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# ***CURRENTS***

***READINGS IN RACE RELATIONS***

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POLICING  
IN A MULTIRACIAL  
SOCIETY

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The Urban Alliance on Race Relations, formed in July 1975 "to promote a stable and healthy multiracial environment in the community," is a non-profit organization made up of volunteers from all sectors of the community.

The Urban Alliance on Race Relations is an educational agency and an advocate and intermediary for the visible minorities. It works toward encouraging better race relations, increased understanding and awareness among our multicultural, multiracial population through programmes of education directed at both the private and public sectors of the community. It is also focusing its efforts on the institutions of our society including educational systems, employment, government, media, legislation, police, social service agencies and human services, in order to reduce patterns of discrimination and inequality of opportunity which may exist within these institutions.

The work of the organization is carried out through working committees such as: Education Institutions; Legislation; Media; Law Enforcement.

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# *Police-Minority Relations*

CANADIAN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS have found it difficult to respond easily and quickly to the changing multiracial community they are meant to serve. Few institutions, and the police are no exception, have been able to escape the criticism of slow response to change.

The community poses problems for the police, but what about the problems the police pose for the community? Racial minorities have been complaining of a constant pattern of police harassment and police insensitivity to their life-styles and needs. Is there a justified tradition of distrust on the part of minorities towards the police? Is this antagonism exacerbated by the perception of the police as the enforcement arm of the white establishment?

The relationship between the police and visible minorities will always, it seems, be a sensitive matter of concern. In many ways, the relations between the police and the visible minority communities can be seen as the flash-point, the means to gauge the general temper of race relations in Canada.

While incidents between the police and a visible minority community can have an inflammatory effect upon relations generally, it is important to recognize that such incidents can be symptoms of much larger and more serious institutional and societal problems. It is important that such occurrences light up the social context in which these conflicts occur rather than darken and deflect from them.

This issue of *Currents* is devoted to the topic of police-minority relations in the hope that it will be possible to overcome the sense of inevitability about the tensions and conflicts that will arise between police and minorities.

Sometimes our expectations of the police are far too high. The police are certainly not agents of social change. It is thus important to realistically assess how much one can expect the police themselves to improve the situation. This issue is an acknowledgement of the important initiatives that have been undertaken by the police themselves as well as those undertaken by government, and members of visible minorities and community agencies. However, while the level of activity devoted to improving police — minority relations has increased, more attention needs to be given to assessing which activities are productive and which are not. Without the development of rigorous qualitative criteria, quantitative improvements can be a delusion.

TIM REES



# *Policing in a Multiracial Canada*

Daniel G. Hill

The relationship between the police and the community is one of infinite complexity, and has been since the emergence of the modern police force in the early nineteenth century.

Sir Robert Peel, generally acknowledged to be the founder of the modern force, was well aware of the thin dividing line between a force of protectors and a force of tyrants. His conception of the "police as the public and the public as the police" required more than a mere liaison between the community and their appointed protectors. Nothing less than true integration into the framework of the existing community could prevent a version of arbitrary rule being exercised by the police.

The "Peelers", as they were known, often faced resistance from the community who viewed their presence as a threat to traditional British freedoms. Confrontations between privately maintained police forces and the "Peelers" were not uncommon. In an effort to retain individual liberty, public police powers were often curtailed and the reciprocal checks and balances of internal and judicial control were minimal.

Today in Canada, life without an effective public police force seems inconceivable. Generally communities welcome the existence of a body which will protect and defend the peace and good order of their society.

## **The Nature of Policing**

Perhaps at this point we should pause to consider how the nature of policing has changed. It is estimated that 80% of calls for police services are for non-crime related activities. Police are frequently the only front line service dealing with the effects of family upheaval, racial discord, youth unemployment and general states of isolation and alienation. Naturally the emphasis of police

activities must be pro-active and preventive to meet this demand. The creation by many Canadian police forces of ethnic squads has been an invaluable addition to the preventive model. The ethnic squads have been particularly successful at lessening racial tensions and narrowing the cultural gap between the police and community members. In spite of the many valid criticisms which arise in our multi-racial communities, we must not forget the substantial achievements in policing that have already been made.

The comments of Dr. Karl Menniger in *The Crime of Punishment* must be kept in mind when considering any new model of policing:

"The police officer is expected to do a superman's job. He is expected to be more brave, more upright, more self-controlled, more resistant to bribery and other temptations, more courteous, more discriminating, more shrewd, more unruffled by humiliation and frustration than all other citizens. He has to make rapid decisions many times a day in difficult situations. The average policeman renders far more judgments of guilty and not guilty than does the average judge. He has to call upon extraordinary resources of tact, experience, knowledge, and training to deal correctly at the needed moment with threatening or suspicious behaviour."

Although new models of policing call for a community service orientation, the police officer's job remains a dangerous one. The recent murders of a number of constables in Ontario are grim reminders of the extreme hazards our police face. Few of us are ever asked to risk our lives in the service of the community, but for a policeman this goes with the job. Our public consciousness will always



be outraged at such brutal acts of violence.

Yet, while we may no longer argue with the concept of public policing, our multiracial communities still frequently question the exercise of police power. As police powers have increased over time, the corresponding levels of public accountability seem sadly lacking.

Lord Scarman, reporting on the Brixton disorders in London, echoes many of the criticisms voiced in our own society:

Another variant is that the Metropolitan police have not yet fully solved the problem of maintaining the rule of law in a multi-racial society. Those who express this view do not quarrel with the principle that there is one laid down by Parliament which must apply to all citizens: But they do ask whether the police have learned to enforce the law in areas with high ethnic minority populations, with the same degree of discretion with which they are wont to enforce it in other parts of the country.

All too often, police are perceived by our visible and ethnic minorities as aloof from those they serve, vested with far reaching and oppressive powers against which the ordinary citizen has no redress. Sir Robert Peel's ideal of the police as the public and the public as the police seems at best a vain hope to communities of visible and ethnic minorities who have little or no opportunity to see themselves either physically or culturally represented on the force.

On the one side are the police, proclaiming their commitment to non-discriminatory, humane law enforcement, contending that their motives are often misconstrued and their efforts unappreciated. Indeed, policing is a difficult task and it should be noted that the police have had their own sensibilities assaulted, without justification, on numerous occasions.

Yet, on the other hand are the racial and cultural minority groups, consistently alleging insensitive and even discriminatory treatment by an overwhelming white-dominated police force.

Where the truth lies in this argument is not the primary question. Searching for documented facts in this potentially volatile relationship ignores both the reality and urgency

of the situation. Perceptions of police racism, harassment and insensitivity are fact to some, and lies or exaggerations to others. What is certain, is that perceptions and accusations of discrimination crystallize into very real hatred and bitterness which is a threat to good policing and public security.

One vivid illustration of the gulf of misunderstanding between the police and the many black communities lies in the diverse reaction to the National Film Board production titled "Home Feeling". This movie, as you are probably aware, claims to depict day-to-day life for West Indian residents of the Jane-Finch corridor in Toronto. The content suggests that the potential for racial violence in the area could mirror that of Dade County, Florida, or even Brixton and openly states that the police are both a target and a cause for the tension. Some residents of Jane-Finch have applauded the film as "the truth, where the voices of the people are heard" while the police claim that the film fails to show "any of the positive things going on". This stark contrast in perceptions of the problem only serves to demonstrate the polarization of visible and ethnic communities from the police.

It is imperative to remember that prejudice can operate in a variety of subtle and even inadvertent forms which are keenly felt by minorities. The police are in a unique position to gauge the mood of the community. They must take the lead in recognizing the disparate perceptions of discrimination that exist.

In the early Spring of 1983, for example, a senior police officer, speaking at a Canadian Human Rights Conference, responded to complaints that visible minorities were seriously under-represented on the force. He argued that a substantial proportion of parking control officers, the so-called Green Hornets, were non-whites. To him, that fact demonstrated that the police force was racially representative of the community and minority group complaints were unjustifiable carping. Yet to minority representatives, the police official's response was proof that non-whites faced racial obstacles if they aspired to employment in the police force proper.

Effective solutions to the problem will only arise from concerted efforts to attack prejudice in its institutional origins.



### Canadian Racism

Historically, Canadians have suffered from a brand of discrimination which is institutionalized rather than overt. A biased and selective reading of our history has allowed a kind of "polite" racism to flourish. The dominant elements of Canadian society have persistently played down the scope of the problem by viewing acts of racism as single, isolated occurrences - collectively refusing to acknowledge and correct the pervasive nature of discriminatory behaviour. The notion that the average Canadian is free from prejudice has been systematically fostered by many of our public and private institutions, while the grim reality of history would suggest otherwise.

Although slavery was abolished throughout the British Empire in 1833, legally sanctioned segregation in the Canadian school system persisted until 1965, when its last remnants were finally abolished in Ontario. Equality was illusory for members of visible minority communities, although the myth of freedom for all was effectively embedded in the Canadian consciousness.

In the chronicles of each community, racism is a recurrent theme. As our history has shown, the majority society in Canada has been known to enslave, oppress, exploit and exterminate racial minorities. For example, they enslaved Blacks and Indians in Lower and Upper Canada. They oppressed and exploited the Chinese railroad workers, they interned for no valid reason Canadian Japanese during World War II; and White settlers exterminated the Beothuk Indians in Newfoundland. Almost always, there was a police presence, whether in red tunic, blue coat or military gear.

