CALGARY POLICE SERVICES
ANTI-RACISM PROMISING PRACTICE PROJECT

FINAL REPORT
KNOWLEDGE SYNTHESIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

DECEMBER 2021

LEAD RESEARCHER

Dr. Patrina Duhaney, PhD
Assistant Professor
Faculty of Social Work
University of Calgary

CONTRIBUTORS

Emily Han
Ranece Gordon-Folkes
Sepideh Borzoo
Ebony Morris
Kaltrina Kusari
Dr. Liza Lorenzetti
Dr. Yahya El-Lahib

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Racism is embedded in police organizational structure and culture (Chan, 1996) and the criminal justice system (Jiwani, 2001). However, there is a paucity of evidence that shows police services implementing clear anti-racist strategies that aim to eradicate racism in its various forms. The severity and extent of institutional racism is often minimized in Canada (Mullings et al., 2016) which create unique challenges for police services who wish to develop anti-racism strategies. Race-based data is rarely collected in Canada, therefore, there is limited Canadian research that captures the extent of racial disparities in policing and the criminal justice system (Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2011). Nonetheless, existing research in policing points to the persistent and pervasive presence of racism in Canada, which hides racial inequality and white cultural hegemony behind a pretense of "multiculturalism" (Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2011). In addition, DeGeneste and Sullivan (1997) assert that police relations with racialized communities "are clearly influenced by the legacy of segregation and discrimination that were once sanctified by the rule of law" (p. 6). The ongoing "colonial relations of domination and subjugation of subordinated racialized minority groups" (Giwa, 2018, p. 2) materialize in present-day policing and pose challenges for police relations with racialized communities. This legacy is still evident in the decisions to overpolice certain types of crime and reflects both the racism and classism that are built into the institution of policing (Jiwani, 2001). Racialized communities are overrepresented in stops and searches, arrests, jails, and court systems, and are both overpoliced or underpoliced in their communities (Ben-Porat, 2008; Close & McKenna, 2006; Giwa, 2018; Jiwani, 2001; Mullings et al., 2016).

Hodgson (2001) asserts that police agencies continue to operate under a "nineteenth-century designed military authoritarian organizational model" (p. 522). Similarly, Mohanty and Mohanty (2014) argue that "police power is a political resource to secure, control and maintain order [and] command obedience" (p. 30). However, a military organizational model no longer serves the functions of police (Hodgson, 2001). Therefore, dependence on this structure impedes police performance and limits the effectiveness of police agencies to respond, adapt, serve, and protect communities (Hodgson, 2001).

Police reform is often the result of a series of criticisms of police operations (Ben-Porat, 2008). However, reform at both the individual and institutional level is necessary and possible (Boykin et al., 2020). At an individual level, police officers must recognize how their behaviours and actions affect racialized communities (Boykin et al., 2020). Institutionally, police services need to be redesigned to dismantle racist and discriminatory structures that exacerbate or reinforce institutional racism (Boykin et al., 2020).

Ongoing strained police-community relations reflect biased, inequitable, and discriminatory police practices (Ben-Porat, 2008; Rigaux & Cunningham, 2021). On June 15, 2020, following immense pressure from activists, community members and stakeholders, the Calgary Police Service (CPS) acknowledged the presence of systemic racism in its practices, policies, and procedures. It also committed to taking meaningful action to eradicate racism in its various forms (Calgary Police Service, n.d.a., City of Calgary, 2020). To address this issue, the CPS's Strategic Planning, Research & Analysis Section contacted the lead researcher to conduct research to assess the knowledge, environment and actions needed to address systemic racism within CPS and support the development of their anti-racism strategy. There were three deliverables requested: an environmental scan, an examination of the academic literature, and a final report focused on knowledge synthesis and recommendations to the CPS.

Between July and August 2021, the environmental scan was conducted to identify promising anti-racism and equity, diversity and inclusion (AREDI), strategies, practices and action plans that were developed nationally and internationally across police services. The scan searched broadly through the websites and gray literature of major police services in Canada, the United States (U.S.), the United Kingdom (U.K.), New Zealand, and Australia. Our findings revealed that many police services had equity, diversity, inclusion (EDI) strategies; however, anti-racism action plans or strategies were largely absent. We acknowledge that the absence of anti-racism strategies in policing does little to restore and build trust and confidence with racialized communities.

In October 2021, we conducted a literature review, which analyzed the existing scholarship on police services, community engagement and anti-racism. The review responded to two key research questions: (1) in policing organizations, how is trust built and sustained with communities? and (2) what role could communities play in both the development and implementation of anti-racism, equity, diversity, and inclusion (AREDI) strategies? The results showed that building and sustaining trust with racialized communities involve police transparency; implementing internal and external accountability mechanisms; developing and enhancing alternative approaches to criminalization; diversifying police services by hiring racially diverse front-line officers and administration; and ensuring racialized communities play an active role in the development and implementation of anti-racism strategies.

Building on our foundational work and research findings, this final report responds to critical questions of how the CPS can design and implement an impactful community-informed and sustainable anti-racism strategy. It also identifies the challenges in addressing systemic racism and implementing a sustainable, long-term anti-racism strategy; how a culture shift is created successfully within a paramilitary organization; and what recommendations the research team propose to the CPS toward the creation of a relevant, community-supported, sustainable anti-racism strategy.

This report is intended to inform the development and implementation of a relevant and sustainable anti-racism strategy that engages historically marginalized and racialized individuals, groups, and communities. We first discuss strategies for developing a sustainable, long-term anti-racism strategy followed by a discussion of some of the ways a cultural shift is achieved in paramilitary organizations then highlighting some of the challenges CPS may encounter implementing a sustainable and long-term anti-racism strategy. We conclude with several recommendations for the CPS.

Developing a Sustainable, Long-term Anti-racism Strategy

Developing a sustainable, long-term anti-racism strategy includes enhancing procedural justice, addressing, and redressing existing historical distrust that racialized, and building and nurturing community relations. Procedural justice refers to the positive interactions that people have in police encounters through fairness of process, while distributive justice refers to the community's perception that police are responsive to a community's needs and crimes in an equitable manner (Fedina et al., 2019). Another aspect of procedural justice is the perception that one has a voice and role in the decision-making process (Myhill & Bradford, 2013). Tyler and Waslak (2004) highlighted the importance of procedural justice in their findings which show that when people believed the police had been procedurally just in their interactions with them, they were less likely to view these encounters and stops as racial profiling. According to Myhill and Bradford (2013), ensuring police officers and staff receive procedurally fair treatment themselves would encourage them to reciprocate this behaviour and increase officers' acceptance of organizational reforms like community policing. An approach police leadership can take to address procedural injustice in the policing agency's culture can include improving interpersonal treatment of staff, and clear, transparent explanations of decisions (Myhill & Bradford, 2013). The focus should be not only on what *individual* police officers can do, but on what the organization and management can do to create a culture and environment that supports officers to improve their service to the community. This new dedication to community policing would in turn, improve their service to the public and ensure procedural justice. Scholars propose that enhancing procedural justice in police practises not only improves the relationship between the police and racialized communities but enhances the public's trust and confidence in the legitimacy of the police agency (Fagan & Davies, 2000; Gau & Brunson, 2010; Tyler & Fagan, 2008; Tyler, Fagan & Geller, 2014). Public perception of police legitimacy is shaped by procedural justice and distributive justice (Tankebe, 2013; Tyler & Fagan, 2008).

However, there is also a need to look beyond improving procedural justice to begin to repair the fragmented relationships that police hold with racialized communities. Procedural justice may affect individual encounters and short-term public perceptions of the police, but it cannot fully undo the long-existing historical distrust that racialized communities hold of police -- a distrust through which they also interpret and understand their current experiences with police. Pryce and Chenane (2021) argue that improving trust between the public and social service institutions (e.g., police) is key to community stability, the functioning of the criminal justice system, and the delivery of police services. Calvert et al. (2020) found that community members felt that despite police-led community events increasing positive interactions, it did not entirely diminish the continued fear and distrust held by community members towards the police. Pryce and Chenane (2021) illustrate this with an example: a young Black man pulled over during a traffic stop may appreciate that the traffic stop was conducted with clear fairness and procedural justice; but one positive encounter cannot undo his previous negative experiences with police and his awareness of his community's historical and ongoing experiences of discrimination from the police. Furthermore, as Epp et al. (2014) state, investigatory stops are, by nature, invasive, even when they are conducted in a procedurally just manner.

Reconciliatory initiatives may also be helpful in improving police-community relations by addressing the historical legacy and ongoing impact of racially biased and discriminatory policing (O'Brien & Tyler, 2019; Pryce & Chenane, 2021). For example, this can entail reconciliatory statements and actions that acknowledge the historical and present harms police have enacted upon racialized groups. O'Brien and Tyler (2019) describe reconciliation in this context as a process that acknowledges historical and present

reasons for community distrust, emphasizes working with the community rather than just individuals, and proposes police actions to earn the trust of communities.

