Reconstructing Risk: Policing and the Use of Force in the Age of *COPS*

by

Aaron D'Onofrio-Jones

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
through Sociology, Anthropology and Criminology
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Arts at the
University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

2010

Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-70577-3
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-70577-3

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby certify that I am the sole author of this thesis and that no part of this thesis has been published or submitted for publication.

I certify that, to the best of my knowledge, my thesis does not infringe upon anyone's copyright nor violate any proprietary rights and that any ideas, techniques, quotations, or any other material from the work of other people included in my thesis, published or otherwise, are fully acknowledged in accordance with the standard referencing practices. Furthermore, to the extent that I have included copyrighted material that surpasses the bounds of fair dealing within the meaning of the Canada Copyright Act, I certify that I have obtained a written permission from the copyright owner(s) to include such material(s) in my thesis and have included copies of such copyright clearances to my appendix.

I declare that this is a true copy of my thesis, including any final revisions, as approved by my thesis committee and the Graduate Studies office, and that this thesis has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other University or Institution.

ABSTRACT

The training of new police recruits emphasizes the ability and willingness to use force in many different situations. Although the use of force is viewed as a given attribute of police work in North America, little attention is given to the process by which recruits are formally and informally trained to manage potentially volatile use of force situations. Through the use of a cultural criminological perspective this study examines the crime and policing related discourses presented in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police's Incident Management/Intervention Model (IM/IM) use of force training module. Following, this the study discusses the potential role that the images presented in the reality television program *COPS* may have on the construction and interpretation of crime, criminality, risk and situations that may ultimately shape or influence how force is deployed by police officers in Canada. Furthermore, this study delves into the apparent discursive relation between *COPS* and the IM/IM and discusses some possible repercussions of shaping use of force interactions based on the media-generated images of risk, crime discourses, the criminal, criminalization, the police, the public and the suspect.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my family.

To my beautiful wife and daughter: Without your love and unwavering support it would not have been possible to complete this thesis. You are my inspiration.

And to my wonderful parents and sister: Without you I would never have had the opportunity, courage and dedication to go this far with my education.

Thank you all so much.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank my advisor Dr. Danielle Soulliere. Thank you for always being there to advocate for me throughout, to listen to my thoughts and ideas and for taking the time to work on this thesis with me.

Second, I would like to thank my committee. Thank you Dr. Amy Fitzgerald for all your support, comments and direction. Thank you Dr. Phil Graniero for helping out when I thought all hope was lost. Thank you both for all the assistance you selflessly gave.

And finally, I would be lost if I did not thank my friend and fellow student Blair Wilkinson who traipsed through this university adventure by my side. We shared many laughs, undignified confusions, crazy ideas, and too many projects and presentations to number. Your support and constant scholastic role-modeling served as an inspiration for me in the dark days of this project.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Over the past few decades policing has evolved to meet public demand to reduce incivility and criminal activity. With increased public pressure policing organizations have turned to technology and tactics to manage crime and criminal activity that is portrayed as increasingly dangerous, violent and opportunistic. Today's police agencies employ a vast array of technological advancements and force options that allow officers to quickly gain compliance over an unruly suspect. Advances in technology have also brought more stringent controls, conditions and policies associated with the use of force, especially in the Canadian context. Such policy documents as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police's Incident Management/Intervention Model (IM/IM) serves to teach and guide all use of force actions by police agencies in Canada (see RCMP, 2008). This document serves to direct and legitimate the RCMP officer's use of force by teaching a curriculum that focuses on the actions of the suspect at times of interaction with police. However, as technological and political advances come and go, one aspect remains the same: An officer using force must be able to articulate an appropriate level of risk to the public or themselves to justify the force used.

The advances in the use of force toolbox were mirrored by another, seemingly independent phenomenon deployed in the mass media. The advent of reality entertainment media over the past few decades has given scholars countless phenomena to evaluate. Important to this study is the recent increase in the number of reality programs that are devoted to the criminal justice system, and policing more pointedly

(Holbrook and Hill, 2005; Chiricos, Padgett & Gertz. 2000). The traditional positivistic approach to analyzing these programs would be to statistically evaluate reality programming and compare the analysis to the actual statistic reality of the criminal justice system. Studies (see Soulliere, 2008; Fishman, 1999; Oliver, 1994) have done this to varying degrees, finding that reality policing media tend to be inaccurate in their description of the many facets of police work (i.e. clearance rates, general operations and deployment) and of criminality in general. This study aims to touch on these inaccuracies through a description and comparison of discourses related to the use of force and risk assessment in an official training document (IM/IM) and a reality policing program (*COPS*). Each of these media texts may potentially influence police decision making in the field, as wells as recruits in training, acculturate hopefuls and viewers alike to the presented constructions of crime. Through the use of cultural criminology this study describes and compares the discursive promotions of each form of media text and details the potential transmittance of these discourses and a generalized understanding of crime, criminality, the police, and the use of force. It is important to point out that this study aims to be an initial step toward providing a framework for future research into this subject area in hopes of developing better conflict strategy, policy, training and controls for both the police and the public.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Cultural Criminology

Cultural criminology seems to be the most appropriate theory to use as a starting point when discussing crime, crime control and criminal justice in association with the mass media. This is because cultural criminology holds at its core the assertion that humans, on a fundamental level, are instrumental in their own construction of social meaning through lived experience, perceived experience and presentation, which ultimately leads to ideological constructions of right and wrong (Ferrell, 2004; Presdee, 2004). Other theoretical approaches such as some positivistic methods compare statistical information to actual use of force incidents or police statistics on arrest rates and crime typology. However these studies miss out on the experiential value of crime media and the pervasive interpretation of the material to viewers. A governance study model may look too far into the ability of media images to govern society or become too conspiratorial. Both approaches would not adequately indicate where the media images may possibly account for personal experience.

Through the use of media institution and personal experience, cultural criminology approaches the analysis of crime with the notion that humans are able and willing to shape their understanding of society, crime and social phenomena based on the images with which they are presented. Therefore, following a constructivist perspective, it is understood that crime and transgression are seen as a personal/collective response to cultural presentations of crime and interpretations of the discursive connection between crime and the media (Ferrell, 2007; 1999). Thus crime and reality are seen as a social

construction of meaning based on the interplay between rule enforcement and breaking (Hayward & Young, 2004; Ferrell, 1999). To analyze this, cultural criminology takes many perspectives into account including, but not limited to: postmodern perspectives, symbolic interaction, phenomenology, left realism, and reception analysis when discussing the media and its effects (Hayward & Young, 2004; Jewkes, 2004; Presdee, 2004; Ferrell 1999). Especially important to this analysis, as well as to cultural criminology as a theory, is the integration of ideas founded in cultivation theory and analysis, which suggests that television content contributes to how one understands social reality (Morgan, Shanahan & Signorielli, 2008; Gerbner 1998).

For the purposes of this study it is important to approach the media as a cultural construct or tool in the construction of social realities because this could adequately indicate the informative power the media (in various forms, including official policy documents, news documents and television entertainment and news programs) may have over the everyday lives of individuals and groups and therefore exposes the organizational and discursive dynamics that lie under the surface of the interaction between the media and individuals (Chermak, 1998). As Ferrell (1999) explains, "Such dynamics demonstrate the entangled reality of crime, crime news, and crime entertainment, and suggest that as mediated crime constructions come to be defined as real." (408). Thus, cultural criminology as an approach, through associated methodologies such as discourse analysis, qualitative content analysis and participant observation, attempts to flesh out the mediated reality of crime and expose it as a construct of mediated culture and not as social fact. To this end cultural criminology is the most appropriate approach to utilize when researching the mediated depiction of

crime and policing organizations, and their interrelated activities. This is especially true in this research as I intend to understand the discourses of risk and force presented in various cultural media texts (policy documents and policing related TV) and explain how they could potentially influence the risk assessments performed by officers in their field of work. Cultural criminology is a useful approach to investigate how these incidents are presented in the media as reality and how the media depictions relate to use of force policy in Canada. Furthermore cultural criminology helps to guide the examination of the conjunction of these two cultural constructs (televised policing programs and official public policy) and assists researchers in understanding the effect that both may have on police officers when they perform risk assessments in the field.

The Reality of Policing Television

It is becoming increasingly relevant for scholars to analyze television news and entertainment media as cultural productions that aid in the constructions of ideologies about crime and criminal justice. Television itself has the capability to relay information to a vast audience. Like no other medium, (save for possibly the Internet, which may be more of an information access tool) television has the capability to reach every member of a population and, because of its widespread accessibility and influence, television programming normally has a large impact on what is interpreted as reality (especially with the advent of reality-tv) (Morgan, Shanahan & Signorielli, 2008, Murray and Oullette, 2008; Holbrook and Hill, 2005, Bourdieu, 1998). Furthermore, it is suggested that television has become the most depended upon source of news, information and entertainment which may now only be being eclipsed by the increased use of the internet to obtain information and television programming (Anderson and Raban, 2008).

Similarly, Surette (1991) discusses how media have been able to disseminate dominant ideologies "...by making its portrayals available to every social, economic and intellectual stratum" (25). To a further extent Robinson (2000) states that the media is the one institution that is capable of, and in fact does, socialize entire populations to understand subjective ideological conditions (i.e. Race, class, sexuality etc.). Ericson, Baranek & Chan (1989) submit that among other forces, the media are involved in a cultural exchange of meaning that in effect produces news reports that are a production of this exchange, and not necessarily an open window into reality itself. These conceptions highlight the importance of the media as either wholly or partly responsible for the construction and socialization of dominant ideologies within the public, including police officers.

Altheide (1976) and Altheide and Michalowski (1999) explain that the news media uses a complex form of dominant reality construction where journalists and reporters take the actual events out of the real world and portray them as news. In doing this, news media outlets actually recontextualize the events to fit programming and ideological preconceptions. The media thus package images as news or entertainment and "in turn [viewers] remake the meaning of these encounters within the symbolic interaction of their own lives" (Ferrell, 1999:411). Thus, the news media are involved in the construction of social events and a portrayal of reality that can then be marketed and disseminated to a variety of individuals and groups to interpret as reality (Jewkes, 2004; Sacco 1995; Ericson et al., 1989). Through the language, images and communication used by the media, people are enabled to experience a social reality that is not necessarily reality at all, but rather is a fabrication of social reality asserted by the mediated

representation and production of real life events (McRobbie and Thornton, 1995). As Bourdieu (1998:22) explains, "One thing leads to another, and, ultimately television, which claims to record reality, creates it instead. We are getting closer and closer to the point where the social world is primarily described - and in a sense prescribed - by television".

In terms of crime, the media has had much to say in how crime is constructed and interpreted. Crime media tend to serve as a cultural resource of information and entertainment that creates a "reservoir of images and stories on which viewers draw when they think about the causes of crime" (Rafer, 2006: 61). Greer, Ferrell and Jewkes (2007) agree that the images put forth in the media greatly influence our understandings of crime and the criminal justice system. This is also echoed by Ferrell (1999), who maintains that "[w]ith crime control as with crime ... media dynamics construct experience and perception" (412). In news and entertainment media, crime is constantly portrayed as violent, fast-paced, consequential and not at all in accordance with the actual fundamentals of victimology and criminology. Instead it is more aligned with crime myths (i.e. stranger danger is more prevalent, law and order prevails and criminals are typically rational) (Monk-Turner, Martinez, Holbrook & Harvey, 2007; Robinson 2000; Sacco, 1995; Christensen, Schmidt & Henderson, 1982). The pictures of crime painted by media outlets are not accurate in comparison to described experiences of true crime or official crime statistics[1] which indicate a steady decline in violent crime rates since 1994 (Bureau of Justice Stats, 2008; StatsCan, 2008). The misrepresentation of crime,

[1] Official crime statistics are not devoid of criticism in terms of representing crime in society. These stats, generally generated by policing services or governments, tend to under represent lesser violent crimes and multiple crimes and tend to be somewhat biased to the current policing and government climate (see Waddington, 2003).

therefore, tends to mirror more dramatic sensationalized depictions of crime that are not wholly representative of crime and criminality (Fox et al, 2007; Harcourt 2007, Robinson, 2000; Sacco, 1995; Christensen, Schmidt and Henderson, 1982). Furthermore the increased technology associated with crime media (CCTV, camcorders, hidden cameras and voice recorders) tend to be focal points of news and entertainment media and, when those are not available, dramatic reenactments are utilized to give the viewer a feeling of being at the scene (Haggerty and Ericson, 2000). This adds to the inaccurate content that is being portrayed as the truth of crime; however, as Sacco (1995) mentions these are all fabrications of actual crimes and are sensationalized to fit the entertainment agenda needed for television.

