, you would be out of your mind to risk losing your job for some piece of shit; if they get away they get away, if you catch them you catch them, but no one is going to tune them up with the way cameras are everywhere now. Even if you think you are somewhere private there can always be someone with a phone in a window or in a parked car somewhere recording you and then you’re cooked with how good these [recordings] are now. (OPS participant 5)

Of the 170 front-line Ottawa Police and Toronto Police officers who indicated that they had changed an aspect of their behaviour in response to the capacity for societal surveillance of their activities while on duty, 128 of these officers reported in the survey instrument that they had changed their use of force practices because of the potential that their use of force in an engagement with a citizen might be videorecorded by a member of the public. This represents 55% of the total sample population (of 231 officers). The survey instrument inquired specifically into whether the officers who reported a change in their use of force behaviour now use less physical force and/or now use force less often (than they would have otherwise if this videorecording potentiality did not exist). In terms of the degree of force applied by police, half of the total sample (115 of the 231 officers – 49.8%) now use *less* physical force and, in terms of the frequency with which officers use force, slightly less than half of the total sample (110 of the 231 officers –

47.6%) now use force *less often* than they otherwise would have if recording of the event was not a possibility.

Table 5: Changes in Police Use of Force Behaviours

	Overall % (n)	Toronto % (n)	Ottawa % (n)
No Change in Use of Force Practices	44.6% (103)	44.2% (57)	45.1% (46)
Change in Use of Force Practices	55.4% (128)	55.8% (72)	54.9% (56)
Now Use Less Physical Force	49.8% (115)	48.1% (62)	52.0% (53)
Now Use Force Less Often	47.6% (110)	47.3% (61)	48.0% (49)

A veteran front-line Ottawa Police officer provided an explanation for her/his change in use of force behaviour, that was substantially representative of slightly more than half of the twenty police officers interviewed (and highly suggestive of the influence of the principle of deterrence at work in the direct intervention in the use of force decision-making and behaviours of today’s urban Canadian police officers),

Times change. Now you’ve got a city full of people who love some drunk chick who resisted arrest, kicked the cellblock attendant, and then got off on a technicality and the police wind up on trial. And they’ve all got those wonderful high-def cameraphones. I never went looking for the rough stuff before but if I needed to use force I was not worried. Now, I try everything I can to minimize when and how I do. It’s just too much of a risk to your livelihood and your reputation. If you’ve got more than one high-profile incident you gotta know not only is PSS (the internal Professional Standards Section) coming for you but so is the public on the Internet. I still do my job, I just do it much more gently (laughing). (OPS participant 7)

The following, also from an Ottawa Police officer, effectively represents the other perspective on the use of force in today’s circumstances (the twenty operational officers interviewed in this study were polarized on this aspect of the investigation – there was no mid-ground position that was assumed by any of the officers),

I believe in my training and I know the law. Maybe this will be a jinx but I have never changed the way I do my work because of this [the potential for civilian videorecording of police action]. I use force properly and only when it is needed. I don't think it is my place to get retribution for the crime, the courts do a terrible job at that but that doesn't make it my job. If I get recorded what it's going to show is a cop who has done what the law says he should be doing, nothing more and nothing less. (OPS participant 3)

Mitilineos (2013) spoke in relation to officers using force appropriately and suggested, *"It's not because you're on video. Video is a portion. Video is what kind of maybe checked the guys who were really looking over their shoulders [those officers who were perhaps using force inappropriately]."* Mitilineos (2013) suggested for the other police officers their proper use of force correlates to their training, experience, the *"decisiveness of use of force"*, and their *"moral code as a cop"* in not crossing the line between lawful and appropriate force and improper police violence. He explained that by law once control is maintained the escalation of force must stop – *"so you can't just 'cause you angry throw another punch in, right? It's just not acceptable."* Mitilineos explained the importance of the decisive use of force (which can also be characterized as effective and efficient), the absence of which *"lends itself to the videotaping. Because if you have four [officers] trying to arrest somebody it usually turns into a gong show."* One officer, or partners who train together, often can use force more efficiently and gain control more quickly and effectively than a swarm of officers whose actions are uncoordinated and chaotic and therefore the visual impression presented of the latter police use of force is less professional (Mitilineos 2013).

As discussed, and referenced by Blair (2013), it is important to put some legal context around the meaning (and the examination) of police violence. Not all police use of force is inappropriate police brutality. The police are legally entitled to use force under

the authority of societies' laws (Ericson 1989; Goldsmith 2005; Klockars 1985; Manning 2010; Neocleous 2000; Reiner 2010). The lawful use of violence by the police has both legal and social legitimacy and is central to the role of the police in our society (Lersch & Mieczkowski 2005; Manning 2010). Lawful police use of force can only be differentiated from unlawful police use force through: the determination of the circumstances in which that force was used – the subjective perceptions of the officer at the time the force was used, the lawful justification for that use, the proportionality of the force used in relation to the situation, and the (un)availability of other options at the time the force was used. Neither the injury resulting from the application of force or the sometimes disturbing visual imagery of the use of force on a videorecorded account renders the lawful use of force inappropriate. Blair (2013) observed, “...*use of force isn't pretty. Use of force, it's never like on television...It's usually quite ugly...*”

This topic was prominent in the discussion among the veteran police officers interviewed. Many referenced the ‘*abysmal conviction rate*’ of the SIU in their criminal prosecutions of Ontario police officers in use of force occurrences in which the SIU alleges that the police conduct was unlawful. Several of the officers interviewed characterized these prosecutions as: taking place in a ‘*kangaroo court*’, ‘*purely political*’, ‘*kowtowing to the special interest groups and the vocal minority*’ and succumbing to ‘*pressure from tree-huggers who don't live in the real world of urban crime and violence*’. A veteran Toronto Police officer explained what he suggests is the prevailing view among most police officers in Ontario,

What happens is you get some asshole all jacked-up and fighting with the police. That is illegal, by the way. Everyone seems to forget that part, the public, the courts, management. It's not part of our job to get punched or spit on, that might be something to keep in mind too. So as this guy is resisting

and fighting what is our job to do, which believe it or not is to take dangerous violent people to jail and away from the citizens who then stab us in the back, he can't fight as well as us and he gets his ass kicked. As long as the arrest is lawful and the use of force doesn't escalate after he is controlled everything is legal and justifiable according to the law. But then the guy has a broken nose or arm or ribs and some of our concerned citizens have their videos that strangely never seem to show the guy throwing the first punch or spitting, but I think what is important is that is not even required in the law...Resisting arrest is a crime and we don't get paid to wrestle around on King Street for 10 minutes with some guy who has broken the law. We are justified in using force to end that resisting...So now we have SIU and they have their video and now the guy is sober and claiming police brutality and God-knows what else. Then its on YouTube and the guy's side is taken up by the Toronto Star. Then other concerned citizens are calling their counselors and protesting. And then some poor copper who was just doing his job and was working within the law, the way he was trained, is on [criminal] charge by SIU and suspended or stuck on some desk for two or three years waiting for the court to tell everyone that what the copper did was what he was supposed to have done. (TPS participant 4)

Intrusive Thoughts and Police Officer Safety

As related in the occurrence described in Chapter One, during that dynamic and violent event thoughts emerged in my consciousness that impacted on my instinctive (and lawful) use of force decision-making because of the presence of observing bystanders and an unwarranted concern about the impressions those civilians might form about the use of force I applied in those circumstances and, more importantly, how my actions might be represented in the videorecordings that were likely being produced as the event unfolded. As Mitilineos (2013) explained, this phenomenon is referred to in police use force training circles as *intrusive thoughts* and their consequences are of concern across policing. Doyle (2003: 75), in his earlier scholarship, referenced a 1991 *Newsweek* article in which the President of the Houston Police Officers Association said 'These cameras are so popular I'm worried that we're going to have a case where because of intimidation, an officer didn't use a necessary level of force and we'll get somebody hurt or killed

because of it'. Lutt (2012: 355) also found that there has been substantial police opposition to citizen surveillance, with "police advocates citing the concern that officers will hesitate in life-threatening situations for fear of their actions being caught on video."

In discussing the issue of *intrusive thoughts* and their impacting on police use of force decision-making, Stockfish (2013) observed,

I think the reality is that officers are aware that you know that there is scrutiny and accountability for situations. I'm hoping that it's again at the end of the day that they make the right decisions and that they can justify and articulate it and react properly... basically the underlying message from a training standpoint is that I think it's just the basic assumption that you're being videotaped all the time, every time, all the time. The focus, again [is] that professionalism [is] to be carried at all times.

Mitilneos (2013), expressed a concern with the officer safety implications of *intrusive thoughts* and he is hopeful that officers will be become more acclimatized over time to the situation with pervasive 'citizen journalism' as a reality throughout their work environment. He noted, "*This is the world you work in so be cognizant [of it] ...if you're working properly [with appropriate use of force] you have nothing to worry about.*"

McCormack (2013) saw the impact of '*intrusive thoughts*' on decision-making as

a very scary premise...Here you are legally justified within your rights to do what your job is and your primary concern is somebody with a camera behind you...your thinking has gone from your safety and the safety of the [suspect] and dealing with that in the most appropriate manner...So all of a sudden you are second guessing yourself in a way that could jeopardize your safety and the safety of others.

Blair's (2013) comments provide a fitting segue into the presentation of data and discussion around the implications of Web 2.0 social media for police use of force,

My guys are out there and they're dealing with people who are drunk, sometimes high on drugs, sometimes testosterone and sometimes we have to physically control individuals who are going to resist mildly and those video images are going to get uploaded and they're going to be all over TV or all over the Internet and unfortunately when that happens you'll only see the last

little shots. So everybody's got to be aware that that's the reality of what we're dealing with out there, conduct yourself knowing that those things are there.

5.8 To what extent does the capacity for broad 'public' dissemination of recordings of police conduct through social media impact on police?

"Who wants to be the next 'Officer Bubbles'?" This question posed by one of the operational Toronto Police officers interviewed in this project was reiterated in several different incarnations by many Toronto and Ottawa officers, who expressed concerns about the ability today for citizens to by-pass traditional journalism through the dissemination of footage of police activities, recorded without the consent of the police officer(s) involved and along with, in some cases, accompanying audio and commentary, directly to the vast public audience of the Internet through *YouTube* and other Web 2.0 applications, including sites designed specifically around the posting of police use of force videorecordings.⁶⁵ As *Toronto Life* columnist John McGrath (2010: 32) wrote, "These days, almost everyone knows Adam Josephs, a.k.a. Officer Bubbles. The Toronto cop famously threatened a bubble-blowing G20 protester with arrest while on camera, and the ensuing video unleashed a torrent of on-line criticism [and] mockery..." McCormack (2013) suggests that the policing career of Constable Josephs is "*ruined*" because of the online controversy. Blair (2013), in discussing this negative online campaign around Constable Josephs' actions, observed, "*I know Tampa Police for their preparations for the Republic National Convention that was held there, actually showed that video to their officers and said, 'Don't get drawn into this. Look what happened to this guy' ... and it's a good lesson too. It was unfortunate for Josephs but it is.*"

New cameraphone technology and Internet-based media, such as video file-sharing and social networking sites, make public (or create the potential to make public) a much

broader spectrum of police-citizen occurrences than were previously available, when these incidents were most often confined, for all intents and purposes as private interactions (Goldsmith 2010; Lutt 2012; Lyon 2006; Meyrowitz 1985; Robinson 2012). Further, as discussed, this vast public dissemination and accompanying public exposure of the police officer(s) involved in use of force events is not subject to the historical influences and interventions of traditional media or policing institutions. The integration of user-created content (such as videorecordings from cameraphones) with autonomous social media (such as *YouTube*) or themed activist sites (such as CopWatch) facilitates the widespread and unedited bypassing (at least in theory) of traditional information gatekeepers and institutional power dynamics, allowing direct dissemination to the engaged and participatory public audience (Armstrong & McAra 2003; Goldsmith 2010; Loader 2008). Goldsmith (2010: 919-920) observed in this regard,

Once [an image is] captured, the Internet offers a ‘generative’ system that takes away a fundamental means of controlling the flow of information and images from those traditionally in charge of broadcasting....[video-sharing platforms like *YouTube*] amplify the significance of mass access to mobile cameraphones, providing alternative outlets to official media for mass viewing of UCC [user-created content].

McCahill (2012: 250) advanced, “As the events surrounding the G20 protests [London 2009] demonstrated, a crucial factor in the increase in police visibility was the capacity not only to take pictures on mobile phones with cameras, but also to disseminate images rapidly via video-sharing platforms.” Myers (2012: n.p.) characterized, “We are now a culture of information-sharing through social networking” and Robinson (2012: 1420), relating this to policing, concluded, “The intersection of recorded encounters and social media has begun to rend the ‘sacred canopy’ of policing.”

Bordeleau (2013) observed,

...everybody now has the ability to set up their own web site and propagate and communicate their views and treat it as news to the community. So we no longer have to wait to in the morning to read our paper or wait until six o'clock to watch the news. There's a multitude of broadcast mediums out there that allow individuals to share their views and treat it as news.

This phenomenon has been a 'huge' development for policing, and he suggests,

What technology has allowed people to do and specifically the Internet is people always had their views and shared them with their friends or colleagues. Now, the Internet has allowed them to share their views and opinions with the world. So people have always had opinions and they've always shared them. What technology has done is taken it to the next level and given the opportunity to share it on a wide scale basis and what that has done is created an opportunity for more people to get into the discussion about an issue....it's allowed the whole concept of public discourse to happen on a large scale. (Bordeleau 2013)

Lievrouw (2011: 2) articulated,

Websites, mobile telephones, digital photography, video, and audio, blogs, wikis, file-sharing systems, social media, and open-source software all permit social groups with diverse interests to build and sustain communities, gain visibility and voice, present alternative or marginal views, produce and share their own do-it-yourself (DIY) information sources, and resist, talk back, or otherwise confront dominant media culture, politics, and power.”