Some researchers have also recommended expansion of community policing to improve police relations with the marginalized communities and groups that tend to distrust them most, such as racialized youth. Barthelemey et al. (2016) suggested that police improve relationships with the community by engaging youth, such as through off-duty mentoring programs and community-police events. Pryce and Chenane (2021) found that many respondents pointed to a need for an improved community presence from police and called for community policing. Borreo (2001) and Carr et al. (2007) found that youth tend to hold more negative views of police, with age being a significant predictor of negative attitudes towards the police. Boreo (2001) noted that one contributing factor to this was that youth and police do not have informal forums or structures to seek ways to deal with issues, as youth may be reluctant to lodge formal complaints when they experience police misconduct (Brunson & Weitzer, 2006). A youth-police relations committee with membership from youth, police, parents, and other community members may thus be helpful. Carr et al. (2007) also found that the youth respondents in their study wanted more police presence in their communities, and particularly for police to develop relationships with citizens and be part of the community, rather than a hostile force from the outside. Calvert et al. (2020) recommended that police establish consistent relationships with community youth over time, such as through community mobilization efforts that encourage community collaboration. They found that community members believed the police lacked connection to the largely Black communities they worked in, as they were "not from the area, did not look like them, and did not attempt to genuinely relate to community members" (Calvert et al., 2020, p. 282). Calvert et al. (2020) suggested that police officers increase sustained efforts to provide opportunity for positive interactions by regularly visiting recreation centres and public outreach events.

Partnerships between the police and social workers can also improve relationships with communities (Fedina et al., 2017). Police services can work with community-based organizations that can facilitate community outreach and engagement, and support linking victims to social services, particularly culturally relevant and responsive ones for racialized and LGBTQ+ people. Calvert et al. (2020) found that socioeconomic conditions, such as lack of employment opportunities and poor-quality housing, were contributors to violent encounters between police and young Black men because these deprivations led to anger and frustration among youth, as well as excessive free time outside school to potentially become involved in activities that might increase their encounters with police. Poor community conditions and high disorganization impedes on residents' ability to enforce crime, and their ability to act in the face of police misconduct (Kane, 2002). Engaging social workers, as suggested by Fedina et al. (2017), to work with communities and improve access to social services and other opportunities may mitigate some of these environmental difficulties.

Cultural Shift in Paramilitary Organization and Policing

Traditionally, police services have been categorized as paramilitary organizations (Chan, 1996; Chappell & Lanza-Kaduce, 2010; Gray & Lovrich, 1991; Perito, 2004; Toch, 2008; Yuksel, 2015) that have a degree of military capability (Andrade, 1985; Beede, 2008; Chappell & Lanza-Kaduce, 2010; Scobell & Hammitt, 1996; Toch, 2008) or have adopted a "militarized ideology of policing" (Hill & Beger, 2009, p. 26). Police organizational culture is associated with hegemonic masculine culture (Metz & Kulik, 2008), rigid hierarchy, and traditional bureaucracy that aim to create unquestionable docility and obedience (Yuksel, 2015). This rigid hierarchal approach with power exerted from top to bottom (Gray & Lovrich, 1991; Toch, 2008; Yuksel, 2015) has shaped organizational culture and employees' behaviours and codes of conduct in the workplace (Chan, 1996; Gray & Lovrich, 1991; Yuksel, 2015).

Social and cultural movements during the late twentieth century have put pressure on the police force to shift cultures within the organization by increasing inclusivity and diversity (Metz & Kulik, 2008). There is a growing body of scholarship that discusses how a cultural shift can be achieved in paramilitary organizations (Chan, 1996; Fyfe, 2016, 2017, 2019; Jones, 2008; Metz & Kulik, 2008; Schein, 2017; Yuksel, 2015). Some scholars suggest a top-bottom approach to change (e.g., Metz & Kulik, 2008; Schein, 2017), while others propose combining top-bottom and bottom-up approaches (Chan, 1996; Fyfe, 2015, 2017, 2019; Metz & Kulik, 2008). Still, Chan (1996) argues that change in police organizational culture takes place through persistent external pressures and the intervention of all stakeholders. Despite these perspectives, varied organizational cultures across different police departments may pose several challenges for organizations (Fyfe, 2019).

Positive organizational culture needs to be promoted at the management level through training, increasing awareness about different communities, increasing community engagement, and building relationships between citizens and police officers. Metz and Kulik (2008) suggest changing the management model by shifting the hierarchy of the organization and involving all employees and communities. Gray and Lovrich (1991) focus on developing a new management approach called "participatory management." According to the authors it is suggested that upper-level management, mid-level management, and support staff work together to solve problems. The authors argue that to facilitate such change in police organizations, new concepts and ideas need to be reinforced in different levels of hierarchy through extensive training (Gray & Lovrich, 1991).

Toch (2008) suggested participatory involvement at all levels of the organization in decision-making as a strategy to change organizational culture and structure. He suggests forming a group of internal leadership to implement change in the organization. He also suggested using feedback from employees at the bottom of the hierarchy and from citizens as a strategy to monitor the impact of reform. According to Toch (2008), organizational reform projects can benefit from feedback provided by front-line officers who have daily interactions with communities.

For Fyfe (2019), a successful reform happens when there is a connection between the intentions of political leaders and the values of the police organization. Decision-making should be shared with senior police officers as well as with local government. Fyfe (2019) states that cultural change needs to happen from within the police organization, rather than through government imposition. Focusing on this approach to cultural change, he argues for using police officers as a team of experts to adjust cultural reform based on each department's needs.

Other scholars have made suggestions to address cultural change in police organizations by focusing on building and nurturing community-police relationships (Mastrofski & Willis, 2010; Reiss, 1992; Sklansky, 2006; Skogan, 2005), and increasing police officers' intolerance of misconduct and corruption (Klockars et al., 2004; Sherman, 1998; Skolnick, 2002; Tyler et al., 2007). However, police agencies do not operate in isolation, as they are also arms of the state influenced by government policy and direction. Vallée (2010) has observed that since Steven Harper's government came to power in 2006, federal focus has shifted towards funding crime prevention efforts that prioritize drug-related offenses, gangs, and gun violence. There is a particular emphasis on allocating funding and resources to "evidence-based" interventions, a marked departure from past community safety initiatives. Vallée (2010) further notes that this budgetary shift means a reduction of support for communities and police agencies testing new, community-based interventions.

Recruiting police officers from different communities and assigning racialized police officers to serve racialized communities is also relevant (Reiss, 1992; Sklansky, 2006; Skogan, 2005). Sklansky (2005) argues that recruiting racialized people, women, and LGBTQ+ people into the police force can contribute to reinforcing police-community relationships. For example, Sklansky (2005) states that: "Just as black officers, for example, may have more credibility than white officers in a predominantly black neighborhood, a department that recruits, retains, and promotes a significant number of black officers may find the credibility of its entire force enhanced in black neighborhoods" (p. 1228). Although increased representational diversity is a commonly proposed solution to the issue of racially biased policing, it also cannot be taken as a panacea. Gau and Brunson (2015) found that Black communities' distrust of police persists even when officers are Black, and Brunson and Weitzer (2009) found that most of their study respondents agreed that regardless of police officers' race or ethnicity, "cops were essentially blue" (p. 881).

According to Skolnick (2002), there is a blue code of silence ingrained in organizational culture that contributes to police misconduct and corruption. The "blue code of silence" is an invisible part of police subculture, where reporting the misconduct and abusive behaviours of fellow officers is strongly discouraged (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009). A common suggestion to reduce police corruption is to increase surveillance and develop a strict system of discipline (Klockars et al., 2004; Sherman, 1998). Sherman (1998) suggests a rigid bureaucratic structure to increase surveillance of police officers' actions. Klockars and colleagues (2004) argued that it is the rigid system of discipline that prevents officers from misconduct. They suggest that it is through punishing misconduct and rewarding those who report wrongdoing that a culture that stands against police corruption can be built.

Building on findings from our environmental scan of major national and international police services, and our literature review, we propose several recommendations to help inform the CPS's implementation of relevant and sustainable anti-racism strategies. Some of the common areas of action and change that are promising across police services are: implementing AREDI training and education for all police personnel; developing recruitment, retention, and promotion strategies to increase representational diversity; establishing a rigorous complaints processes for civilians; implementing body cameras; creating or modifying the use of force policies; developing mechanisms to foster engagement with racialized communities; creating and enhancing transparency and accountability measures; allocating appropriate human and financial resources; and developing and implementing a race-based data collection strategy.

Challenges Implementing Relevant Sustainable Anti-Racism Strategy

Some major barriers the CPS may need to overcome when integrating an anti-racism strategy include confronting community mistrust, diminished police legitimacy, and the ongoing legacy of racially biased policing. The historically distrustful and strained relationship between Black people and the police has been amplified by recent high-profile incidents of police brutality and the killings of Black citizens such as George Floyd and Breonna Taylor (Pryce & Chenane, 2021). Pryce and Chenane (2021) argue that the unfair and discriminatory treatment of Black people by the police is a significant factor that impacts their level of trust and confidence in the police. The circulation of such experiences and stories of racist injustice in social media, news networks, and the public consciousness accumulate to create a broader cultural distrust of police, and affecting police legitimacy widely (Warren, 2011). Police legitimacy affects the extent to which citizens obey and cooperate with police (Tyler, 2004; Tyler & Fagan, 2008). The current crisis of police legitimacy impacts the functioning and effectiveness of police services. Citizens are more likely to obey the law, cooperate with officers, assist during investigations, call for the police's help, and report non-crime emergencies if they view law enforcement as legitimate, trustworthy, and procedurally just in their policing practises (Solomon, 2019; Sunshine & Taylor, 2003; Tankebe, 2013; Tyler & Jackson, 2014). However, when communities view the police as illegitimate and untrustworthy, they are less likely to cooperate with and obey them (Tankebe, 2008).