Portrayals of crime as sensationalized and inaccurate to form and function tend to have been the norm on television. Crime programming now takes up the single largest portion of viewership and program genres on television (Surette, 2007) continually scoring at approximately 20 of the top 60 broadcast television programs based on Weekly Nielsen Media Ratings in 2009 (Gorman, 2009), and is increasingly being portrayed as more and more violent (Cotter, De Lint and O'Connor, 2008; Anderson and Bushman, 2002; 2001; Sacco, 1995). With this sort of exposure it is little wonder that the construction of crime in the media might cultivate an understanding of the world as "mean and dangerous" (Oliver, 1994: 179) and an understanding of crime as overly violent and caused by racial and/or socio-economic conditions (Ericson, 2007; Fox, Van Sickel & Steiger, 2007; Harcourt, 2007; Robinson, 2000; Oliver and Armstrong, 1999; Ferrell, 1998;Gerbner, 1998; Kooistra, Mahoney & Westervelt, 1998).

These constructions of crime tend to fit into a dominant reality or prospective dominant reality. A dominant reality is best described as a reality believed to exist and is accepted by a majority of a population. Gamson et al. (1992) explain that a prospective dominant reality is best understood as an ideal reality believed attainable by majority of a population. Media strategies for entertainment and sales tend to mirror the political strategies to illuminate certain risks or social issues in modern society (McRobbie and Thornton, 1995). These risks will often coincide with the media in a production that can govern how others think and act as well as shape public perceptions and disseminate dominant ideologies of crime and risk (Beland, 2005; Ericson and Haggerty, 1997). These dominant ideologies are easily defined as what the majority of the population share and think about crime. The literature points to certain dominant ideologies in society including the persistence of a law and order mentality (those who commit crime will invariably be brought to justice and get what they deserve in the process), the racialization of crime (minorities commit more crime), the ageism of crime (youth commit more crime) and the inherent violence involved in crime as discussed above. All of these ideologies, factual or not, tend to cloud the dominant ideology of what crime is in North America (Kooistra, P. & Mahoney, J., 1999; Reinarman, C. & Duskin, C., 1999; McRobbie and Thornton, 1995; Oliver, 1994).

Today there seems to be a more pronounced blurring of media productions and reality. With the advent of reality television programming, entertainment programs have become a commentary of public life. Reality television programming that deals with the topics of crime and crime control tend to bridge the gap between news and entertainment into a hybrid production that could have a greater potential to influence the behaviours of

individuals because of its portrayals of real life situations (Oliver, 1994). These 'real-life' situations have immense potential to inform individual ideologies because, as portrayals of 'real-life', the scenes have the ability to imbed in the viewer a sense of life experience, which they can attribute to their own life actions (Doyle, 1999; Oliver & Armstrong, 1999). When focused on policing these reality programs use interviews, live action sequences and successful arrests to present an occupation that is not accurately consistent with the actual reality of policing. Reality policing programs depict an occupation that is fast paced, extremely violent, dangerous, and overly successful because of the use of force. These are not representative of real policing work which is usually characterized by order maintenance operations, non-crime related public service calls and report writing (Cotteret al., 2008; Soulliere, 2004; Doyle, 2003; Fishman, 1999; Fishman and Cavender, 1999; Oliver, 1994). Nonetheless, these programs still retain adequate potential to be recognized as reality by the viewers due to their popularity, their thematic, ride-along genre and their capability to reach more members of the public than will actually ever be in contact with the police on a first hand basis (Oliver, 2006; Soulliere, 2004; Doyle, 2003; Fishman, 1999; Fishman and Cavender, 1999). Furthermore, all-reality based policing television programs depict some sort of visual violence as an acceptable means to diffuse conflict with suspects (Oliver and Armstrong, 1999). This may not be in accordance with actual policing use of force guidelines such as the IM/IM, but nonetheless is distributed to the public through this genre of television as a fact of the policing occupation and, as discussed above, has great potential to inform their understandings of police work (Soulliere, 2004; Bourdieu, 1998).

Moreover, the picture painted by reality policing media not only depicts policing

activities but also constructs ideologies of crime causation, criminality and social reality. As discussed above, many media productions portray crime as far more violent, racially and socially motivated and far more pervasive than is actually statistically relevant (Harding, 1998; Sacco, 1995; Oliver, 1994). However, these images and ideologies about crime are now being presented in the media as reality. Some argue that these reality images are disseminated in order to police society and enforce certain values, while simultaneously reaffirming statistical crime myths and informing public order policy (Hornqvist, 2004; Doyle, 2003). For example, Hornqvist (2004) discusses how public order policies such as order maintenance laws (association, assembling in groups etc.) and the criminalization of certain groups stem from a publicized fear of actions and groups and thus gain public support for conservative crime control policies against many segments of the population. Many reality-policing programs use camera tricks, editing and police commentary to keep up the ideological appearance that is put forth in the media and thus perpetuate myths and fears of crime in the general public which may lead to public support of policies that could enable the police to control crime more efficiently from their point of view (Horqvist, 2004; Doyle, 2003; 1999).

Furthermore, it becomes apparent that there is some sort of media and policing co-organization at play. Many scholars have contended that policing institutions use the media as a forum (or vice versa; for example see Haggerty and Ericson, 2000) to divulge their ideologies of crime and have the public sympathize with the plight of the police or other political strategies in order to promote a law and order police mentality. This further influences the public and police to believe that policing is, as presented, an increasingly necessary institution in need of growth to control the crime problem (Cotter

et al., 2008; Hier, 2008; Ericson, 2007; Hornqvist, 2004; Lawrence, 2000; Ferrell, 1999; Barak, 1994; Kasinsky, 1994). Doyle (2003) suggests that the police are active in their mediated portrayal of policing and crime and often give the final approval before reality policing programs get produced and disseminated. This is especially concerning given the ability of the media to construct dominant ideologies and public discourse as discussed above.

This is potentially worrisome when policing becomes associated with the use of force and presented as reality in reality policing programs. Reality policing programs such as *COPS*, *Street Patrol*, and *To Serve and Protect* all display policing in an ethnographic, ride along format where the viewer is situated as though he/she is present during the day-to-day operations of police officers. However, along with the misrepresentations of race, criminality, crime causation and law and order ideologies, reality policing media tend to also present images that are saturated with the use of force by police in attempts to manage suspects (Thompson and Lee, 2004; Lawrence, 2000; Oliver, 1994).

Previous data would suggest that, with an increase in occurrence and dramatic representation, violence in the media in general, and specifically in regards to policing and criminal justice, the reality presented to the public is one that would mirror this violent image and justify the acts of violence perpetrated by police officers in order to carry out the administration of justice (Levin and Madfis, 2008; Anderson and Bushman, 2002). This is particularly controversial when reality policing programs (as well as other cultural constructs such as official policy, news and experience) are thought to have the ability to shape the ideologies of individuals and serve as training videos for the public as

well as current and would-be police officers (Doyle, 1999).

The use of force by police is often understood as an unfortunate part of the job, however necessary as it is at times (Dror, 2007). In the policing world the use of force is a direct reaction to the actions of the individual suspects based on every police officer's situational risk assessment and understood as a situational transaction of behaviours (Terrill, 2005). A risk assessment is performed by a police officer continually when intervening within a crime scene or gathering information en route to a call and is comprised of measuring the risk to police, public, scene and suspect (RCMP, 2008). Though, governed by policy (which is also a cultural construct) and procedure such as use of force continua (visual depictions of resistance and legitimate force reactions), national, provincial and municipal laws and continual training, the use of force is one aspect of policing that is mostly subjective and based on how the officer interprets the actions of individual suspects, the public, as well as their own abilities and bias (RCMP, 2008; Dror, 2007; Paoline and Terrill, 2007; Lawrence, 2000). Thus, there is present a notion that police risk assessments are based on a variety of aspects of interaction in general including, but not limited to, physical factors such as size, weight and gender of parties involved, and situational aspects such as the demeanor of the suspect, interaction location, weapons and potential harm to all persons involved.

Risk itself is a fairly ambiguous concept that can incorporate many different forms. It is important to briefly define risk and discuss how it pertains specifically to policing. Risk itself is defined as an external factor, such as a catastrophe, natural disaster or human behaviour that imminently threatens the well being of persons, owned property or other articles (Dror, 2007; Ericson & Doyle, 2004; Ericson, 1997). In terms

of policing risk generally pertains to the actions of human beings that tend to display disruptive or destructive behaviour that endangers the health or well being of individuals, groups, police officers or the community or society at large (Hartung, 2008).

However, left out of the discussion by the above authors is the extent to which the use of force by officers may be influenced by the risk constructions presented in the media. Specifically whether and how reality policing programming can have the potential to influence the use of force actions by police officers in carrying out of their day-to-day operations has not been centrally investigated. This research aims to fill this gap by examining the discursive connections between the televised reality mediated depiction of police work and the official use of force training document as the first part of a longer project that may then assess police use of force behaviour trends. Furthermore, this research is completed in hopes of illuminating a *potential* for officers to interpret the mediated depiction of policing as a reality and augment their personal experiences with the mediated discourses about crime put forth in the reality television program.

CHAPTER III

DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Research Questions

This study aims to investigate the broader potential of reality policing television programming to influence use of force risk assessments performed by police officers in the field. To come to any meaningful findings the research was approached from three associated research questions. First, what are the dominant discourses that are presented in documentation and policy governing the legitimate use of force by police officers? Second, are these discourses also prominent in the reality media regarding police behavior? This is especially important to assess whether there is congruency between policy and depicted practice. And thirdly, if the use of force depicted in reality media falls within the discursive underpinnings of the use of force policy, what factors of risk are also being disseminated? In other words, are the indicators of using force prescribed by the policy or is the use of force governed by some outside factor described in the television program?

Data Collection and Analysis

The methods employed, which are consistent with the cultural criminological approach's focus on qualitative examination of media texts, are also appropriate to answer the research questions outlined above because they analyze the discursive content of the study material. This study employed two different, but related methods of qualitative inquiry: 1. A critical discourse analysis of policing use of force policy and; 2. A qualitative media analysis that incorporates a content analysis of a season of a reality policing program.

Primary source materials:

1) This study analyzed the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Incident Management/Intervention Model (IM/IM) modified in 2008 as its primary documentary material. The IM/IM is a policy document and legislation that governs the use of force for Canadian police agencies. It is a directive that outlines what officers should take into account when considering force, what constitutes an appropriate use of force, when use of force is considered appropriate and as such also outlines what would not be considered appropriate use of force. The document and its curriculum has been adopted and adapted for use with variations, as the standard for use of force training in all agencies across Canada (RCMP, 2009). This study utilizes the 2008 edition as this is consistent with the media source used as both were current in 2008 (see appendix A).
2) The second portion of this study analyzes the 2008 Season of *COPS* (Season 21) which was the most current season at the time the research commenced. *COPS* is the longest running (22 seasons) and most watched television program of the genre of reality policing programs, averaging 6.39 million viewers weekly when airing new episodes (Seidman, 2008) and 4.03 million viewers in the summer months when re-runs air (Berman, 2009). COPS is also currently producing new episodes weekly with content that is taped relatively recently to production (Doyle, 2003; Cavender and Fishman, 1999). For these reasons *COPS* was considered appropriate for this analysis as it focuses on modern policing practices, which purports to portray reality and thus may represent ideologies of crime and policing that we could assume, as viewers, would best correspond to current

policy of policing practices. This study analyzed the most current full season; season #21, which began airing in 2008, the same date as the version of the IM/IM that was analyzed.

This season of *COPS* has aired a total of 33 episodes. Each episode aired at least three segments involving officers and their interactions with suspects and the public. Each segment is approximately 7-9 minutes long, separated by commercial breaks. All episodes were available for analysis were recorded from broadcast or accessed online via streaming media (http://www.fox.com/watch/cops) or recorded from television on original and/or rerun air dates. The viewing/analysis was performed to code and complete the qualitative critical discourse analysis for comparison to the IM/IM discourse analysis to verify that congruencies can be identified between the two. *COPS* is being analyzed instead of a Canadian policing program because of its increased popularity in Canada compared to Canadian policing programs. This study aims to discuss the discourses of policing and crime found within the legislation itself and discuss if and how *COPS* embodies the discourses found within the legislation and the images that *COPS* is disseminating along with the discourse.

First it was important to perform a critical discourse analysis (CDA) on the IM/IM document. CDA has a foundation that asserts that language used for speech and documentation has the ability to be shaped by societal practices while at the same time it is socially constructive (Fairclough, 2004). This is an important approach to understanding a policy document such as the IM/IM as a document for directing police behaviour that is completely reflexive of police behaviour in society.