Clearly, much of the hostility that police now encounter in their dealings with minority communities flows from grievances in the creation of which police had little or no part. The police, like the public at large, have inherited a tradition of discriminatory behaviour that is far from admirable.

The hostility flows, initially, from the failure of other institutions - governmental, religious, education, business, labour, the family - to function as they should. We can-

not blame the police for all this!

Indeed, the conflicts and criminality that police encounter are in large part symptoms of broader problems such as poverty, chronic unemployment, educational frustrations or racism. As the Chairman of the Merseyside Police Committee described it in 1981 after racial conflict in Liverpool, England: "For too long, instead of action on our part... we have relied on police to 'keep the lid on the dustbin'."

### Police - Minority Relations

There is no denying that here in Canada, too, police are called upon to 'keep the lid on'. However, police are not by any means free of responsibility for the tensions that exist between them and minority communities. And even though it may be acknowledged that a broad coalition will have to come together to resolve serious community problems of racism, police themselves should not, in the meantime, simply accept their sometimes tense relationship with these communities as an unchangeable status quo. Police can minimize tensions by evolving an operational understanding of their origins and of strategies currently available for coping with them.

While we cannot deny that police officers are a product of their society like anyone else, their privileges must inevitably set them apart. Lord Scarman in his report on the Brixton disorders has summarized this attitude:

The police cannot rest on the argument that since they are a cross-section of society some officers are bound to be racially prejudiced. . .

They recognize that in this respect, as in others, the standards we apply to the police must be higher than the norms of behaviour prevalent in society as a whole.

The daily irritant and gripe about police is sometimes just as important, in the long run, as a major happening such as a shooting. The common sources of minority community enmity toward police consist of a broad range of usually unpublicized encounters between minority community members and police officers. In minority communities these com-



paratively minor conflicts often are seen as parts of a pattern of racially biased police treatment. They become woven into the fabric of communal grievance, each incident serving to reinforce mistrust of the police.

In addition, officers sometimes misinterpret a minority group member's non-verbal responses to their inquiries. For example, some Asians and West Indians do not look authority figures in the eye during questioning. An officer may read that as a sign of rudeness or even guilt and react accordingly, but it more likely is a sign of deference. Similarly, the shaking of the head, the clicking of the tongue or other such responses may imply disagreement in the eyes of an officer familiar only with North American culture. However, in many societies these behaviour patterns signify quite the contrary.

Clearly, police officers cannot be expected to have a refined understanding of all cultural traditions. But they are expected at least to be sensitive to such factors. Minority persons usually do not know or appreciate that an affront they have experienced was unintended. They are left with a sense of grievance that is aggravated by the belief that White people would not suffer similar indignities in similar circumstances.

Some police have been sensitive to these charges and have responded by becoming willing and active participants in numerous co-operative ventures with the community. Probably the most visible of these initiatives is the establishment of police-community relations committees.

These committees have taught us some valuable lessons. They have highlighted the diverse perceptions of each side and attempted to develop some constructive solutions to the problem. Through programs of public education, the committees have tried to inform the public about the law and the role of the police in its enforcement. In addition, the community has often had the opportunity to become actively involved in police work by accompanying officers in street patrols and advising on policing strategy. Orientation sessions with officers at various levels of the police department have been

held to educate them about the role and function of the committee and race relations issues.

While these attempts are admittedly in their infancy, they have laid the groundwork for open, honest dialogue and the joint resolution of conflicts.

In recent years there has been a growing public demand for some kind of independent review of police activities. The public at large and especially our racial and cultural minorities have called for greater civilian involvement in resolving complaints against police officers. Inevitably there will be complaints from citizens about police actions or treatment. I would venture to say that, even with a perfectly balanced racial and ethnic force, complaints will arise. Obviously some complaints will be justified and others will not. But what would be most beneficial is an impartial and fair complaint procedure where citizens will feel free to voice their grievances.

The experience of Sidney Linden, the Public Complaints Commissioner in Metropolitan Toronto suggests that a complaints mechanism which involves and utilizes the police in the investigatory procedure is one option. The purpose of this pilot project, which has recently been made permanent, was to include "civilian oversight and monitoring in every stage of the complaint resolution process, culminating in public hearings before civilian panels empowered to discipline officers".

At the end of the three-year trial period, Mr. Linden explained that he felt the Commission had had two beneficial effects: "It prevented problems by making police more careful in their actions and people were more willing to come forward with their complaints to another citizen."

Internationally, in countries such as Australia and Finland, the Ombudsman has jurisdiction to investigate complaints against the Police. All of these systems depend on extended police involvement and co-operation.

### Minority Representation

Let us now turn to the inevitable question — why have police forces had so few mem-



bers of visible minorities in their ranks? And what can be done to redress these imbalances? Historically, of course, visible minority population in Canada were small and had even smaller pools of suitable adults from which police could recruit. More recently, as police-community relations became more tense, members of visible minorities were discouraged from seeking to become police officers for fear of being labelled turncoats by their peers.

Meanwhile, those who did try to compete for positions as police officers found themselves facing tests and criteria that heavily favoured white, middle-class, Canadian-born and educated applicants. Outdated and unnecessary height and weight requirements, for example, militated against Asians who generally were slighter and shorter than other groups. I am pleased to add that a number of police forces have discontinued height and weight requirements. Psychological tests were culturally skewed against immigrants as well as many Native persons and Canadian-born Blacks. Even the advertising of careers in police work was carried in media that did not reach large segments of the visible minority audience.

By the late 1970's, police officials had come to recognize that many of their recruitment criteria and practices were inherently discriminatory, though sometimes unintentionally so. Accordingly, some forces undertook special efforts to attract visible minorities to police work. Career opportunities, for example, were advertised in the ethnic media. Many aspects of assessment tests and criteria for acceptance were adjusted. Non-white police officers were given a higher public profile.

But despite all these efforts, minority group representation is still disproportionately low, especially in the upper ranks. In order to make police forces more visibly reflect the society they serve, non-white recruitment efforts must be stepped up and made more penetrating. Recruitment drives should involve a broad representation of community leaders through whose good offices the message can penetrate more deeply into all manner of community organizations. The

message should consistently be carried in the community's own media; not just its newspapers or broadcasts, but in church bulletins, organizational newsletters, handbills, posters.

Recruitment and applicant-processing centres should be set up within the community itself. Officers patrolling neighbourhoods, particularly minority group officers, should make it a topic of conversation in barber-shops, corner stores and anywhere else people gather to chat or gossip. And the promotion of police work as a career should be carried on continuously in minority communities.

Furthermore, top police officials should vigorously stamp out racial heckling and harassment within their police force. Recruits should also feel confident that promotion up through the ranks is a genuine possibility.

Finally, there is a critical need for more and better race relations training of police. Police colleges should incorporate intensive race relations training programs in their curricula and in their staff development programs - one lecture or one seminar is simply not enough.

The great barriers of misunderstanding which have developed over the centuries will not fall easily. It will take a terrific effort of will on the part of our legislators, police and community members. But today I sense a new spirit of hope and concern in Canada. For the first time, the police and racial and cultural minorities are partners in the fight against bigotry and prejudice. Our concerted and determined efforts will surely yield results. Let us now roll up our sleeves and get to work.

*Dr. Daniel G. Hill is Ombudsman for the Province of Ontario.*

*This article is drawn from the opening address given to the National Symposium on Policing in Multiracial Urban Communities, Vancouver, October 15, 1984.*

# Police – Minority Relations

Robert F. Lunney

In addressing police-minority relations, we usually begin by providing an opportunity for the venting of frustrations and grievances. From there we proceed to define problems and lastly to work out the outlines of a problem-solving strategy.

Problems in human relations are based upon misunderstandings, misperceptions, lack of adequate communication and the whole gamut of human deficiencies including downright contrary attitudes. Real problem-solving may well result from this kind of effort, but they often leave me with the feeling that we are correcting symptoms; that we are always dealing with downstream issues. This is somewhat akin to dealing with pollution in a river with the installation of a water treatment plant, when the better solution may be to seek out the causes of the problem upstream, and eradicate its source.

When it comes to long-term results in building a better society, the real hope lies in concentrating a good portion of our efforts in upstream solutions - treating the causes of the problem and creating conditions which are largely problem-free.

## Wellness

In the context of multicultural and multiracial issues in our society, we may well be able to find solutions in the concept of *wellness*. In terms of medical health, *wellness* is a defect-free state established through identification and promotion of those things which promote and maintain a state of well-being. Good nutrition, exercise, abstinence from debilitating habits are factors contributing to a state of individual *wellness*. Why

should it not be possible to create similar positive conditions for a community of people as applied to their quality of life? If our objective is to obtain multicultural and multiracial harmony, let us concentrate then on inducing a state of confidence, mutual respect, understanding and empathy - the elements of societal *wellness*.

Newly arrived immigrant groups understandably lack confidence and this deficiency, if not redressed, results in frustration. Frustration due to an inability to experience a sense of belonging, personal worth or self-confidence can be the underlying cause of personal and family problems, neighbourhood friction and if collectively experienced disturbances or other acts against the larger community.