Racialized people are more likely to view the police more negatively than their white counterparts do (Brown & Benedict, 2002; Peck, 2015), which reflects their long history of undue persecution and unfair treatment at the hands of police. Fedina et al. (2019) emphasize that in addition to residents' interpersonal encounters with the police, community perceptions of police legitimacy and community views of the police are shaped by both collective and historical experiences with police. This includes the historical and present experiences of inequitable and discriminatory treatment, such as harassment and excessive force, that have been endured by Black people, Indigenous Peoples, other racial and ethnic minorities, and the LGBTQ+ community (Mallory et al., 2015). As such, historically marginalized racial, sexual, and gender groups tend to view the police with less trust and as having less legitimacy (Mallory et al., 2015; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005).

Community views of the police are also influenced by the police's use of excessive force, corruption and internal criminal activity, and increased militarization (Chaney & Robertson, 2013; Stinson et al., 2015). Weitzer and Tuch (2004) found that Black and Hispanic people were more likely to experience negative police interactions, see media reports of police misconduct, and live in high-crime areas with intense police presence. Black Americans and residents of neighbourhoods with high concentrations of Black residents are also more likely than any other racial and ethnic group to see the police as untrustworthy (Bell, 2017; Carr et al., 2007; Gau & Brunson, 2010). Meng et al. (2015) found empirical evidence pointing to the police's racial profiling of Black youth in Toronto and linked Black youth's experience of this discrimination to their disproportionately high rates of being stopped by police, which particularly occurs in middle-class neighbourhoods with higher populations of white people.

This widespread distrust and fear of the police works in combination with the diminished legitimacy of the police to impact police-community interactions. In Calvert et al.'s (2020) study, fear and distrust were considered important contributors to the violent encounters between police and young Black men. Black youth in this study feared police after having witnessed, experienced, or heard about violent police-youth encounters, while police feared youth due to their knowledge of previous assaults on officers (Calvert et al., 2020). Although disrespect and hassling from the police may not be lethal or

brutal, it can have a cumulative, widespread effect on the collective consciousness of Black communities (Feagin, 1991). Furthermore, police aggression and disrespect are disproportionately experienced by Black people (Mastrofski et al., 2002).
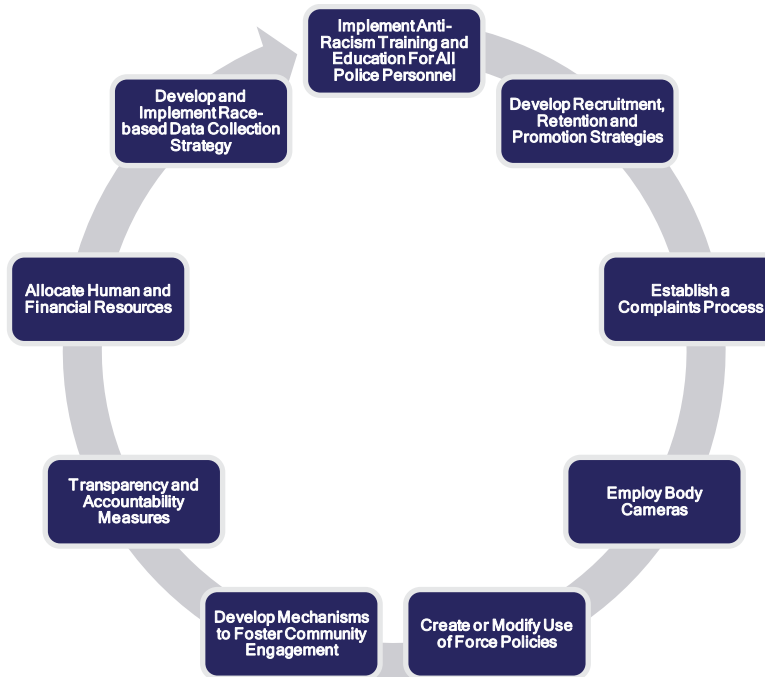
Community and neighbourhood context along with race can play a role in police conduct, as research has shown police are more likely to use force on people in disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Fagan & Davies, 2000; Kane, 2002; Terrill & Reisig, 2003). Residents of poor and high-crime neighbourhoods report higher levels of dissatisfaction with the police (Reisig & Parks, 2000). Terrill and Reisig (2003) suggested that officers tend to see racialized people as associated with an increased risk of violence, and even more so when they are encountered in "dangerous" disadvantaged neighbourhoods with concentrated racialized populations. The presence of police in low-income, high-crime neighbourhoods is much more intense than in more affluent areas, and these areas are also where more aggressive policing strategies are concentrated. Law-abiding residents of those neighbourhoods are negatively impacted by this as well, as police tend to treat them with less respect and trust (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009; Kane, 2002; Terrill & Reisig, 2003). Meng (2017) notes the difficulty of analyzing the role of race and neighbourhood in policing, as there is a paucity of race-based data collection on crime in Canada (including stops-and-searches), as well as a lack of spatial analysis in existing research that takes neighbourhood affiliation into account in police encounters. Meng (2017) found that Toronto police disproportionately stopped Black and other racialized individuals in predominantly white neighbourhoods, and/or in neighbourhoods with higher crime rates. It must also be noted that the latter kind of neighbourhood with high crime tends to be a socioeconomically marginalized neighbourhood with a higher population density of racialized groups (Meng, 2017; Meng et al., 2015).
Fedina et al. (2019) also found that for victims of intimate partner violence (IPV), higher levels of IPV exposure were associated strongly with lower levels of police trust and legitimacy, particularly for Black participants. This corroborates other IPV research findings that race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status impact the response of police officers to IPV victims. For example, Black women victims of IPV are often treated with less empathy compared to white women from higher-income areas (Potter, 2010).

Another major barrier for the police to consider lies within the police agency, its organizational structure, and its workforce. Internal resistance from within police agencies, rooted partly in strongly held conservative police subcultures, is a major potential barrier for implementing the necessary changes to improve police-community relationships (Myhill & Bradford, 2013; Skogan, 2008). Reiner (2010) noted that a "them and us" perception was characteristic of police subculture, creating distance between police and the communities they serve. Indeed, it is not uncommon for a significant number of officers to be resistant to the idea that police should work with the public as partners in community policing initiatives, tending to see citizens as problems to resolve, rather than collaborative partners in law enforcement (Myhill & Bradford, 2013; Reiner, 2010).

Reiner (2010) identified core pieces of police culture including: suspicion, isolation, solidarity, conservatism, machismo, racial prejudice, pragmatism, sense of mission, cynicism, and pessimism. Although many officers do see their fundamental mission as being one of serving victims, they tend to attempt to achieve this by employing enforcement and action-oriented models of policing, rather than service models which focus on interaction with communities (Reiner, 2010). The ways that police perceive the communities they serve have a direct impact on their interactions with residents from those communities, such as white officers' perceptions of Black people in low-income areas (Barthelemy et al., 2016). Calvert et al. (2020) found a significant disconnect in officers' perceptions of the police-community relationship when compared to the community's perceptions. Officers believed that violence initiated by officers was not a cause of their negative interactions with young Black men. In contrast, community members believed that police were distant (Calvert et al., 2020).

Officers also face challenges in communities including risk of bodily harm, and pressure to meet performance and crime enforcement goals in an efficient and timely manner. They may believe they lack the time to cultivate relationships with the community and to ensure procedural justice while trying to meet these goals (Reiner, 2010). Myhill and Bradford (2013) found that police officers' perceptions of receiving fair treatment from the police organization predicted their positive attitudes towards serving the public and being aligned with community policing. Furthermore, Myhill and Bradford (2013) pointed to the quasi-military organizational structure of the police agency as mismatching with service-model policing, as officers may not be given voice in decision-making and may not always be informed about why they must perform certain tasks. As such, the capacity of police reforms such as community policing service models are dependent, in part, on influencing and changing traditional police culture (Skogan, 2008).

The diagram is a circular cycle with the following elements arranged clockwise:

- Implement Anti-Racism Training and Education For All Police Personnel
- Develop Recruitment, Retention and Promotion Strategies
- Establish a Complaints Process
- Employ Body Cameras
- Create or Modify Use of Force Policies
- Develop Mechanisms to Foster Community Engagement
- Transparency and Accountability Measures
- Allocate Human and Financial Resources
- Develop and Implement Race-based Data Collection Strategy

Recommendation 1: Implement anti-racism training and education for all police personnel

Anti-racism training should be mandated for all new hires, agency staff, uniformed officers, civilian personnel, police board members, police agency leadership, supervisors, and management alongside. Periodic mandatory refresher training courses must be implemented annually over the course of their careers. Completion and refreshment of training on anti-racism and EDI can be included in annual employee performance assessments to ensure accountability. Renauer and Covelli (2011) emphasize the importance of continued training throughout officers' careers to reinforce effective communication skills with the public.

Trainings could cover topics such as: anti-racism (e.g., Ottawa Police Service, 2020), anti-Black racism (e.g., Durham Regional Police Service, 2020; Toronto Police Service, 2020), anti-Indigenous racism (e.g., Toronto Police Service, 2020), Indigenous-specific cultural awareness and competency (e.g., Ottawa Police Service, 2020; RCMP, 2021b), intercultural training (e.g., New Zealand Police, 2019a; New Zealand Police, 2019b), racial equity (e.g., Boston Police Department, 2020; San Francisco Police Department, 2020), the history and impact of racialized policing and profiling (e.g., New York City Police Department, 2021; Service de police de l'agglomération de Longueuil, 2015), racial/implicit bias (e.g., New York City Police Department, 2021), and intergenerational trauma (e.g., RCMP, 2021b).