This study utilized specific tools of CDA as outlined by a variety of authors, but primarily informed by Fairclough (2003). It was expected that these aspects would help to identify areas of policy that tend to correspond with reality policing television especially in relation to the use of force. The coding scheme that was developed paid particular attention to three aspects of CDA analysis: Equivalence and Difference; Interdiscursivity; and Legitimation. To aid in coding as well as recognitions of these aspects I employed a corpus linguistic (CL) analysis to find associated pairings/groupings of words and word placements that aided in illuminating connections in discourses and ideologies (Baker et al., 2008). A simple word count was performed and commonly found word pairings/groupings were selected and analyzed to help understand their associated meanings. This method of integration is consistent with discussions of CL and CDA for this purpose, especially when looking to reveal textual relations to themes and ideologies (Wodak, 2007a; Wodak, 2007b; Fairclough, 2003). It was important to analyze the IM/IM to discover what discourses are being presented to officers when it comes to using force as well as to discover what discourses are being disseminated in this public access document[2]. As Bourdieu (1996) asserts, using CDA is important to understand how readers/viewers of documents/media, which, in this case of the IM/IM, must be comprised of police officers or prospective police officers, are meant to understand the complex discourses presented within documents and media. After completing the CDA I was able to understand the complex discursive promotions being implemented when training an officer to use force legitimately. By doing this I am able to indicate that IM/IM is not all encompassing and could potentially allow officers to be

[2] A public access document is a government document that is not internally protected for the use of specific members of an agency. Rather such a document is publicly available and offers information about agency or group operations to the public at large.

influenced by other mediated forms that present crime control, risk definition and discourses of criminality.

Correspondingly, this study employed the same methodological analysis and coding on the *COPS* program. I then took the same CDA coding developed for the above outlined CDA of the IM/IM and applied them to the television program to identify whether the discourses present in the IM/IM are also dominant in the reality programming pertaining to policing and the use of force. This method is consistent with Altheide's (1996) discussion of how to complete a qualitative media analysis. In particular, he discusses the attributes that a CDA can give to a media analysis including the ability to focus the researcher on key elements present in a document to analyze if they are present in the mediated form. This is important to this research project as it confirmed that dominant ideologies in policing policy were also presented to viewers of *COPS* and therefore may aid in the social construction of policing and criminality.

Mayring (2000) also supports using these two types of qualitative analysis in conjunction as one definitely supports the other. Reality policing media is especially useful for this type of analysis because it allows researchers and viewers to enter into a culture and institution as an insider and displays discourses present to not only the public but especially to the individual police officer. Therefore, the format of *COPS* allows for an in-depth discourse/media analysis adequately because the program itself depicts real life situations for the viewer who is taken on a virtual ride along with police officers. *COPS* especially focuses on conflict situations where the use of force may be more prevalent (Cavender and Fishman, 1999).

The coding was informed by the findings of the CDA on the IM/IM to help flesh out the use of force principles. I also completed a second viewing to aid in coding for demographic information such as race, age and socio-economic status (to the best of my ability) to attempt to find use of force indicators and criminal constructs in them as this may have entered into the risk assessment calculation performed by police officers in the media depiction. In this second viewing I also made note of the officers' classification and unit delegation to attempt to draw connections to how the officers use force in the field. This together led to a more in-depth understanding of real life use of force events, especially when coupled with a content analysis of the IM/IM policy controlling the use of force. This also aided in the recognition of legitimate and illegitimate use of force and helped to identify the frequency that each was displayed. All information and notes were recorded by episode and segment separately on identical analysis forms which accounted for all information in a consistent way throughout the viewings.

By completing the analysis as outlined above I gained a well-rounded understanding of how the use of force is defined as appropriate in policy and how it is presented in the media as reality. Completing this analysis in such a way also enabled an understanding of how the use of force is presented as reality in the mass media and the ramifications of this presentation on the actual risk assessments performed by police in their day-to-day operations.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

Critical Discourse Analysis of the RCMP Incident Management/ Intervention Model

Equivalence and Difference:

It is simple to see that the IM/IM is directed at a specific audience. Undoubtedly this document is a training model for prospective or current police officers. This is verified not only in the title of the document but also repeatedly in the text. By employing corpus linguistic techniques and developing a word frequency table on the document (Baker et al. 2008; Wodak, 2007a) it is noticed that the word "you" occurs third most often with 33 occurrences (when controlling for common words such as: "the", "a", "an" etc). The word "your" was used with the same connotation for assigning an audience and it occurs 16 times. In the IM/IM these two words have the same meaning ("you"/"your" denoting the reader as the police officer) and thus amounting to 49 total occurrences (see Appendix B). This makes these words/phrases the most frequently used words in the document. With this example it is easy to understand that this document was primarily meant for training potential and current police officers.

In contrast the word 'public' only occurs 13 times and is included in statements such as "public safety" or referring to the safety or security of public 12 out of the 13 occurrences. In these occurrences the public is referenced in accordance with police safety 7 times and of those seven, 5 occurrences are directly referenced to the police being essential to the safety of the public. This analysis shows what Fairclough (2003) terms equivalence as "subverting differences by representing [attributes] as equivalent to each other" (88). In the IM/IM the RCMP equate public safety to the presence of police physically and institutionally. This is important to understand because as we draw

equivalence between public safety and policing we can understand that the IM/IM document places the safety of the public directly in relation to the presence of police. The equivalence is even more pronounced in statements such as:

> As a police officer, your role in an intervention is to ensure that the public is safe. Police safety is essential to public safety. If something happens to you, you will not be able to help others. In order to decide the level of intervention that is appropriate, you will have to assess the level of risk to the public and yourself and the potential for reducing it (RCMP, 2008).

Thus, the idea of safety has been classified to be necessarily associated with policing and is used throughout the IM/IM to create such a relation in the mind of the officer. The RCMP feels the officer needs to understand that public safety is their mandate and this document illuminates this relation.

At the same time as the IM/IM establishes an equivalency between police presence and the safety of the public, it also is creating a difference between public safety and those who would do damage to the public. Difference describes the use of language that classifies two concepts as dialectically oppositional (Fairclough, 2003). The IM/IM clearly posits suspects, who warrant the use of force to reduce potential harm to the public, clearly at opposition to public safety and thus the police. The distinction is very evident when the word "suspect" is used in direct contrast to "client":

> The Incident Management/Intervention Model displays CAPRA on the cap of the police officer. This is because risk assessment is a problem solving strategy and the assessment should be done in light of **client needs and potential partners**. The model displays . . . only the levels of resistance of the **suspect**. All other situational factors, for example, criminal record, weapons, size and number of **police officers vs. suspects**, presence of bystanders, would be taken into account as part of CAPRA (RCMP, 2008).

This quote indicates "clients" (public and law abiding citizens) having needs and suspects

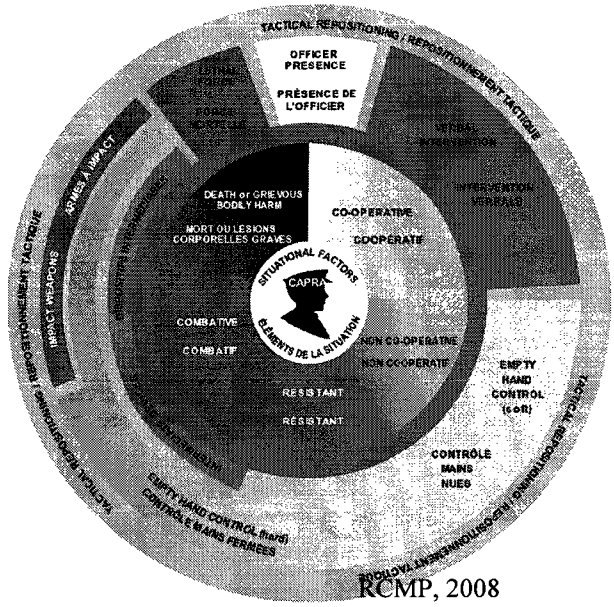
in opposition being resistant and puts the police at direct competition with a suspect. This dialectical difference is apparent throughout the IM/IM in every section.

Legitimation:

The establishment of equivalence and difference in the IM/IM lends analytical power to understand how the RCMP has constructed the players in the policy. The document empowers police officers to defend the public safety from dangerous suspects/criminals and thus outlines the understanding that, at times, it may be justifiable to use force against only suspects and not ever against clients.

This justification can be equated to what Fairclough (2003) describes as legitimation. Legitimation is described as a justification for how and why actions are taken and if not taken, what the disastrous consequences may be. The consequences tend to follow standard agreed-upon societal needs (e.g. public order or safety) (Fairclough, 2003). Although not always explicit within the IM/IM text (nonetheless it is apparent), a stark legitimation technique is located within the training curriculum especially when viewing the IM/IM visual continuum. This is the portion of the document most used by police officers when questioned about or when defending their use of force (RCMP, 2009). This image shows the behaviours of a suspect and the appropriate use of force option available to a police officer. The continuum shows a direct legitimation between the actions of a suspect in the interior grey gradient circle (co-operative, resistant, combative and death or grievous bodily harm) and the legitimate use of force intervention options presented in the colourful outer ring. The association between the two actors (police and suspect) is visual and very easy to understand: as the suspect becomes more

aggressive so too can the police officer legitimately become more aggressive in their intervention.



RCMP, 2008

Furthermore, in the final section of the IM/IM directive entitled "Section IV: Decision Making Rationale Selecting a Particular Intervention Strategy", the trainee is presented with a series of questions related to the legitimation of his/her use of force on a suspect. These questions are clearly written in a very different manner than the previous sections of the document. The manner in which they are written is very legalistic, seeming to simulate questions from courts and/or various review boards, which is where a police officer may find him/herself defending the legitimacy of his/her actions. For example, the word "suspect" has been substituted with "disputant" and "complainant". The questions simulate the time line of the encounter and invite the officer to recount the situation in its entirety from beginning to end. The questions use language that continues to construct the players in the same manner as the previous sections of the document however in a much less damning manner by not using subjective terms such as suspect and/or criminal.

This legitimation is furthered when we take into consideration how the use of force is justified by each police officer individually. The IM/IM states:

> Recognizing the inevitability of the volatility and stress involved in situations of potential violence; and recognizing that a number of factors ranging from the threatening behavior of some individuals to the vulnerability of potential victims may aggravate the stress involved in the situation, the following principles apply to determining whether and how to intervene in a policing situation:
>
> 1. The primary objective of any intervention is public safety.
>
> 2. Police officer safety is essential to public safety.
>
> 3. The intervention model must always be applied in the context of a careful assessment of risk.
>
> 4. Risk assessment must take into account: the likelihood and extent of life loss, injury and damage to property.
>
> 5. Risk assessment is a continuous process and risk management must evolve as situations change.
>
> 6. The best strategy is to utilize the least amount of intervention to manage the risk.
>
> 7. The best intervention causes the least amount of harm or damage (RCMP, 2008).

Here we see that risk is the underlying principle for using force. "Risk management", "risk-assessment" and "risk-reduction" are central concepts in the IM/IM (interestingly, the word "risk" appears seventh most frequently with 22 occurrences (*see* appendix B)). An officer is justified in using force if there was appropriate risk to the officer and/or the public. What is problematic in this document is that it never explains or defines what constitutes a risk objectively. Risk then becomes the subjective domain of the police officer's own interpretation and justifications which potentially could be informed from outside factors such as experience, media depictions and understandings of crime and personal bias. Furthermore, the only directive on using force to reduce risk is given numbers 6 and 7 which denote principles of using the least amount of intervention and damage necessary to relieve the risk.

Interdiscursivity:

There are two *major* discourses that are presented within the IM/IM directive. The first discourse that is apparent through this analysis and discussed above is that the police are imperative to the safety and well-being of society. The second *major* discourse apparent in the IM/IM is that a "suspect" or criminal enacts behaviours that may be interpreted as dangerous, volatile and overall risky to the law abiding public. These two discourses are presented interdiscursively within the body of the text. Interdiscursivity refers to converging discourses presented in a document that are interconnected and interrelated to one another forming a network of discourses that enable the construction and interpretation of text-specific entities (Bhatia, 2004; Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999). It is apparent that the discourses constructed by the IM/IM tend to be interdiscursively connected and through such an analysis of the IM/IM we understand that a risky, dangerous or violent suspect/criminal would also be a danger to the public, thus demanding police intervention. Further, the police are a necessity as individuals and as an institution to protect the public who are not capable of doing so on their own.