Greer and McLaughlin (2010b: 1044) found that of “crucial importance” in the increased possibility of highly damaging images of the police materializing and circulating in the public sphere and throughout socio-political discourse is “the rise of the citizen journalist.” The technologically-enabled capability for citizens to document and disseminate newsworthy events has been “accompanied by an equally important attitudinal shift as a new generation of news producers and consumers comes of age” (Greer & McLaughlin 2010b: 1054). Web 2.0 Internet communications allow citizens to produce and influence the news they consume – rather than being content with being told what the news is (Deuze 2008; Gilmour 2004; Greer & McLaughlin 2010b; Surette

2007). This observed cultural shift in relation to ‘citizen journalism’, in my view, resonates with the theoretical work around: panoptic/synoptic social surveillance, the ‘media producer society’ (Mathiesen 1997), and the notions of ‘coveillance’ (Mann *et al.* 2003) and ‘equivalence’ (Mann *et al.* 2006).

As discussed, the phenomenon of ‘citizen journalism’ is now a live issue within the consciousness of many citizens who inhabit Canadian cities – if not now an instinctive social convention. Greer and McLaughlin (2010b: 1042) characterized this cultural aspect of ‘citizen journalism’ as “a key indicator of the changing contexts within which ‘news’ is generated, disseminated and consumed.” Put simply, the preponderance of the evidence suggests that most people across contemporary Canadian society are equipped with the necessary technology to engage in the production of user-created content and many respond essentially instinctively to potentially interesting unfolding events by accessing the recording function of their cameraphones. Accompanying this videorecording instinct, many in our contemporary Internet-savvy society are also familiar with the process of uploading and disseminating captured imagery to new media sites (such as *YouTube*) and/or providing the recorded event to mainstream media outlets.

McCormack (2013) related an interesting account of just how engrained the social media instinct is and how quickly and directly social media facilitates the dissemination of policing occurrences in the online public sphere,

[An officer was] at Yonge and Shuter [a major downtown Toronto intersection] doing a paid duty...and he was confronted with a guy. I think he had either two knives or two scissors and [the officer] shot the guy and this is at Young and Shuter and he worked at 51 Division [which is few city blocks apart]...[The officer was picked up by other officers] because now he’s a subject officer and...[as per protocol in any police shooting] SIU are investigating him. By the time he got to 51 Division, which is two or three

minutes [away] we were there and the video – somebody had video[recorded] the shooting...It was online by the time we got there.

Thompson (1995: 31) discussed citizen activism and observed that the “making visible of actions and events” is “an explicit strategy of individuals who know very well that mediated visibility can be a weapon in the struggles they wage in their day-to-day lives.” Today, a variety of websites solicit and organize videorecordings of police use of force occurrences and facilitate not only dissemination but also social discourse within those online environments. The website for the Centre for Police Accountability (n.d.: n.p.) encourages, “video recording and photographing the police is a great way to make them more accountable. Post your video and pics and expose police misconduct when it happens.” Similarly, the website G20JUSTICE.COM (n.d.: n.p.) asserts, “If you've only been watching mainstream media - then you more than likely haven't seen the exemplary performances of our country's finest”, and encourages citizens in possession of videorecordings or photographs, identifying police officers engaged in alleged misconduct during the Toronto G20 summit demonstrations, to provide them to the site.

One of the Toronto Police officers interviewed in this study explained his perceptions of the sentiments of many of his fellow Toronto Police officers around the “*massive civilian, and then political, scrutiny*” at the 2010 G20 summit,

I think they had better not plan another one of those in this city or they will have to bring in cops from everywhere else across the country. I think most of the officers I have spoken about it with have no appetite to work at something like that again. You had complete chaos at times, officers getting hurt, civilians getting hurt...and everything was done in split-second conditions under a microscope and then dissected frame by frame. Almost everyone there had cameras and video recorders and suddenly the Internet is dominated by videos and people wanting this officer charged and that officer charged... ‘look, he hit that person on the ground on the leg with his baton, charge him’, I lost track but I think we have well over 100 officers charged internally, others [charged] criminally with assaults, and who knows what

else is coming with different reports, lawsuits, more video, and more organizations on the Net analyzing and organizing... (TPS participant 7)

Another Toronto Police officer, whose opinion was representative of the feelings of the majority of the officers interviewed, spoke directly to the concern officers have with videorecordings of police officers performing their duties being published and distributed on the Internet, as differentiated from traditional media's treatment of the police,

We all got used to the fact that if you got were involved in something serious or controversial you might wind up on City TV or maybe even the local CBC or CTV station. Maybe the Star or the Sun might run a picture and a story. But that was it. There was a shelf-life. And if they screwed up they would print retractions and you could sue them...They [traditional media] had some form of accountability and in theory were supposed to be fair and balanced, sometimes the police side even got taken. With YouTube and Facebook and whatever all these other things are, who knows who took the video? Who's responsible to make sure it's accurate and it's fair? It stays on there forever. Anyone can make whatever use of it they want. There's no control at all and anonymous people can say whatever they want, [and] send it wherever they want. For me, it's a far worse thing as a cop to have millions of people watching something you did on YouTube that might not even be wrong and is actually perfectly legal than having the news cover a story. Even though something you did was completely legal that is irrelevant on the Internet, it can be branded 'police brutality' and that is the way it stays, and that is what millions of people think about you and your name, 'Oh your officer ____, you're the one from ____'.

Survey participants who reported a use force behavioural change, (and now use less force and/or use force less often) because of citizen's videorecording capabilities, were asked a follow-up question relating to social media and its impact (or not) on their behaviours.⁶⁶ Those officers were asked if the fact that citizen videorecordings of the police can now be posted directly to Web 2.0 applications, such as *YouTube* and/or *Cop Watch* (rather than previously when traditional media was the only mediated conduit available for public dissemination of such imagery and mainstream media organizations retained editorial discretion over such decisions), factors into their considerations in

moderating force and, in comparison to considerations of citizen’s videorecording capabilities alone, to what degree does it impact on their use of force decision making.

Eighty-six percent (85.6%) of the responding officers reported that their consideration in using less force than they would have otherwise is impacted by citizens’ social media capabilities to *the same* (59.0%) or to *a greater extent* (26.6%) as the impact on them of a citizen’s ability to videorecord their policing activities. Only 14% of the responding officers reported that this social media capability had a *lesser* (3.6%) impact on their decision to use less force now in relation to the impact on them of the citizenry’s potential to record police-citizen occurrences, or *no impact* (10.8%) at all.

Table 6: Impact of Social Media in Considerations to Use Less Force

	Overall % (n)	Toronto % (n)	Ottawa % (n)
A greater consideration	26.6% (37)	28.2% (22)	24.6% (15)
The same consideration	59.0% (82)	55.1% (43)	63.9% (39)
A lesser consideration	3.6% (5)	6.4% (5)	0.0% (0)
No, or does not change consideration	10.8% (15)	10.3% (8)	11.5% (7)

Several of the interviewed front-line officers expressed frustration because of the absence of any journalistic ethics or standards with online social media. As much as many police officers have an adversarial view of mainstream journalism (which was clearly communicated in the interviews), several of those interviewed in this project expressed the view that at least that form of journalism has some ‘*semblance of oversight*’, ‘*ethics*’, and ‘*accountability in terms of standards of practice*’ in putting allegations in print or on television (including the danger of litigation and the loss of credibility when errors in reporting come to light). Things such as corroboration of facts

and multiple sourcing of information are not required of ‘citizen journalism’. A common complaint among officers interviewed centred on the misleading practice of representing an event through editing – the posting online of only that portion of the videorecording that appears most incriminating in terms of police actions. Blair (2013) articulated,

...one of the challenges is in journalism generally there’s a code of conduct. There’s two sorts of verification. There’s editors. There’s lawyers. In citizen journalism that is conducted now in social media, much of that does not exist, actually none of it exists. And yet it’s the source where the majority of people are getting their facts. So you don’t have that verification. You don’t have people saying, ‘Wait a minute, we don’t have the facts here.’ It’s really interesting it doesn’t have to be true but if enough people re-send it, it becomes the common wisdom. It becomes accepted as the truths even if it wasn’t the truth. We’ve seen some challenges of that where a portion of a video will be shown. When we look at the whole video, we say well wait a minute, it tells the rest of the story and it tells a very different story but it almost doesn’t matter anymore. You can’t get that published.

Similarly, Bordeleau (2013) advanced,

Well, the challenge we have with citizenry reporting is that...you are relying on the citizenry to moderate the discussion and to decipher what is right and what is wrong, what is truth and what is fiction or false. Traditional media, whether it be TV or print has those systems built into it that, ‘No, I’m not going to print something that’s going to be libel. I’m going to be fairly fact based. I may have some opinion pieces’, but you have those systems in place.

These two Canadian police chiefs and apparently many of their front-line officers (extrapolating from the results of the quantitative instrument and the sentiments of the majority of the officers interviewed in this study) have serious concerns and reservations about Web 2.0 social media and the treatment of both the issue of police violence and the individual officers who are embroiled in these contentious and consequential occurrences.

In this discussion, of course, there is another perspective. Goldsmith (2010: 918) observed that the police can no longer rely on their traditional relations with certain elements in mainstream media “to shape what is reported publicly about them.” Lyon

(2006) echoed these thoughts, finding that institutional power dynamics involving traditional media influenced their dissemination of imagery into the public domain. Surette (2007) found that Internet communication (unlike traditional media) allows users to create and influence the news content they consume. Robinson (2012: 1420) has suggested that the Internet has afforded citizens a viable forum that enables them to fight back against police misconduct by accessing societies' new "technological commons." This perspective argues that technology has enabled those with traditional social power (or to borrow from Bourdieu, 'social capital') deficits in our society, including individuals with grievances against the powerful institution of policing, to have access to the playing field of social communications, even if that field is not yet level. Myers (2011: n.p.) pointed out, "Distribution is as important as cheap tools in the democratization of the media. Having your own distribution channel makes you a publisher, not just a source [of information]."⁶⁷

It seems apparent that technological advances are facilitating, in an ongoing process, the production and circulation of alternative discourses that pertain to, and impact upon, fundamental power relationships in Canadian urban society, including those between the police and the citizenry. As discussed, contemporary social movements, empowered by new technologies and the inclusiveness of the 'network society', are now capable of successfully challenging the powerful and institutionalized in society. Castells (2004a: 31) found that "[Internet communication] functions as an alternative form of sociopolitical presence, using the input of grassroots power." One could argue that new communications technologies enable a recalibration of historical power inequities in Canadian society. In the words of Castells (2012: 7; 2009: 4), the rise of digital networks

of communication and mass self-communication provide the “technological platform for the construction of the autonomy of the social actor” and have “decisively transformed” power relationships in the ‘network society’.

I think it is fair to advance for consideration that widespread videorecording capacity throughout society, and concurrent social media dissemination capabilities, can function as significant power and resource equalizers. As exemplified by the Holliday videorecording, a single individual who captures an occurrence through videorecording and the subsequent dissemination of the recorded imagery into a vast public audience can ultimately rebut institutional constructions of an event and overcome power imbalances traditionally favouring the police and capable of muzzling dissent.

The situation now (22 years after the King incident) is even more compelling and significant with current videorecording technologies and social media networking. Robinson (2012: 1401) situated the King videorecording into the contemporary social media environment, observing, “Individuals are no longer confined to the limits of Holliday’s Handycam and the steps necessary to get the mainstream media to broadcast it to the public via television stations; they can record audio and video footage and almost instantaneously reach millions of people through digital file sharing.” Myers (2011: n.p.) observed that today “Holliday could have posted the [King] video to *YouTube*. Maybe he would’ve live-streamed it that night from his phone via Ustream. And now that Twitpic has enabled support for videos, he could’ve tweeted it, too.”

5.9 What has been the response (to ‘citizen journalism’) in terms of police organizational policies and training practices?

Skof (2013) found that the citizen recording of police use of force occurrences is “*incredibly significant*” for contemporary policing in Canada – “*I*

*think it absolutely dominates. I think it dominates the idea of how policing should be.” Skof (2013) expressed frustration in the public education about policing, observing, “no one is explaining what our use of force is” and “I think society forgets exactly what our job is.” In terms of police training related to the phenomenon of ‘citizen journalism’ and its potential impact on individual police officers, Stockfish (2013) explained, “I mean basically the underlying message from a training standpoint is that I think it’s just the basic assumption that you’re being videotaped all the time, every time, all the time...you’re going to be filmed and recorded so act accordingly.” This acknowledgment confirms the findings of Lutt (2012: 354), who determined that as a result of incidents in which officers were captured on video, “the culture of police training and patrolling adapted, and officers began operating on the assumption that ‘someone is always watching’.” An example of such a mindset, which was nearly universal among the front-line officers interviewed, was provided by one of the Ottawa Police officers, who shared the Ottawa Police Service commanders’ briefing points for officers deployed to Canada Day duties, which included the caution, ‘Be professional, highly visible, and always assume you are on *YouTube*’.*

Bordeleau (2013) suggested,

*...when you’re looking at social media looking at us...[it] is the whole impact on our training of our officers around use of force...Ten years ago I remember Chief Bevan saying, ‘Always do stuff as though perhaps there’s a camera, that you’re being videotaped.’ Well, now it’s you’re doing something and a camera **IS** [emphasized] there...It’s the assumption...that you’re being taped. So, you know, trying to do our training so that there’s that awareness but that it is not impacting your decision-making ability, that you’re still doing the things that you should be doing because they’re right and are appropriate and that the fact that there’s a camera watching you, shouldn’t*

change that. So I wouldn't want an officer to not do something that is the right thing to do because he's being – he or she is being watched.