The training programs should address internal racism in the workplace, be engaging and experiential, and focus on active cross-cultural communication skills (Blakemore et al., 1995). Programs should not focus on rote memorization of information that is limited to one-time sessions, but ought to be delivered over a period of time to ensure retention. Attempts to implement AREDI training programs may lead to internal resistance from officers (Gould, 1997). Trainers must take measures to mitigate this potential barrier to learning by clearly demonstrating the relevance of the material to police officers by showing its practical application. For example, improving the safety of police officers, increasing their efficiency, and protecting them from potential liability issues (Blakemore et al., 1995). Framing training as an activity that can bring tangible personal benefits to police officers, such as professional development

training that could potentially affect promotion, can be a way to initially motivate police officers who are resistant and difficult to engage.

Diversity training alone cannot eradicate systemic racism in policing, therefore, organizational policies, procedures and practices must be reviewed and overhauled to address racial bias in policing (Blakemore et al., 1995). The entire training curriculum must reflect a clear theoretical framework and anti-racist approach. These approaches should be guided by anti-racist scholars and experts (e.g., Toronto Police Service, 2020). Ongoing audits should be conducted to ensure training and educational courses and materials reflect an anti-racism lens.

Recommendation 2: Develop Recruitment, Retention and Promotion Strategies

Considering the continued underrepresentation of racial and ethnic groups in policing agencies in Canada and the U.S. (Conor et al., 2019; Duffin, 2021; Guajardo, 2016; Leatherby & Oppel Jr., 2020; Marcoux et al., 2016; Statistics Canada, 2017), developing policies and strategies on the recruitment, hiring, retention and promotion of racialized employees, and setting timelines with progress goals and deadlines are crucial in all EDI and anti-racism plans.

Police services must move beyond traditional recruitment approaches and identify potential barriers that may lead to racial inequities in the recruitment and hiring process. Recruitment material must explicitly communicate police services' commitment to anti-racism and creating a police service that is reflective of the community. They should broaden the candidate pool by advertising in racialized communities, such as religious institutions, cultural organizations, community events (e.g., New York City Police Department, 2021; San Francisco Police Department, 2020), professional networks, and other key gathering places (Wilson et al., 2016). Hiring panels should be made up of diverse people who have received implicit bias and anti-racism training. They should also increase the recruitment of Indigenous peoples and create community liaison positions to work with Indigenous communities.

There are ongoing disparities in the advancement of racialized police to higher ranks and positions in police services (Guajardo, 2016; Gustafson, 2013; Schroedel et al., 1996), therefore implementing retention and promotion strategies may reduce these disparities. Many racialized police officers must contend with racism within their organizations; therefore, police services must cultivate an inclusive workplace to retain racialized people (McMurray et al., 2010). Oppressive and racist police subculture may impede racialized officers seeking to enter policing or to advance in their careers (Rigaux & Cunningham, 2017). Collecting data to capture the experiences of racism (Guajardo, 2016) or job satisfaction (e.g., Durham Regional Police Service, 2020; Medicine Hat Police Service, n.d.) may provide valuable information. Policies related to police promotional exams should be assessed to identify potential barriers that disadvantage marginalized officers (Guajardo, 2016). Accelerated promotion timelines are another possibility but may pose challenges if the police agency subculture is resistant to such initiatives (Cashmore, 2002). Services could implement mentorship programs (e.g., New York City Police Department, 2021) or create employee resource and affinity groups (e.g., San Francisco Police Department, 2020) to better support officers.

Reviewing paid time off policy to ensure that it accounts for all religious and cultural holidays, (e.g., San Francisco Police Department, 2020) helps ensure an equitable process. Other actions to retain racialized employees may include the creation of wellness programs and access to culturally appropriate and sensitive services for Indigenous personnel (e.g., RCMP, 2021b). Furthermore, tracking data related to disciplinary actions is important to detect potential trends and bias against racialized staff.

Recommendation 3: Establish a Complaints Process

Streamlining the complaints process to ensure it is equitable, accessible, and transparent is critical to maintaining public trust and ensuring that the police service is accountable to the public. Police services should consider developing a voluntary, restorative justice dispute resolution process as an alternative to the official channels of filing a formal complaint (e.g., Toronto Police Service, 2020). This alternate dispute resolution process may help resolve lower-level complaints against the police and achieve reconciliation with complainants and communities. It may also offer an alternative for complainants who may be intimidated or unwilling, to go through with the formal complaints process, which can be lengthy and confusing to citizens. Police services may also consider utilizing external and independent bodies (Walsh & Conway, 2011) to investigate incidents of racially biased policing and use of force. For example, Brunson and Weitzer (2009) propose the creation of civilian complaint review boards to increase police accountability and the accessibility of the process to civilians.

Recommendation 4: Create or Modify Use of Force Policies

Racialized people, particularly Black men, experience disproportionate encounters with the police including pedestrian and traffic stops (Brunson & Miller, 2006; Gelman et al., 2007; Kahn & Martin, 2016; Novak, 2004; Ridgeway, 2007) and are more likely to experience police use of force (Fridell & Lim, 2016; Terrill & Mastrofski, 2002). Since race affects citizens' outcomes and experiences with police and the criminal justice system, police services must create or modify their use of force policies. Reviewing existing policies and enhancing them to ensure there is a clear, enforceable disciplinary process for violations of the policy is critical. Police services should also review their current use of force model so that there is more emphasis on de-escalation (e.g., Toronto Police Service, 2020). Officers should be trained to de-escalate conflict and minimize the use of unnecessary, excessive, and lethal force (Dias & Vaugn, 2006; Lee & Vaugn, 2010). Beyond pre-service training, there should be periodic refreshments of conflict resolution and de-escalation skills and knowledge (Alpert et al., 2006). Police services may also create a list of "zero-tolerance use of force offences'' that would result in immediate termination (e.g., Boston Police Department, 2020). Implementing mandatory accountability checks, such as requiring supervisors to complete use-of-force forms may reduce police use of force (Alpert & MacDonald, 2001). Posting use of force policies and incident data for public access should also be mandated for police services.

Recommendation 5: Employ Body Cameras

Although opinion on the use of body cameras is mixed (Barak et al., 2017), the mandatory adoption of body cameras should be a key component of police services' anti-racism and EDI strategies to ensure transparency and accountability (Boykin et al., 2020). The implementation of body cameras could increase police transparency by capturing and analyzing video footage of incidents involving the police. Cameras should be always activated during work hours. Video footage should be retained for six months or longer. Agencies may provide citizens recorded by the agency's body cameras full access to video footage (e.g., Boston Police Department, 2020).

Recommendation 6: Develop Mechanisms to Foster Engagement with Racialized Communities

Community policing involves decentralizing authority; mending relationships with the community; focusing on community collaboration, cooperation, and consultation; and emphasizes accountability and social service. It allows police to consult with racialized communities, government/city agencies and committees, public figures, and academics to shape policies, practices, and initiatives (Ben-Porat, 2008;

Glowatski et al., 2017; Kearns, 2017). Engaging racialized communities is a critical part of police services' anti-racism and EDI strategies. To serve their communities and build strong relationships, police services must develop efficient lines of communication effectively and responsively. Lack of communication between the police and the communities they serve can lead to less effective law enforcement, and even to violence in extreme cases (Schneider, 1999). Therefore, improving communications to engage communities and garner resident support can also improve crime prevention efforts.

Hosting town halls, community meetings, public listening sessions are strategies that could be used to gather feedback from community members and listen to their experiences with police services (e.g., New York City Police Department, 2021; Toronto Police Service, 2020). The police service should ensure there are multiple methods for the public to participate in community meetings, such as online, and through written and remote submissions. Promoting and delivering meetings in multiple languages in various ethnic enclaves and creating multilingual feedback forms (Chinatown, Little Jamaica, etc.) helps address language barriers in police communication strategies (McMurray et al., 2010). Conducting public surveys is another mechanism for soliciting community input and testimony (e.g., New Zealand Police, 2019a; New Zealand Police, 2019b). Police services can increase police-community interactions by holding open houses for community members to visit and learn more about the agency and its work, or by attending community events, celebrations, and cultural festivals to develop closer relationships with community members.

Meeting with external stakeholders is also important to hear from diverse interest groups (e.g., New York City Police Department, 2021). This can include activist and advocacy groups, racial justice advocates and scholars, youth groups, community organizations, ethnic and religious organizations, small business owners, tenants' associations, policy experts, and more. Other potential areas of action include increasing collaborations with social workers from local community social service organizations (Giwa, 2018; Sylvester & Teboh, 2016). Police officers are realistically unable to acquire the wide array of specialized skills needed to respond to all kinds of community disruptions such as mental health crises and domestic violence situations; therefore, social workers can also help fill this gap (Giwa, 2018; Sylvester & Teboh, 2016).

Police engagement with youth is another sub-area of focus, as school resource officers are sometimes a point of contention within communities. The police service should review policies on school resource officers' roles and duties, particularly on officers' use of physical interventions with students. Creating Youth Advisory Committees (e.g., Durham Regional Police Service, 2020) or engaging with youth outside of school are other strategies to improve community-police relationships. Focusing recruitment strategies to engage diverse, racialized youth more effectively by out-reaching to student groups, clubs and campuses is another. For example, police services can engage Indigenous youth through youth advisory committees, youth camps, and pre-cadet programs (e.g., RCMP, 2021b) and consultations on reconciliation. Police agencies can also appoint police personnel to handle liaisons and act as police representatives for communities and neighbourhoods, including ethnic and racialized communities (e.g., Ottawa Police Service, 2020; Toronto Police Service, 2020).