As easily as interdiscursivity can be defined as the convergence and interrelatedness of discourses, interdiscursivity can also be applied to the audience and genres. As described above the intention of the IM/IM is a policy for internal law enforcement direction. This document is used by the police to construct the offender. Interdiscursively, we can understand that, because the document is available publicly, the public can also reinterpret it as a public policy document for their understanding of the police. In this way the IM/IM can help the public to understand why the police must use force (sometimes lethal force) on occasion. Thus, as the public and criminal are being

constructed for the police, the police and criminal are constructed for the public.

Using the analytical tools of equivalence and difference, and legitimation it can be understood that a criminal/suspect, as constructed by the RCMP's IM/IM directive, is someone whose behaviour is interpreted as risky, dangerous and may need police to use force to enable them to be apprehended. The criminal/suspect is presenting a risk to society that requires police reaction. The use of force is legitimated only insofar as is needed to reduce the damage produced by the risky suspect. Furthermore the two major discourses, which are presented interdiscursively, aid in the construction of the three parties involved in this document: The Police, The Public and The Suspect. All three are described in no uncertain terms: The public needs help because they are "vulnerable"; the suspect acts to increase risk and damage against the public; and the police must intervene to protect the public and use force as legitimated by the violent suspect. Presented in this way the IM/IM document is a powerful tool in the training of new and veteran officers to cope with the rigors of using force in the course of their occupation. The document provides the justifications and dialogue necessary to legitimize the use of force on suspects by officers and helps officers to recognize situations where force is appropriate and/or necessary.

Qualitative Media Analysis of Season 21 of *COPS*

The initial analysis of Season 21 of the *COPS* television program was undertaken in an attempt to understand if a connection or consistency could be distinguished between the images and actions performed by the officers in the program (and their justifications, if discussed) and the major discourses presented in the IM/IM as discussed above. This is important especially to examine the connection and applicability of the discourses

presented in the program to the Canadian policing context. The applicability of the IM/IM discourses to the *COPS* program were especially unproblematic to evaluate as all episodes of the season depicted at least one segment utilizing police use of force (however, more often than not, all three segments depicted some sort of use of force).

The equivalence drawn between public safety and the police was extremely pronounced. Most officers drew a connection between the police and the community/public during their interview portion of the segment. Officers often referred to their upbringing in a law-abiding family, their pride to be an officer, the fun of the occupation and the importance they felt in protecting the public. As Field Training Officer Ficklin put it:

> I love this town and I love doing this job in this town. And every night I try to go out and do something to help make this community a little safer, but my main goal each night is to make sure I get home to see my wife and my kids (Langley, 2008: e28s1).

This sentiment is echoed in varying ways in all episodes of the season and definitely lends credence to a parallel discourse within the IM/IM. Furthermore, the images presented in the *COPS* program also are congruent with the IM/IM equivalence of the police being integral to the safety of the public. Most episodes involved images of suspects in handcuffs sitting in a police vehicle, locked away from the public. Many segments involved an eye-witness or bystander who was protected and/or confirmed the identification of the assailant. Many episodes included at least one incident where a person had called in to the police to ask for assistance, had flagged down the passing police car or was otherwise waiting to guide the police to the crime scene, often emotionally appealing for help. In the images presented, the officers were always there

to help the victim and to resolve the incident. One scene, episode 9 segment 3, depicted the police being called to a possible domestic assault with information that the suspect may be armed with a handgun. The scene unfolds as follows: The police proceed, lights and sirens on and at full speed, to the incident location and approach the location with firearms drawn. As the officer approaches the home there is an African-American woman outside wailing, her face covered in tears and almost wheezing with every breath she takes, pleading for the police to help as she tries to explain that her cousin has attacked her son and is upstairs and is very high on an unknown drug. The officer continually holds the victims at gunpoint and attempts to get the woman back into her house until he realizes that she is saying that the suspect is in the house, not outside. The police officers jump into action and arrest the highly intoxicated, irrational assailant. The police later find methamphetamine in the suspect's room (Langely, 2008: e9s3). This is a stark example of the equivalence and difference that is drawn in the imagery between the police and the safety of the public.

The construction of the suspect through the use of difference was also apparent as was found in the IM/IM. Again the initial interview with the officers indicates their propensity to fight the ever-evolving violent face of crime. Many officers take the opportunity to discuss violent and/or drug crime suspects as the norm. Detective Anthony Cuesta of the Broward County "Selective Enforcement Team" states:

> One of the things that you constantly hear . . . is that there is no such thing as a routine traffic stop [anymore]. Even a minor traffic violation can turn into a fight for your life. And we've had deputies killed just conducting routine traffic stops, so it's always something you keep in the back of your mind. (Langely, 2008: e10s1).

Gone is the predictability of routine police work. Suspects are even more violent now on routine stops than ever before. The discourse presented in *COPS* is then not very different from that presented in the IM/IM; that the police/public are at odds with the suspect who can an irrational and extremely violent actor.

The images do little to quell the viewers' worries of a more violent criminal. In all episodes the use of force is needed in at least one segment to manage a violent offender. Often the offender is only taken into custody after the police deploy some form of combative tool (e.g. pepper spray, baton, taser, K9, vehicle, firearm). Often a suspect runs recklessly through the community, jumping curbs and fences with seeming disregard for the public at large. These images of difference serve to construct the suspect as dangerous, as one who could attack at any point and is better off to be dealt with by the police who have such the tools to do the job. Undoubtedly the images draw a distinction that causes a police versus the violent suspect (or an US vs THEM) perspective to be encouraged, as the police are the protectors of the public.

It is important to note that not all interactions between police and suspects are as violent as described above. Many scenes depict courteous or calm, non-violent interactions with police, showing police as helpful and the public and even suspects as appreciative. However, regardless of the appropriateness of the actions of the police and/or suspect, discourses of police vs. suspect and the public needing the police are still apparent even if a violent arrest is not being made. For example, episode 32, segment 3 follows officers to the scene of a dog bite and shows the officers helping a young boy explain the circumstances of his encounter with a local dog. The officers eventually

arrest the owner for having his dogs dangerously out at large. The officer remarks how this will protect other neighbourhood children.

The legitimation of use of force as depicted in the *COPS* program is not always overtly evident however. There is, of course, no running commentary that justifies the risk presented, and the aggressive behaviour of the suspect is not always apparent at the onset of a use of force incident or while it unfolds. However, there is some attempt by the television program to retroactively justify the use of force, especially where the use of force is demonstrably on the side of unjust. For example, in the very first segment of the very first episode the police officers are involved in a rather dangerous vehicle chase. The assailant's vehicle eventually pulls over and the camera follows as the two officers take down the individual and beat him with knees and fists while the suspect lies motionless on the grassy shoulder. After performing the arrest one officer searches the vehicle and locates a machete in the vehicle. Detective Brann Redl justifies his actions:

> Right here he's got a machete which is really accessible right next to him. There's really no reason to have a machete in your car ... this is a perfect example on why I had to take him down hard, if he came out of his car and he reached down and brought this out. He can come out and this is really really accessible for him to grab it. Once he grabs it, it's a whole different ball game (Langely, 2008: e1s1).

By presenting the images and commentary in this way the officers seem to be justified in performing a high-level intervention against a relatively compliant suspect. The officer then uses what he found in the vehicle after the incident as an after-the-fact justification of how he dealt with this incident. The dangerous precedent being set in this scene and many others in the program is that every person has the potential to have a weapon or to be violent, therefore police, in order to protect the public, need to take all suspects "down

hard". The scene used for this example is also a clip used in the starting credits which indicates what the program is about. Another glaring example of after-the-fact justifications is found in episode 29 segment 2. The scene unfolds as follows: Deputy Hancock notices a young man he recognizes as a trouble-maker and identifies the man by the name "Dangers". Deputy Hancock begins to stop the man and states, "I'm going to stop him and see what he is doing." Hancock exits his vehicle with his taser drawn, while "Dangers" is out front, and tells him to get on the ground four times in the course of a few seconds. Deputy Hancock then tases the young man who did not resist at all and looked as if he was in the process of moving to the ground. Deputy Hancock then explains that "Dangers" had a bottle in his hand, but had put it down before contact with police. He explains to another officer that "Dangers" had grabbed the bottle and walked towards other persons on the scene, then put it down in the bushes (Langely, 2008: e29s2). Therefore, when "Dangers" is contacted by the police he is not longer in possession of a weapon and is compliant with the police.

If an officer does talk about the incident the discussion usually is shaped similarly to Sec. IV of the IM/IM. The officers talk about their justifications and risks, the actions of the suspect and ultimately what happened at the time of the incident and intervention. Often the discussion follows the narrative direction and chronology guided in Sec. IV, however, the officers in *COPS* often provide generalized descriptions about the type of crime and not the actual suspect in question. More frequently the officers discuss the dangers of drug criminals and crimes and not actually the demeanor of the suspect they have dealt with directly and end up painting all criminals of specific types with the same brush. This may lead them to possibly deal with all drug criminals similarly (or at least

leads the viewer to believe this), and thus differently than they would treat other suspects, like a prostitute or a thief, for example. What is similar with most crimes is that they are dealt with by using some form of force. This, paired with the imagery constructed of the suspect, leads to the understanding of the demographic information presented and generalizations about crimes as legitimations to use force.

Demographic information that was collected from *COPS* indicates interestingly bleak commentary on who comprises the risk population. Not only is drug crime the most frequent arrest/contact reason the police on the program encounter, they also become the most violent interactions. Furthermore, black and other minority youth and young adults comprise the most common member of society that is met with the use of force at or near the onset of their interaction with the police. On the other hand, white suspects were met with less use of force incidents on initial contact and overall displayed fewer use of force incidents as a whole. Every episode (except episode 8) of this season of *COPS* included at least one segment in which a black or other minority suspect was met with some form of use of force. Many episodes included two segments that depicted the suspect as black and/or minority. Comparatively, white suspects were often portrayed as cooperative theft or impaired driving suspects and were met with the use of force by police infrequently and/or somewhat non-aggressively. Episode 2 is a great example of the dichotomy. Segment 3 displays the officers pulling up to a crashed car on the side of the road. Two white males are standing outside the vehicle. Through discussing with the men, an officer makes the determination that the driver was impaired and arrests the driver off camera with no incident. To contrast that, segment 1 of that same episode shows a black male being chased by a police vehicle, extracted from a vehicle at gun

point, taken down hard and later found to have had drugs found on the road. This is one example of many in the season of the glaring difference not only between how whites and blacks were treated (and shown) but also how drug and non-drug (lesser drug) arrests are made on the program. Black offenders seemed to be involved in much more violent arrests than white suspects of similar crimes. Many use of force incidents did not display or explain adequate information or depict the suspect to the view in such a way as to justify the use of intervention option or perceived risk in accordance with the IM/IM.

Males overall were contacted by police in use of force incidents more often than females. This is consistent with previous official crime data (StatsCan, 2008; Bureau of Justice Stats, 2008). Females were most often presented as drunk in public or drug accomplices whereas males were, more often than not, presented as the major criminal players in all episodes. Males tended to be dealt with more violently by police officers and females were rarely ever met with a use of force incident except in relation to drug sting operations. This may be necessary by the risk presented to the officer, however, the risk is rarely justified, discussed, or depicted on *COPS.* The viewer is left with all action and very little specific justifications for the actions of the police.

The age of suspects contacted by police varied and was presented in *COPS* to reflect. Rarely were suspects presented as over the approximate age of 55 years or younger than an approximate age of 17 years. Black males between the ages of approximately 17-30 were unequivocally presented as violent when contacted by the police and comprised a majority of the drug suspects on the program season. The police met all these suspects with some form of use of force deployments. Meanwhile, white suspects were usually presented as older and not violent.

Type of crime tended to be presented as the primary indicator of use of force incidents between police and suspects. Often the officers themselves discussed the dangers of drug crime and the lengths drug criminals would go to 'get away'. The suspects of drug crimes were more likely to be black males and were always met with use of force by police officers, usually in the form of a taser (intermediary device on the IM/IM) or firearm. Conversely, white suspects were not often met with use of force by police and were more often portrayed as compliant.

The classification of the individual police officers also became an area of interest. Although there was no apparent portrayal between officer classification/rank/experience and the use of force a viewer could notice a distinct increase of violent arrests when 'Special Investigation Unit' or 'Special Enforcement Unit/Team' previously known as 'Vice Squads' were involved in an arrest. Even when faced with similar arrest and suspect types, these officer squads were much more violent and hands on than their non-squad classified counterparts. This may be because these officers, by designation, are exposed more often to violent or drug offenses by nature of their focus than the standard patrol officer.