## Nurturing

The *wellness* concept guides us to emphasize the positive and to build on strength. The beginning of a community *wellness* program has its roots in a key activity which the police are ideally placed to carry out - the process of *nurturing*. *Nurturing* is the act of bringing up, fostering, providing nourishment. In a community determined to establish the *wellness* concept, the police serve as one of the key agents of orientation to welcome the newcomer, to educate in adapting to new customs and laws and to promote those confidence-building experiences so necessary for the emergence of a healthy confident community.

Why do the police possess this pivotal role? It is because, as we have learned, a good number of the more recent arrivals to Canada



come from countries where the police are the most prominent arm of the authoritative government. Many come to Canada harboring a deep fear of the police. Their early experience with Canadian police disperses this fear to an extent, but they still regard the police as an institution having more authority and influence than is perceived by the established Canadian. The police officer is heeded and his advice is likely to be taken very seriously. This is an influence which can be used in the cause of good, to promote and sustain a positive direction consistent with the mainstream of Canadian social aspirations.

The process of *nurturing* the emerging community is accomplished on two levels -one, a personal and the other a collective basis. On a personal level, the police chief, senior officer, ranking police officer or police agent can contribute by offering a spirit of brotherhood; shared experience; and the simple bond of understanding and respectful reception; a proper hearing of their problem and evidence of some reasonable action. A successful contact with a police officer containing these elements, even if it involves some enforcement action, can be a *nurturing* experience for a newcomer. Still better are the contacts with police officers at social occasions, community conferences and intercultural events. The simple act of offering recognition familiarity and friendship is a *nurturing* process.

#### Edmonton

On a community basis, let me give you an example of a *nurturing* experience in my own city. In 1983, the City of Edmonton staged the World University Games. Prince Charles and Princess Diana were coming as guests. The Republic of Vietnam was sending a team of athletes and weeks before the event the Police Department learned of the plans of some of our resident Vietnamese to stage a demonstration on the opening day, coincidental with the Royal Visit. The stage was set for a confrontation between the anti-communist community and the security forces devoted to crowd management and security of the Royal Party. Adverse feelings in the local community towards the govern-

ment of Vietnam were known to be very strong since our community consisted almost entirely of refugees who had suffered grievously at the hands of this government. The possibility of violence was raised by more radical elements. At this point the Police Department approached the emerging leadership of the Vietnamese community with an offer of assistance. We offered advice on the conduct of a peaceful parade and demonstration, an escort for traffic safety and a reserved location for the demonstration. The leadership accepted and plans were laid with the community working directly with the police commander assigned to them. On opening day, some 2,500 persons paraded and held their demonstration outside the stadium in view of passing spectators and the media. It was peaceful in all respects and satisfied the needs of the Vietnamese community for recognition of their protest. The community enjoyed a sense of achievement and the leadership had gained status and recognition, both within their own group and in the larger community. It was a confidence building experience and since it was the first public step of the new community, a remarkable achievement. The prospects for people of Vietnamese origin in Edmonton were significantly advanced.

In Edmonton, we employ community service officers as outreach agents to the multicultural and multiracial groups. They are a part of our *nurturing* effort. As one example of their activities, we learned from street experience that many new immigrants were ill-informed of their responsibilities as vehicle operators to produce documentation (driver's licence, registration, proof of insurance) to a police officer at the scene of a collision. Our community service officer determined there was a deficiency in the curriculum of the driving schools catering to the immigrant group. When this was brought to their attention the error was corrected, eliminating a point of friction between the police, the larger community and the newcomers. I would classify this as a *nurturing* activity.

These are only two examples but they illustrate the value of a *nurturing* attitude



towards obtaining a state of community *wellness*. No doubt many other police departments are promoting similar activities and the leadership of multicultural groups might agree regarding the desirability of working out positive strategies at a very basic level.

In order for police to foster these proactive and preventive activities they must first have the confidence and support of their police commissions and funding bodies. What we are talking about is a full service style of policing as an expansion of the traditional, basic law enforcement oriented organization. There must be a mind set modification and a commitment by the community to invest in the preventive peace-keeping capacity of their police. On the part of police, there must

be a philosophic recognition of the desirability of shifting attention and resources to upstream solutions.

I do admit that despite our best intentions there may still be breakdowns in communication and the intrusion of human frailties. Determination upon a *wellness* philosophy does not eliminate entirely the occasional need for band-aids and medication. But the *wellness*-bound community will develop that positive mind set that defeats malignant social ills and keeps us firmly on the path of a healthy society.

*Robert F. Lunney is Chief, Edmonton Police Department and President, Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police.*

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## *The New Police Complaints System: Serving and Protecting the Police*

Mark Wainberg

Bill 68, the Metropolitan Police Force Complaints Project Act, 1981, was introduced by the Ontario government in May 1981. With one minor exception, it was identical to earlier legislation (Bill 47) which had been defeated by the opposition parties in June, 1980. Bill 47 was considered to be so flawed that it was not worthy to be referred to a committee of the legislature for further study. The most serious

flaws were that the police would still be investigating themselves, and that they could prevent any meaningful independent investigation until 30 days after the complaint was made.

After the March, 1981 election, the new Conservative majority government was finally in a position to push its police complaints bill through the legislature. Representatives of



over 40 community and ethnic groups and individuals formed the Coalition Against Bill 68 to lobby for much stronger legislation. Roy McMurtry, who as Attorney-General and Solicitor-General of Ontario was responsible for Bill 68, was unable to name any minority group that supported the legislation. However, despite its lack of popular support, Bill 68 received third reading on November 17, 1981 and came into force on December 21, 1981.

### The First Three Years

The author of Bill 68, Sidney Linden, was appointed as the first Public Complaints Commissioner for Ontario. After operating informally without legislative authority from July 23 to December 20, 1981, the Office of the Public Complaints Commissioner formally opened for business on December 21, 1981.

The first three Annual Reports of the Office of the Public Complaints Commissioner and the Police Complaints Board, covering the period from December 21, 1981 to December 20, 1984, contained a large array of statistical charts, but very little meaningful analysis of the statistics. Not a negative word would be found about the effectiveness or the new police complaints system from the complainants' perspective. Great emphasis was placed upon the procedural improvements in the new system (e.g. monthly reporting to the complainant), but certain disturbing trends were ignored and some potentially embarrassing statistics were omitted. For example:

1. No explanation was given for the extraordinarily low success rate of complaints. In the three-year period under review, a total of 2,009 complaints were made and resolved. Only 76 (3.8%) of these complaints resulted in police officers being disciplined. 72 of these 76 disciplinary actions were either "counsels" or "cautions". (A "counsel" is used where the actions of the officer involve relatively minor infractions committed unintentionally or through inexperience. A "caution" is a warning that further misconduct may result in a Police Act charge. It is questionable whether either a counsel or a caution is an effective form of discipline.) In addition, 16 complaints

(0.8%) resulted in Police Act charges against officers, and a mere 3 complaints (0.15%) resulted in criminal charges against police officers.

It is useful to compare these statistics with the findings of Arthur Maloney, who was appointed by the Metropolitan Toronto Board of Commissioners of Police in May, 1974 to review the function and organization of the old Complaint Bureau of the Metropolitan Toronto Police and its ability to adequately respond to and resolve complaints from the public regarding the conduct of police officers. Maloney presented his report in May, 1975. Maloney was struck by the relative infrequency of meaningful disciplinary action against police officers in Metropolitan Toronto in the early 1970's. Between 1969 and 1973, disciplinary action was taken in 20% of complaints. In 1973, 755 complaints were resolved by the police; 69 (10.5%) of these resulted in officers being counselled, one officer (0.1%) resigned and 7 (0.9%) were charged under the Police Act. Under the new system, the percentage of complaints resulting in disciplinary action is less than 50% of the levels found unsatisfactory by Maloney, and more than 90% of disciplinary actions are merely "counsels" or "cautions".

It is also useful to compare the new Toronto system to the old discredited internal police complaints systems still in effect elsewhere in Ontario. In 1983, the last year for which figures are available, there were 1,521 complaints outside Metropolitan Toronto, which resulted in disciplinary actions against officers in 145 cases (9.5%), Police Act charges in 16 cases (1.05%), and criminal charges in 15 cases (0.99%). These levels are substantially higher than the corresponding figures for Metropolitan Toronto during the three year period under review (3.8%, 0.8% and 0.15% respectively).

2. There does not appear to be any concern about the extraordinarily small number of hearings before the Police Complaints Board. No hearings were held in 1982 (partly because of the inherent delays in the system), six in 1983, eight in 1984 and six were pending at the end of the 1984 year.



Twenty hearings out of 2,009 complaints means that a complainant has just about a 1% chance of obtaining a hearing before the Police Complaints Board. Only four of the complainants who had hearings were successful in proving misconduct against the officers concerned. It would not be unfair to describe this record as pathetic.

The reasons for the inordinately low number of hearings are complex; a combination of inadequate legislation, superficial police investigations, biased Deputy Chief decisions, and excessive timidity on the part of the Public Complaints Commissioner. The following are some relevant statistics:

(a) of 2,009 complaints in the three-year period under review, disciplinary action by the Chief or Deputy Chief was taken in only 72 cases (3.6%). In addition, 16 complaints (0.8%) resulted in Police Act charges, 3 complaints (0.15%) resulted in criminal charges and 2 complaints (0.1%) were referred by the Deputy Chief to the Police Complaints Board for hearing. (In 1984, 2 additional complaints were referred by the Deputy Chief to the Police Complaints Board, but these hearings were still pending at the end of the 1984 year end.)