Police agencies should also work closely with Indigenous communities and establish relationships with Elders and leaders. The creation of an Indigenous Liaison Unit or Indigenous Cultural Advisory Committee is one strategy used by the RCMP (2021b) to enhance relationships. Participating in community events such as powwows, Orange Shirt Day and the Sisters in Spirit Vigil is another method - if police presence is requested by the community (RCMP, 2021b). Agencies should also work to enhance partnerships with nearby self-administered First Nations police services. Restorative justice

initiatives can be explored. Police services should review the findings and recommendations of the MMIWG Inquiry Report and the TRC and consider how these may influence police services.

Media and communications strategies are another key element of community engagement (Niagara Regional Police Service, 2020; Toronto Police Service, 2020). For example, social media platforms may be utilized to create public awareness (e.g., Toronto Police Service, 2020) and disseminate information about the police service's strategic plan, objectives, and progress (Niagara Regional Police Service, 2020; Toronto Police Service, 2020). Informational videos could be created for newcomers and immigrants about safety, the police, and the law in Canada (e.g., Niagara Regional Police Service, 2020). Furthermore, access to interpretation and translation services in police interactions with racialized communities and developing multilingual communications are important.

Input and feedback from the police service's own personnel, including civilian members, is also important. Conducting employee surveys to seek better understanding of police personnel's perceptions of the work environment and their potential experiences with racial bias and injustice in the workplace is important to inform future policy and strategy planning.

Recommendation 7: Transparency and Accountability Measures

Transparency and accountability are critical to establish trust between police services and the communities they serve. Implementing independent civilian oversight boards can be established to investigate civilian complaints of racially biased policing and use of force (Walsh & Conway, 2011). For example, these civilian boards could be granted full investigatory, subpoena power (e.g., Boston Police Department, 2020) and authority to initiate investigations and access full body camera footage (e.g., New City York Police Department, 2021). External, independent entities can also be contracted to review police agency policies, processes, practices, and programs through an anti-racist lens.

Policies should be enacted to ensure that all allegations of racial profiling are fully investigated (e.g., Toronto Police Service, 2020). Disciplinary reform can be implemented to ensure there are clear guidelines for officer misconduct and instances of racially biased policing. For example, officer misconduct should be reported when observed by other officers and failure to report could result in disciplinary action (e.g., New York City Police Department, 2021). Annual performance reviews for personnel can be implemented, with checks for completion of anti-racism training and refreshers. Use of force policies and data, workforce diversity data, and progress reports on anti-racism strategy goals should be published and reported on a regular basis and made available for public access on the police agency's website (e.g., Toronto Police Service, 2020).

Recommendation 8: Allocate Human and Financial Resources

An important cornerstone for implementing and integrating an effective and sustainable anti-racism strategy (Jordan et al., 2009) involves allocating appropriate human and financial resources (Culbertson, 2020; Jordan et al., 2009; Wilson et al., 2016). Hiring and retaining diverse staff and developing responsive leadership are necessary to reshape the organizational culture (Rigaux & Cunningham, 2021). However, recruiting racialized candidates continues to be a challenge for police services in Canada. Agencies have been slow to adjust their organizational structures, especially regarding the recruitment of racialized people (Rigaux & Cunningham, 2021). While a more diverse and representative police service may help "[increase] understanding of different cultures," quality standards for recruitment are also necessary (Rigaux & Cunningham, 2021, p. 456). Police services must create processes to attract,

hire and retain qualified individuals. In addition, part of retaining racialized employees is creating mechanisms to eliminate their experience of racism (Jordan et al., 2009). Creating dedicated teams or units to oversee and implement EDI and anti-racism measures is another strategy (e.g., San Francisco Police Department, 2020; Toronto Police Service, 2020) to monitor and assess goal attainment while ensuring accountability. Working groups or committees that oversee this area of the strategic plan can ensure that the strategy is implemented at all levels. Police services should also conduct an internal budget analysis through a racial equity lens to inform their hiring goals and prevent racial inequities in staff layoffs (e.g., San Francisco Police Department, 2020).

Recommendation 9: Develop and Implement Race-based and Data Collection

Police services must collect disaggregated race-based data (Fan, 2018; Toronto Police Service, 2020) to identify inequities and assess barriers and gaps in their policies, procedures, and services. The relevance of collecting race-based data has been reflected in the action plans of several police services including the Toronto Police Service (2020), Durham Regional Police Service (2020), the Boston Police Department (2020) and the Greater Manchester Police (2018). Data collection can be a positive "mechanism that measures police activity on the front line" (Close & McKenna, 2006, p. 153). Collecting data has several benefits, as it: (a) ensures agencies measure, monitor, and understand how police use their powers; (b) assesses the nature and degree of racism within agencies; (c) identifies disparities that reveal wrongful acts, omissions, and biased policing; (d) strengthens citizen trust by alleviating concerns about police activity; (e) helps the community understand the severity of the problem around race-based policing and racial profiling; (f) supports community policing by building trust and maintaining the credibility of police; and (g) deters misconduct by helping to push more efficient stop and search practices and strategic methods for using power more effectively (Close & McKenna, 2006; Ramirez et al., 2000).

Consultation and input should also be solicited internally from police personnel through employee surveys to capture their perceptions of the workplace culture and environment, as well as from communities through public surveys to gauge public perceptions and experiences of the police and its services. An external review could be conducted to assess workplace culture and its processes and policies for addressing incidents of harassment and discrimination with a specific anti-racism lens (e.g., Toronto Police Service, 2020). Conducting consultations and meetings with racialized communities may increase community's trust in the police (e.g., Toronto Police Service, 2020). Findings from race-based data collection should be published and made publicly accessible on police services website through regular reports to the public.

Relevant data collection includes information on hate crimes (including crimes with elements of bias that may not constitute official hate crimes), use of force incidents, traffic stops, employee demographics (including data on promotions, layoffs, and disciplinary actions) and leadership demographics. Collecting aggregated data from body camera footage may also be beneficial (Fan, 2018). Data should be used to help identify widespread systemic issues such as police shootings (Carmichael & Kent, 2015) and not only individual incidents. Strategies for race-based data collection must be carefully considered for ethical and privacy concerns. For example, police services should be aware of privacy concerns when using data from video footage (Fan, 2018), facial recognition software and biometrics (e.g., Boston Police Department, 2020) and ensure appropriate mechanisms are in place to address them.

Key Considerations and Next Steps

The murder of George Floyd and countless Black, Indigenous and racialized people by police resulted in a resurgence of calls for racial justice. Highly publicized protests drew global attention to the myriad ways in which racist ideology is deeply ingrained in the fibers of police services. Locally, Black, Indigenous, and racialized communities shared heart-wrenching stories of their lived experiences of systemic racism (City of Calgary, 2020). There is ample evidence that underscores the insidious effects of racism. Citizens were applauded for their courage in speaking out about racial injustices by the CPS both publicly and in a recent report (Calgary Police Service, n.d., City of Calgary, 2020). There were countless statements of solidarity and commitments from organizations including police services. Likewise, the CPS committed to acknowledging historical and current wrongs and structural inequities, creating transformational cultural shifts to effectively establish an equitable and inclusive workplace, challenging complacency and power imbalances, actively engaging in a process of reconciliation, working with communities to develop solutions, and developing transparency and accountability mechanisms (Calgary Police Service, n.d.). The CPS must actualize and operationalize these public commitments and plans for actions to restore positive relations with racialized communities.

Recommendations were advanced in this report to inform the creation of a relevant anti-racism strategy. As the CPS makes the shift to developing anti-racism strategies, it must grapple with the implications of integrating anti-racism in its service. Addressing systemic racism and creating sustainable organizational change at CPS require concerted efforts from the Prime Minister, Calgary Police Commission, Chief of Police, front line officers, staff, and leadership at all levels. It also involves law reforms, changing organizational structure, hierarchy, leadership and empowering racialized groups that have been victims of police violence. The CPS must also contend with and address several internal and external challenges, including the minimization and dismissal of everyday experiences of racism and systemic racism by individuals on all levels of the organization.

This report and its recommendations are intended to complement the ongoing development and implementation of the CPS's Indigenous Road Map, while also actively executing the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's (TRC) Calls to Action. The CPS's Indigenous Road Map is an affirmation of its commitment to reconciliation and is also a key part of its commitment to anti-racism. As such, any anti-racism strategy that the CPS develops while drawing upon the findings of this report as a resource, must necessarily work in tandem with the goals of the Indigenous Road Map. Many of the recommendations and areas of concern highlighted in this final report align with the Indigenous Road Map. Both the Indigenous Road Map and this final report prioritize increasing opportunities for open dialogue between the CPS and the communities they serve. The Indigenous Road Map has also highlighted its goal of bringing "Sacred Spaces and culture within the police environment" (Calgary Police Service, 2021, para. 3) Similarly, the final report has recommended the creation of affinity groups and supportive spaces for marginalized racial and ethnic groups in the policing organization. Just as this report has recommended the allocation of sufficient human and financial resources to overseeing the development and implementation of the CPS's anti-racism strategy, the Indigenous Road Map has been in development through the collaborative efforts of the CPS's Indigenous Advisory Board with Indigenous Elders, Knowledge Keepers and other community members (Calgary Police Service, 2019). Moreover, the Indigenous Road Map works to address the Calls to Action of the TRC and the Calls to Justice of the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG) Commission. Many of the calls relevant to police services involve addressing the disproportionate criminalization and victimization of Indigenous peoples, and the racially biased treatment they face from police. This final report recommends broad actions to address this disproportionality such as race-based data collection, body cameras, a stronger complaints and disciplinary process for police misconduct, modified use of

force policies that focus on de-escalation, improved anti-racist training, and more transparency and accountability measures for the police such as civilian oversight boards.