Similarly, Blair (2013) advised,

[What] we've done in the Toronto Police Service [is] we've incorporated sort of the public surveillance into our use of force training so that police officers will respond appropriately when ... well, not just conduct themselves appropriately with use of force because that's always been our goal but also will conduct themselves appropriately when they're being videotaped.

Mitilineos (2013) spoke of the incorporation of a 'citizen journalism' cameraphone recording scenario that officers go through in the use of force training simulation component (in which each officer taking the training is presented with a situation unknown to them in advance and that is played out in a realistic environment with training officers play-acting prescribed roles). In this scenario the officer is confronted with a bystander using a cameraphone to videorecord that officers arrest of an individual at a bus stop. Mitilineos (2013) explained that the design of the exercise is *"to let [each officer] experience this in a controlled environment, because it's going to happen outside... We make sure it's brought to the forefront of their brain. And again, if you don't think about it, the first time you encounter it, it will be challenging just like anything."*

All 231 survey research participants responded to a question inquiring of them whether they had noticed any modifications to police training and/or police policies that the respondent felt directly related to the ability of citizens in urban areas to videorecord the police in the execution of their duties. Sixty-six percent (65.6%) of participating Toronto Police officers and 48% of participating Ottawa officers indicated that they had noticed such modifications.⁶⁸ During in-depth interviewing with participants, all of the discussion related to training modifications to address the prevalence of 'citizen journalism'. None of the officers cited any formal use of force policy changes. However,

several officers from each city, in the context of institutional policies and videorecording of officers, commented on measures introduced by police management that are considered, for example, ‘*appeasement*’ and ‘*giving in to the cop haters*’. These measures, which will be elaborated, involve the installation of camera systems in police vehicles, police stations, and on Taser devices carried by front-line officers.

Use of Force Training

Goldsmith (2005: 459-460) concluded,

Police work has never been more visible. Therefore how police use coercion in their public engagements is fundamental to changing public attitudes. What kinds of force are used, how frequently force is used and the pretexts for the use of force, are relevant...policies in selection, training, supervision and discipline that encourage and facilitate parsimony in the exercise of coercion are clearly fundamental to developing more trustworthy police institutions that are respectful of individual rights.

An Ottawa Police officer explained in her/his interview,

During our yearly use of force training the fact that literally everywhere is now being recorded either by CCTV or by do-gooders with cameraphones is brought up more than once to warn officers that times have changed. They also have some scenarios [role-playing simulations during training in which officers are confronted with various use of force situations] where people with cameraphones are filming and we are reminded to articulate what we are doing out loud so that our version is recorded too....On Canada Day and other big public events and even just from time to time the Sergeant will remind you that you have to always assume you are on video no matter whether you can see it or not, any time you are out in the public and now even inside most buildings you can be recorded. (OPS participant 4)

Stockfish (2013) identified that the Toronto Police use of force curricula considers public perceptions of the use of force and he provided an example,

In relation to application of force like empty-hand techniques, I mean we try to identify techniques that could be perceived as less intrusive for the public like,..maybe...a particular [joint] manipulation as opposed to a punch...So if this is a particular technique that can be used to minimize any perceived potential interpretation of excessive force, then I think that’s to our benefit.

All police officers in Ontario are required to successfully complete a two-day use of force qualification every year. This training and evaluation comprises various applications of physical force and defensive tactics, judgment exercises, role-playing simulation scenarios involving appropriate use of force decision-making, and firearms proficiency. My observations and experiences mirrored those discussed by several of the Ottawa Police interview participants in this study. The Toronto Police officers' experiences, as related in the interviews, were similar but in comparison, involved more subtle reminders about 'citizen journalism' and police use of force.

In the 2012 Ottawa Police use of force scenario training I attended, I was confronted with an aggressive subject (a very convincing role-player) who was stomping on the head of an unconscious person and he then turned to attack me. I made a split-second use of force decision to deploy a Taser to prevent the imminent assault on myself and take the subject into custody. In the background as the scenario was unfolding were a number of role-playing bystanders, one with cameraphone recording my approach and loudly proclaiming that he was doing so. Part of the debriefing of the scenario involved the use of force instructors inquiring into whether I had noticed the cameraphone, how did I deal with it, and did it affect my use of force decision-making?

In the 2012 defensive tactics training, instructors made reference to occurrences in which officers had picked-up a prone and handcuffed subject by the handcuffs (a very painful experience) and were videorecorded doing this by a member of the public. This resulted in internal disciplinary sanctions for the officers. The accompanying messaging from the use of force trainers was, '*Don't do it, always be professional.*' Similarly, cautionary instructions were provided in terms of wielding the asp (the expanding metal

baton that officers can use to strike an aggressive subject). The approved deployment position was characterized as *'professional'* while the alternative was framed as the *'I'm gonna bash your head in'* stance and the instructors suggested officers give some thought to notions of imagery and technique and how such things look *'on camera'*.

As eluded to by Stockfish (2013), the 2013 use of force training included instruction in relation to the use of pressure point techniques to gain compliance when searching a resistant handcuffed prisoner on the ground rather than relying on striking. As the instructors explained (in terms of the rationale for this addition to the curriculum), *"what looks better on the front page of the newspaper on or YouTube?"* Similarly, in Taser requalification training in 2012, instructors suggested to the Taser operators attending that they should consider how a drive stun with the Taser to the neck of a subject (involving contacting the subject's body directly and forcibly with the Taser rather than firing the probe darts at approved target areas on the subject's body) *'looks on the front page of the newspaper and on YouTube; cameraphones are everywhere and these incidents are going to be recorded, be aware of it.'*

McCormack (2013) expressed concerns that were also articulated by the majority of interviewed front-line officers, related to the instilling of anxiety and doubt in an officer's consciousness around being videorecorded by the public in a dynamic violent situation and having their split-second use of force decisions scrutinized after the fact within a highly politicized and adversarial public environment. The majority of interviewed officers were also concerned about unjustified consequences for officers (including loss of employment or incarceration) resulting from politically-influenced deliberations and there was substantial concern expressed that such considerations can result in the

development of *intrusive thoughts* in an officer's mindset, as discussed.

The concern for me becomes that when these things hit a tipping point where it impacts and you know from doing the job and all of a sudden...you have the ability for people to quarterback, a Monday morning quarterback comes in and dissects the decision. You get a call, okay, there's an MI [mentally ill] person armed with a stick and they are, 'Oh, look, shit. There he is.' Get out of the car and you are out there and all of a sudden you are on it. And now you have to deal with it and it's not a stick, it's a knife and the next thing you are dealing with it and you have to deal with it in a split second. So you are making these huge decisions. So my concern is that the thought process has to be that you are a police officer, you need to react to the stimulus in an appropriate way to what you are being faced with. You do not want to make that critical mistake of overanalyzing something because you are concerned that this guy [a spectator] has a phone. All of a sudden I'm looking for a guy with a camera and I'm stabbed or somebody is stabbed. So we are not dealing with issues where you have the luxury of time and that is why we are judged a certain way in society and we have certain protections. Because the public do not expect you to show up to an emergent situation and say, 'Whoa, whoa, whoa – I'll react in a few seconds,' right. They want you to react and you are paid to react and deal with things. And whether that is from the use of force continuum, disengage or whatever, but you still have to make an assessment and react. And the concern becomes if we overemphasize that in a negative way, 'Oh, well, you are going to be caught on camera and you are going to go to jail,' then all of a sudden that could have an impact and that is where we get concerned as an organization. (McCormack 2013)

Internal Surveillance in Policing

Ericson and Haggerty (1997: 58) put forth the modern police station (with its CCTV systems) as “an icon of surveillance in risk society, treating both citizens and police officers as cunning, corrupted, untrustworthy, risky, guilty.” Haggerty (2012: 242) observed, “In a society characterized by a greater prevalence of monitoring devices...Sometimes [the scrutiny of police] involves instances where inappropriate police actions have been captured by cameras designed by contrast to catch criminals or protect officers, such as those installed in holding cells.” Reiner (2010: 210) observed that “a key aspect” of the implementation of the British omnibus PACE (Police and

Criminal Evidence Act 1984) project was “a variety of tactics, from tape recording to CCTV, aimed at opening up the low visibility of routine policing.”

Tim Newburn and Stephanie Hayman (2002) wrote about this introduction of CCTV into British police jails, including their analysis of the views and experiences of police officers and detainees interacting in this new surveillance environment. Among their findings, they determined that both officers and detainees felt that the cameras had impacted on the culture of the custody suite and had resulted in an increase in the professionalism of the officers, in terms of their conduct (Newburn & Hayman 2002). One officer said “It makes arresting officers... behave in a much more professional manner, that they stick to the book.” (Newburn & Hayman 2002: 66). Detainees related, “Police officers... were more careful about what they did, and particularly about what they said” (Newburn & Hayman 2002: 165). Newburn and Hayman (2002: 163) commented on the “transposition of police officers from ‘watchers’ to ‘watched’” and concluded, “The system has considerable potential to monitor, and reduce the risk of, police misbehaviour.”

Some discussion was engaged in previous chapters around the significance of image clarity – particularly in the contexts of both medium theory and also the hermeneutic process of interpretation that all of us engage with in arriving at our ultimate understanding of an event. The concept of clarity of imagery is interesting in considering (and understanding) the decision by the Ottawa Police Service in 2011 to upgrade their existing cellblock video monitoring system, which since 2005 had provided recorded digital video imagery of events in the cellblock through the use of 86 cameras and multiple vantage points (White 2011a). The expenditure of \$285,831 (plus taxes) for the

installation of a 106 digital and high-definition camera system (Ottawa Police Service 2011) was commented on by several of the Ottawa Police front-line officers interviewed.

The observation of one captures the essence of the thoughts of the others,

So much for fiscal restraint. Those cameras are in there for one reason, to be able to hone-in on the most smallest detail to nail us and the cellblock special constables. Why else do you need high-definition and coverage of every square inch? A prisoner hitting an officer is not disputed in court from the old video. The old system would show someone punching or kicking an officer just fine. This is all from the Bonds thing. The actions of the officers were not quite clear enough I guess to charge all of them, so they need to be able get those details...or to just scare the shit out of every officer who has to bring a prisoner in there...what are they going to do when some guy goes nuts and starts beating up one of the specials? You know every little move you make is going to be on a big-screen TV being examined frame by frame to see what you did wrong in policy...I think it has to do with two things, scaring officers into not using force even when they should and letting the city bail on officers when there are lawsuits, they can say from the video that the officer was acting in bad faith and not within policies and dump the lawsuit on him. (OPS participant 10)

Similar sentiments were advanced by an Ottawa Police officer in relation to the hard-drive audio/video recording module that the police service purchased and installed on all of the issued Tasers as an expensive add-on option, *“They don’t put the cameras on the Tasers to protect us [the officers], it is to be able to pin us with something we technically did wrong if we fuck up and ‘tase’ someone that dies.”*

The final point in this discussion around policing’s institutional policies involves an interesting difference of opinion between the presidents of each police labour organization. Skof (2013) is an advocate for front-line police having their own body-worn video. He suggested that given the decline in trust of officers’ account of events, *“the video [can] to be used like the notebook...a form of evidence.”* Skof (2013) pointed out that in controversial occurrences officers do not have their own video available to provide and explain their perspective on the event and he understands the frustration of officers

who are under intense public scrutiny without having their own perspective captured on video.

McCormack (2013) does not support police body-worn video and indicated that his membership is opposed to the idea. He suggested that the large amount of money that would be involved in such a project can be better allocated (such as in putting more officers on the streets) and he had significant concerns about officers' privacy with such systems. Bordeleau expressed that he, on behalf of the Ottawa Police Service, has no interest, at this time, in equipping officers with body-worn videorecording devices – citing a lack of financial resources for such a project, potential issues with privacy, and challenges with storing such massive amounts of data (Bell 2013: 3).

NOTES FOR CHAPTER FIVE

⁵⁹ To respect the anonymity assurances mandated in the Ethics Approval and afforded to each of the individual research participants, no further identifiers other than the police service for which each officer works has been particularized in the text. Each anonymous research interview participant was assigned a numeric code, which is reflected in the text (for example, TPS participant 3 indicates the Toronto Police Service research participant assigned the coding number 3). As discussed, each of the 20 police officers interviewed were selected at random from a pool of survey questionnaire participants who indicated a willingness to be contacted in relation to a potential follow-up in-depth interview. Each officer interviewed had in excess of ten years of urban police service and was at the time of the project working in a front-line operational policing function.

⁶⁰ One veteran Toronto officer succinctly expressed the inquiries of several of the officers who I interviewed, “*You are not going to do a hatchet job on the coppers are you?*” My response was consistent and clear - what this study was going to do was to gather honest and complete data and it was then going to discuss this real-world police information in the context of relevant theory and other works on this subject-matter to give an accurate picture of the current situation. What that picture was going to look like in the end was not a foregone conclusion and how the study was characterized or received by the front-line police officer, police institutional officials, the public, or academia was not a concern of mine, nor would any such considerations impact on how the study was going to be conducted or presented.