(b) the Public Complaints Commissioner completed 166 reviews of 1,197 Deputy Chief decisions. 92.9% of those decisions recommended that no action be taken against the police officers involved. More than 86% of the complainants whose cases were decided by the Deputy Chief, decided not to pursue their cases to the Public Complaints Commissioner level. It is reasonable to assume that the huge number of unsuccessful complainants who did not request a review by the Public Complaints Commissioner felt that such a review would be a waste of time, or that the deck was stacked against them, or both. Of the 166 reviews, approximately 16 hearings were ordered. Fewer than 1 in 10 complainants who requested reviews were granted a hearing. In 12 cases, the Public Complaints Commissioner substantially agreed with the complainant but decided that it was not in the public interest to order a hearing before the

Police Complaints Board. (No reason for these 12 unusual decisions was provided in the Annual Reports except for one or two isolated cases.)

3. The inordinately light penalties being handed out by the Police Complaints Board were not commented upon by the Public Complaints Commissioner in his Annual Reports. In the three year period under review, only four complaints resulted in findings of misconduct against police officers after Police Complaints Board hearings, and in one other case, the Police Complaints Board upheld a conviction under the Police Act which originated from a public complaint. All four successful complaints involved serious assaults against unarmed and defenceless civilians. The penalties imposed in respect of these four successful complaints (involving five officers) were as follows: two weeks' suspension without pay (with a recommendation that it should not interfere with the officer's future advancement in the force), five days' forfeiture of pay, 12 days' forfeiture of pay, 12 days' suspension without pay, and forfeiture of three days off. In the one case involving a Police Act appeal, an officer was found to have wilfully or negligently made false, misleading or inaccurate statements in court, although the findings of the trial judge in the Provincial Court proceedings were consistent only with deliberate perjury on the part of the police officer. This particular officer was demoted from police constable second class to police constable third class, with a strong recommendation that he be reviewed for promotion in accordance with the Department's policies, practices and principles after a period of three months. This sentence was upheld by the Police Complaints Board.

In the four successful assault cases, the officers' testimony was not believed, and the officers involved could have been found guilty of perjury as well as assault. If assault causing bodily harm, compounded by perjury, is no sufficient ground for a dismissal of a police officer, one has to wonder what would be sufficient ground. The Police Complaints Board has been exceedingly



tolerant of serious criminal behaviour by police officers.

4. The Public Complaints Commissioner has deliberately failed to account for the "disappearance" of the vast majority of assault complaints entering the police complaints system. The Citizens Independent Review of Police Activities (C.I.R.P.A.), has repeatedly requested that the Public Complaints Commissioner provide statistics indicating how assault complaints are being disposed of. (The Annual Reports show only the total number of complaints resolved in various ways, without indicating which types of allegations (assault, harassment, incivility, etc.) resulted in which types of resolutions (no action warranted, withdrawal, counsel/caution, etc.). In the three year period under review, 977 complaints of assault were made, including 161 complaints of assault causing bodily harm. All we know for sure from reading the three Annual Reports is that five officers were disciplined by the Police Complaints Board for having committed assaults. What happened to the other 972 assault complaints? One can only conclude that these particular statistics are being withheld because they would tend to show how particularly ineffective the new police complaints system has been in dealing with serious complaints.

### Summary

The formal title of Bill 68 was "An Act for the Establishment and Conduct of a Project in The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto to Improve Methods of Processing Complaints by Members of the Public against Police Officers on The Metropolitan Police Force". Although the complaints process has been improved in form, there has been little improvement in substance. In more than 85% of complaints there is no meaningful involvement (investigation or decision-making) by the Public Complaints Commissioner. While the complainant is kept informed of the progress of the complaint, the public is not permitted to become aware of the complaint until a hearing is ordered before the Police Complaints Board, which occurs in only one out of 100 cases. The

system is still very much a closed system.

The first Public Complaints Commissioner, Sidney Linden, has designed and implemented a system which is unduly lenient towards the police. Mr. Linden and his staff have repeatedly said that a system which is not accepted by the police will not work. Despite occasional rumblings by the Police Association, the police have accepted and even welcomed the new system. Only one police officer in the first three years appealed any decision of the Police Complaints Board, and nothing done by the Public Complaints Commissioner has been challenged in the courts by the police.

However, the police have only gone through the motions of co-operating with the Public Complaints Commissioner. One need only recall the Morrish Road (Scarborough party) inquiry, in which approximately 40 police officers, under oath, denied any involvement in or knowledge of a systematic beating of partygoers by several police officers (caught on film by a CITY-TV cameraman), even though these 40 officers were the only ones at the scene. Police investigations of complaints, almost non-existent under the old system, are still no better than superficial. If police investigators were as passive and ineffectual in criminal investigations as they are in police complaint investigations, the gap between successful criminal prosecutions (over 90%) and successful complaints against police officers (fewer than 6%) would narrow considerably.

The Public Complaints Commissioner has paid too high a price to gain the acceptance of the police for his new police complaints system. The new system does not protect the public from police misconduct; it protects the police from the consequences of police misconduct and helps to perpetuate it.

*Mark Wainberg is President of the Citizens Independent Review of Police Activities.*



# *Race Relations Training in the Prison Service*

## *A rationale for outside intervention*

John W. Shaw

*"An officer is taking part in a routine search of cells. One of these is occupied by a normally quiet Muslim prisoner. During the search whilst examining articles, the officer moves the Koran of the prisoner. He is immediately attacked by the inmate who is restrained by the officer's colleagues. Fortunately no injury is sustained. The prisoner is charged and at the hearing apologises for his behaviour but claims that the holy book should not be defiled by a non-believer."*

This was one of the race relations incidents supplied by a Prison Governor prior to his attending a residential training seminar at Manchester University, England. Such material, which in most cases is more extensive than this, serves two important training functions. First, it enables the facilitators to engage the minds of Governors, in the training situation, with real problems, rather than approaching the emotional subject of race relations from a theoretical point of view. Instead of trying to convince a resistant prison Governor that sensitivity towards minority cultures ought to be more widespread among staff, this incident shows how avoidable aggravation to the officer occurred, owing to his ignorance of minority beliefs. Second, this material shows us, as planners of seminars, the kind of real-life situation which the service in general, and our seminars in particular, must address in race relations training if it is to be perceived as relevant.

However, as one authority says, "There is a real need, at the level of the organisational system, to recognise that training is not a panacea." (Hinrichs, 1976, p. 847). Recruitment and promotion from the ethnic minori-

ties, identification and elimination of institutional discrimination, improvement of the 'culture' of the service by the example set by middle and senior management as well as their willingness to act against racist remarks and behaviour of staff, are all essential. To have been said, a crucial role for training still remains. This article sets out the author's views on how that training can be done in the most effective way in the Prison Service and why there is a role for an outside body like Manchester University.

### **A Philosophy for In-Service Race Relations Training**

The Government policy statement on race relations in the prison service in the U.K. takes a fundamentally instrumental line on race relations in the service. It says, (in paragraph 2), "The challenge we face is not that we lack sufficient goodwill but whether we have the necessary skills, resources and information to bring a proper professionalism to our work with ethnic minority inmates." This is an approach on which successful in-service training can be built if the consumers of that training are, or can be, convinced that they are deficient, in some way or other, in their knowledge or skills in the area of ethnic minority relations. I will grant that all, or most, members of society who are imbued with the idea of professionalism (and that includes most members of the prison service) want to continually improve their professional knowledge or abilities. Most successful in-service training is based on this assumption. However, it is also part of the training



function to create awareness of need where it does not exist; only then will the motivation to improve performance come into play as an operative factor. Experience teaches that white members of our predominantly white institutions are not usually self-critical in this area of their professional life. Thus, the foundation of a successful training intervention is the realisation by those being trained that the institution is failing to cope adequately with a multi-racial population, either because its procedures are discriminatory or insensitive or because a significant proportion of staff lack the knowledge or skills to deal satisfactorily with inmates who come from a different cultural background than their own.

Since training is carried out on a group basis, it can be stated as an axiom that where a majority of any particular training group are unconvinced of the existence of any personal professional deficiencies, then the training in question will succeed in adding neither to their professional knowledge nor to their skills. Where the race relations training component is abbreviated, say, half a day on a five-year development course, then that half-day should, in the main, be used to create awareness of the extent of institutional, cultural and personal racism in the service.

To talk of solutions before problems have been identified is clearly pointless. Where training is of a longer duration, then both problems and solutions can be tackled, provided this is done in the right order. Some trainers, totally convinced in their own mind of the extent of racism in the service, begin there, without checking that their audience shares their assumptions. Most unproductive, or even counterproductive, training sessions come about in this way.

### Outside Intervention

Training interventions carried out by outsiders partake of both advantages and disadvantages. On the plus side, a certain degree of detachment from internal pressures should make more likely the optimal training solution. On the minus side, the outsider may be seen as the occupant of an 'ivory tower', naive about the 'real world' as it exists within the organisation. To avoid these

pitfalls, the outsider's intervention should be based either on a 'training needs assessment' of the organisation or in close collaboration with internal staff in planning the training or both. The examination of critical incidents, provided by management, is crucial. Moreover, the external training providers should act more as directors of the production than as a cast. Key internal members, with credibility among their peers, as well as a track record in dealing effectively with race relations issues, should be the main performers in the training production. The other key roles are those played by ethnic minority persons, either from within or outside of the service.