Most critically, the CPS's Indigenous Road Map is not simply a "finite project, but rather a new way of doing" (Calgary Police Service, 2019, p. 7). Similarly, this report has stressed the importance of creating a long-term and sustainable anti-racism strategy. While this report has emphasized the importance of creating target goals and deadlines to ensure accountability for progress, it has also stressed that an anti-racism strategy must be implemented alongside a major culture shift in the policing organization. In this way, the anti-racism strategy will not simply be composed of disparate actions and projects that come to an end but can become a foundational framework that guides the CPS in their policing practices, policies, and processes so that anti-racism becomes embedded in the CPS's organizational culture and structure. The CPS's declared commitment to anti-racism and Indigenous reconciliation must become more than a statement of intent.

Although "planned change is difficult to achieve, especially when it is imposed by one group upon another" (Chan, 1996, p. 237), the CPS must be relentless in their efforts to restore trust with Black, Indigenous, and racialized communities. These communities must be actively engaged and involved in the process. All efforts to dismantle racism must be shared with communities. Often organizational attempts to engage in anti-racism work are viewed as performative. In response to social injustices, many organizations make statements of commitments to eradicate systemic racism, however, only a few follow through with these commitments. Organizations may also neglect to consistently update the public on their progress. When organizations fail to communicate the actions, they have taken since their initial statement of solidarity and commitment, communities may question whether organizations like the police can indeed create meaningful and lasting changes.

Although this report is intended to serve as a valuable resource to the CPS, the CPS must still collect additional data, including an inquiry into the ways in which police interact with racialized communities. Data collection is critical to increase police accountability and transparency. The CPS must also engage and collaborate with anti-racism scholars to help guide their various initiatives.

References

Alpert, G. P., Dunham, R. G., & Stroshine, M. S. (2006). *Policing: Continuity and change*, Waveland Press.

Alpert, G. P., & MacDonald, J. M. (2001). Police use of force: An analysis of organizational characteristics. *Justice Quarterly, 18*(2), 393-409. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07418820100094951

Andrade, J. M. (1985). *World police & paramilitary forces*. Macmillan.

Barak, A., Sutherland, A., Henstock, D., Young, J., Drover, P., Sykes, J., Megicks, S., & Henderson, R. (2017). "Contagious accountability": A global multisite randomized controlled trial on the effect of police body-worn cameras on citizens' complaints against the police. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 44*(2), 293-316. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0093854816668218

Barthelemy, J. J., Chaney, C., Maccio, E. M., & Church, I. W. (2016). Law enforcement perceptions of their relationship with community: Law enforcement surveys and community focus groups. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment, 26*(3-4), 413-429. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10911359.2016.1139992

BBC. (2020, June 22). *Police kill Canadian man during mental health check*. US & Canada News. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-53141449

Beede, B. R. (2008). The roles of paramilitary and militarized police. *Journal of Political & Military Sociology*, *36*(1), 53-63.

Bell, M. C. (2017). Police reform and the dismantling of legal estrangement. *Yale Law Journal, 126*, 2054–2150.

Ben-Porat, G. (2008.) Policing multicultural states: Lessons from the Canadian model. *Policing & Society, 18*(4), 411–425.

Blakemore, J. L., Barlow, D., & Padgett, D. L. (1995). From the classroom to the community: Introducing process in police diversity training. *Police Studies, 18*(1), 71-83. https://doi.org/10.1108/EUM0000000004470

Borrero, M. (2001). The widening mistrust between youth and police. *Families in Society, 82*(4), 399-408. https://doi.org/10.1606%2F1044-3894.180

Boston Police Department. (2020). *Boston Police reform task force: Recommendations to the mayor*. Boston Police Department. https://www.boston.gov/sites/default/files/file/2020/10/BPDreform-task-force-english.pdf

Boykin, C. M., Brown, N. D., Carter, J. T., Dukes, K., Green, D. J., Harrison, T., Hebl, M., McCleary-Gaddy, A., Membere, A., McJunkins, C. A., Simmons, C., Singletary Walker, S., Smith, A. N., & Williams, A. D. (2020). Anti-racist actions and accountability: Not more empty promises. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, *39*(7), 775-786. https://doi.org/10.1108/EDI-06-2020-0158

Brown, B., & Benedict, W. R. (2002). Perceptions of the police: Past findings, methodological issues, conceptual issues and policy implications. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management, 25*(3), 543–580. https://doi.org/10.1108/13639510210437032

Brunson, R. K., & Miller, J. (2006). Young black men and urban policing in the United States. *British Journal of Criminology, 46*(4), 613-640. http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azi093

Brunson, R., & Weitzer, R. (2009). Police relations with Black and White youths in different urban neighborhoods. *Urban Affairs Review*, *44*(6), 858–885. https://doi.org/10.1177/1078087408326973

Calgary Police Service. (n.d.). *Calgary Police commitment to anti-racism*. https://www.calgary.ca/cps/commitment-to-anti-racism.html

Calgary Police Service. (2019). *Report to Calgary Police Commission: CPS Strategic Indigenous Road Map*. https://www.calgarypolicecommission.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/June2019-CPS-Strategic-Indigenous-Roadmap.pdf

Calgary Police Service. (2021, May 5). *Recognizing Red Dress Day: Update on our Indigenous Roadmap.* City of Calgary Newsroom. https://newsroom.calgary.ca/recognizing-red-dress-day---update-on-our-indigenous-roadmap/

Calvert, C. M., Brady, S. S., & Jones-Webb, R. (2020). Perceptions of violent encounters between police and young Black men across stakeholder groups. *Journal of Urban Health, 97*(2), 279-295. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11524-019-00417-6

Carr, P. J., Napolitano, L., & Keating, J. (2007). We never call the cops and here is why: A qualitative examination of legal cynicism in three Philadelphia neighborhoods. *Criminology: An Interdisciplinary Journal, 45*(2), 445-480. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9125.2007.00084.x

Carmichael, J. T., & Kent, S. L. (2015). The use of lethal force by Canadian police officers: Assessing the influence of female police officers and minority threat explanations on police shootings across large cities. *American Journal of Criminal Justice, 40*(4), 703-721. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s12103-014-9283-1

Cashmore, E. (2002). Behind the window dressing: Ethnic minority police perspectives on cultural diversity. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 28*(2), 327-341. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13691830220124369

Chacko, J., & Nancoo, S. E. (Eds.). (1993). *Community policing in Canada*. Canadian Scholars' Press.

Chan, J. (1996). Changing police culture. *British Journal of Criminology*, *36*(1), 109–134. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordjournals.bjc.a014061

Chaney, C., & Robertson, R. (2013). Racism and police brutality in America. *Journal of African American Studies*, *17*(4), 480–505. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12111-013-9246-5

Chappell, A. T., & Lanza-Kaduce, L. (2009). Police Academy socialization: Understanding the lessons learned in a paramilitary-bureaucratic organization. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, *39*(2), 187–214. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891241609342230

City of Calgary. (2020, September 10). Agenda special meeting of council. Re: Meeting with The Calgary Police Commission and The Calgary Police Service. https://pub-calgary.escribemeetings.com/FileStream.ashx?DocumentId=138588

Closs, W. J., & McKenna, P. F. (2006). Profiling a problem in Canadian police leadership: The Kingston Police data collection project. *Canadian Public Administration, 49*(2), 143-160.

Conor, P., Carrière, S., Amey, S., Marcellus, S., & Sauvé, J. (2020). Police resources in Canada, 2019. *Statistics Canada*. https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/85-002-x/2020001/article/00015-eng.htm

Culbertson, H. M. (2000). A key step in police-community relations: Identify the divisive issues. *Public Relations Quarterly, 45*(1), 13-17.

David, B., Nixon, C., & Marks, M. (2006). What works, what doesn't, and what looks promising on police research networks. In J. Fleming & J. Wood (Eds.), *Fighting crime together: The challenges of policing and Security Networks* (pp. 170–194). University of New South Wales Press.

Dias, C. F., & Vaughn, M. S. (2006). Bureaucracy, managerial disorganization, and administrative breakdown in criminal justice agencies. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 34*(5), 543-56. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2006.09.009

DeGeneste, H. I., & Sullivan, J. P. (1997, July). *Policing a multicultural community*. Washington, DC: Police Executive Research Forum.

Duffin, E. (2021, February 2). N*umber of law enforcement officers U.S. 2004-2019. Demographics.*https://www.statista.com/statistics/191694/number-of-law-enforcement-officers-in-the-us/

Durham Region Police Service. (2020). *Equity and inclusion strategic plan, 2020-2022*. https://members.drps.ca/upload_files/20202022EquityandInclusionPlan.pdf

Epp, C. R., Maynard-Moody, S., Haider-Markel, D. P. (2014). *Pulled over: How police stops define race and citizenship.* University of Chicago Press. https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226114040.001.0001

Fagan, J., & Davies, G. (2000). Street stops and broken windows: Terry, race, and disorder in New York City. *Fordham Urban Law Journal, 28*, 457–504. https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/ulj/vol28/iss2/2

Fan, M. D. (2018). Body cameras, big data, and police accountability. *Law & Social Inquiry, 43*(4), 1236-1256. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/lsi.12354

Feagin, J. R. (1991). The continuing significance of race: Antiblack discrimination in public places. *American Sociological Review*, *56*(1), 101–116. https://doi.org/10.2307/2095676

Fedina, L., Backes, B. L., Hyun-Jin, J., DeVylder, J., & Barth, R. P. (2019). Police legitimacy, trustworthiness, and associations with intimate partner violence. *Policing, 42*(5), 901-916. http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/PIJPSM-04-2019-0046

Fridell, L., Lunney, R., Diamond, D., Kubu, B., Scott, M., & Laing, C. (2001). Racially biased

policing: A principled response. *Washington, DC: Police Executive Research Forum*.