The compatibility of the IM/IM and *COPS* is unmistakable. The discourses of public safety and the dangerous suspect mesh up completely, so much so that the words in print in the IM/IM almost verbatim come from the mouths of the officers during interviews. This is not surprising as many officers across North America undergo a training regiment similar to the curriculum that the RCMP prescribes in the IM/IM. This develops an associated understanding of police work, especially when comparing the policy to the direct words of the officers. The interviews in *COPS* usually occur before

the officer is dispatched to, comes across, or in some cases, creates a crime scene (for an example of crime scene creation, episode 6, segment 1 shows police in foot pursuit of a suspect with no weapon. All of a sudden an unmarked police vehicle enters the frame and hits the suspect causing injury. Four officers then pile on the injured suspect striking and choking him). The words spoken then give way to action in most segments and in all episodes. The officer then leaps into the intervention and the camera follows to show the officer using force. The officer backs up his/her claim to protect the public by bringing the suspect into custody, usually with a violent interaction. The officer is usually the actor who responds to a situation by using force. Most use of force incidents in season 21 of *COPS*, if applied to the RCMP IM/IM continuum based on face value of the images and actions, could very well be interpreted as over the appropriate level of force. By images and content, there is little justification that the use of intervention and force option used by the police in season 21 of *COPS* was appropriate all of the time. However, when the actions were inappropriate there seemed to be a glaring similarity between the crime and suspect.

There is rarely ever enough information disseminated by audio or image to really decide if the risk presented was great enough for the intervention option used on *COPS*. Where officers tended to seemingly act inappropriately, based on the IM/IM continuum, was especially when concerned with drug crime, which, as explained above, happened to depict racial minorities as suspects at a much higher rate than whites as suspects. Where white suspects were concerned, the interaction with the police tended to be more compliant and peaceful. When police encountered a black drug crime suspect the interventions were heightened and the incidents quickly elevated to the use of force at a

very high level. This is not to say that every intervention shown on *COPS* was inappropriate as many would be considered appropriate responses based on the application of use of force guidelines. However, when they were obviously inappropriate and overly aggressive by police officers based on the standard of the IM/IM and difficult to justify by the information presented to the viewer, the suspect was always a black male, often involved in drug crime. Therefore, the presentation of risk in *COPS* seemed to be determined by extra-legal factors such as race, type of crime and gender in addition to the use of policy guidelines.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

There is a distinct congruency apparent in the discourses presented in the IM/IM and the 21st season of *COPS*. Both policy and television program depict a strong relationship between the safety of the public and the necessity of police to maintain safety. Also, both put at odds the suspect and the public and/or the police. Both present the suspect as a person who is irrational, unruly and who presents a risk to the orderly and peaceful existence of all other rational, law-abiding members of society. However, what the policy document could not do, the media depiction does very well: put a face to 'the suspect' and 'risk'.

The IM/IM constructs the suspect only in terms of actions and definitely does not describe the suspect in terms of physical features. Instead, the IM/IM allows for the construction of the suspect to be completely dependent on individual officers and their independent assessments of risk. A risk assessment is the process of danger calculation every officer is trained to perform when being dispatched or arriving at a scene. It is a calculation of many factors that may include, but is not limited to; weather, road conditions, available cover, number of officers present, number of suspects present, number of bystanders present, time of day, availability of weapons by the suspect/officer and the potential to preserve the crime scene. Questions of individual experience, bias and possibly mediated texts (policy or TV programs) could play into what an officer calculates as risky. It is unlikely that anyone would argue that a suspect brandishing a weapon would not be interpreted as a high-risk situation. This is an attribute many would believe to be associated with a higher than normal risk assessment and a need for the

officer to increase their intervention option. This is, in essence, what the IM/IM visual continuum boils down to; the appropriate level of force needed to subdue a certain and definable level of risk based on the indicators presented to the officer. Many would scoff at the idea that an officer would base a risk assessment on demographic information only. However, this may be done all the time. Undoubtedly this is displayed as the case on the television program *COPS*.

COPS gives the viewer a glimpse at the face of the risk posed to officers in their daily work activities. The fact that the discourses presented in the IM/IM are, not surprisingly, apparent in a reality program that supposes to outline the dangers of the law enforcement profession as a whole. To be successful in the US market the television program has been able to tout itself as an effective reality entertainment program and as such has embodied enough reality and action to grip audiences for decades north and south of the Canada/US border.

The repercussion of the program's popularity in Canada could be a clouding of reality and context. More and more often, especially recently, Canadian police enter the spotlight cast by inappropriate use of force by police officers on suspects (see Braidwood, 2008). The questions asked by police review boards are ultimately found in Sec. IV of the IM/IM and are simplified to one question: can you justify the level of force used based on your independent risk assessment? In other words, what were the indicators presented to the officer that would justify the particular use of force option?

Because of the congruency of discourses between the reality program and the policy, it is appropriate to state that Canadian police officers trained under the IM/IM could potentially view *COPS* as a reality program that portrays much truth related to their

own interactions with suspects. As far as the actions of suspects being met with the use of force on *COPS*, they surely are depicted with as much risk and danger as the IM/IM constructs them to embody to legitimize force. However, if the suspect is viewed as embodying all of the constructions of a suspect from the IM/IM and thus a justified risk, it is understandable to surmise that the other discourses presented are also being transmitted. Many officers state that their decision to use force is dictated either by their own personal abilities and experiences about crime or experiences colleagues have had about interactions with suspects in varying situations (Paoline and Terrill, 2007). If all of the above is true, then it is not an insurmountable leap to suggest that the officers and interactions viewed on *COPS* could play into a Canadian viewer's interpretation of appropriate risk, use of force and crime. If the viewer of this television program were a Canadian police officer, then the possibility exists for him/her to interpret the *COPS* colleague's experiences with crime and force as appropriate, and therefore attributable to their own personal policing experience.

What then becomes quite worrisome is this: which images become interpreted as experience? The construction of the suspect becomes front and center in the analysis. If the images being promoted by *COPS* are considered viable to the use of force risk assessment of Canadian police officers, then so too are the constructions of who poses that risk, why they embody such a risky character, and what types of crimes are riskier than others. Essentially, *COPS* portrays real use of force and non-use of force arrests with a dichotomy of criminal demographics. The most gleaming example of this is found in episode 8 which depicts three segments involving very tame arrests: segment 1 involves officers with guns drawn to have a white male suspect who used a pellet rifle

outside to comply with arrest which he does with no hands on violence (the police became aware that the gun was a pellet rifle only after arrest was made; segment 2 depicts a minority Asian/Hispanic couple arguing over their son wearing a wrinkled shirt with no arrests made; and segment 3 where officers are called to a residence where two Caucasian inhabitants stole a cake from a local store. None of these segments included any extremely violent use of force incidents and all involved compliant suspects. The episode preceding and following episode 8 each depicted violent drug arrests of black youths, including the scene from episode 9 segment 3 that was previously described above. The observations about racial disparity of suspects and the way police in the television program choose to intervene are consistent with previous research on this topic (Cotter et al., 2008; Oliver, 2006; 1996). More troublesome in the Canadian context is the embodiment of a racial minority in Canada. Similar to blacks in the USA, Aboriginals in Canada face a similar plight of overrepresentation in the legal system. Blacks in the USA and Aboriginals in Canada are also similarly typecast as socially disadvantaged, criminogenic and have shared a similar past regarding residential segregation leading to substandard conditions (Ouimet, 1999). This may also add another 'criminogenic face' to the enforcement landscape in Canada. By pairing the criminalization of race with an analysis of use of force policy one could see glaring concern areas for those consuming this discourse.

The interdiscursive construction of the police and the suspect (protection vs unruliness) and risk and suspect demographics presented in *COPS* could lead to the capability of the IM/IM to be interpreted on two levels. The demographic information an officer obtains before and/or while arriving on scene could influence his/her risk

assessment when intervening with minority or non-minority suspects based on pre-constructed/conceived notions about suspect types and levels of risk, especially if they are consumers of this type of media. The discourse of minority citizens being involved in more violent crime is portrayed in part because of American policing practices that focus on race as an official or unofficial indicator of crime (Harcourt, 2008; Weitzer and Tuch, 2004). However, when the demographic indicators of violent crime are used within the real life discourses of the use of force policy this can leave viewers with the lasting impression that minority populations, especially blacks in the case of season 21 of *COPS* (or aboriginals in the Canadian context), are inherently more violent and must be approached with increased attention and risk assessment. This is not surprising given the current Conservative government's approach to enforcement of a war on drugs that dictates harsher sanctions and enforcement for drug crimes and increased criminalization for those involved with drug transactions (supposedly minorities). By portraying drug crime and the enforcement of drug crime in such a way it allows for gained understanding from viewers/voters that these actions need to be met with resistance and garners support for get tough on (drugs) crime policies to be implemented.

Limitations

There are a few foreseeable limitations to this study. First, the cut and chop style of a *COPS* episode does not lend itself well to a full qualitative analysis. I did not have the opportunity to engage with the individual officers nor did I actually ride along with officers waiting for force incidents to occur. This is problematic because the officers under study rarely if ever give explanations for their actions, and gaining this information is impossible. However, this study is not designed to understand the use of force from

the officer's point of view but rather is aimed at understanding the image of the use of force as presented to the public at large and to current and prospective police officers. The idea is that these images may inform how each officer performs their use of force risk assessments in the future. Using the discourse/content analysis approach in this way allows me to gain access to a world that many researchers or members of the public rarely get to enter except via reality policing media. What is important is what the programs are presenting to the viewer (who is unable to ask questions) and how this information is presented, as well as what this tells us about crime, police activities and the use of force. This study is a necessary initial step that allows for future studies that could examine the use of force and risk assessments from officers' points of view and offers an avenue for discussion of use of force and risk that may not necessarily illicit official policy responses.

Another limitation is that the potential implications are tentative at best. This is, of course, another issue with doing media studies in general. The research subject, respondents and material are constantly evolving and transforming to meet the ever-changing need of the consumers of media. However, I aim to present research that has immediate implications on the use of force in the media and how this may affect how police deploy the use of force off camera, in the future. As a media researcher, the major advancements achieved is that the methods employed can be reused in the future and the findings reproduced and comparatively studied to understand new media depictions of crime and the use of force and their implications to risk assessments by police officers. This is also a strength of this type of study as it allows researchers and policy analysts to continually adapt policy, research and procedure as the media change and as the

construction of crime and the use of force adapt and change with the media. This research design also presents an opportunity for others to pick up where my findings have left off, to complete a more integrated interview scheme of police and public to analyze their understandings of use of force incidents and the degree to which their perceptions may be influenced by televised depictions.

A third limitation is that this study attempts to compare the RCMP's IM/IM to reality policing media that is entirely devoid of any Canadian content. This may prove difficult because the officers presented in *COPS* may not be governed by the same rigorous use of force policies as police officers in Canada. For this argument there are three responses. Firstly, most jurisdictions in the United States of America have a very similar use of force protocol (see FBI, 2007). Secondly, regardless of the jurisdictions presented, I hope to show that the discourses towards policing and crime presented in the legislation itself mirror the discourses found in *COPS*. Thirdly, *COPS* is a very popular reality policing television program disseminated in Canada and is openly and easily accessible on the Internet making its discourses about crime and crime causation accessible to Canadian audiences. This would certainly enable the dissemination of crime myths into the Canadian context. Policing programs that display Canadian policing are in existence (*To Serve and Protect)*, but do not share the same popularity within the Canadian market as *COPS* does (Seidman, 2008). Furthermore, Canadian programs tend not to boast the same stability in the television market and seem to experience longer processing times, making the material less current, and are subject to periods of non-production. For these reasons *COPS* has the ability to be more effective at influencing Canadian policing and crime discourses than comparable Canadian programs.

Finally, there are some questions surrounding reliability when performing a content analysis. As a lone researcher I am able to maintain a high level of consistency with the data gathering however there is a certain subjectivity to the assessment of the content. Although this is true, there are guidelines employed that are dictated by the IM/IM and the coding model that aid in ensuring validity of the data and that all portions of the *COPS* program are assessed on the same merits.

Significance of Study

Crime is being presented as becoming increasingly violent and police tactics for controlling crime have come under question. Legislation has been enacted to attempt to regulate the use of force by police officers in order to avoid instances of excessive force; however, the difficulty of interpreting appropriateness lies is in the risk-based language used in such legislation. Adhering to the premise that police work is, at the least, unpredictable, risk-based assessments become the deciding factor for whether, and to which extent, the use of force is appropriate. What is questionable about this is determining what is informing the risk assessments of individual police officers when they decide to use force. Crime is depicted in the media as dangerous and unpredictable, which is furthered in what is called 'reality policing media' in shows such as *COPS*. The reality of crime is displayed inaccurately in the media as being overly violent, opportunistic and racially motivated. This study evaluates if, and how, the mass media representations of crime asserted through reality policing media, have the *potential* to influence the risk assessments of police officers in Canada by aligning themselves with the crime based discourses and risk based language of Canadian use of force legislation. If so, this may influence officers to react inappropriately in certain situations. It is the

hope of this author that a study of this magnitude and significance can be used as a starting point to further research into this subject matter. This can lead to research which can assist in informing policing legislation, policy and training to better take into account the effects of the mass media on the interpretation of crime by officers and the public.