A pool of minority people is needed who have the dual qualification of knowing what it feels like to be black or brown in a largely white society and possessing an understanding of the role, function and procedures of the Prison Service. Any successful training programme in race relations in the service depends upon finding enough members of this pool who are willing and able to be involved and can be sufficiently well recompensed for such involvement. No race relations training of any substance or significance can be carried out as a dialogue between white trainers and a largely white organisation. Training has to be a multi-racial operation, a model in fact of what the service as a whole should aspire to be.

### Content of Race Relations Training

My philosophy of the direction for race relations training includes the notion of always seeking to move ahead on three levels simultaneously. These are the personal level, the working group level, and the level of the total organisation. Institutional renewal without corresponding changes at the individual level is not likely to be effective nor vice versa. Similarly, changes at the level of the working group can reinforce and ensure individual and institutional changes. Not often in training do we have the chance to influence actual working groups but the syndicate group of peers, albeit brought together for the purposes of a seminar only, can create a context in which changes at all three levels can be considered and expedited; new per-



sonal norms for the service can be developed and reinforced; individual attitudes can be checked out in a safe but also challenging environment; and service policy can be examined and its implementation discussed with colleagues.

Despite having emphasised three levels of intervention, the individual member of the service remains a key factor in its successful adaptation to a multiracial society. Debate, however, goes on about whether in training we ought to concern ourselves primarily with the professional behaviour of officers, governors and others or whether we ought to be concerned with hearts and minds, as our prime concern. In answering this, let us consider the two phenomena of *prejudice* (negative attitudes towards minorities) and *discrimination* (actual harmful, negative behaviours directed towards them). While prejudice is to be deplored, it is the overt discriminatory practices themselves which exert harmful effects on the targets of bigotry and hatred. Moreover, as recent writers have emphasised (Feagin and Feagin, 1978.) discrimination may be, and often is, institutional in origin and not the result of the prejudiced feelings of individual members of the organisation. Granted, however, the dangers of leaving prejudice untouched, this is not necessarily harmful, since it is possible, as has been proved, to prevent prejudice being turned into overt behaviour by making the cost of doing so too high in personal and professional terms.

Having said all that, I believe that personal attitudes must still be on the agenda and effective training should try to create the conditions for personal change for those who can be reached. The literature suggests that this might be achieved in several different ways. First, if the service insists on compliance with a code of practice in relations with minorities, and training reinforces it, then dissonance is created within a prejudiced individual until his attitudes come into line with his or her new behaviour. The proviso here is that the aforesaid compliance should be achieved as far as possible by persuasion or other subtle means. (Festinger and Carlsmith, 1959).

Second, yet other research suggests that

attitude changes in some instances tend to follow changes in beliefs (Fishbein, 1967). Thus if through training we can change people's stereotypes of minorities, by teaching personal contact through visits and by the influence of significant colleagues who themselves question or reject such stereotypes, then once again attitude change in a positive direction can be expected to follow any changes in attitudes through the process known as identification (Shaw, 1977). The presence of such people in the training environment is important since they act as catalysts in the development of others. Equally, colleagues who resist the goals of equal opportunity policy may also gather supporters during training sessions and hinder back the process of attitude development among their peers. One has seen both positive and negative examples of the identification process during several years work with the prison service.

This issue leads me to the final theoretical consideration, namely, the crucial role of experienced group facilitators and the conscious use of the dynamics of small groups as a tool in the training process. When several members of a small group, by means of the process just described, deliberately resist or obstruct the discussion and development of relevant topics, then the leader's awareness of process and his or her ability to mobilise whatever support may be in the group is crucial to group performance. Equally, when support in the group is strong, the skill of the leader will determine whether this is used to maximum effect so far as achieving the goals of the seminar are concerned.

### The Role of the University

Manchester University has sought to implement the above philosophy in our role as training resource to the prison service. Although the service does the bulk of its own training, we have had the opportunity to work with all levels of the service from officers up to and including members of the senior management team at H.Q. in London. Resistance to training in race relations can be found at all levels and so can enthusiasm and commitment. What developments have



taken place? What have we tried to achieve? What successes, if any, have we had?

In February 1982, when the first Governors' seminar was held, we already had fifteen years experience of running senior officers' seminars on the same topic for the police service. We had, therefore, a successful model which could be modified to meet the special needs of prison governors. We set the following objectives: to acquaint governors with Departmental Race Relations Policy; to make them aware of historical trends since the war regarding immigration and settlement; to make them aware of the nature and incidence of personal and institutional discrimination in penal institutions; to make them think practically about the implementation of departmental policy; to give them the opportunity to meet and communicate with ethnic minority members of the general public.

Each seminar is evaluated and governor attitudes are measured, using self-report techniques. Those items on the programme which involve the members actively such as syndicate discussions, group projects, visits, case study analyses tend to be evaluated as more beneficial. Lectures get lower evaluations. This confirms what we have found with senior executives of other departments over the years. On the attitude-scales, job-related items (increased awareness of the importance of race relations in prison work) often show greater change than more general items (e.g. accepting the nature of our multi-racial society). Given the heavy job emphasis of the seminar this is perhaps not unexpected.

The early seminars were largely composed of the older colleagues, with long service often going back to the Second World War, including some with a colonial service background. These participants often took a cynical view of race relations, seeing it as the latest fad in the department's quirky history. Initial resistance was often intense but their fundamental good humour and good sense usually asserted itself by the end of the week. On the other hand, the latest in the training series had younger and more junior participants who were more willing to wrestle

with the conceptual problems behind such terms as prejudice, discrimination, and indirect institutional racism. Could this be a form of intellectual avoidance behaviour? In some cases, yes. Despite the higher voltage in brain-power, we cannot claim that their commitment to promoting racial harmony in institutions is *necessarily* any stronger than the best of the Governors we saw in the earlier seminars.

They say there is no such thing as a free lunch and there is certainly no such thing as an 'easy ride' in prison department race relations seminars. By this I mean that lecturers, directors and group facilitators always have to strive hard to achieve seminar objectives. However, the nearest we came to our dream was during the so called Generic Seminar which was run for the first time this year. The concept we developed was for a seminar of thirty-six participants, made up of threesomes drawn from twelve institutions. Each triad had to include a Governor grade, a uniform grade and a specialist, such as psychologist, chaplain or education officer. Very little didactic teaching was done but members were led through various exercises and from mid-week the triads were working largely autonomously; first in building up their own team spirit and then in developing a strategy for their own institution. The before and after attitude measures were extremely positive, showing more than one point increase (on a five-point scale) on 'likely initiatives after return' and 'feeling of group cohesiveness'.

Another area of training has been involvement in the Development courses for prison officers, an essential part of the in-service provision of the service. To establish a more positive role for Race Relations on these courses, it was decided that our first priority with the trainees was to establish the fact that there was a real need for a Race Relations policy in the service by presenting and discussing a wide range of incidents, which had really occurred, in which the shortcomings of the service had been revealed. The reader should note that this awareness was not to be obtained by teaching or telling but by discussion of the case material or, in some



instances, simple vignettes, i.e. brief encounter of an inter-racial kind. Thus the trainees were to be helped to make up their own minds about the need for a policy. Building on this foundation, we could then go on to discuss policy changes in the service, and the part played by personal knowledge, or the lack of it, by attitudes and prejudices, and, most important, their behaviour as professional prison officers.

In fact, throughout these inputs their own professionalism is stressed as an antidote to inter-racial misunderstanding. The need for professional expertise to handle any situation effectively and fairly is emphasised throughout. So far, no outbursts have prevented these learning objectives from being achieved in some measure, even though the going gets tough at times. For we have to admit, as I said earlier, that we are dealing with very emotional issues and they can easily get out of hand unless the trainer or tutor is on the alert.

### Conclusion

Our experience has convinced us that the University can play a useful part in the Prison Service's development in order to cope with the new challenges of our multi-racial society. However, the task of training is of such magnitude that the Service itself must con-

tinue to play the major part. Nonetheless, as we have tried to show, there is an argument in favour of some outside intervention which benefits from being conducted in the cloistered atmosphere of the university, with staff who have no organisation axe to grind and where the study of contentious issues may be carried out in a more detached way by being in a neutral environment.