⁶¹ Non-numeric responses were not counted in establishing the average number of occurrences experienced by those officers who were aware they had been recorded (17). Toronto Police non-numeric responses (29) were: “hundreds”; “numerous” (6); “u/k due to G20 (countless, my photo is all over the Internet)”; “often”; “too many to count”; “many” (4); “several” (3); “multiple”; “too many”; “unknown”; “not sure”; “a lot”; “many, many”; “unk”; “don’t know”; “constantly”; “daily” (2); “countless”. Ottawa Police non-numeric responses (12) were: “too many to count” (3); “lost count take it for granted when working bar areas”; “all the time”; “I would say routinely”; “several”; “many”; “often”; “Happens regularly, working downtown core, whenever police gather for a call, someone is usually recording”; “working downtown Ottawa the public records you all the time whenever something exciting happens, you have to ignore and not get involved otherwise its an invitation to get jammed”.

⁶² In order to streamline the narrative, improve comprehensibility, and to respect conventions of American Psychological Association style (sixth edition) I can stipulate that all eight of the institutional policing interviews were completed in one setting with each participant. Therefore, for example, all references to information provided by Ottawa Police Association President Matt Skof originated from the interview done with him on 26 February 2013. Rather than repeatedly citing ‘(Skof, personal communication, 26 February 2013)’ I have simply referenced the information as originating from him (Skof 2013) and the reader should understand that all such references represent a citation in respect of the interview with him of 26 February 2013. This protocol follows for each of these interviewees – the first reference to each will include the date of the interview; thereafter the reader should understand that all information attributed to that interviewee emerged from the same interview conducted on the identified date.

⁶³ As this event (which involved the arrest of a male subject by two Toronto Police officers on the sidewalk at Queen Street and Spadina Avenue in downtown Toronto) developed the citizen

journalist who posted her/his footage to *YouTube* began recording as he/she approached the unfolding event and then continued videorecording throughout the duration of the occurrence. One of the most interesting aspects is captured in the still image that I produced (‘screen shot’) from that videorecording (Image 1 below). As the event was unfolding (and being recorded by the initial citizen journalist) the male in the frame wearing a black t-shirt, jeans and sunglasses entered into the scene being recorded and began to record the event himself using his cameraphone. A few seconds later, the male in the frame wearing a blue shirt, khaki pants and sunglasses noticed the second subject recording the event and he then removed his cameraphone and began also videorecording (you can see him in the process of recording with his cameraphone held at chest height, while the second citizen videographer’s cameraphone is still in his hand but he has ceased recording at this point). Please take note of the clarity in this reproduced image – as discussed throughout this thesis, clarity of image is an important consideration with the new medium of cameraphones.



Image 1: A screenshot (still image) from *YouTube* cameraphone video footage (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E_WeHMSWJNg)

⁶⁴ McCormack (2013) explained, “So definitely audio and video has changed the way policing is done, a hundred per cent...And anybody [is] foolish to say, oh, no [it has not changed policing]...[but] this is where I get a problem with the words like concern. The connotation is ‘oh, the cops [are concerned]’ – and this is where this information could be very detrimental to what we do...The connotation is that we we’re out doing things wrong and the only reason, ‘Oh, I’m going to kick the shit out of this guy, but whoa, whoa, there is a video so now I’m not’. And that is not the reality. The reality is that we are adjusting to technology and what is out there and our people are being taught to create the best record for the courts.”

⁶⁵ The citizen videorecording of Constable Adam Josephs engaging a G20 Summit demonstrator who was blowing detergent bubbles in the direction of police on 26 June 2010 has almost one million views on *YouTube* (994,405 as of 21 July 2013) and has been discussed extensively online and also in traditional news media. McCormack (2013) characterized Constable Josephs career as “ruined” because of the online controversy.



Image 2: A screenshot (still image) from *YouTube* cameraphone video footage (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PGMTm3QRwEc>)

⁶⁶ One hundred and thirty-eight (138) responses to Question 8 in the questionnaire were received, with 93 non-responses. Those who reported that their behaviour had not changed because of citizen’s ready access to cameraphones with which they can record the police were asked to not answer this question, as this question relates to comparing their behaviour change in response to citizen videorecording capacity to social media dissemination capacity.

⁶⁷ “Self-publication brings control, too. KTLA edited the initial 10 seconds or so of the [King] video, before the image was in focus, that shows an extremely blurry shot of King charging at the officers. Although most television viewers didn’t see that part, it was key to the jury that acquitted the officers. Perhaps Holliday [if he had the ability to disseminate his video imagery himself rather than through the television news channel KTLA] would have posted the entire video, and that piece of information would have affected public discussion.” (Myers 2011: n.p.)

⁶⁸ In the analysis of the data in this research project there were neither significant differences observed between the two police services studied nor any appreciable differences involving the years of service of the participating veteran front-line officers. The most significant statistical difference found in the data involves 17% more participating Toronto Police officers perceiving modifications to police training or policies than their Ottawa Police colleagues (which in the context is not a particularly significant difference in terms of the overall project).

CHAPTER SIX

MAJOR FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction to Major Findings and Conclusion

This final chapter is structured in order to achieve a number of objectives in completing the study of police use of force in contemporary Canadian urban society in this era of cameraphones, ‘citizen journalism’ and *YouTube*. The five major findings of this research project are summarized, as is one significant methodological observation/finding. The incompleteness of videorecordings of police use of force occurrences, which was raised as a significant issue by almost every front-line police officer and institutional policing official interviewed, is also discussed in this chapter. The chapter also considers the implications, in terms of various theoretical literature, of technologically-enabled ‘new visibility’ as a form of *deterrence* to inappropriate police behaviors and technologically-enabled *social leveling* (and *democratization*), in the context of the realignment of hierarchies of social power and a pronounced socio-political cultural shift, vis-à-vis the police and the public.

I provide suggestions in relation to directions for future research, including an interdisciplinary investigation around modifications to police use of force training and the mitigation of inappropriate police violence. Before concluding this project with some brief final thoughts on the significant social issues that are implicated in the use of force by police in society and the transformative developments in the public-police relationship (that have been impacted by both innovations in technology and the concurrent cultural shift across Canadian urban society) I consider issues around the dissemination of

findings and the reception of this research – including discussion engaged through the lens of public criminology, of which I am a proponent.

6.2 Major Findings of this Study

As discussed, one of the strengths of mixed methods research is the potential to achieve triangulation of data (Berg 2009; Denzin & Lincoln 2005; Hesse-Biber 2010; Kadushin *et al.* 2008; Small 2011; Tashakkori & Teddlie 2003). This project exemplifies the stronger claims of validity that can be advanced with the empirical support provided by mutual confirmation of measures through the use of multiple and complementary sources of data. The researcher's experiential knowledge provided an initial source of data and the quantitative instrument then provided data from a large sample population that confirmed both the existence, (and revealed the dimensions) of the phenomena under investigation. By strategically sequencing the data collection process, the semi-structured qualitative interviews with institutional policing officials and front-line veteran Ottawa and Toronto police officers provided directly relevant follow-up data (that was informed by the previous research methods). This qualitative interview data not only confirmed the survey questionnaire and experiential knowledge data (achieving redundancy of data), but also provided detailed and in-depth context to those previous sources of empirical information. Through the use of mixed methods the ultimate result can be the obtaining of "a better, more substantive picture of reality" (Berg 2009: 5).

Finding #1

Since the early part of the last decade, the capacity for citizens to tangibly document the actions of the police in urban Canadian environments has increased continually and exponentially, due to the prevalence throughout the population of the

ubiquitous cameraphone. The technological enabling of omnipresent citizen video surveillance of the police has been accompanied by two other concurrent phenomena – the indoctrination of an instinctive ‘citizen journalism’ impulse across the broad citizenry and a socio-political cultural shift among a substantial segment of the population who are now more skeptical of major social institutions (including an erosion in their trust of the police) and are more actively engaged in sub-political and social discourses that challenge fundamental aspects of the public-police relationship and the tough on crime ideology in policing that has been embedded in criminal justice policy initiatives introduced in this neo-liberal period in late modernity. The result of the confluence of these developments has been the unprecedented civilian videorecording of police conduct throughout Canadian cities. The videorecording of policing activities by citizens is today a commonplace occurrence that is routinely experienced by virtually all operational police officers as they carry out their duties in Canadian urban communities.

Finding #2

The result of widespread cameraphone and Web 2.0 social media familiarity and usage, along with the pronounced socio-political cultural shift among the populace, has been not only broad social transformations, including a society that now ‘sees *surveillantly*’ (Finn 2012), but also a transformed police – a police that is not only continuously under the scrutiny of the public while on duty in our communities (and acutely aware of this reality) but also a police that is hyper-conscious of this social surveillance and video documentation potentiality of today’s media producer society. In other words, officers today fully appreciate that they are visible at all times and potentially can be videorecorded at any time (overtly and/or surreptitiously), as they

police in urban environments. Today's front-line police in Canadian cities operate (and understand that they operate) within a circumstance of universal surveillance in which "no one is immune from the gaze" (Lyon 2007: 56), or, as envisioned by Foucault (1980: 152), within a 'transparent society' – a society in which all (including the police) are "visible and legible in each of its own parts" and in which there "no longer exist[s] any zones of darkness"; a society in which "each individual, whatever position he occupie[s], [is] able to see the whole of society."

Finding #3

With the proliferation of both unprecedented videorecording capacity and social media dissemination and dialogical information-sharing capabilities across our population, the contemporary social world has been substantially impacted by a '*new visibility*' (Thompson 2005) of previously 'back region' (Goffman 1959) human behaviours. This '*new visibility*' presents as a form of disciplinary power (or deterrence), regulating police behaviours through exposure of conduct, as espoused through Foucault's (1975/1977: 202-203) panoptic principle – "He who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection." The internalization of self-control by the police officer results from the potential for the public's gaze to be focused on that officer (with, or without, the officer's knowledge). Again, in Foucault's (1980: 155) words, "An inspecting gaze, a gaze which each individual under its weight will end by interiorising to the point that he is his own overseer, each individual thus exercising this surveillance over, and against, himself."

As a result of societies' embrace of new communications technologies, the advent of 'citizen journalism', and concurrent social developments, the behaviours of Canada's urban front-line police officers have been substantially transformed by 'policing's new visibility' (Goldsmith 2010). Three-quarters of participating front-line police officers in this study have modified their behaviour while on duty in response to the capacity for citizens to observe and record them. In borrowing from Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical metaphor, it is clear that with the disintegration of former 'back regions', the police now manage impressions not through concealment of 'dirty work' in private 'zones of darkness' but by adapting their behaviour to conform more closely to societies' expectations through presenting themselves in a more idealized way. The range of behaviours that the police officers that participated in this study have modified spans the humorous (not attending donut shops) to the criminal.

Finding #4

Like the many behaviours that have modified given the new realities of social scrutiny and visibility, the use of force practices of many front-line police officers in Canadian urban environments has also been impacted significantly. The public's former deference to the police on use of force judgment calls (Hirschfield & Simon 2010; Lawrence 2000; Reiner 2010) has shifted in conjunction with the increased skepticism of the police that is felt by a significant subset of the population. The former subcultural entrenchment of violence within policing, that operated in conjunction with the romanticized cultural resonance with real-life policing and toughness (Loader 1997) and popular culture representations that connoted prevailing societal support for violent policing, has been moderated through the influences of wider socio-political contexts.

As discussed, social transformations in contemporary ‘risk society’ have coincided with the technologically-enabled phenomenon of ‘citizen journalism’ and the result has been the constraining of police violence. Over half of the police officers that participated in this study’s survey admitted to having modified their use of force practices (either now using *less* force or using force *less often*, or both) because of the prevalence of citizen surveillance and the ability for the public to videorecord the activities of the police.

Finding #5

The exponential growth of Web 2.0 new media, including video file-sharing and social networking, presents the opportunity for the unedited public dissemination and exposure of police (mis)conduct to a vast online audience through the practice of ‘citizen journalism’. The autonomy of this new media bypasses the editing and institutional social power considerations that characterized the treatment of most incidents of police violence in the pre-Internet era (Armstrong & McAra 2003; Goldsmith 2010; Lutt 2012; Lyon 2006; Robinson 2012). There have been reductions in policing’s institutional control over dissemination of information and the ability for the police to construct or confuse public perceptions in the wake of use of force events (Lutt 2012; Robinson 2012). The production and circulation of alternative discourses around police violence has been enabled through this “alternative form of sociopolitical presence” (Castells 2004: 31).

Many of the participants in this study were attuned to social media’s capacity to distribute information in relation to police use of force occurrences and this was the source of concern and anxiety for many of the officers in relation to their use of force practices. Of the participating police officers in this study who have modified their use of force practices because of the prevalence of citizen video surveillance, less than fifteen

percent reported that the dissemination capabilities of social media had less (or no) impact on them as compared to the videorecording capabilities of the public. To succinctly capture the concern of many officers with this communications medium, the situation of Constable Adam Josephs of the Toronto Police Service merits repeating – *“Who wants to be the next ‘Officer Bubbles’?”*

Methodological Observation/Finding

Penetrating the inner workings of street-level operational policing and exploring contentious issues around the use of force by police in their interactions with citizens is, as discussed, a challenging research initiative. In order to obtain the cooperation of potential research participants, the researcher must be able to first hurdle institutional gatekeeping impediments and then, more significantly, to overcome the skepticism and mistrust toward academia that presents among many front-line police officers. In order to be granted intimate access to the innermost thoughts and experiences of this population, the researcher (whether an outsider, which presents even more challenges, or an insider) must find a way to spark an interest in the project among prospective research participants and then address and provide the tangible reassurances they will invariably demand in terms of anonymity guarantees and strict adherence to ethical research principles. In this study, the veteran operational police officers who placed their confidence in the researcher were afforded anonymity and ethics assurances that, in combination with the development of a mutual trust covenant, resulted in the receipt of honest, comprehensive, and uncensored data into the project.