Also significant is the contributions made to cultural criminology as a theoretical approach. This study intended to uncover the discourses of media texts (policy and visual media) as they relate to risk assessments and use of force by police. In cultural criminology, the focus of research concerning media constructions has tended to be focused on the construction of crime, criminals, criminality, and criminogenic situations (poverty, cultural crime, wealth) with less of a focus on crime control, policing, police behaviour and police decision-making. This study has therefore attempted to bridge this divide by explaining the constructions presented in reality policing media and how the images could potentially impact police use of force decision making. Furthermore, cultural criminology focuses on the analysis of criminal subcultures and their related media constructions. This study furthers the gaze of cultural criminology to examine crime control subgroups and how they are portrayed, and how their portrayals may aid in the constructions of crime.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusion

Police deal with an abundance of realties when carrying out their sworn duty. One of these realities is that they must be prepared to use force, sometimes fatal, if the need should arise. Their use of force is limited by policies put into effect that help to train and legitimate the use of force in a variety of different situations and help to protect the police, the public and the suspect/criminal from the over-use of force. In Canada this job falls on the IM/IM, which outlines how risky a suspect's behaviour must be to respond with the different increasing levels of intervention. The document presents discourse that empowers police officers to believe their position as protectors of the public and that suspects are at odds with this public security.

The public, away from this use of force protocol, views the police with varying affections. However, when the occupation is portrayed in the media it is often with great action and admiration for the job that they do. This is important when one takes into account the influence the images presented in *COPS* can have on policy and legislation. Displaying officers with low morale and burn out would not be beneficial to showing a united front in the drug war, for example, just as it would certainly not garner voter support if lower violent crime rates and order maintenance operations were presented.

COPS, in order to keep viewership high, depicts policing the streets to the viewer as if the viewer was with the police officers themselves, riding shotgun with police as they encounter some of their most risky and peculiar situations. *COPS* seems intent to display policing much like a sports highlight reel; showing the "best of the best". What is

mirrored is the discourse of public security, police necessity in security and the suspect at odds with it, violently opposed to the peaceful tranquility that the police try to preserve for society. In this program the suspects never get away and are always brought to justice. So too is the IM/IM written, with no discussion of what to do if the unruly suspect slips through the grasps of the police. Both the policy and the television program presume that this does not happen nor should it happen.

What the television program also depicts is that police encounter violent situations in at least one out of three interactions as is depicted in at least one third of *COPS* segments. The other 'reality' discussed by *COPS* is the exorbitant amount of use of force occurrences involving black or other minority suspects. The risky behaviour presented by the suspects can easily be translated by police officer viewers in Canada as fitting within the structure and justifications of the IM/IM and thus their own policing reality, even if the actions being depicted are inappropriate use of force. Uncritically however, the show depicts violence and risk as associated with black youth and drug crime and depicts these as being met with intense force.

Without critically evaluating the program's content and discourse a viewer may interpret the demographic crime discourses as truth and therefore, discourses of force seem to fit within the confines of policy. The Canadian viewer, which might include police officers may be swayed to sympathize with the officers presented in the program and interpret their scenes as an experiential understanding of crime. This could lead to their risk assessments being much more demographically influenced instead of influenced by their own on the scene risk assessment, training or as direction from policy guidelines. This could lead them to possibly react more violently than necessary, especially in

reaction to minority suspects and as such, in Canada, this reflects the higher rate of use of force incidents and overall incarceration involving aboriginal suspects as well as blacks (StatsCan, 2005). What may be beneficial is a review of policy and officer training to help mitigate the potential influence of such media. After all, if what is presented in the program can be discursively translated as real life experience, and if an officer is not trained to recognize their media induced bias, then the most damning indication of how you will be treated by a police officer is not based on your own conduct but is still based on race and the colour of your skin.

Looking Forward

Moving forward from this study a much larger undertaking can be commenced. Future research should concern itself with the interviewing of members of the public and also police officers to examine the actual saturation of the discourses presented. This research also may be useful in interviewing producers or reality television programs to examine their role in the construction of crime and crime control and how they perceive it. Also it would be important to conduct interviews with Canadian police regarding the local and national context of policing in Canada. These interviews could also evaluate the applicability of American reality policing television to their own risk assessments and habits, and to assess the perpetuation of crime myths and reliance on demographic information in use of force decision making. This task may prove difficult due to the availability and the general closed off nature of the police subculture and the professionally structured answers a researcher might encounter when delving into this topic. Undoubtedly some video clips from the television shows are used in training in Canada (as per my own training in the IM/IM as a Canada Border Services Officer),

however it would be important to assess if officers see the reality programs as training videos after the initial training is closed when *COPS* is viewed in full context or whether it is dismissed as simply entertainment.

Policy wise, this study should serve as a stepping off point in realizing that there may be an impact that television, particularly reality television, has on people and how they operate in, or understand, society. In that realization, training policy and curriculum in Canada should reflect and address this research, and train officers to be more demographically responsive, sensitive and open-minded and to openly teach that the discourses presented in *COPS* may not wholly reflect the reality of crime in Canada.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

RCMP Incident Management/ Intervention Model 2008

I. Principles Underlying the Model

Recognizing the inevitability of the volatility and stress involved in situations of potential violence; and recognizing that a number of factors ranging from the threatening behavior of some individuals to the vulnerability of potential victims may aggravate the stress involved in the situation, the following principles apply to determining whether and how to intervene in a policing situation:

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

2. Police officer safety is essential to public safety.

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

4. Risk assessment must take into account: the likelihood and extent of life loss, injury and damage to property.

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

6. The best strategy is to utilize the least amount of intervention to manage the risk.

7. The best intervention causes the least amount of harm or damage.

II. CAPRA and risk assessment

As a police officer, your role in an intervention is to ensure that the public is safe. Police safety is essential to public safety. If something happens to you, you will not be able to help others. In order to decide the level of intervention that is appropriate, you will have to assess the level of risk to the public and yourself and the potential for reducing it. This assessment should include both how likely it is that someone or something might be hurt or damaged and how or whether the police officer should intervene given the seriousness of the harm or damage that might be caused. These are often difficult decisions and the more adept you become at assessing risk, the more readily and appropriately you will respond under urgent circumstances.

Incident Management/
Intervention Model
The Incident Management/Intervention Model displays CAPRA on the cap of the police officer. This is because risk assessment is a problem solving strategy and the assessment

should be done in light of client needs and potential partners. The model displays only the levels of resistance of the suspect. All other situational factors, for example, criminal record, weapons, size and number of police officers vs. suspects, presence of bystanders, would be taken into account as part of CAPRA.

There may be seven key stages at which you will assess risk when responding to incidents:

1 Information gathering
2 En route
3 Arrival
4 Approach
5 Entry
6 Interior
7 Exit

Not all stages apply to all situations; each situation must be analyzed individually.. For example, in some cases, situations may occur on encounter, so the "En route" and "Arrival" stages would not be involved. In others, you may intervene in a situation which is occurring outside so the "Entry", "Interior" and "Exit" stages would not be involved. The table below presents a list of common factors to consider at each of the seven potential stages of an incident. Obviously, the list is not exhaustive and each situation must be analyzed individually. The table also presents the response options available at each stage. All options are available to a police officer at each stage and selection of an option would depend on the level of risk to the public and the police. Finally, the table presents police responsibilities at each potential stage of an incident.

Since situations evolve, you should be continually assessing risk. The behaviours you are responding to and situational circumstances may change. The reasonableness of the option selected, therefore, may change at any point in the intervention.

Risk assessment

1. Information gathering

Factors to be Considered

1 location - isolated, populated, kids in vicinity, etc.
2 injuries
3 manner of arrival (foot, cruiser)
4 size physical capabilities of those involved
5 number of persons involved
6 whether drugs or alcohol are involved
7 whether suspect is armed
8 diversity issues
9 the emotional state of individuals involved

10 related previous record
11 availability of backup
12 partners available to assist (e.g. ambulance, counsellors, translators, fire department, Hydro, gas)
13 number of officers at the scene
14 potential impact of your presence
15 potential impact of how you are dressed
16 potential impact of equipment worn

Response options

1 Visualization
2 Officer Presence (white) Partnerships
3 Verbal Intervention (blue)
4 Empty Hand Control - Soft (yellow)
5 Intermediate Devices (fushia)
6 Empty Hand Control - Hard (orange)
7 Impact Weapons (purple)
8 Lethal Force (red)
9 Tactical repositioning (grey)

Police responsibilities

1 Get the information: CPIC/PIRS checks, 5 Ws and how
2 Plan

2. En route to the scene

Factors to be Considered* * Factors are cumulative * *

Patrol Driving

1 location e.g. school zone, urban or rural area
2 volume of pedestrian/vehicle traffic in the area
3 seriousness of the situation
4 time of day/visibility
5 weather conditions
6 road conditions
7 your own driving skills
8 your state of alertness

Emergency Response

1 all of the above factors
2 Provincial legislative requirements
3 The risk of harm to the safety of the public and police increases with the distance, speed or length of time that you are exercising the privileges extended by Provincial legislation

Closing the Distance

1 all of the above factors
2 are there reasonable grounds to believe an offence is being or has been committed
3 the seriousness of the offence

Pursuit

1 all of the above factors
2 is the driver of the suspect vehicle failing to stop and attempting to evade
3 apprehension
4 the seriousness of the offence
5 can apprehension be made by other means and/or at a later time
6 the age of the driver and any passengers
7 the manner in which the vehicle is being operated
8 use of stopping devices

Response options

1 Visualization
2 Officer Presence (white)
3 Partnerships
4 Verbal Intervention (blue)
5 Empty Hand Control - Soft (yellow)
6 Intermediate Devices (fushia)
7 Empty Hand Control - Hard (orange)
8 Impact Weapons (purple)
9 Lethal Force (red)
10 Tactical repositioning

Police responsibilities

Patrol Driving

1 watch for suspect/suspect vehicle
2 ensure appropriate partners (e.g. ambulance, counsellors, translators, fire department, Hydro, gas) are contacted to assist
3 visualize
4 broadcast to other units / neighbouring detachments
5 ongoing risk assessment of the situation

Emergency Response

1 activate all emergency equipment
2 ongoing risk assessment of the situation

Closing the Distance

1 activate all emergency lights
2 siren will also be used if risk assessment indicates a risk to public safety
3 ongoing risk assessment of situation

Pursuit

1 activate all emergency equipment
2 immediately inform dispatch (OCC)
3 supervisor to take control
4 only a primary and secondary unit to be involved in the pursuit
5 only a fully marked police vehicle equipped with light bar and siren to be used unless absolutely necessary to protect life
6 a firearm must not be discharged at a vehicle in motion from a Police Vehicle in motion
7 a civilian passenger is not in the pursuing police vehicle
8 do not ram or force a vehicle off the roadway unless risk assessment justifies
9 ongoing risk assessment of the situation

3. Arrival at the scene

Factors to be Considered

1 availability of cover
2 impact of announcing your arrival (use of emergency equipment)
3 security of vehicle to ensure means for leaving

4 presence of public and related security
5 urban
6 rural
7 crisis zone

Response options

1 Visualization
2 Officer Presence (white)
3 Partnerships
4 Verbal Intervention (blue)
5 Empty Hand Control - Soft (yellow)
6 Intermediate Devices (fushia)
7 Empty Hand Control - Hard (orange)
8 Impact Weapons (purple)
9 Lethal Force (red)
10 Tactical repositioning

Police responsibilities

1 go 10-7 out of car
2 wait for back-up if required
3 vehicle and yourself don't park right at scene - use cover for
4 don't announce arrival , e.g. emergency equipment or loud talk
5 secure vehicle
6 re-assess situation

4. Approach to the scene

Factors to be Considered

1 level of resistance of the suspect
2 availability of cover or concealment
3 environment
4 escape routes
5 whether weapons are involved
6 seriousness of the situation
7 availability of backup
8 time of day/visibility
9 weather (extreme cold to heat-fogging of glasses)