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## Police Intercultural Education Pilot Project

### A Summary of the Evaluation

CHARLES S. UNGERLEIDER & FRANK H. ECHOLS

### Overview

In keeping with its efforts to promote positive multicultural and multiracial contact among all Canadians, the Multiculturalism Directorate of the Secretary of State funded The Police Intercultural Education Pilot Project. The project was designed by a private Vancouver firm, International Briefing Associates. The project's aim was to promote positive intercultural contact between members of the Vancouver and Ottawa police departments and the members of the racial and ethno/cultural groups in the two cities. Its proposal to the Directorate for the Police Intercultural Education Pilot Project, Inter-



tional Briefing Associates listed four broad goals. It sought to:

1. develop understanding of, and sensitivity to, cultural diversity.
  2. promote non-discrimination and equal rights.
  3. assist police personnel to work more effectively in multi-cultural communities.
  4. encourage interaction and understanding between police personnel and members of cultural minorities.
- The proposers felt that the goals could be accomplished by bringing members of the Vancouver and the Ottawa Police Departments together with members of ethno-cultural groups in their respective communities. They designed and conducted six three-day workshop sessions; three in Ottawa and three in Vancouver. A variety of people were in attendance during the workshops. There were 150 police and community participants as well as the workshop leaders and various resource people.
- A variety of processes were designed and organized within the three-day workshop setting, including lectures, role-playing, small group and large group discussions. The workshops were scheduled at intervals to permit the leaders to improve upon the pilot on the basis of their experience. The processes were organized into modules which focused on the study of community-based cases, values, facts, interview/interaction and response strategies.

### General Observations

Independent of the detailed data collection and analysis, the external evaluators made five observations about the Police Intercultural Education Pilot Project.

1. They estimated that approximately twelve hundred to fifteen hundred people heard about the workshop from the participants.
2. The very existence of the project conveyed a clear message to the participants and those who heard about the project. The message was that the federal government, municipalities and participating police forces consider harmonious multicultural/multiracial relations to be very important.

3. They observed consensus among the participants regarding two outcomes of the project. The participants valued the acquisition of knowledge and information about one another's background and perspective. The participants also felt that both the formal and informal social exchange was beneficial. An unanticipated outcome was the positive value visible minorities attributed to learning about and interacting with one another.
4. The external evaluators believe that it is more effective and less expensive to recruit people to policing who possess attitudes and personal traits which are consistent with multi-cultural/multiracial policing policy than it is to try to change people after they have been employed as police officers.
5. The external evaluators observed that some of the reactions produced by the project were attributable to the locations in which the workshops took place. They believed that whatever program is eventually developed should take into account the socio-historical context in which the program will be implemented.

### Results of the Evaluation

Of the four broad goals of the project, the workshops appear to have made steps toward developing "understanding of, and sensitivity to, cultural diversity" and encouraging "interaction and understanding between police personnel and members of cultural minorities." In their spontaneous remarks, both the police and community participants reported about or revealed insights about themselves and their relationship to others which were sparked by the workshop. The "discovery" that police and community members are human beings who share similar goals and values is one example of such an insight. The hesitancy in referring to members of minority groups in derogatory ways is another.

It is not clear whether the two remaining goals were accomplished. To the extent that the knowledge which the police acquired in the workshop was job related, the program will have assisted "police personnel to work



more effectively in multi-cultural communities." It is doubtful that the workshops were successful in promoting "non-discrimination and equal rights." For example, it is doubtful that the participants could define the terms stereotyping, prejudice, discrimination and institutional racism as a consequence of the workshop. Even if they were able to define the terms, it is doubtful that they would be able to explain how the terms applied to police work. According to the observers, definitions of these terms were not made very clear to the participants.

Attitude change did not occur as a consequence of the Police Intercultural Education Pilot Project. This conclusion is, of course, limited by the choice of instruments and methodology employed in this phase. It is possible that other researchers using different techniques could arrive at a different conclusion. This is unlikely for two reasons. First, attitude formation is a complex affair. The "power" of the workshop experience was insufficient to counter the "power" of the social forces which shape attitude development. Secondly, several different research techniques were employed in the design of the evaluation and the data from the other sources support the conclusion regarding a lack of attitude change.

The self-concept data helped to put some issues in perspective. Overall, the police in Ottawa and Vancouver had positive self concepts. These officers were no more aggressive than the general population. Nevertheless, it is clear that the police involved in this study were much less open than the general population to analyzing their own feelings and behaviour or the feelings and behaviour of others. If this finding is an accurate characterization of police in general, it has implication for programs which seek to engender reflectiveness about human relations.

The self-concept data has some potential for use in recruitment of future police officers. The ease of administration of such a scale suggests that it could easily be incorporated in procedures used to select candidates for police training. If senior police officials could agree on desirable traits for future officers, then implementation of policy

would seem relatively straightforward. Such traits as self-confidence, favourable view of self and empathy for others would be among those characteristics deemed important for those accepted for training. It is far easier and less costly to recruit individuals with the desired attitudes than to attempt to change them once the people have been employed.

From their comments during the interviews, it is evident that both the police and the community participants began to learn about a variety of cultural practices, beliefs and attitudes. There was some evidence from the interview data that, given the opportunity, the participants would use the information to promote harmonious and productive interaction with others. Because of the broad range of material discussed and the differences in how well the material was transmitted and absorbed, it is not possible to indicate precisely what was and was not learned. However, based upon the interview material and the observer's reports, the material which was related directly to the tasks of policing and living in culturally diverse communities was most likely learned. For example, the police expressed strong interest in the material concerning the handling of domestic disputes and interviewing Asian and Native Indian people.

From the post-workshop questionnaires it is clear that nearly all of the participants agreed that the workshops have encouraged interaction and understanding between the police and members of visible minorities. A consensus existed among the participants regarding two broad goals of the experience: (1) they valued the acquisition of knowledge and information about the other's background and perspective; and (2) they found the social exchange beneficial, both the informal interaction which took place and that structured as part of the workshop experience.

The extent of consensus and the relative degree of emphasis revealed by the data provide tangible evidence which would support claims to workshop success. What we find most persuasive is that these two global outcomes are consistent and are independent of particular methodological strategy. We



believe the immediate post-workshop evaluation results have relevance for subsequent decisions regarding further deployment of this or a similar program.

Independent of the evaluation data, it is clear that the existence of this project, the extent of the resources allocated to it and the publicity it has received send a clear message to both police and community participants that improvement in the relations between police and community members is considered important. The workshops cannot help but be a sensitizing device to all parties regardless of how they perceive them. In other words, both the police and community members are being told that people care about how they interact with one another. Given the great number of people with whom the police and community members had contact, it is likely that this positive message has been widely transmitted. Thus, regardless of the specific impact of the workshops on the participants, the very existence of the workshops may be worth the time and expense devoted to them.

### Recommendations

A large number of specific recommendations were made about the content and structure of the workshops, the recruitment and selection of participants and workshop leaders, and ways of conducting the workshop sessions. It is not possible to indicate all of the recommendations. The following represents a summary of the recommendations.

The external evaluators strongly recommend:

1. equal and voluntary participation of police and community members who have been well-informed about the nature, purposes and structure of the workshops.
2. selection of workshop leaders whom the police and community members consider expert and trustworthy.
3. provision of as much direct and immediate experience as can practically be provided, including role playing and active modelling of desired behaviour by the workshop leaders.
4. presentation of practical information closely connected to policing and community living.
5. organization of instructional messages which maximize persuasiveness and minimize counter-argument.
6. management of environmental and social influences on learning which will help to ensure friendly and productive workshop sessions.

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# *The Greater Toronto Region Working Group on Policing in Multicultural, Multiracial Urban Communities*

Jean Boyd

*As an account of the formation and development of a police-community working group, this article shows that such a process requires the support from various key groups and that the process of dialogue is one that requires continued effort and a sustained commitment.*

The purpose of the Working Group is to develop detailed plans for specific actions by police and community and to undertake to encourage police forces and community groups to implement these plans in order to achieve the stated goals, which are:

1. an increase in the number of visible minority officers in police forces;
2. the development, improvement and implementation of appropriate cross-cultural training programmes for officers;
3. identification of improvements that might be made in existing citizen complaint procedures;
4. the improvement and co-ordination of police/community liaison activities.

## **Background**

The Greater Toronto Regional Working Group on Policing in Multicultural Multiracial Urban Communities was formed in the context of increased interest in co-operation between the police and the community in Canada in the first half of this decade. The Special Parliamentary Committee on the Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society, the Abella Commission on Equality in Employment, and the consultations held by the Multiculturalism Directorate with various institutions, including the police, are all important landmarks in the background of this working group.

In October 1984, a symposium was held on Policing in Multicultural and Multiracial Urban Communities co-sponsored by the

Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police and the Multiculturalism Directorate of the Secretary of State. (See article by R. Scotti and E. Miller).

The symposium endorsed a proposal to convene regional consultations "to review priority issues, establish regional goals, identify implementation strategies, and prepare a position statement regarding...key areas".

And so, putting the idea immediately into practice, on November 2, 1984, a letter was sent by a local ad hoc Steering Committee to all those who had attended the Toronto Regional Workshop in Vancouver. This letter outlined the membership, goals, methods and evaluation of the group and proposed an agenda for the first meeting which focussed specifically on recruitment of visible minority officers. This efficient speedy follow-up to the Vancouver meeting seems to have been a key factor in the establishment of the group.

On December 5, 1984, the first meeting was held in Toronto. Some twenty representatives from police, government and the community attended. It transpired that many of these people were previously acquainted and already formed the nucleus of a group committed to these goals.

The proposed agenda items were discussed. Membership was limited to those who had attended the Vancouver symposium or their designates, with the addition of several invited members to fill gaps in representation. It was agreed that only one designate could attend and that the designate should be properly briefed. Any additional members or invited observers were to be approved by a vote of the group. It was decided that resource people should be invited to address the group on specific topics. It was agreed that there should be no sharing of information outside



the group except through official channels and that confidentiality and frankness were expected.