While Marks' (2004) assessment that the personality of the researcher is a key factor in determining the disclosure or withholding of certain data, an even more

significant consideration is the ability of the researcher to foster and then maintain a *bona fide* relationship of mutual trust with each research participant. The research participant must be entirely convinced in the impartiality, credibility, and adherence to ethical principles of the researcher. This can be accomplished through two different mechanisms – first, in terms of providing iron-clad safeguards in the data collection and ethics protocols, and secondly (which presents more of a challenge for some researchers), as substantiated in this study, through the specific biography of the researcher who conducts the data collection (Parent 2013; Shadgett 2013). Put simply, certain populations will require an absolute guarantee in the integrity of the study, the credibility and trustworthiness of the researcher, and the anonymity safeguards in relation to the treatment of their data. The consequence of the research participant not attaining the required level of confidence in the researcher and the protocols, as borne out in this study, is the receipt into ‘empirical’ research of (and reliance upon) data that is, unbeknownst to the researcher and then to the scholarly community, false and misleading.

Issues Around the Completeness of the Videorecorded Event

The completeness (or more significantly, the incompleteness) of the captured event is an important consideration in this discussion and one that was almost unanimously referenced by all of the police officers and policing institutional officials who were interviewed. It is a common sense observation that nothing is newsworthy until it deviates from the commonplace. A routine police-citizen interaction that appears pleasant and ordinary is an event that does not typically attract much attention from most citizens who move around among the dense populations that characterize our large cities. There would be little to inspire a bystander to begin videorecording such a mundane event. Only

when something extraordinary takes place does such an event become elevated to the status of interesting, and perhaps provides the catalyst for a citizen to begin to videorecord the unfolding occurrence. The result is that initiating or precipitating actions can often be absent from a recorded event and only the later segments of an entire occurrence are recorded by the cameraphone of the citizen journalist.

A fulsome representation of the totality of an event and situating the ultimate use of force by police in a proper context (rather than a sensationalist framing) is expressed as a significant issue for both the individual police officer and for policing institutions (McCormack 2013; Skof 2013; Stockfish 2013). Mukherjee (2013) provided an illustrative example,

A very respectable person sends me a clip and says, 'Take a look at this.' And what's happening is a Sergeant is asking, there's a melee going on so he's asking the people to clear the place and stay back on the sidewalk. And there's one young man who is refusing to do that, claiming that he's trying to be a peacemaker but he keeps coming forward. And you can hear the voice saying, 'Sir, stay back. Stay back. I told you to stay back.' Very clear. There's no doubt. And at the end he's pepper sprayed and physically moved back. And so the gentleman who sent it to me said, 'There was no need to. He was not doing anything and he wanted to assist. There was no call for them to pepper spray him or to push him back the way they did.' So I looked at it. I said, 'You know, you sent me a ten second clip. It does not tell me what was happening before that or how it ended. I cannot take that incident in isolation of what led up to it and then what eventually happened and form a judgment that the Sergeant did something wrong. You can hear the Sergeant's voice very clearly and when the police are trying to contain a situation and they give an instruction it has to be followed. It doesn't matter how good his intentions were. I have no way of knowing because I don't know what he was doing before that.' So that risk of people taking edited clips is something that concerns me.

6.3 The Theme of Deterrence

Reiner (2010: 21) observed, "...the abuse of force – particularly against those marginal and powerless groups that have aptly been called 'police property' (Lee 1981) –

has been a perennial problem.” He continued, “Groups that are low in power and status...become ‘police property’[they] have less power to challenge successfully (and hence *deter*) coercive police actions” (Reiner 2010: 25, emphasis added). Reiner’s invoking of power and deterrence in relation to the public-police relationship is relevant, in a certain respect, for this project’s findings. Today, technologies such as cameraphones and CCTV provide the opportunity to challenge police misconduct *ex post facto* as contemplated by Reiner (2010), through providing tangible visual documentation of what would likely constitute an otherwise uncorroborated verbal allegation against the police by an alleged victim of police brutality and/or an eyewitness. As discussed, these historical realities were susceptible to alternative contradictory constructions advanced by the involved police officer(s) and to ‘muddying’ or obfuscation efforts by the powerful institution of policing – as Ericson (1989) phrased it, the police exercised their ability to ‘patrol the facts’.

However, the deterrent effect on the behaviours of the police prior to them engaging in misconduct is, in my view, an even more compelling development and one that has been enabled by contemporary communications technologies. As has been discussed, with the proliferation of cameraphones and Internet access across all social strata throughout urban Canada, the socio-economic status of the potential victim of unlawful police violence (those formerly thought of as ‘police property’) is today an essentially irrelevant consideration. The likelihood of a police officer being videorecorded engaging in misconduct in a poor community is not significantly different than in a wealthy area. The same holds true for the dissemination of such imagery

through Web 2.0 social media applications. As discussed, the poor are not substantially disadvantaged in their access to the Internet.

Newburn and Hayman (2002: 167) found, in the context of challenging the normative stance and the “inclination toward dystopianism in the criminological study of surveillance”, that the notion that “such techniques might have positive consequences” has been minimized. They determined, in their study, that “the installation of cameras in [police cellblocks] opens up a form of police governance that has rarely been considered previously, if at all.” Ball *et al.* (2012: 9), in the same vein, called for theorizing that considers “productive and constructive effects” on the objects of surveillance. This study has found that the operation of deterrence, brought about through the internalization of self-control as the response of many individual police officers to societal surveillance (and skeptical oversight) and the documentation and dissemination capacities of today’s ‘citizen journalism’, is a significant consideration in terms of the conduct of the police as they go about their duties within contemporary urban Canadian *milieux*.

This finding is interesting in considering findings that suggest CCTV does not present as a deterrent consideration to criminal conduct in civilian populations (Blair 2013; Lyon 2013; Lyon, Doyle and Lippert 2012). Similarly, this study’s findings are considerably more definitive than those reached in Doyle’s (2003: 6-7) 2003 study, which examined whether the televising of certain police actions might curtail or deter police conduct by “creating a new social situation on the front lines of criminal justice.” His findings suggested that the police were “*somewhat* vulnerable” to their behaviour being documented by television in public locations and that amateur videorecordings “offer[ed] *some* potential for resistance to police power” (Doyle 2003: 134, 81).

In this study, the data clearly suggests that the potentiality of citizen oversight and tangible documentation (and social media dissemination) of police actions, brought about through ‘new visibility’ (Thompson 2005) functions as a significant deterrent consideration for the majority of police officers, in terms of impacting on how they behave (including how they use force) while in virtually all environments in which they carry out their duties. There are no more ‘back regions’ in which the police could engage in ‘dirty work’ in private (Goffman 1959). New cameraphone technologies have provided the “mixture of empowering and controlling elements” that Marx (2002: 22) saw the potential for over ten years ago. Reiner (2010: 215-218), in examining the changes implemented with PACE (in the United Kingdom), and particularly “the devices which began to open up the ‘low visibility’ backstage areas of routine policing”, offered some corroborative support for the finding in this study, assessing that there was a documented deterrent impact on police practices with video surveillance capabilities. The work of Newburn and Hayman (2002) also established the existence of a deterrent impact on the police officers working in the videorecorded environment of police cellblocks. Along the same lines, Robinson (2012: 1414) advanced, “The ability of the public at large to hold police officers accountable for their actions through videorecordings serves as a powerful check against police misconduct. In fact, videorecordings may be essential in the absence of other effective methods of reporting abuses and holding police accountable.”

In their research on the use of visual technologies by political activists in protest situations to monitor police conduct, Dean Wilson and Tanya Serisier (2010: 169) learned from those engaged in video activism that the goal of their efforts was moderating the behaviour of the police through deterrence. Research participants found, from their

experiences, “if a police person is being videotaped they are less likely to break the law themselves if they know it could back and bite them on the butt.” Similarly, Cop Watch programs (and dedicated social media sites) are designed to monitor police behaviours (particularly their interactions with citizens) and they “provide a proactive deterrent to misconduct and abuse by having civilians – armed with video cameras...observing and documenting police actions” (Krupanski 2012: n.p.). Huey, Walby, and Doyle (2006: 157-158), referencing a 2003 Cop Watch report in their analysis, suggested that police might be “on their best behavior” when aware that civilian monitors were on duty and they articulated, “...this is not a bad thing; if a few watchful eyes and a video camera can deter police brutality and harassment, even for a few hours, the outcome...can only be positive.” Mitilineos (2013) suggests that ‘citizen journalism’ or societal oversight should not change the way police officers use force but also concedes, “*So, has there always been an officer that goes too far because they get emotionally caught up in something? Yes. In this day and age that happens once, maybe it happens once. If that was to continue to happen, that person would probably be fired because that’s just society and that’s a good thing.*”

Manning (1983: 169) found, “The primary, abiding and most persistent problems facing Anglo-American policing from its inception in 1829 have been proper internal control, discipline and supervision.” Administrative rules have sought to govern and control police practices but these have been shown in many studies to be ineffective in impacting on everyday police decisions and controlling misconduct (Chan 1999: 254; Ericson 2007: 378-380). Reiner (2010: 117, emphasis added) particularized,

Legal rules are neither irrelevant to nor completely determining of police practice. The Policy Studies Institute study (1983) usefully distinguishes

between three types of rules in terms of how they impact on practice. '*Working rules*' are those that police officers actually internalize so that they become the effective principles guiding their actions. '*Inhibiting rules*' have a **deterrent** effect - officers must take them into account in their conduct, because they are specific, likely to be enforced, and refer to visible behaviour. '*Presentation rules*' are used to impart an acceptable gloss to actions undertaken for other reasons.

It is my view, borne out by the evidence in this study, that the fact that unjustified police violent conduct is not only morally and socially objectionable but also unlawful (constituting the crime of assault) is clearly not determinative of the practices of some police officers. There have been far too many examples of such occurrences to conclude that administrative (or legal) rules have been particularly effective in deterring police use of force behaviours.

As this study has found, the potential of being tangibly documented engaging in such misconduct, being publicly exposed and vilified, and facing certain and significant negative consequences is a decisive factor in steering the individual police officer away from the unlawful use of force. The ubiquity of cameraphones and the 'citizen journalism' instinct render police behaviours highly visible and therefore present as a powerful 'inhibiting' effect (to borrow Reiner's terminology).

Ericson's (2007: 394-395) findings in this regard are instructive,

The greater the surveillance capacity, the less the need for governance based on rules. Surveillance capacity fosters a new behaviourism in which conformity results simply from the knowledge of being visible and seen (Haggerty & Ericson 2006). While it would be wrong to declare the end of rules, new forms of surveillance and visibility do allow control of others, including the police...surveillance technologies [are] increasingly relied upon to ensure that the police are watched as well as watchers and bearers of their own control.

Moving past the 'inhibiting rules' engendered by the technology, it may be the case that police occupational culture may ultimately be impacted to the point that the restraint in

the use of violence to that which is only professional use of force will be internalized widely as a ‘working rule’ that transcends the strictly deterrent considerations of today’s omnipresent societal surveillance of the police. In Foucauldian terms, it might become the reality that policing’s appreciation of the deterrent effects of their pervasive visibility throughout society, and the resulting internalization of self-control (Foucault, 1980), renders the police ‘docile bodies’ (Foucault (1975/1977) – therefore moderating inappropriate police violence.

In other words, the deterrent consideration that presents today because of the environment in which policing occurs (the ‘inhibiting rules’) may become determinative of the values, norms, and craft rules that inform police conduct (a ‘working rule’), displacing the significance of the ineffective administrative rules of the policing organization and societies’ criminal laws that both strive to regulate police use of force practices. Change in today’s police occupational culture is possible. As discussed, the culture of modern policing is neither monolithic nor unchangeable (Chan 1997; Cockcroft 2007; Loftus 2009; Reiner 2010) and the police officer of this era is better educated and more mature than those of previous policing generations (Loftus 2009; Punch 2007). Lutt (2012: 377) finds that progress is being made, advancing, “The need for effective accountability in law enforcement is real, and increased police visibility through public-police recording is providing that accountability.”

6.4 The Theme of Social Leveling and the Democratizing Impact of ‘New Visibility’

Like the deterrence of police misconduct, the significance of technologically-enabled social leveling (and related concepts) as a theme for further elaboration and discussion emerged both from the theoretical frameworks and the insights provided by a

variety of scholars who informed this project and also through the conduct of this study and its results. McCahill (2012: 250) suggested,

The 'democratizing' impact of 'citizen journalism' requires further research. For instance, some have spoken of the 'new visibility' of policing whereby 'the capacity to photograph and film' the police has become 'widely available in the hands of ordinary people' (Goldsmith 2010: 919). These arguments are clearly important but require some qualification and critical scrutiny.

Through researching the impact of 'citizen journalism' and 'new visibility' on police use of force practices this study has made a contribution to addressing such requirements and to the kind of surveillance studies that provide an understanding (and demonstrate empirically) of social change, socio-cultural effects, and altered power dynamics (as advocated by Ardrejevic 2005; Dubbeld 2006; and Lyon 2001, 2002, 2004, 2013).