10 whether victims are still present
11 size of the officer vs. others involved in the incident
12 physical capabilities of the officer vs. those of others involved
13 officer's experience
14 ability to negotiate
15 level of alertness(fatigue) of the officer
16 number of persons involved
17 diversity issues
18 whether drugs or alcohol are involved
19 the emotional state of individuals involved

Response options

1 Visualization
2 Officer Presence (white)
3 Partnerships
4 Verbal Intervention (blue)
5 Empty Hand Control - Soft (yellow)
6 Intermediate Devices (fushia)
7 Empty Hand Control - Hard (orange)
8 Impact Weapons (purple)
9 Lethal Force (red)
10 Tactical repositioning

Police responsibilities

1 stop, look, listen
2 move slowly
3 move quietly
4 target - don't expose yourself to danger make yourself as small as posible
5 perform a window check
6 officer in front uses flashlight in left hand
7 if seriousness of situation warrants, have weapons drawn
8 continually assess
9 be aware of cross fire
10 darkness providing concealment could be an advantage or disadvantage
11 do not silhouette self

5. Entry

Factors to be Considered

1 level of resistance
2 officer presence
3 availability of cover
4 layout of building
5 whether weapons are involved
6 whether victims are still present
7 sounds of violence or anger
8 diversity issues
9 size of the officer vs. others involved in the incident
10 physical capabilities of the officer vs. those of others involved
11 officer's training and experience
12 officer's ability to negotiate
13 level of alertness(fatigue) of the officer number of persons involved
14 whether drugs or alcohol are involved
15 the emotional state of individuals involved
16 time of day
17 distance between officer and the suspect - the further the distance the more time a police officer will have to react

Response options

1 Visualization
2 Officer Presence (white)
3 Partnerships
4 Verbal Intervention (blue)
5 Empty Hand Control - Soft (yellow)
6 Intermediate Devices (fushia)
7 Empty Hand Control - Hard (orange)
8 Impact Weapons (purple)
9 Lethal Force (red)
10 Tactical repositioning

Police responsibilities

1 plan/communicate
2 don't expose yourself to danger - partner covers you
3 stand at either side of door - stand sideways
4 listen
5 quiet communication
6 identify yourself

7 do not knock loudly as loud sounds may escalate tension
8 if invited in - don't assume everything is okay
9 let your eyes adjust to the light move from dark to light
10 use light
11 go in one at a time ensuring safety for your partner who will follow, i.e. leap frog in and scan room twice
12 scan people in room (clothing, hands)
13 re-assess
14 use of mirrors
15 do not silhouette self
16 proper positioning of sidearm, slightly towards ground at side, centre of body at belt buckle, third eye concept
17 button hook entry

6. Interior

Factors to be Considered

1 officer presence
2 level of resistance of suspect
3 availability of cover
4 layout of building
5 whether weapons are involved
6 whether victims are still present
7 diversity issues
8 distance between officer and the suspect - the further the distance the
9 more time a police officer will have to react
10 size of the officer vs. others involved in the incident
11 physical capabilities of the officer vs. those of others involved
12 officer's training and experience
13 officer's ability to negotiate
14 level of alertness (fatigue) of the officer
15 number of persons involved
16 whether drugs or alcohol are involved
17 the emotional state of individuals involved

Response options

1 Visualization
2 Officer Presence (white)
3 Partnerships

4 Verbal Intervention (blue)
5 Empty Hand Control - Soft (yellow)
6 Intermediate Devices (fushia)
7 Empty Hand Control - Hard (orange)
8 Impact Weapons (purple)
9 Lethal Force (red)
10 Tactical repositioning

Police responsibilities

1 scan for weapons and if noticed, remove or block access to them
2 note number of people
3 note number and location of exits
4 separate people if violent - break eye contact
5 move least aggressive person
6 keep eye contact with partner
7 don't let people out of sight - watch hands
8 get people seated
9 don't let your guard down
10 remember your perception may be distorted because of the stress the situation inevitably will create
11 be prepared to re-assess if new information becomes available - remember the facts
12 if you have reasonable grounds to search somebody, search them, especially if weapons are involved

7. Exit

Factors to be Considered

1 level of resistance of suspect
2 availability of cover
3 layout of building

Response options

1 Visualization
2 Officer Presence (white)
3 Partnerships
4 Verbal Intervention (blue)
5 Empty Hand Control - Soft (yellow)

6 Intermediate Devices (fushia)
7 Empty Hand Control - Hard (orange)
8 Impact Weapons (purple)
9 Lethal Force (red)
10 Tactical repositioning

Police responsibilities

1 stay alert so there are no last minute surprises
2 don't turn your back when leaving
3 leap frog out

III. Categories of Resistance of Individuals

In the inner portion of the Incident Management/Intervention Model, potential levels of resistance of suspects are noted. The following defines the expected behaviours of individuals displaying each of the levels of resistance included.

1. Cooperative:There is no resistance. The person responds positively to verbal requests, commands or activation of a police vehicle's emergency equipment.. The person willingly complies.

2. Non-Cooperative:There is little or no physical resistance. The person does not comply to the officer's request. This can be done through verbal defiance with little or no physical response or failing to pull their vehicle over and stop when an officer activates the police vehicle's emergency equipment. This may include: refusal to leave the scene, failure to follow directions, taunting officers, and advising others to disregard officer's lawful requests.

3. Resistant:The person demonstrates resistance to control by the police officer through behaviours such as pulling away, pushing away or running away. This can include a situation where a police officer activates a police vehicle's emergency equipment and the suspect fails to stop and attempts to evade apprehension by driving evasively.

4. Combative:The person attempts or threatens to apply force to anyone, e.g. punching, kicking, clenching fists with intent to hurt or resists, threats of an assault. In the case of a person operating a vehicle, they attempt to collide with the police vehicle, another vehicle or a pedestrian.

5. Person who shows the potential to cause grevious bodily harm or death:The person acts in a way which would lead the police officer to believe could result in grievous bodily harm or death to the public or the police:

1 knife attack
2 baseball bat

3 use of firearm
4 In the case of a person operating a vehicle, they collide with the police
5 vehicle, another vehicle or a pedestrian.

IV. Threat cues

Throughout the management of an incident, a police officer should be alert to threat cues such as body tension, tone of voice, body position and facial expression to ready them to use an appropriate response option. These threat cues may indicate the potential for a suspect to display more or less resistant behaviours described under "categories of resistance" that would justify the use of different "response options" described in the next session.

V. Response Options

The following are options available to police officers depending on the outcome of their risk assessment.

Officer Presence (white)Your presence at a situation may itself impact on how it unfolds e.g. your presence may cause the suspects to cease the activity, e.g. stop making noise. Your presence may provoke a situation, e.g.'s drunken behavior at a party may turn violent or when you attempt to check a vehicle it could result in the driver panicking and trying to flee.

Verbal Intervention (blue)

1 crisis intervention techniques
2 verbal and non-verbal communication
3 anger management
4 conflict resolution

Empty Hand Control - Soft (yellow)

1 soft physical restraint methods
2 restraining techniques
3 joint locks
4 pain compliance
5 distractions, stuns, creating imbalance
6 hand cuffing

Intermediate Devices (fushia)

1 O.C. Spray (oleoresin capsicum)
2 CS gas
3 Conducted Energy Weapon (Taser)
4 Water Projection System

Empty hand control - hard (orange)

1 blocks
2 strikes
3 carotid control

NOTE :Policy states that this carotid control will only be used when the life of a member or other person is at stake (Ops. Manual Chapter III.2.I.4.a).

Impact Weapons (purple)

1 use of police extendable baton
2 extended impact weapon (Sock Round)

Lethal Force (red)

1 use of force which could result in the death of a person
2 firearms
3 police motor vehicle

Tactical Repositioning (grey)
Officers can do a tactical repositioning at any point in a situation:

1 if the likelihood and extent of harm to the public can be reduced by tactically repositioning;
2 if there is fear of death or grievous bodily harm providing it does not expose others to injury or deadly force;
3 if seeking assistance will help to ensure public and police safety;
4 if buying time and gaining distance will help to ensure public and police safety; and
5 if you have ensured that the scene has been contained and there is little or no potential for harm.

VI. Decision Making Rationale Selecting a Particular Intervention Strategy

While Section 25 of the Criminal Code established protection from liability for a peace officer who, in the course of enforcing the law, finds it necessary to use force, the onus is on the peace officer to justify not only the fact of having used force, but also the degree of force used. The prospect of civil liability also requires the member to bear in mind the notions of negligence and duty of care. A detailed record of all the circumstances surrounding the incident should be kept by the peace officer, in order to document the peace officer's justification and care in using force. The record should include the following:

1. At the time when the force was used, did you believe that the force used as necessary (or were you simply acting on the instruction or suggestion of someone else)? [This is

necessary to establish the subjective element that force was necessary. The remainder of the questions/answers serve to establish whether objectively force, and the degree thereof, was necessary]

2. Why did the you believe the force was necessary?

3. Did you fear violence on the part of the disputant? If so, why? What in the disputant's behaviour motivated your apprehension?

4. Towards whom did the disputant exhibit aggressive behaviour?

5. What was the disputant's size compared to you?

6. Have you had any previous encounters with the disputant?

7. Was the disputant in face or in appearance drunk? High on drugs? Agitated?

8. Was there anyone on hand to assist you in subduing the disputant?

9. Was the disputant alone? Were others also posing a threat?

10. Was the disputant uttering threats?

11. Was there escalation in degree or violence threatened by the disputant?

12. The obvious: Was the disputant armed? With what?

13. Did you make your presence known to the disputant?

14. Did you identify yourself to the complainant as a peace officer?

15. Did you state the purpose of your presence to the disputant?

16. What else did you say to the disputant? What was the disputant's reaction to what you said?

17. Was the disputant resisting you? How?

18. What warning did you give that you would use force?

19. How did the disputant react to the warning?

20. What level of force did you use?

21. Was there an escalation in the degree of force that you used? Can you match the escalation in force with an escalation in threat of violence by the complainant?

Despite its length, this list of questions should not be considered exhaustive. It is critical to record in as much detail as possible, as soon as possible after the occurrence of use of

force, a full description of the force actually used, and a full description of all the indicators of potential or actual violence which would explain the peace officer's apprehension and justify the resort to force and the degree of force utilized. That is the trade-off in order to benefit from the protection afforded by Section 25 of the *Criminal Code*.

APPENDIX B

RCMP IM/IM Document Word Frequency Table

RCMP IM/IM Document Word Frequency Table (Top 50 Most Used Words)

Order	Word	Count	Percentage (%)	Order	Word	Count	Percentage (%)
1	officer	47	2.08	26	all	12	0.53
2	police	37	1.64	27	an	12	0.53
3	you	33	1.46	28	options	12	0.53
4	force	29	1.29	29	person	12	0.53
5	involved	28	1.24	30	resistance	12	0.53
6	vehicle	24	1.06	31	suspect	12	0.53
7	risk	22	0.98	32	verbal	12	0.53
8	intervention	21	0.93	33	did	11	0.49
9	control	20	0.89	34	incident	11	0.49
10	hand	19	0.84	35	level	11	0.49
11	presence	18	0.80	36	others	11	0.49
12	situation	18	0.80	37	emergency	10	0.44
13	disputant	17	0.75	38	repositioning	10	0.44
14	assessment	16	0.71	39	safety	10	0.44
15	empty	16	0.71	40	time	10	0.44
16	your	16	0.71	41	devices	9	0.40
17	factors	15	0.67	42	e	9	0.40
18	response	15	0.67	43	harm	9	0.40
19	weapons	15	0.67	44	number	9	0.40
20	impact	14	0.62	45	soft	9	0.40
21	may	14	0.62	46	tactical	9	0.40
22	potential	14	0.62	47	used	9	0.40
23	use	14	0.62	48	blue	8	0.35
24	whether	14	0.62	49	considered	8	0.35
25	public	13	0.58	50	distance	8	0.35

REFERENCES

Altheide, D. (1976). *Creating Reality: How TV News Distorts Events*. Sage Publications, Beverly Hills.

Altheide, D. (1987). *Ethnographic Content Analysis.* Qualitative Sociology, 10(1): 65-77.

Altheide, D. (1996). *Qualitative Media Analysis*. Sage University Papers.

Altheide, D. & Michalowski, R. (1999). *Fear in the News: A discourse of control.* The Sociological Quarterly, 40(3): 475-503.

Anderson, B., & Raban, Y. (2008). *The Social Impact Of Broadband Household Internet Access.* Information, Communication & Society, 11, 5-24.

Anderson, C. &, Bushman, B. (2001). *Media Violence and the American Public: Scientific Facts versus Media Misinformation.* American Psychologist, 56 (6-7): 77- 89.