This first meeting is described in some detail because it laid the groundwork for the operation of the group. Key matters to discuss in forming any work group appear to be:

- 1) an initial steering committee to call meetings and set an agenda
- 2) a secretariat and means of support
- 3) membership (rules of)
- 4) goals
- 5) an agenda
- 6) transportation
- 7) venue
- 8) frequency of meetings

#### **Later Formative Stage**

By the time the group met on February 27, 1985, at the Peel Regional Police Headquarters in Brampton, several of the matters raised in the earlier meeting had been dealt with by the Steering Committee. A proposal had been drafted to the Ontario regional office of the Secretary of State, and preliminary efforts had been made to secure the services of an evaluator and a facilitator, contingent on funding of the proposal.

The agenda for the Peel meeting focussed primarily on the presentation by representatives of various police forces of the data they had collected on recruitment and selection in response to a series of questions discussed at the previous meeting. However, several lengthy discussions were held prior to this on matters which assumed some importance. The first was the question of the body to which the group felt it should report. Matters of accountability and channels of communication were discussed at length, and the ultimate conclusion was that this was an autonomous working group that would report its recommendations and action plans to the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police and the Minister of State for Multiculturalism.

Also discussed at length was the question of alternate representatives and observers at meetings. Members thought that it was important in this delicate task of dialogue to keep as much consistency in attendance as possible.

There was some restlessness at this stage about how much effort had been spent discussing preliminaries while the essential task of dealing with recruitment and selection had not been achieved. This was a theme that was to dog the proceedings in several later meetings, when the process of dialogue and the task at hand seemed to be in conflict. The resolution of the problem is an essential one for working groups such as this, and will be discussed later in this article.

The end of this meeting in Peel essentially ended the formative stages of the group, since subsequent meetings had a recognizable structure and substance that was the result of the first three months of work.

#### **Recruitment and Selection of Visible Minority Officers**

At the Peel meeting, police representatives from Halton, Peel, Metro Toronto and Durham gave oral presentations of written documents that had been compiled for the group from their respective forces. Material on York Regional Police Force was sent by mail. They gave data answering questions on amount of hiring, present strength of force, present visible minority representation, numbers of applications, criteria for selection, the process of selection, interviewing and testing of applicants, cross-cultural training of recruitment officers, vacancy rates, patterns of community growth, recruitment procedures, advertising, dealing with internal incidents of harassment, and many others. (These data are being systematically compared and analyzed at present). Group members asked many questions about these presentations, and the framework of further discussion for this task was established.

At the following meeting on April 11th, presentations were made by an invited resource person, Sonja Greckol, an Equal Opportunity Researcher with the City of Toronto, and by a member of the group, Paul Scott, an employment equity consultant for Employment and Immigration Canada. In the presentation by Sonja Greckol, emphasis was placed on the importance of gathering data on the representation of visible minority employees throughout an organization and ways in

which this could be done. Later these data could be tied in with an assessment of organizational recruitment and selection. A lively discussion ensued on the collection of data by race on individuals at the pre-application stage. The presentation by Paul Scott focussed on detecting biases in hiring and the criteria to be used in analyzing employment practices and policies for signs of intent of systematic discrimination.

Both of these presentations performed an important educational function enabling group members to analyze more effectively, the material presented on recruitment. A sub-committee was established to draft a review of recruitment. This Sub-Committee on Recruitment and Selection has reviewed the statistical qualitative material provided by the participating police forces as well as related material and has completed a first draft of its report. The final report will be made publicly available to assist police forces in the review and revision of the recruitment and selection processes.

While the Sub-Committee was dealing with the data on recruitment and selection, however, a contingency arose that absorbed much of its energies and those of the entire Working Group for several weeks.

### **Response to the Touche Ross Report**

At the May 16th meeting of the group, it was announced that the Multiculturalism Directorate had approved its grant application for \$20,000 and that it would be able to hire an evaluator and a facilitator, and a recording secretary for meetings.

The major presentation at this meeting was from Ronald Prior of the Toronto Police, who was now able to make public, the contents of the report by Touche Ross, Management Consultants, on the recruitment and selection system of the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force. In addition, various other police representatives gave more detailed answers to questions on recruitment for the report of the Sub-Committee on Recruitment and Selection.

This Sub-Committee was also given the task of producing a draft response to the Touche Ross report in response to the invita-

tion from the Board of Commissioners Police. The draft was to be circulated to and amended by the entire Working Group.

At the June 13th meeting, the draft of the response to the Touche Ross report was the main agenda item. This meeting started with a very convoluted and detailed discussion of some small items on the draft and basically did not reach a consensus on the draft. Several quite negative interchanges occurred, the accommodation was too small, the temperature of the room matched participants' temper and discomfiture, and the recording secretary's voice could be heard recording the proceedings.

This meeting was a watershed in the group's proceedings, since the conflict between process and task became so evident that it led to several other small meetings of group members in the same month in which both the task and the process were discussed. By early July, there were two draft responses to the Touche Ross report, the initial one and a revised draft prepared by police officers. It was imperative that attention be paid to mending the process of dialogue.

### **Mending the Process**

The first attempt to mend the process was through a meeting of the Steering Committee and the evaluator and the facilitator. Certain aspects of the meeting were discussed and certain features of the facilitator's role were defined. This meeting served to debrief members present who were feeling upset, but did not have that function for others who were absent. Consequently, feelings ran high in some quarters between the June and July meetings.

At the July 18th meeting however, several practices were instituted that served to alleviate tension and to re-establish a productive dialogue. The facilitator assumed for the first time a key role in directing discussion following agreement with the Chair that she would take over chairing discussion to enable the Chair to participate as a member in discussion. This enabled the Chair to present her views and to participate more effectively.

A second change in the process was the explicit declaration by the Chair of ground rules for participation, with an emphasis on polite



ness, brevity, and a well-modulated voice.

The third was the use of wall flip-charts and written summaries of discussion so that the agreed-upon wording was visible to all.

The fourth was the active role of the facilitator in directing members' attention to the task at hand and in fostering listening skills among members. These actions led to an improvement in the process of dialogue as well as to the successful completion of the task of reaching a consensus out of the two draft responses to the Touche Ross report.

The consensus at the end of the meeting was that the process and the task-orientation were much improved, and members felt the group could continue its work effectively.

*Jean Boyd is a Superintendent with the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force and is Chairperson of the Working Group.*

#### **Key Factors in the Establishment of a Police-Community Working Group**

1. A sense of ownership of the idea and a commitment to forming a group (and building on a previous network).
2. A small group of people willing to assume responsibility for convening meetings in the formative stages and for doing the preliminary organization.
3. Forms of external support (secretarial, copying, mailing) until the group is funded, and afterwards.
4. Necessity of writing a grant proposal for assistance with facilitation and evaluating and other costs of running the group.
5. Willingness of committed people to attend monthly meetings.
6. Establishment of a set of defined objectives and a realistic timetable.
7. Ease of transportation and availability of meeting space.
8. Agreement of confidentiality of proceedings.
9. Consistent attendance by representatives of police and community or their designates.
10. Gaining consensus on group's identity and body to which it is to report.
11. Resolving problems of process that interfere with the stated goals.
12. Appointing a sub-committee to deal with data compilation and summary.
13. Ensuring an even balance of police/community representatives on working committees.
14. Having ground rules for the conduct of meetings.
15. Having large, well-ventilated meeting rooms.
16. Having a facilitator at meetings as early as possible in the process.

# *The Metropolitan Toronto Council on Race Relations and Policing: A Portrait*

Zubeida Poonja

The well-known array of contemporary socio-economic problems with respect to changing forms of family life, a lack of affordable housing, a lack of recreational facilities that are affordable to all members of the community, and ever-shrinking resources for traditional or newer human service agencies have meant ever-increasing demands being placed on the police services of Metropolitan Toronto.

The police no longer are merely a law enforcement agency continuously striving to provide a high standard of police protection. They have become rather an important part of the human services system in Metro. Police officers in Metro are daily engaged in helping individuals or other agencies involved in problems that are not related to law enforcement. "Keeping the peace" or "maintaining order" has a different meaning and emphasis today than it did even twenty five years ago - something the police are gradually learning to accept and something the public at large has been rather slow to understand as well.

A particular problem in Metropolitan Toronto has been an unhappy relationship between the police and some members of the visible minority groups. Visible minority groups consistently have been complaining about persistent police insensitivity to their needs and their lifestyles, as well as racial harassment by the police.

It must be acknowledged, however, that the police have taken important steps to improve their relations with the visible minorities. Such initiatives include the establishment of the Ethnic Relations Unit;

attempts to recruit more members of the visible minority groups as police officers; expansion of police training programmes to include cross-cultural education for police officers at all levels; new emphasis placed on community and race relations; more police participation in race relations committees in Metro. These initiatives are steps in the right direction and can be viewed as signs of more meaningful changes to come. The reality, however, remains that the Force is still a long way from being a satisfactory image of the various publics it serves.

Therefore, a major challenge for an agency like the Council on Race Relations and Policing is to encourage the Force with continued vigour to make the appropriate changes. The flip side of this challenge is to improve community awareness of what contemporary policing is about in Metropolitan Toronto.