Throughout this thesis the concept of social leveling has been discussed in relation to technological innovations, heightened visibility throughout our social world, the pervasiveness of surveillance in society, the reduction in social distance, and the removal of barriers between social strata through the inclusiveness of the 'network society'. The socio-political cultural developments in our contemporary society, specifically in terms of the ability of citizens to effectively engage within the new online public sphere in furtherance influencing changes in police use of force practices and empowerment and engagement of the citizenry in such discourses, also implicate a significant leveling of social power hierarchies. I understand the existence of a significant contemporary cultural shift involving social leveling and increased democratization in social relations, embodied in a number of interrelated considerations (that have been technologically-enabled and/or have arisen given socio-political developments): the unprecedented

proliferation throughout society of the means for oversight and documentation of human behaviour; the entrenchment of the ‘citizen journalism’ instinct throughout the population (McGrath 2012); a ‘culture of surveillance’ (Lyon 2013) with surveillance now as a widespread social practice (Finn 2012); a pronounced distrust and skepticism that pervades the ‘risk society’; the repudiation of neo-liberal law and order discourses by a significant segment of the population; and an unprecedented level of higher education and access to knowledge through the Internet, which has resulted in a public that thinks more critically (Doyle 2011).

Events at the Vancouver airport on 14 October 2007 provide a tangible example that illustrates these various concomitant components, which comprise today’s social leveling and greater social democracy. Paul Pritchard is an ordinary Canadian citizen who was present in the airport when he observed a group of police officers approaching a traveler who seemed confused and agitated and Pritchard began videorecording the interaction with his cameraphone. When he subsequently pursued court action to have his video footage of the fatal police encounter with Robert Dziekański returned to him (after stalling by the police) and then widely disseminated the imagery to a vast public audience, Pritchard exemplified the ‘citizen journalism’ and awareness/activism that now characterize both the social conscience and the penetration of these phenomena into the consciousness of many Canadians. He also personified the social leveling that is the new reality in our ‘network society’. One ordinary individual was able, through the use of modern cameraphone and Internet technologies and the generative capacity of the contemporary online ‘public sphere’, to instigate a socio-political critical response across the country and an ensuing public outrage that ultimately demanded (and was responsible

for) the establishment of a government inquiry into the specific actions of the individual police officers and the policies and governance of the policing institution.

As discussed, there previously existed limiting factors that framed the issue of police use of force for the public and inculcated society with the hegemonic ideology projected by the institution of policing through the cooperation of traditional media. In all but the most egregious instances, the official construction of an event, advanced by the police, was vindicated through mediated communications and was generally accepted by the public as reality. Although this development was in its infancy, Ericson (1989, 1995) discerned that towards the end of the twentieth century the police were beginning to lose their ability to ‘patrol the facts’ and their ‘*account* ability’. Two decades later, in discussing the death of Ian Tomlinson, McCahill (2012: 244-248) found that today’s social surveillance developments “can have a significant democratizing impact” and that “the proliferation of ‘new media’ has transformed hierarchies of surveillance by facilitating ‘bottom-up’ scrutiny of powerful actors such as the police.” As Brighenti (2007: 328) articulated, “Indisputably, vision is a sense of power.” Similarly, Haggerty (2006: 29) determined, “a vital development in contemporary surveillance [is that] traditional hierarchies of visibility are being undermined and reconfigured.” Like the observation of Martin (2005) in the King occurrence (discussed earlier), the Coroner’s Inquest into the Tomlinson fatality found that the real circumstances of Tomlinson’s demise “could have been swept under the carpet and the cause of his death dismissed as being from ‘natural causes’ without the benefit of the video footage...that entered the public domain to challenge directly the police version of events” (Coleman & McCahill 2011: 136).

Huey, Walby and Doyle (2006: 163), in the context of the emerging proliferation of monitoring and recording devices throughout the citizenry (such as camcorders and cameraphones) at the time of their research (2006), suggested that there is nothing inherently democratic “in the overprovision of cheap information and communication technologies.” They did, however, accept that the recording of authorities by civilians was a process that could render institutions (such as the police) “democratically accountable and thus [such a practice is] something to be promoted within the public sphere” (Huey *et al.* 2006: 159). Haggerty (2006, 2013) criticized scholars’ neglect of democratizing and positive aspects of surveillance; however, he also suggested, “Groups are differentially positioned to be able to exploit these surveillance positionalities, and their abilities to do so are often structured according to traditional social cleavages” (Haggerty 2006: 29). Evidence refuting the position of Huey *et al.* (2006) in relation to the democratizing effects of the now pervasive and ‘cheap’ cameraphone has been a prominent feature in this thesis and is revisited in this subchapter. Similarly, as discussed, the notion of a ‘digital divide’, as seems implicit in Haggerty’s challenging of the universality of ‘new visibility’ capabilities, is now obsolete and perhaps this is also a function of the significant advances over the intervening seven years. As has been irrefutably demonstrated, in 2013 the cameraphone is ‘cheap’, ubiquitous, and is prevalent throughout all social strata throughout Canadian urban communities.

The Cameraphone

Jock Young (1999: 192), in analysis that pre-dates the cameraphone, acknowledged that CCTV surveillance in society “can...be liberating and protective.” In relation to the cameraphone, Chen (2007: 3) found, “An emerging technology that is democratizing

surveillance is the cameraphone...equip[ping] the everyday consumer with a cheap, portable surveillance device...The cameraphone has commissioned the general public with the power of surveillance.” Marc Krupanski (2012: n.p.), a program officer with the Open Society Justice Initiative (<http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org>) suggested,

A critical tool for documenting misconduct...and advancing reform efforts is the street-level use of video monitoring by civil society...The monitoring of street-level police practices is essential for strengthening the rule of law and democratic governance of police services, for encouraging appropriate reform, reducing violence and improving police-community relations.

In the same vein, Cascio (2005: n.p.) characterized the cameraphone “as an equalizer, making it possible for individual citizens to keep tabs on those in charge.”

Finn (2012: 76) observed, in reviewing the various recorded imagery in the Oscar Grant occurrence, that often protruding into the frame of an image was another citizen journalist’s arm holding a cameraphone, “resulting in a video of a video documenting the scene”, which “underscores the participatory nature of much contemporary surveillance.” In contrasting the actions of Holliday in recording the King occurrence with that of the ‘citizen journalism’ exemplified in the Grant occurrence, Finn (2012: 77) suggested that the latter is not a passive action; “this is a conscious and overt decision to record events for public distribution. In this sense, camera surveillance is employed as a form of civic engagement or duty.” In explaining his contention that individuals are now inspired and almost compelled to ‘see *surveillantly*’, Finn (2012: 77) linked the contemporary social phenomena of surveillance and risk –

The video of Oscar Grant’s shooting is based in a central assumption that guides participation in public life; that the world is inherently risky and dangerous. Within such a space we employ cellphones...to defend and protect ourselves and others. In a world perceived as inherently risky and dangerous, individuals are compelled to be continuously on the lookout for the next event – to be able to recognize and, most importantly, record the actions of others.

The Internet

Victor Pickard (2008: 642) observed, “Although some scholars now dismiss the revolutionary potential of the Internet, there is convincing evidence that the Internet continues to increase the potential for a variety of democratic practices.” Armstrong and McAra (2003), Doyle (2011), and Poster (2008), for example, found that Web 2.0 communications have increased the abilities for critical social resistance and counternarratives to flourish and for greater democratic practices. The central premise of Thompson’s (1995: 4) social theory of communication is informative in framing the understanding of the social leveling I find has been facilitated through recent technological innovations – “We must see that the use of communication media involves the creation of new forms of action and interaction in the social world, new kinds of social relationships and new ways of relating to others and to oneself...and new modes of exercising power.” Similarly, one of the fundamental tenets of Meyrowitz’s (1985) medium theory advanced that new systems, which provide information that was previously segregated from, or unavailable to, a particular audience, equilibrate hierarchies and establish a social leveling within society (Doyle 2003, 2006a; Meyrowitz 1985, 1994). In relation to our new Internet era, Sem Devillart and Brian Waniewski (2010: 197) determined, “Digital technologies...have given more people more access to information, as well as to the tools of production, communication, and distribution than ever before. Such access and the communication technologies that enable it have weakened longstanding hierarchies of power.” In his book review of John Keane’s *The Life and Death of Democracy* (2009), Cambridge University Professor David Runciman (2009: n.p.) assessed Keane’s advocacy for a “new kind of democracy [that Keane]

christened ‘monitory’ democracy.” This conception “refers to the multiple and overlapping means citizens now have to scrutinize, complain about and resist their governments, not just through parliaments but also through watchdogs...civil society monitors and so on. This isn’t as new an idea as Keane implies...but what is new is the technology now driving it, above all the Internet.”

As has been discussed, contemporary social movements, empowered by the new technologies and the inclusiveness of the ‘network society’ are now capable of successfully challenging the powerful and institutionally entrenched in our society (Castells 2004b). Castells (2007: 249), as discussed, is instructive in relation to social leveling and the Internet, finding, “The emergence of mass self-communication offers an extraordinary medium for social movements and rebellious individuals to build their autonomy and confront the institutions of society in their own terms and around their own projects [through the use of contemporary technologies].” Further, as discussed, Castells (2007: 250) determined, “For new social movements, the Internet provides the essential platform for debate, their means of acting on people’s mind, and ultimately serves as their most potent political weapon.”

The (Contemporary Online) Public Sphere

As discussed, the transition from the former mass-mediated public sphere to the online public sphere of the ‘network society’ was facilitated by “the increasing freedom individuals enjoy to participate in creating information and knowledge” (Benkler 2006: 10). I find the ‘public sphere’ concept (as originated by Habermas) has significant applicability in terms of the culture of autonomous contemporary Internet dialogical and inclusive discourse that takes place through web 2.0 applications. Contemporary

technologies allow for citizens to engage in the sharing of opinions and debate, free from the constraints inherent to traditional media, and in virtual co-presence in a shared locale. Castells (2004b: 417) theorized a new kind of civil society that involved the ‘electronic grassrootsing of democracy’ – “a process of empowerment for grassroots groups using the Internet as an instrument of information, communication, and organization.” The production of alternative discourses through online media can challenge existing power relationships (Castells 2009). Years earlier (and in relation to television rather than the Internet), in his elaboration of medium theory, Meyrowitz (1985: 8) articulated the same theoretical premise as Castells (2009), arguing that “because electronic media merge formerly distinct public spheres [and] blur the dividing line between private and public behaviours,..we have witnessed a resulting diffusion of group identities, a merging of different stages of socialization, and a flattening of hierarchies.”

The combined effect of today’s videorecording and Web 2.0 social media capabilities, our ‘media producer society’ (Mathiesen 1997), the new ‘public sphere’ of Internet communities, the normalization of surveillance throughout our culture, and the widespread and highly-publicized recordings of significant events by citizen journalists has resulted in a substantially more socially leveled and transformed citizenry that is not only skeptical, engaged, and attuned to the socio-political issues related to police use of force in society, but also a citizenry that is equipped with the enabling technologies and conscious of their ability to record instances of police violence as they happen, to subsequently disseminate the information and a wide public audience, and to engage thereafter in dialogue and social activism (if they so desire).

6.5 Areas for Future Research

In following-up on this research project, it would be beneficial to conduct similar studies in other policing jurisdictions given that no similar work has been done in any other locales. It would be interesting to determine the generalizability (or not) of this study's findings by conducting similar research in a variety of cities in other western democracies. It may also be worthwhile to inquire into the results that would present from the collection of similar data from less experienced operational police officers (those with less than 10 years, and more, of urban policing experience) and to compare that information to that derived in this study from their more experienced policing colleagues.

Given that this study has established that the prevalence of 'citizen journalism' in urban environments has contributed to a situation in which half of the participating front-line veteran police officers are now using less force and/or using force less often than they would have previously, in the absence of this recent social phenomenon, it would be an interesting line of inquiry to explore what police use of force involved previously (and what the dramatic shift in police use of force that was exposed through this study implies about the nature of earlier uses of police violence) through a historical sociology project.

In terms of future research that branches off from this study into another uncharted area, while it is outside of the realm of sociology *per se* (but perhaps in multidisciplinary collaboration with psychology), it would be interesting to assess whether additional (and/or different) training might further moderate the unlawful use of force by police that is not deterred by the 'new visibility' of policing. I understand that much of the unjustified and unlawful police violence emerges in circumstances in which the police officer loses both their composure and sight of their legal authorities to use force (and the

standards of professionalism demanded of the police by the public). In those instances, force is applied by the police officer out of anger, rather than strictly to control an individual who has broken a law. Such police violence is often the result of an officer's inflamed temper, in conjunction with the perception of a disrespectful affront to the officer and their authority. As found by both Ericson (2007) and Wortley (2006), allowing challenges to police authority to pass without a response is contrary to entrenched police occupational traditions. In my own policing experiences, I have observed that "contempt of cop" (Wortley 2006: 11) is a vulnerable area for the police – as it goes against the grain of many officers to simply walk away from such a challenge, rather than to engage the subject.