Fridell, L., & Lim, H. (2016). Assessing the racial aspects of police force using the implicit-and counter-bias perspectives. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 44*, 36-48. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2015.12.001

Fyfe, N. (2016). Policing Scotland post-reform: Towards a shifting 'culture of control' and a new politics of policing? In H. Croall, G. Mooney & M. Munro (Eds.), *Crime, Justice, and society in Scotland* (pp. 179–193). Routledge.

Fyfe, N. R. (2017). The changing ecology and equity of policing: some implications of reconfiguring boundaries in an era of police reform. In N. R. Fyfe, H. O. Gundhus, & K. V. Rønn (Eds.), *Moral issues in intelligence-led policing* (pp. 246–261). Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

Fyfe, N. R. (2019). The challenges of change: Exploring the dynamics of police reform in Scotland. *International Journal of Police Science & Management*, *21*(4), 196-205.

Gau, J. M., & Brunson, R. K. (2010). Procedural justice and order maintenance policing: A study of inner-city young men's perceptions of police legitimacy. *Justice Quarterly, 27*(2), 255–279. https://doi.org/10.1080/07418820902763889

Gau, J. M. (2011). The convergent and discriminant validity of procedural justice and police legitimacy: An empirical test of core theoretical propositions. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 39*(6), 489-498. https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2011.09.004

Gau, J. M., & Brunson, R. K. (2015). Procedural injustice, lost legitimacy, and self-help: Young males' adaptations to perceived unfairness in urban policing tactics. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice, 31*(2), 132–150. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1043986214568841

Gelman, A., Fagan, J., & Kiss, A. (2007). An analysis of the New York City police department's "stop-and-frisk" policy in the context of claims of racial bias. *Journal of the American Statistical Association, 102*(479), 813-823. http://dx.doi.org/10.1198/016214506000001040

Giwa, S. (2018). Community policing in racialized communities: A potential role for police social work. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment, 28*(6), 710–730. https://doi.org/10.1080/10911359.2018.1456998

Glowatski, K., Jones, N. A., & Carleton, R. N. (2017). Bridging police and communities through relationship: The importance of a theoretical foundation for restorative policing. *Restorative Justice*, *5*(2), 267-292.

Gray, K., & Stohr-Gillmore, M. K. (1991). Adapting participatory management for a paramilitary organization: The implementation of teams in the Washington State Patrol. *American Journal of Police*, *10*(4), 27-47.

Greater Manchester Police. (2018, May). Equality, diversity and human rights strategy 2018– 2021. https://www.gmp.police.uk/SysSiteAssets/media/downloads/greater-manchester/about-us/gmp-equality-diversity-human-rights-strategy-2018-21.pdf

Guajardo, S. A. (2016). Ethnic diversity in policing: An application of quantile regression to the New York City Police Department. *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice, 14*(4), 254-289. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15377938.2016.1187236

Gustafson, J. (2013). Diversity in municipal police agencies: A national examination of minority hiring and promotion. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management, 36*(4), 719–736. https://doi.org/10.1108/PIJPSM-01-2013-0005

Gould, L. A. (1997). Can an old dog be taught new tricks? Teaching cultural diversity to police officers. *Policing, 20*(2), 339. http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/13639519710169171

Hill, S., & Beger, R. (2009). A paramilitary policing juggernaut. *Social Justice*, *36*(115), 25–40.

Hodgson, J. F. (2001). Police violence in Canada and the USA: Analysis and management. *International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, *24*(1), 520-551.

Kahn, K. B., & Martin, K. D. (2016). Policing and race: Disparate treatment, perceptions, and policy responses. *Social Issues and Policy Review, 10*(1), 82-121. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/sipr.12019

Kahn, K. B., Steele, J. S., McMahon, J. M., & Stewart, G. (2017). How suspect race affects police use of force in an interaction over time. *Law and Human Behavior, 41*(2), 117-126. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/lhb0000218

Kane, R. J. (2002). The social ecology of police misconduct. *Criminology, 40*(4)*,* 867–896. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9125.2002.tb00976.x

Kearns, E. M. (2017). Why are some officers more supportive of community policing with minorities than others? *Justice Quarterly*, *34*(7), 1213-1245.

Jiwani, Y. (2019). The criminalization of "race," the racialization of crime. In W. Chan and K. Mirchandani (Eds.), *Crimes of colour: Racialization and the criminal justice system in Canada* (pp. 67-86). University of Toronto Press. https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442602502-005

Jones, T. (2008). The accountability of policing. In T. Newburn (Ed.), *Handbook of Policing* (pp. 693-724). Routledge.

Jordan, W. T., Fridell, L., Faggiani, D., & Kubu, B. (2009). Attracting females and racial/ethnic minorities to law enforcement. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, *37*(4), 333-341.

Lamin, S. A., & Teboh, C. (2016). Police social work and community policing. *Cogent Social Sciences, 2*(1), 1-13. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2016.1212636

Leatherby, L., & Oppel Jr, R. A. (2020, September 23). Which police services are as diverse as communities? *The New York Times.* https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/09/23/us/bureau-justice-statistics-race.html

Lee, H., Jang, H., Yun, I., Lim, H., & Tushaus, D. W. (2010). An examination of police use of force utilizing police training and neighborhood contextual factors: A multilevel analysis. *Policing, 33*(4), 681-702. http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/13639511011085088

Lee, H., & Vaughn, M. S. (2010). Organizational factors that contribute to police deadly force liability. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 38*(2), 193-206. https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2010.02.001

Leighton, B. N. (1991). Visions of community policing: Rhetoric and reality in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Criminology*, *33*(3-4), 485-522.

Mallory, C., Hasenbush, A., & Sears, B. (2015). *Discrimination and harassment by law enforcement officers in the LGBT community.* Williams Institute: UCLA School of Law.

Marcoux, J., & Nicholson, K. (2018). *Deadly force: Fatal encounters with police in Canada 2000-2017*. CBC News. https://www.falconers.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Deadly-force-CBC-News.pdf

Marcoux, J., Nicholson, K., & Kubinec, V. L. (2016, July 14). Police diversity fails to keep pace with Canadian populations. *CBC*. Available from: https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/police-diversity-canada-1.3677952

Mastrofski, S. D., Snipes, J. B., & Supina, A. E. (1996). Compliance on demand: The public's response to specific police requests. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 33*(3), 269–305. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022427896033003001

Mastrofski, S. D., Reisig, M. D., & McCluskey, J. D. (2002). Police disrespect toward the public: An encounter-based analysis. *Criminology, 40*(3), 519-552. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9125.2002.tb00965.x

Mastrofski, S. D., & Willis, J. J. (2010). Police organization continuity and change: Into the twenty-first century. *Crime and Justice*, *39*(1), 55-144.

Maynard, R. (2020). Police abolition/Black revolt. TOPIA: *Canadian Journal of Cultural Studies*, *41*, 70-78.

McMurray, A., Karim, A., & Fisher, G. (2010). Perspectives on the recruitment and retention of culturally and linguistically diverse police. *Cross Cultural Management: An International Journal*, *17*(2), 193–210. https://doi.org/10.1108/13527601011038741

Meng, Y. (2017). Profiling minorities: Police stop and search practices in Toronto, Canada. *Human Geographies, 11*(1), 5-23. http://dx.doi.org/10.5719/hgeo.2017.111.1

Meng, Y., Giwa, S., & Anucha, U. (2015). Is there racial discrimination in police stop-and-searches of Black youth? A Toronto case study. *Canadian Journal of Family and Youth*, *7*(1), 115–148. https://doi.org/10.29173/cjfy24301

Metz, I., & Kulik, C. T. (2008). Making public organizations more inclusive: A case study of the Victoria Police Force. *Human Resource Management*, *47*(2), 369–387. https://doi.org/10.1002/hrm.20217

Mohanty, S., & Mohanty, R. K. (2014). *Community policing as a public policy: Challenges and* recommendations. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Mullings, D. V., Morgan, A., & Quelleng, H. K. (2016). Canada the great white North where anti-Black racism thrives: Kicking down the doors and exposing the realities. *Phylon*, *53*(1), 20–41. http://www.jstor.org/stable/phylon1960.53.1.20

Myhill, A., & Bradford, B. (2013). Overcoming cop culture? Organizational justice and police officers' attitudes toward the public. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management, 36*(2), 338-356. http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/13639511311329732

Neustaeter, B. (2021, May 25). *One year after George Floyd's death, where does 'defund the police' stand in Canada? CTV News Canada*. https://www.ctvnews.ca/canada/one-year-after-george-floyd-s-death-where-does-defund-the-police-stand-in-canada-1.5441519

New York City Police Department. (2021). *NYC police reform and reinvention collaborative draft plan. New York City, New York City Police Department.* https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/home/downloads/pdf/reports/2021/Final-Policing-Report.pdf

New Zealand Police. (2019a). *Working together with ethnic communities – The future: Police ethnic strategy*. https://www.police.govt.nz/sites/default/files/publications/plc440-police-ethnicstrategy.pdf

New Zealand Police. (2019b). *Working together with ethnic communities – The future: Implementation plan*. https://www.police.govt.nz/sites/default/files/publications/plc440-ethnicstrategies-implementation-plan.pdf

Niagara Regional Police Service. (2020). *Be who we serve: 2020-2022 diversity, equity & inclusion strategic plan*. https://www.niagarapolice.ca/en/who-we-are/resources/2020--2022-DiversityEquity-and-Inclusion-Strategic-Plan.pdf

Novak, K. J. (2004). Disparity and racial profiling in traffic enforcement. *Police Quarterly, 7*(1), 65-96. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1098611102250359

O'Brien, T. C., & Tyler, T. R. (2019). Rebuilding trust between police & communities through procedural justice & reconciliation. *Behavioral Science & Policy, 5*(1), 34–50. https://doi.org/10.1353/bsp.2019.0003

Ottawa Police Service. (2020). *2020 Equity, diversity, and inclusion (EDI) action plan draft progress report.* https://www.ottawapolice.ca/en/news-and-community/resources/EDI/V2-2020-EDIAction-Plan-Progress-Report.pdf

Peck, J. H. (2015). Minority perceptions of the police: A state-of-the-art review. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management, 38*(1), 173–203. https://doi.org/10.1108/13639510210437032

Potter, H. (2010). I don't think a cop has ever asked me if I was ok: Battered women's experiences with police intervention. In V. Garcia & J. E. Clifford (Eds.), *Female victims of crime: Reality reconsidered* (pp. 191-212). Prentice Hall.