Anderson, C. & Bushman, B. (2002). *The Effects of Media Violence on Society.* Science, New Series, 295(5564): 2377-9.

Barak, G. (1994). *Between the Waves: Mass-Mediated Themes of Crime and Justice.* Social Justice, Vol. 21.

Beland, D. (2005). *The Political Construction of Collective Insecurity: From Moral Panic to Blame Avoidance and Organized Irresponsibility.* Cambridge, MA, Center for European Studies Working Paper Series 126, Harvard University (October).

Berman, M. (2009). *MediaWeek Saturday Ratings.* Retrieved from http://pifeedback.com/eve/forums/a/tpc/f/63310451/m/177102922 on July 30th, 2009.

Bourdieu, P. (1996). *Understanding. Theory, 13,* 17-37.

Bourdieu, P. (1998). *On Television.* Translated by P. Ferguson. New Press, New York.

Braidwood, T. (2008). *Braidwood Inquiry.* Accessible at http://www.braidwoodinquiry.ca/

Bureau of Justice Statistics, (2008) *Key Facts: Crime Type*. http://bjs.ojp.usdoj.gov/index.cfm?ty=kftp&tid=3

Chermak, SM. (1998) *Police, Courts and Corrections in the Media.* In Bailey and Hale (1998) *Popular culture, Crime and Justice.* Wadsworth, CA. p. 87-99.

Christensen, J., Schmidt, J., & Henderson, J. (1982). *The Selling of the Police: Media, Ideology and Crime Control.* Contemporary Crises, 6:227-239.

Cotter, R., de Lint, W., & O'Connor, D. (2008). *Ordered Images: Cooking Reality in COPS.* Journal of Criminal Justice and Popular Culture, 15(3): 277-290

Cavender G. & Fishman, M. (1999). *Television Reality Crime Programs: History and Context.* In Entertaining Crime: Television Reality Programs. Aldine De Gruyter, New York.

Chiricos, T., Padgett, K. & Gertz, M. (2000). *Fear, TV News and the Reality of Crime.* Criminology. 38(3): 755-85.

Doyle, A. (2003). *Arresting Images: Crime and Policing in Front of the Television Camera.* University of Toronto Press.

Doyle, A. (1999). *"Cops": Television Policing as Policing Reality.* In Entertaining Crime: Television Reality Programs. Aldine De Gruyter, New York.

Dror, I. (2007). *Perception of Risk and the Decision to Use Force.* Policing: 265-272.

Ericson, R. (2007). *Crime in an Insecure World.* Polity Press, Malden, MA.

Ericson, R. (1997). *Policing the Risk Society.* University of Toronto Press. Toronto, CA.

Ericson, R., Baranek, P., & Chan, J. (1989). *Negotiating Control: A Study of News Sources.* University of Toronto Press: Toronto.

Ericson, R. & Doyle, A. (2003). *Risk and Morality.* University of Toronto Press. Toronto, CA.

Fairclough, N. (2004). *Critical Analysis of Media Discourse.* In Media Studies: A reader. In Marris, P. & Thornham, S. (Eds.). New York University Press, New York, NY. 308-325.

Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analyzing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Science.* New York: Routledge.

FBI. (2007) *Law Enforcement Bulletin.* US Department of Justice Law Enforcement Bulletin, 76(9). 1-32.

Ferrell, J. (2007). *For a ruthless cultural criticism of everything existing.* Crime Media Culture, 3(1): 91-100.

Ferrell, J. (2004). *Boredom, crime and criminology.* Theoretical Criminology, 8(3): 287-302.

Ferrell, J. (1999). *Cultural Criminology.* Annual Review of Sociology, 25: 395-418

Fishman, M. (1999). *Ratings and Reality: The Persistence of the Reality Crime Genre.* In Entertaining Crime: Television Reality Programs. Aldine De Gruyter, New York.

Fishman, M and Grey Cavender. (1999). *Entertaining Crime: Television Reality Programs.* Aldine De Gruyter, New York.

Fox, R., Van Sickel, R.& Steiger, T. (2007). *Tabloid Justice and the Evolution of New Media,* In Tabloid Justice: Criminal Justice in an Age of Media Frenzy. Lynn Rienner, CA.

Gamson, W., Croteau, D., Hoynes, W., & Sasson, T. (1992). *Images and the Social Construction of Reality.* Annual Review of Sociology, 18; pp373-393.

Gerbner, G. (1998). *Cultivation Analysis: An Overview.* Mass Communication and Society, 1(3/4) 175-194.

Gorman, B. (2009). *Broadcast Primetime TV Ratings / Weekly Ratings.* ABC Press Release. Retrieved from http://tvbythenumbers.com/2009/07/28/broadcast-primetime-tv-ratings-rankings-for-july-20-26/23759 on July 30th, 2009.

Greer, C., Ferrell, J. & Jewkes, Y. (2007). *It's the image that matters: Style, substance and critical scholarship.* Crime Media Culture, 3(1): 5-10.

Haggerty, K. & Ericson, R. (2000). *The Surveillant Assemblage.* British Journal of Sociology. 5 (1a): 605-622.

Harcourt, B. (2007). *Against Prediction: Profiling, Policing and Punishing in an Actuarial Age.* University of Chicago Press: Chicago

Harding, J. (1998). *Policing and Aboriginal Justice.* In Canadian Crime Control Policy. Harcourt Brace, Toronto.

Hartung, E. (2008). *Policing Public Disorder: Theory and Practice.* Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management, 31(3): 523-525

Hayward, K. & Young, J. (2004). *Cultural criminology: Some notes on script.* Theoretical Criminology, 8(3): 259-273.

Hier, S. (2008). *Thinking Beyond Moral Panic: Risk, Responsibility, and the Panics of Moralization.* Theoretical Criminology. 12(2): 173-I90.

Holbrook, A. & Hill, T. (2005). *Agenda-Setting and Priming in Prime Time Television: Crime Dramas and Political Cues.* Political Communication. 22: 277-295.

Hornqvist, M. (2004). *The Birth of Public Order Policy.* Race and Class. 46(1): 30-52.

Jewkes, Y. (2004). *Chapter 1: Theorizing Media and Crime.* In Crime and Media: An Introduction: 2-33.

Kasinsky, R. (1994). *Patrolling the facts: Media, cops and crime.* In Barak, G. (Ed) (1994). Media, Process, and the Social Construction of Crime: Studies in Newsmaking Criminology, Garland: New York.

Kooistra, M. & Mahoney, J. (1999). *The Historical Roots of Tabloid TV Crime.* In J. Ferrell and N. Websdale (Eds.), *Making Trouble: Cultural Constructions of Crime, Deviance and Control* (pp.47-72). New York, NY: Aldine de Gruyter.

Kooistra, V., Mahoney, J., & Westervelt, S. (1998). *The World According to COPS.* In M. Fishman & G. Cavender (Eds.), *Entertaining crime: Television reality programs* (pp. 141-158). New York, NY: Aldine de Gruyter.

Langley, J. (Producer) (2008). *COPS* (television series). Fox Broadcasting Company: New York, NY.

Lawrence, R.G. (2000). *The Politics of Force: Media and the Construction of Police Brutality.* University of California Press: Los Angeles.

Levin, J. & Madfis, E. (2008). *The Changing Qualities of Violence in American Popular Culture.* In Pardue, D. (Ed.), *Ruminations On Violence*, Waveland Press: Long Grove, IL.

Lindlof, T. R. & Milton J.S. (1998). *Media ethnography in virtual space: strategies, limits, and possibilities.* Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media, 42(2): 170-189.

Mayring, P. (2000). *Qualitative Content Analysis.* Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 1(2): http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0002204.

McRobbie, A. & Thornton, S. (1995). *Rethinking 'moral panic' for multi-mediated social worlds.* British Journal of Sociology, 46(4): 559-574.

Monk-Turner, E., Martinez, H., Holbrook, J., & Harvey, N. (2007). *Are Reality TV Crime Shows Continuing to Perpetuate Crime Myths?* Internet Journal of Criminology. Accessed in Mar. 22, 2010 from www.internetjournalofcriminology.com.

Morgan, M., Shanahan, J. & Signorielli, N. (2008). *Growing Up with Television Cultivation Processes.* In Media Effects: Advances in theory and research. Bryant & Oliver (Eds). Routledge, New York, NY.

Murray, S. & Oullette, L. (2008) *Reality TV: Remaking Television Culture.* New York University Press, NY.

Oliver, M. (2006). *Race and Crime in the Media.* In A companion to media studies Valdivia (Ed). Blackwell, Malden, MA.

Oliver, M. and G. Armstrong (1999). *The Colour of Crime: Perceptions of Caucasians' and African Americans' Involvement in Crime.* In Entertaining Crime: Television Reality Programs. Aldine De Gruyter, New York.

Oliver, M. (1996). *Influences of authoritanianism and portrayals of race on Caucasian viewers' of responses to realit based crime dramas.* Communication Reports, 9(2), 141-150.

Oliver, M. (1994). *Portrayals of Crime, Race, and Aggression in "Reality-Based" Police Shows: A Content Analysis.* Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media, 38: 179-192

Ouimet, M. (1999). *Crime in Canada and in the United States: A Comparative Analysis.* Canadian Review of Sociology. 36(3) 389-408.

Paoline, A., & Terrill, W. (2007). *Police Education, Experience and the Use of Force.* Criminal Justice and Behavior, 34(2): 179-196.

Presdee, M. (2004). *Cultural criminology: The long and winding road.* Theoretical Criminology, 8(3): 275-285.

Rafer, N. (2006). *Shots in the Mirror: Crime Films and Society.* Oxford University Press: New York.

RCMP, (2009). *Incident Management/Intervention Model.* Modified 2009-05-08. Accessed at http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/ccaps-spcca/cew-ai/imim-migi-eng.htm

RCMP, (2008). *Incident Management/Intervention Model.* Modified 2008-01-07. Accessed at http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/ccaps-spcca/cew-ai/imim-migi-eng.htm

Reinarman, C. & Duskin, C. (1999). *Dominant Ideology and Drugs in the Media.* In J. Ferrell and N. Websdale (Eds.), *Making Trouble: Cultural Constructions of Crime, Deviance and Control* (pp.73-90). New York, NY: Aldine de Gruyter.

Robinson, M. (2000). *The Construction and Reinforcement of myths of Race and Crime.* Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice, 16(2): 133-156.

Sacco, V.F. (1995). *Media Construction of Crime.* The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 539: 141-154.

Seidman, R. (2008). *Nielsen Ratings March 29 – Basketball Beats Bad Boys Again.* Revtrieved from http://tvbythenumbers.com/2008/03/30/nielsen-ratings-march-29-basketball-beats-bad-boys-again/3124 on July 30th, 2009.

Soulliere, D. (2004). *Policing On Prime-Time: A Comparison of Television and Real World Policing.* American Journal of Criminal Justice, 28(2): 215-233.

Statistics Canada (2008). The changing profile of adults in custody. Juristat, 28(10). www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/081215/dq081215b-eng.htm

Statistics Canada (2005). *Crime Trends in Western Canada and the North.* Exploring Crime Patterns in Canada, 2005(5). Accessed at http:/www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-561-m/2005005/findings-resultats/4053798-eng.htm#1

Surette, R. (2007). *Crime and Justice in the Entertainment Media.* In Media, Crime and Criminal Justice: Images and Realities. Thompson: Wadsworth.

Terrill, W. (2005). *Police Use of Force: a Transactional Approach.* Justice Quarterly, 22(1): 107-138.

Thompson, B. & Lee, J. (2004). *Who Cares If Police Become Violence? Examining Approval of Police Use of Force Using a National Sample.* Sociological Inquiry, 74(3): 381-410.

Waddington, P. (2003). Policing Citizens. Routledge, London.

Weitzer, R. & Tuch, S. (2004). *Race and Perceptions of Police Misconduct.* Social Problems. 51(3): 305-25.

Wodak, R. (2007a). *Discourses in European Union Organizations: Aspects of access, participation, and exclusion.* Text & Talk, 27, 655-680

Wodak, R. (2007b). *Pragmatics and Critical Discourse Analysis: A cross-disciplinary inquiry.* Pragmatics & Cognition, 15, 203-225.

VITA AUCTORIS

Aaron D'Onofrio-Jones was born in 1983 in Vancouver, British Columbia. He graduated from Riverside Secondary School in Port Coquitlam, British Columbia in 2001. From there he went on to study Douglas College, Burnaby, British Columbia in the Criminology department before heading to the University of Windsor where he obtained an Honours B.A. in Criminology in 2008. He is currently a candidate for the Master's degree in Criminology at the University of Windsor and hopes to graduate in Fall 2010.