Training that would allow officers to experience high levels of agitation and learn how not to respond with retributive violence, as a result of loss of composure (and the flaring of temper), would be beneficial (for both the individual police officer who is vulnerable to such provocations and violent responses, and for the potential civilian on the other end of such a transaction). Similarly, more extensive training in use of force and exposure to a variety of anxiety and anger provoking scenarios would better acclimatize officers to such situations when they do occur in the real-world environment in which the police operate and might result in more measured, non-emotive, and more effective use of force responses to the actions of aggressive or combative citizens (evoking thoughts of a skilled and experienced counterpunching boxer, who strikes an opponent not out of anger but in a 'professional', skilled, and effective delivery of force designed to effect the end result of defeating the opponent). This should not, in any way, be mistaken for me advocating that the police be held to the Marquis of Queensberry rules when physically

engaged by a resisting suspect, but certainly a more disciplined and skilled application of force is preferable (and more effective) than the kind of mayhem (and the serious consequences for the police and civilians) that can evolve from the loss of composure by an officer and the application of unlawful police use of force.

6.6 Dissemination of the Findings and Reception of this Research

Dissemination of Findings

I presented a preliminary overview of this research at the Canadian Sociological Association annual conference at the University of Victoria in June 2013 and in October 2013 I will be presenting the results at the World Social Science Forum. I have also had the opportunity to discuss the study and findings in interviews with a variety of Canadian news organizations in July and August 2013, particularly in the wake of a controversial fatal police shooting on a Toronto streetcar on 27 July 2013. That event was captured by a number of citizens using cameraphones and the videorecorded imagery was posted on *YouTube* (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pi4In494rAg> is the posting of one of the citizen journalists). As of 15 August 2013 the top three (by volume of views) *YouTube* sites containing video imagery of this occurrence have in excess of 2 million views.

Police researcher Monique Marks (2004: 884-885), a Professor at South Africa's University of KwaZulu-Natal, suggested,

Perhaps the greatest difficulty in researching the police is making one's findings public (Holdaway 1983). Having developed relationships with police members in a difficult environment, researchers may feel uncertain about breaking levels of trust by exposing negative or detrimental things about the police organization. In this regard, Young (1991) argues that publishing research on the police has moral and political implications. Loyalties to the police may emerge and writing anything at all can be extremely difficult.

There is no doubt that a difficult path has to be negotiated when publishing or reporting research findings on the police. Researchers of the police have to

make use of meaningful and possibly compromising information, while, at the same time, they have to be conscious not to break confidences or bring any harm or disrepute to the individual police and the organization itself...To break such confidences and to be unconcerned with the consequences of publicizing the research would have destructive consequences of destroying established relationships and de-legitimizing the research in the eyes of the police...

Like Reiner (2000) and Van Maanen (1988), I felt that my primary concerns were to safeguard access to the police organization (for myself in the future and for other researchers)...It is not my intention to bring the organization or its members into disrepute.

I was frankly shocked when I read this passage written by Marks (2004) and could not disagree more with her policing research counsel. A section discussing the dissemination of scholarly research immediately became a necessary inclusion in this thesis. As will be elaborated, my approach to police research involves simply a search for accurate and fulsome empirical data in the exploration of the matter under investigation. No more and no less. The type of research advocated by Marks essentially situates the academic researcher as a spokesperson for the policing organization and one who is engaged in a *quid pro quo* relationship with the police. The researcher in such a regime cannot (and does not) engage in potentially critical research and adopts a censorship function in order to preserve the reputation of the police organization and the researcher's ability to gain future access to this data site. For this to appear in print as the 'primary concern' of a police researcher is alarming (and tied in with the concerns discussed previously around the authenticity and reliability of data received into previous police studies in which the researcher was unable to gain the absolute trust of the research participants, causes me considerable pause as I contemplate other works on the police).

Police research, from the inception and through to the reporting of the findings, must be available to all research outcomes. These include the reporting of data and

findings that might be critical of the police organization in which the data was sourced. Issues identified by Marks (2004) around maintaining loyalties to the police and not breaking confidences are best addressed through the researcher's adherence to ethical research principles, confidentiality and anonymity assurances for prospective research participants, and the establishment of a mutual trust environment between the researcher and research participants. In the present study, many of the front-line research participants who were guaranteed anonymity had no issues in sharing data that was highly critical of police management and the policing organizations to which they belong. These research participants disclosed such information because they shared my desire to make a contribution to a study that was based on truthful and complete information, even if the ultimate end result was a product that was critical of their chosen profession or their policing organization. Such an outcome was understood by research participants as a possibility and they also understood that such considerations were not the concern of research participants. Their legitimate concerns (which I position as my primary concern and view as a serious ethical obligation in research) centred on their identities being protected to avoid retribution from their police services for critical data shared with an academic researcher.

In my reading of Marks's (2004) guidance on the conduct of police research, it strikes that her overriding concern involves not alienating gatekeepers to research and preserving the ability to do further research in that organization. With this as the research priority, I have to question – is this even social science '*research*'? In my respectful view, research should be far less concerned with 'de-legitimizing the research in the eyes of the police' and far more concerned with issues of academic legitimacy.

As was discussed, the late Richard Ericson was harshly criticized by members of the Peel Regional Police Force for publicly exposing information about certain policing practices of that era through the release of his book in 1981. Given that situation, I am doubtful that Ericson would have been welcomed back into that organization to do further research but I am quite confident in advancing that Ericson was likely satisfied with the validity and reliability of his research and quite proud of the project. In my respectful view, those considerations should be the guiding principles for all police researchers in the conduct of research and in the reporting of the results. If the Ottawa Police Service and/or the Toronto Police Service do not wish to provide me access to their organizations for future police research, that would be an unfortunate decision for them, but such a consideration had no impact on the conduct of research or on the presentation of this study's results. Studies such as this provide valuable information for police services (as they make decisions in this rapidly-changing policing environment) and I would think they would be more interested in relying on reliable and scientifically valid information rather than censored and diluted 'research'.

Reception of this Research

Interrelated with the discussion in the preceding section, I envisioned this project as not particularly activist nor controversial (despite being engaged from an interpretivist position with a potentially critical posture and anticipating that some criticism of the police could form part of the findings), but ultimately as a work that could offer illumination and an empirical examination of a serious contemporary social issue for the benefit of individual police officers, policing organizations, the critics of the police, and the general citizenry. Almost fifty years ago, in one of the seminal sociological works on

policing, Banton (1964: 268) articulated an observation that still holds today, “Both the police and the public would benefit if there were more informed and independent opinion in the universities and among the public at large about the police and their duties.” It is hoped that this study has made a small contribution in this regard.

From inception, I committed to a study that was designed to function neither as an apologist for, nor as an advocate against the police, but rather as a fundamentally sound investigation that would produce valid and reliable empirical data and from which logical and relevant findings would emerge (whatever those would be). As discussed, I entered into the project with no socio-political agenda, no allegiances to the police services or the potential research participants, no preordained outcomes, and no particular motivation to uncover (or conceal) critical (or uncritical) information.

James Sheptycki (2012: 58) advocates for “an ethic of police research that, rather than reinforcing the amplification spiral between populist demands for tough law-and-order policies and dominant police subcultural preferences for crime fighting rather than social service provision, seeks to dampen it, play it down and ‘civilize it’ (Loader & Walker 2007).” My thoughts coincide with those of Sheptycki and I am hopeful that this project has produced a ‘civilized’ and informative insight into police use of force in our society. As discussed, my original working thesis held that the new technologically-enabled societal surveillance of the police would have, as one of its manifestations, a transformative impact on both individual police officers (in terms of their use of force) and on the institution of policing. As has been borne out, one of the transformative impacts has been in relation to a reduction in the use of force by police in their interactions with citizens.

Put simply, my position on this new social reality for policing in contemporary urban society, vis-à-vis societal scrutiny and documentation of police violence, is that it is essentially a ‘win-win’ situation for all parties to such transactions (or to potential transactions that are deterred and thus never materialize). I make this assertion because I understand that the deterrent effect that is functioning to moderate instances of unjustified or unlawful police use of force benefits both potential victims of such police misconduct (who do not become victims) and also the individual police officer, who, in being dissuaded from engaging in such misconduct does not then have to face criminal and/or disciplinary sanctions resulting from their documented inappropriate use of violence.

This Research and Public Criminology

Todd Clear (2010: 721), past president of the American Society of Criminology, shared his views on public criminology – “Criminologists are called on to be relevant to the ‘real world’. There is no other way to say it. Our students remind us of this, as do our noncriminologist friends as we engage them in casual conversation about our work. Just to say ‘criminology’ to someone is to encounter the expectation that the science will have meaning for practice.” Police use of force takes place in the ‘real world’. Police officers are real people who perform a very challenging function in our society. Some of the citizens they must deal with present challenges to our laws and to the police and they too are real people. Violence between the police and a citizen is a real event with real and serious consequences and the issue of police use of force has emerged as a significant social issue in our contemporary society.

As discussed, the objective of this research was to illuminate this serious social issue through empirical study. However, the information contained in these pages should

not represent the completion of this project. The knowledge emerging from this study has ongoing applicability to a social issue that is very real in its consequences for both the citizenry and the police. As the CBC reporter who interviewed me on 29 July 2013 observed, police use of force is very topical, often misunderstood, and under-researched.

An enlightened discourse around police use of force can be beneficial to both the police and the public at large and can facilitate better understandings of the issues in play. A rhetorical question perhaps best illustrates my view on the public criminology obligation for researchers – if the product of academic research can contribute to better understanding and positive social change, is it not incumbent upon the researcher to work toward fostering and furthering the potentially positive outcomes of such research? Some of the public criminology outcomes of this research could include: facilitating dialogue within the police occupational culture around use of force issues; engaging with police management and use of force educators in discussing ideas around training modifications to further moderate unlawful police violence; and/or educating the public on the difficult environment in which their police operate, the challenges the police face in relation to use of force decision-making, and differentiating the lawful versus the unlawful use of force by police, in order that individual determinations are based more on sound knowledge of the applicable legal considerations relating to police use of force rather than on emotional or visceral (so-called ‘knee-jerk’) reactions to an event.

6.7 Conclusion

William Melody (1994: 254-255) suggested,

...if history has taught us anything it is that new technologies will not solve old social problems. They may significantly change power relations in society in favour of those who control and benefit from the new technologies. But there is no magic embodied in new technologies that will suddenly transform the nature of social and institutional relations in beneficial ways. In fact, new problems usually are created.

I respectfully disagree with Melody's pessimistic assessment, which was perhaps germane to an earlier era. There can be no question that cameraphone and new media technologies have contributed to a new socio-political environment in which the broad citizenry is now capable of challenging and altering the nature of the public-police relationship and the power dynamics therein. The resulting transformation in the nature of this social relationship, vis-à-vis police use of force, can produce benefits for both society (and the individuals who comprise it) and also for the institution of policing (and the individual police practitioners within it) – for example, as this study has established, through the moderating of police use of force.

Today's technologically-enabled societal surveillance of the police within our 'culture of surveillance' (Lyon 2013), conducted by a public who 'sees *surveillantly*' (Finn 2012), results in the bringing to light (or to the forefront) the actual assumptions and obligations of major social institutions like the police. In the past, the authority invested in, and exercised by, the police through the '*social contract*' was essentially unseen and thus unquestioned. Most of the populace was not in direct contact with the unpleasant realities of policing and therefore were unconcerned with them. As discussed, the police often operated essentially in private, and perceived their function as assuming the role of societies' 'dirty workers'.

The proliferation and capabilities of contemporary technologies has brought to the forefront these assumptions and obligations, resulting in a questioning of them across a broad spectrum of our society. The result seems to be that the very institution of policing (and perhaps of the exercise of violence and control in society) is likely to be questioned openly and debated and this may result in a transforming of how violence and control are handled in liberal democratic societies, such as Canada. Sheptycki (2012: 60, citing various works of Castells) in his analysis of policing theory and research, observes, “The real motor of change in all contemporary social institutions is the ‘information revolution’ which has given rise to the global ‘network society’ ... [with] tremendous implications for the organizations of policing...” The media of the ‘network society’ contribute to the production and circulation of new discourses and transformed power relations in our contemporary social order, situated within a broad and critical new socio-political cultural landscape.

The cultural entrenchment of technologically-enabled ‘citizen journalism’, within the context of ‘policing’s new visibility’ (Goldsmith 2010) and the unprecedented proliferation of surveillance throughout our society, can facilitate shifts in public sentiment and function as the catalyst for meaningful institutional changes in policing, in terms of the conduct of officers in their use of force in engagements with citizens. It may very well prove to be the case that the scrutiny afforded by widespread videorecording oversight capabilities throughout our social world are the power and resource equalizers needed to transform the problematic aspects of relations between the police and the public, in terms of violence. In terms of my specific research, these advancements have enabled key developments such as ‘citizen journalism’ and the widespread dissemination

of ‘user-created content’, and further, have provided a widely-accessible venue for dialogical discourses around police-citizen violence. The ability for virtually any citizen to surreptitiously and easily capture images of the police engaged with citizens and then to share such information broadly throughout society is a significant development with profound implications for individual police practitioners in the field, the institution of policing, and the sociological conceptualization of power relations throughout society.

Banton’s (1964: 261) thoughts on the submission of his study to an audience in 1964 mimic mine as I submit this study into the existing body of knowledge, “This study of the police is intended as a small contribution to the understanding of a very important institution in modern life; one which hitherto has not attracted sufficient attention in the analysis of society; and one which, given the continuance of present trends, is going to become more important still.”

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APPENDIX A

ETHICS CLEARANCE

Ethics Clearance Form

This is to certify that the Carleton University Research Ethics Board has examined the application for ethical clearance. The REB found the research project to meet appropriate ethical standards as outlined in the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans, 2nd edition* and, the *Carleton University Policies and Procedures for the Ethical Conduct of Research*.