Pryce, D. K., & Chenane, J. L. (2021). Trust and confidence in police officers and the institution of policing: The views of African Americans in the American South. *Crime and Delinquency, 67*(6-7), 808-838. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0011128721991823

Ramirez, D., McDevitt, J., & Ferrell, A. (2000). *A resource guide on racial profiling data collection: Promising practices and lessons learned.* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice. https://www.ojp.gov/ncjrs/virtual-library/abstracts/resource-guide-racial-profiling-data-collections-systems-promising

Reiner, R. (2010). *The politics of the police.* Oxford University Press.

Reisig, M. D., & Parks, R. B. (2000). Experience, quality of life, and neighborhood context: A hierarchical analysis of satisfaction with police. *Justice Quarterly, 17*(3), 607-630. https://doi.org/10.1080/07418820000094681

Reiss, A. J. (1992). Police organization in the Twentieth Century. *Crime and Justice*, *15,* 51–97. https://doi.org/10.1086/449193

Renauer, B. C., & Covelli, E. (2011). Examining the relationship between police experiences and perceptions of police bias. *Policing, 34*(3), 497-514. http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/13639511111157537

Ridgeway, G. (2007). *Analysis of racial disparities in the New York Police Department's stop, question, and frisk practices.* Rand Corporation. https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/technical_reports/2007/RAND_TR534.pdf

Rigaux, C., & Cunningham, J. B. (2021). Enhancing recruitment and retention of visible minority police officers in Canadian policing agencies. *Policing and Society*, *31*(4), 454–482. https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2020.1750611

Royal Canadian Mounted Police [RCMP]. (2021a). *Equity, diversity and inclusion at the RCMP: Questions and answers*. https://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/en/equity-diversity-and-inclusion-the-rcmp-questions-and-answers?wbdisable=true

Royal Canadian Mounted Police [RCMP]. (2021b). *Advancing equity, accountability and trust in the RCMP*. https://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/vision150/way-forward-voie-suivre-eng.htm

San Francisco Police Department. (2020). *Racial equity and inclusion action plan: Phase I. San Francisco Police Department*. https://www.sanfranciscopolice.org/sites/default/files/2020-12/SFPDNewRacialEquityPlan.20201231.pdf

Schein, E. H. (2017). *Organizational culture and leadership*. Wiley.

Schroedel, J. R., Frisch, S., Hallamore, N., Peterson, J., & Vanderhosrt, N. (1996). The joint impact of race and gender on police department employment practices. *Women & Criminal Justice, 8*(2), 59–77. https://doi.org/10.1300/J012v08n02_04

Scobell, A., & Hammitt, B. (1995). Goons, gunmen, and gendarmerie: Toward a reconceptualization of paramilitary formations. *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, *26*(2), 213-227.

Seagrave, J. (1996). Defining community policing. *American Journal of Police*.

Service de police de l'agglomération de Longueuil. (2015, March). *Plan d'action pour contrer le racisme et la discrimination 2015-2017*.

https://www3.longueuil.quebec/sites/longueuil/files/documents/plan_daction_pour_contrer_le_racisme_et_la_discrimination_2.pdf

Sklansky, D. A. (2006). Not your father's police department: Making sense of the new demographics of law enforcement. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 96*(3), 1209–1244.

Skogan, W. G. (2005). Citizen satisfaction with police encounters. *Police Quarterly, 8*(3), 298–321. https://doi.org/10.1177/1098611104271086

Skolnick, J. (2002). Corruption and the blue code of silence. *Police Practice and Research*, *3*(1), 7–19. https://doi.org/10.1080/15614260290011309

Solomon, S. J. (2019). How do the components of procedural justice and driver race influence encounter-specific perceptions of police legitimacy during traffic stops? *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 46*(8), 1200–1216. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0093854819859606

Statistics Canada. (2017). *Immigration and ethnocultural diversity: Key results from the 2016 Census*. https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/171025/dq171025b-eng.htm

Stinson, P. M., Todak, N. E., & Dodge, M. (2015). An exploration of crime by policewomen. *Police Practice and Research*, *16*(1), 79–93. https://doi.org/10.1080/15614263.2013.846222

Sunshine, J., & Tyler, T. R. (2003). The role of procedural justice and legitimacy in shaping public support for policing. *Law & Society Review, 37*(3), 513–548. https://doi.org/10.1111/1540-5893.3703002

Tankebe, J. (2008). Police effectiveness and police trustworthiness in Ghana: An empirical appraisal. *Criminology & Criminal Justice, 8*(2), 185–202. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1748895808088994

Tankebe, J. (2013). Viewing things differently: The dimensions of public perceptions of police legitimacy. *Criminology, 51*(1), 103–135. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9125.2012.00291.x

Terrill, W. (2003). Police use of force and suspect resistance: The micro process of the police–suspect encounter. *Police Quarterly, 6*(1)*,* 51–83. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1098611102250584

Terrill, W., & Mastrofski, S. D. (2002). Situational and officer-based determinants of police coercion. *Justice Quarterly, 19*(2), 215-248. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07418820200095221

Terrill, W., & Reisig, M. D. (2003). Neighborhood context and police use of force. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 40*(3), 291–321. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022427803253800

Toch, H. (2008). Police officers as change agents in police reform. *Policing & Society*, *18*(1), 60-71. https://doi.org/10.1080/10439460701718575

Toronto Police Service. (2020). *Police reform in Toronto: Systemic racism, alternative community safety and crisis response models and building new confidence in public safety.* https://www.toronto.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/8e5a-public_agenda_aug_18.pdf

Tyler, T. R. (2004). Enhancing police legitimacy. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 593*(1), 84-99.

Tyler, T. R., & Fagan, J. (2008). Legitimacy and cooperation: Why do people help the police fight crime in their communities? *Ohio State Journal of Criminal Law, 6*, 231–276. https://digitalcommons.law.yale.edu/fss_papers/3037/

Tyler, T. R., Fagan, J., & Geller, A. (2014). Street stops and police legitimacy: Teachable moments in young urban men's legal socialization. *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies, 11*(4), 751–785. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1043986214568841

Tyler, T. R., & Jackson, J. (2014). Popular legitimacy and the exercise of legal authority: Motivating compliance, cooperation, and engagement. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law, 20*(1), 78–96. https://doi.apa.org/doi/10.1037/a0034514

Tyler, T. R., & Waslak, C. J. (2004). Profiling and police legitimacy: Procedural justice, attributions of motive, and acceptance of police authority. *Criminology, 42*(2), 253–81.

Vallée, M. (2010). A historical overview of crime prevention initiatives in Canada: A federal perspective. *International Journal of Child, Youth & Family Studies, 1*(1), 21-52. http://dx.doi.org/10.18357/ijcyfs112010172

Vermeer, M. J., Woods, D., & Jackson, B. A. (2020). *Would law enforcement leaders support defunding the police? Probably-if communities ask police to solve fewer problems*. RAND Corporation. https://www.rand.org/pubs/perspectives/PEA108-1.html

Walsh, D. P. J., & Conway, V. (2011). Police governance and accountability: Overview of current issues. *Crime, Law and Social Change, 55*(2-3), 61-86. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10611-011-9269-6

Warren, O. (2011). Perceptions of police disrespect during vehicle traffic stops: A race-based analysis. *Crime & Delinquency, 57*(3), 356–376. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0011128708316177

Weitzer, R., & Tuch, S. A. (2004). Race and perceptions of police misconduct. *Social Problems*, *51*(3), 305–325. https://doi.org/10.1525/sp.2004.51.3.305

Weitzer, R., & Tuch, S.A. (2005). Racially biased policing: Determinants of citizen perceptions. *Social Forces, 83*(3), 1009-1030. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3598267

Wilson, C. P., Wilson, S. A., Luthar, H. K., & Bridges, M. R. (2013). Recruiting for diversity in law enforcement: An evaluation of practices used by state and local agencies. *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice, 11*(4), 238–255. https://doi.org/10.1080/15377938.2012.762755

Wilson, C. P., Wilson, S. A., & Gwann, M. (2016). Identifying barriers to diversity in law enforcement agencies. *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice, 14*(4), 231-253. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15377938.2016.1187234

Wortley, S., & Owusu-Bempah, A. (2011). The usual suspects: Police stop and search practices in Canada. *Policing and Society*, *21*(4), 395–407. https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2011.610198

Yusuf, Y. (2015). Police culture and change: The case of Compstat in police organizations. *Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, *34*, 107-121.