New clearance

Renewal of original clearance

Original date of clearance:

Date of clearance	31 August 2012
Researcher	Gregory Brown
Status	M.A. student, Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Supervisor	Prof. Aaron Doyle
Project number	13-0533
Title of project	Policing the Police in the 'Network Society': Police-Citizen Violence in the Age of 'Citizen Journalism', Camera Phones, and YouTube

Clearance expires: **31 May 2013**

All researchers are governed by the following conditions:

Annual Status Report: You are required to submit an Annual Status Report to either renew clearance or close the file. Failure to submit the Annual Status Report will result in the immediate suspension of the project. Funded projects will have accounts suspended until the report is submitted and approved.

Changes to the project: Any changes to the project must be submitted to the Carleton University Research Ethics Board for approval. All changes must be approved prior to the continuance of the research.

Adverse events: Should any participant suffer adversely from their participation in the project you are required to report the matter to the Carleton University Research Ethics Board. You must submit a written record of the event and indicate what steps you have taken to resolve the situation.

Suspension or termination of clearance: Failure to conduct the research in accordance with the principles of the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans, 2nd edition* and the *Carleton University Policies and Procedures for the Ethical Conduct of Research* may result in the suspension or termination of the research project.



Antonio R. Gualtieri, Chair
Carleton University Research Ethics Board

APPENDIX B

CONSENT FORM (OPERATIONAL POLICE OFFICERS)

Consent Form – Interview Research

Title of research project:

Policing the Police in the 'Network Society': Police-Citizen Violence in the Age of 'Citizen Journalism', Camera Phones, and YouTube

Date of ethics clearance:

August 31, 2012

Ethics Clearance for the Collection of Data Expires:

May 31, 2013

Principal Investigator:

Gregory Brown
Carleton University
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
A-708 Loeb Building
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Tel: 613-327-9999
E-mail: gregoryr_brown@carleton.ca

Purpose of the Study:

One of the goals of this research is to inquire into whether the spread of mobile telephone video-recording capabilities and the distribution of recordings of police-citizen violent interactions through social media (YouTube, websites, blogs, etc.) have affected individual police officer's behaviour during the execution of their duties. The project will also inquire into impacts, if any, upon institutional policing policies and practices.

In terms of benefits arising from participation in this study the researcher suggests that this is a very important issue affecting both 'front line' police patrol officers in their chosen profession and the wider institution of policing in our society. As such, increasing the knowledge base around such an important matter as police-citizen violence and the impact of technological innovations provides a benefit to individual police officers (including those participating in the study) in terms of their day-to-day interactions with citizens and their police training in use of force considerations.

Study Procedures:

Qualitative semi-structured interviewing is one of a series of research methods being employed in the study of this phenomenon (the experiential knowledge of the researcher will form part of the data as will: survey sampling, Internet-based research of relevant sites, and analysis of Ontario police training literature).

Participation in the Study:

1. I volunteer to participate in an interview conducted by Gregory Brown (working under the supervision of Dr. Aaron Doyle) for a Master of Arts (Sociology) research project at Carleton University. I understand that I am one of approximately 20 police officers being interviewed in this phase of the research project.

2. I understand that this interview will last approximately one to two hours. I also understand that this interview will not be audio-recorded and that the researcher will take contemporaneous notes from time to time during the interview.

3. I understand that this Consent Form and all other research materials, including notes from this interview, will be securely and separately stored by the researcher, and that the information (data) I provide in this interview will be anonymous.

I understand that this interview is not being audio-recorded in order to alleviate any potential anxieties I might otherwise have in relation to anonymity.

I understand that no identifiers will be included in any written notes emerging from this interview and only the researcher will have access to the interview notes.

I understand that the researcher may retain the data collected for further related research, done by him, and on the same topic and for the purpose for which it was gathered.

4. I understand that there could potentially be some professional risk to me should my comments, opinions and experiences be identified with me. Therefore, I have been instructed by the researcher, prior to the commencement of the interview, to refrain from advising the interviewer of any information that could be characterized as 'sensitive' (including, but not limited to, being involved in or witnessing any form of police use of force that could be considered unlawful or inappropriate) during the interview session.

I have been instructed that should I possess any information that I consider could potentially be 'sensitive' and that I wish to convey to the researcher I am to provide this subsequent to this interview, in writing, absent any identifying information, and to deliver this by post in a sealed envelope to the researcher's university address.

As a supplementary safeguard to protect my interests, I am aware that in the event that I inadvertently disclose 'sensitive' information to the researcher, the researcher will intervene to prevent such disclosure. I understand that through the subsequent anonymous mailing of such information it would be impossible to cross-reference that information to either my pseudonym or my real name (which will appear only on this Consent Form and which will be secured separate from all other research materials in this study).

5. I understand that my participation in this project is voluntary and unpaid. I understand that I may decline to answer any question posed by the researcher. I also understand that I may withdraw my consent and participation in this research before, during, or after the interview session. If I do so during the interview, the interviewer will halt the interview, record the withdrawal in his notes (not in the interview notes proper), and forthwith destroy the interview notes. The interviewer will thereafter not use any of the interview content in the research process.

I further understand that should I wish to withdraw from the study following the completion of the interview, I shall send written notice to the researcher and upon receipt of my withdrawal request the data I supplied will be destroyed by the researcher and not form part of the study. I understand that I have thirty (30) days following the completion of this interview to choose to withdraw my participation. I understand that this time limit on my withdrawal recognizes the fact that withdrawal of a research participant during the data analysis stage of the project would be very difficult to manage.

Research Findings:

The research findings will be available to interested research participants and can be obtained by corresponding with the researching following the completion of this study (August 2013).

Ethics Clearance:

This project has been reviewed and has received clearance by the Carleton University Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or questions about your involvement in this study please feel free to contact me, my supervisor (Dr. Aaron Doyle), and/or the Research Ethics Board chair:

Professor Antonio Gualtieri, Chair
Research Ethics Board
Carleton University Research Office
Carleton University
1125 Colonel By Drive
Ottawa, ON K1S 5B6
Tel: (613) 520-2517
E-mail: ethics@carleton.ca

Consent:

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary.

Your signature below indicates that you have read and understood these materials and you voluntarily consent to participate in this phase of the research project (semi-structured interview), as described.

Signature of participant

Date

Name (please print)

Signature of researcher

Date

APPENDIX C

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Survey Questionnaire

This survey questionnaire is anonymous. Please do not write any identifying information on this document. Thank you for your participation and your attention. If you have any questions while completing the survey please ask the researcher for clarification. If you wish to expand on an answer please feel free to do so by writing alongside the question giving rise to further comment.

1. How many years have you worked in an urban police patrol capacity (in any police service)?

- 10-15
- 15-20
- 20-25
- 25-30
- 30-35

2. Have you ever had an occasion on which a member of the public (not a media photographer or videographer) was recording you using a camera phone or handheld personal communications device while you were engaged in the execution of your police duties?

- Yes
 - What year did it first occur? _____
 - How many times has this happened in your police career?

- No

3. On a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 representing it never entering your mind and 10 representing it is something that is always present in your consciousness whenever you are on duty and in the public eye; what level of concern/awareness do you have in relation to being video-recorded (including surreptitiously) by citizens while performing your patrol duties?

4. Do you feel that you have changed your behaviour in any way while you are on duty and engaged with citizens in the public environment because so many citizens now have ready access to camera phones with which they can record the police?

- Yes
- No (If no, please move on to question 9)

5. If yes, does one aspect of the behavioural change relate to your use of physical force in an engagement with a citizen?

- Yes
- No (If no, move on to question 9)

6. Do you feel that you now use less physical force than you would have formerly because of the potential that your use of physical force will be videorecorded by a citizen?

- Yes
- No

7. Do you feel that you now use physical force less often than you would have formerly because of the potential that your use of physical force will be videorecorded by a citizen?

- Yes
- No

8. Does the fact that citizen video recordings of police-citizen interaction can now be posted directly onto sites such as YouTube and/or Cop Watch (as opposed to in the past where 'mainstream' media was the only avenue for such citizen footage and they retained editorial discretion as to whether the material would be released or not) also factor into your considerations in using less force than you would have formerly?

- Yes – greater consideration than citizen recording potential
- Yes – the same consideration as citizen recording potential
- Yes - lesser consideration than citizen recording potential
- No, or does not change consideration

9. How much do you and your policing colleagues speak about the phenomena of citizen recording of police officers and the notoriety around police-citizen violent incidents that 'go viral' on Internet-based applications (YouTube, Copwatch, blogs, etc.) and/or 'mainstream' media (television, newspapers)?

- It is often the primary topic of work-related conversation
- It comes up fairly often but is not the primary topic of work-related conversation
- Only on an occasional basis
- Never is a topic of work-related conversation

10. Have you noticed any modifications in your police training and/or police policies that you relate directly to the situation in urban environments in which citizens have the ability to record police officers in the execution of their duties?

- Yes
- No

APPENDIX D

CONSENT FORM (INSTITUTIONAL POLICING OFFICIALS)

Consent Form – Interview Research

Title of research project:

Policing the Police in the 'Network Society': Police-Citizen Violence in the Age of 'Citizen Journalism', Camera Phones, and YouTube

Date of ethics clearance:

August 31, 2012

Ethics Clearance for the Collection of Data Expires:

May 31, 2013

Principal Investigator:

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E-mail: gregoryr_brown@carleton.ca

Purpose of the Study:

One of the goals of this research is to inquire into whether the spread of mobile telephone video-recording capabilities and the distribution of recordings of police-citizen violent interactions through social media (YouTube, websites, blogs, etc.) have affected individual police officer's behaviour during the execution of their duties. The project will also inquire into impacts, if any, upon institutional policing policies and practices.

In terms of benefits arising from participation in this study the researcher suggests that this is a very important issue affecting both 'front line' police patrol officers in their chosen profession and the wider institution of policing in our society. As such, increasing the knowledge base around such an important matter as police-citizen violence and the impact of technological innovations provides a benefit to individual police officers (including those participating in the study) in terms of their day-to-day interactions with citizens and their police training in use of force considerations. Police organizations, police labour organizations, and police governance organizations (broadly capturing policing as a fundamental institution in our society) similarly benefit from an increased knowledge base in this topical and relevant socio-political area of concern. Implications for police training, internal policies, and administration are engaged in this research.

Study Procedures:

Qualitative semi-structured interviewing is one of a series of research methods being employed in the study of this phenomenon (the experiential knowledge of the researcher will form part of the data as will: survey sampling, Internet-based research of relevant sites, and analysis of Ontario police training literature).

Participation in the Study:

1. I volunteer to participate in an interview conducted by Gregory Brown (working under the supervision of Dr. Aaron Doyle) for a Master of Arts (Sociology) research project at Carleton University. I understand that I am one of approximately 6 police institutional officials being interviewed in this phase of the research project.

2. I understand that this interview will last approximately one to two hours. I also understand that this interview will be audio-recorded and that the researcher may record contemporaneous notes from time to time during the interview.

I understand that the audio-recorded portion of the interview will be subsequently transcribed and that I will be provided a copy of both the audio-recording and the transcript for my review. If, I find any discrepancies between the audio-recording and the transcript I am aware that I have the right to request corrections be made to the transcript to reflect more accurately what was said in the interview. If I do not communicate to the researcher, in writing, such a request within 30 days following the completion of the interview then the transcript will be considered accurate and relied on in this research project (and any subsequent related project conducted by this researcher).

3. I understand that this Consent Form and all other research materials, including notes from this interview, will be securely and separately stored by the researcher. I understand that the researcher may retain the data collected for further related research, done by him, and on the same topic and for the purpose for which it was gathered.

4. I understand that my participation in this project is voluntary and unpaid. I understand that I may decline to answer any question posed by the researcher. I also understand that I may withdraw my consent and participation in this research before, during, or after the interview session. If I do so during the interview, the interviewer will halt the interview, record the withdrawal in his notes (not in the interview notes proper), and forthwith destroy the interview notes and audio recording. The interviewer will thereafter not use any of the interview content in the research process.

I further understand that should I wish to withdraw from the study following the completion of the interview, I shall send written notice to the researcher and upon receipt of my withdrawal request the data I supplied will be destroyed by the researcher and not form part of the study. I understand that I have thirty (30) days following the completion of this interview to choose to withdraw my participation. I understand that this time limit on my withdrawal recognizes the fact that withdrawal of a research participant during the data analysis stage of the project would be very difficult to manage.

I understand that given my position as an institutional policing 'public' official I will not be anonymous and my responses will be attributed to me. I understand that there could potentially be some professional risk to me as my comments, opinions, and experiences will be identified with me.

I am aware, however, that I may request that not all of my responses be identified to me and if I so stipulate that I do not want a certain response or statement attributed to me (at the time of the interview itself or through written notice to the researcher within 30 days following the completion of the interview) then the researcher will not attribute the response(s)/statement(s) in question to me in the presentation of the research.

Research Findings:

The research findings will be available to interested research participants and can be obtained by corresponding with the researching following the completion of this study (August 2013).

Ethics Clearance:

This project has been reviewed and has received clearance by the Carleton University Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or questions about your involvement in this study please feel free to contact me, my supervisor (Dr. Aaron Doyle), and/or the Research Ethics Board chair:

Professor Antonio Gualtieri, Chair
Research Ethics Board
Carleton University Research Office
Carleton University
1125 Colonel By Drive
Ottawa, ON K1S 5B6
Tel: (613) 520-2517
E-mail: ethics@carleton.ca

Consent:

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary.

Your signature below indicates that you have read and understood these materials and you voluntarily consent to participate in this phase of the research project (semi-structured interview), as described.

Signature of participant

Date

Name (please print)

Signature of researcher

Date