The Council on Race Relations and Policing is one formal, public mechanism for joint police-minority problem-solving and conflict resolution in Metropolitan Toronto. Other mechanisms are provided by the office of the Public Complaints Commissioner, the Race Relations Division of the Ontario Human Rights Commission and the Directorate of Multicultural and Race Relations of Metropolitan Toronto. In crisis situations, the police frequently use their own informal networks in the community. Other players in the field of policing and race relations are the various Municipal and Mayors' Committees on community and race relations.

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### Background

The Council on Race Relations and Policing, previously called the Liaison Group on Law Enforcement and Race Relations and Metropolitan Toronto Committee on Race Relations and Policing, has been in existence since 1976. During that time, the Council has not only changed its name and membership, but has also reviewed its mandate. It is appropriate that an organization such as this Council be reviewed from time to time to ensure that its objectives and purposes continue to respond to new circumstances.

Unlike in 1976, the Council on Race Relations and Policing is no longer the only group in Metropolitan Toronto solely concerned with race relations and policing. The Council, however, remains unique because it is independent from governments, because it is a voluntary partnership between the police and members of the community, and because it involves police personnel at all levels.

Perhaps the most unique feature of the earlier Committee was the development of Area Committees which were strategically located at the grass roots, community level. These Area Committees, to some extent, succeeded as vehicles for police "sensitization", public education and casework problem-solving. There were, however, certain difficulties with this model of community/police involvement. These arose from the mandate, structure and legislation under which the police work in the Province of Ontario.

Another important initiative in 1983 which had to be taken into account and which led to the formation of the present Council on Race

Relations and Policing, was the restructuring of the Police Force as a result of the Hickling Johnston Management Study of the Police Force. Of particular importance is a new philosophy of policing emphasizing decentralized management and decision-making, zone policing and a new role for the Constable/Generalist. Community relations, crime prevention and race relations are also given significant emphasis as a result of this study and its subsequent adoption by the Force.

These changes brought about a clear recognition of the need for greater police involvement in the race relations process from the bottom up: divisional community relations personnel, the constable/generalist, Public Affairs and Community Planning Officers are in the frontline of race relations efforts. If race relations is to remain a high priority of both the police and the community, activities must occur at the Zone, Division and District levels, where the police and the community have more frequent and more direct contacts with one another. Members of the Police Force have acknowledged the need for an on-going, public and formalized process in which members of the community can act as resources to the police and the police as resources to the community in the area of race relations, problem-solving and conflict-prevention techniques.

### Goals

In response to these new circumstances the Council on Race Relations and Policing was established with the following mandate:

"To bring together in a partnership the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force and representatives of agencies and other individuals having experience in race relations matter to

- (i) develop programs and strategies on race relations and policing; and
- (ii) provide such advisory assistance as is requested by any committees on race relations and policing established by the police and any community within Metropolitan Toronto."



The Council is made up of 30 members who represent community groups and agencies, racial/ethnic community organizations, community legal clinics, the Urban Alliance on Race Relations, the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, the Office of the Public Complaints Commissioner, the Ontario Human Rights Commission, Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, Ontario Ministries of the Attorney General and Solicitor General, the Federal Ministry of the Solicitor General, and senior officers of the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force. The Council also has a full-time Programme Director and one support staff. It is funded by the Metropolitan Toronto Council, and the Ontario Ministries of the Attorney General and the Solicitor General.

### Activities

In support of its mandate and task specific approach to programme development, the Council's current workplan includes:

#### Public Information

To develop videos on matters of law enforcement, particularly the Trespass to Property Act. The videos will be used to disseminate information and to improve the awareness of law enforcement issues amongst the visible minority youth. The videos will also be used for police training.

#### Police Training

One of the crucial aspects of Policing that impacts on race relations is police training. Therefore the goal of the Council is to study and evaluate the Metro Police Force training programme vis a vis race relations. Some of the issues related to police training in race relations that are being examined are:

- the nature of existing training programmes;
- an assessment of the impact of such training on front-line officers;
- evaluation mechanisms used to establish the effectiveness of existing training programmes at the zone level.

#### Community Police Relations

In order to further improve and establish continuing relationships between the racial and ethnic minority communities in Metro and the Metro Police Force, a consultation project has been initiated with the following objectives:

- (i) To consult and obtain information from the community and the police on existing mechanisms/programmes/initiatives that are intended to foster better relations between the community and the police
- (iii) To analyse the successes and drawbacks of such initiatives and propose improved workable models at district and zone levels.

Members of the Council representing various constituencies participate in Council's programmes. Initial results of these projects have led to further programme decisions and other initiatives taken by the Council in recent months, for example:

-An examination of issues of Disparate Sentencing that affect visible minority youth.

-Preparation of a pamphlet on hate literature that will better equip the community to deal appropriately with hate propaganda.

-Identification of a pilot project to promote better relations between visible minority youth (students), the police, private security guards, shop owners and school authorities in malls located near schools.

-Response to the Metro Toronto Housing Authority (MTHA) on the proposed withdrawal of Community Guardian Company Limited from Ontario Housing Corporation(OHC) projects in Scarborough. Council was instrumental in encouraging MTHA to include race relations performance criteria in the tender documents for the provision of such security services. Subsequently, the Community Guardian Company Limited was rehired to provide security services for Scarborough OHC projects.

-Council played a major role in promoting better relations between the Hispanic Council and the police to address issues and complaints about mistreatment of Latin American refugees by police officers in 14 Division.

-Response to a report by Touche Ross and Partners: "A Review of the Recruitment and Selection System of the Metropolitan Toronto Police."

Council members continue to keep abreast of other topics and issues that impact on



police/community relations. Council meetings thus feature presentations by experts on such topics as the Young Offenders Act, the Domestic Response Team, the Consultants' Report on mini stations.

The high morale of the Council members and staff is encouraging and their support in carrying out the goals of the Council is commendable. The police members on the Council play an effective liaison role between the Council and the Police Force. We continue to respond and contribute to bring about positive changes in police-minority relations.

*Zubeida Poonja is the Program Director of the Council on Race Relations and Policing, 950 Yonge Street, Suite 1000, Toronto, Ontario M4W 2J4. Telephone: (416) 961-9831.*

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**CITIZEN-POLICE RELATIONS IN POLICE  
POLICY SETTING. FINAL REPORT.**

*Terry Eisenberg and Sharon Lawrence  
Institute for Social Analysis, Los Gatos,  
California 1980*

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## ***Master or Servant?***

### ***Police Accountability and Community Control***

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As Canadian society becomes more bureaucratized and institutionalized, there is a tendency for all our institutions to become increasingly isolated from the community. The police are no exception. Given this general trend, one needs to ask the question as to whether the police are in danger of becoming a law unto themselves? And if not, in what ways are police action accountable?

Most Canadians unfortunately, know little, and apparently care less, about the operation of their police. Many feel that public order is the responsibility of the police alone. But, if the police are perceived as the only organ of social control, as the sole protectors and guardians of society, then the sense of police accountability will inevitably be diminished. The insularity of the police therefore can be seen in part due to the fact that relatively few members of the public have taken an intelligent interest in the police.

Policing is still in many ways a "closed" public institution, surrounded by a good deal of mystery and secrecy. The police seem more able than other public agencies in Canada to protect themselves from public scrutiny. And not withstanding the glowing portraits of police-community initiatives described elsewhere in this issue of *Currents*, the police seem much more able to head off the demands for meaningful democratic accountability through the creation of consultation and advisory committees that are given vague terms of reference and no real powers.

Other factors that contribute to the further separation of the police from the community they serve is the reality that, more than most occupations, the police are isolated from the larger community in that much of their professional and social lives are spent within the police culture. And, many police are alienated from the mainstream of the community because of the particular persons and situations with which the police are most often involved.

#### **The Need**

Not withstanding these opposing trends, if our police forces were the most efficiently operated in the world, they would still accomplish very little without citizen concern and participation. Police work in the future is going to depend more upon public support and co-operation rather than less. If we accept that law enforcement is, and should be a total community concern, then strenuous efforts must be made to maintain and strengthen effective working relationships between the police and other components in the community. Policing is a communal function and as such should not be left to the police alone. The legitimacy and accountability of the police will be enhanced when it shares the policing function with the community.

#### **Police-Community Relations in the U.S.**

The Report "Citizen-Police Relations in Police Policy Setting", by Terry Eisenberg and Sharon Lawrence for the U.S. Department of Justice, is a comprehensive survey of citizen participation in policy determination in over 200 police agencies throughout the United States.

Despite the tremendous amount of activity in police departments throughout the U.S. in the last decade to implement various programmes designed to "improve police-community relations", one is somewhat dismayed by the results of this survey. The authors found that most of the programmes have been designed primarily to improve the police image in the community, that they have been initiated and mainstreamed with federal or other outside funding and tend not to be continued upon withdrawal of those funds, and that they have been poorly evaluated as to



their actual impact on police-community relations. Sadly, this analysis seems to describe exactly the initiatives carried out in Canada.

Police-community relations has largely been characterized by public criticism of the police on the one hand, and police efforts to counter that criticism, on the other. As community frustration intensifies, the police have generally responded by making minor adjustments to meet the immediate crisis and have avoided comprehensive plans for change in response to community needs and demands.

In addition, the report finds that police-community relations programmes have traditionally been developed by the police to resolve police-community conflict by changing the *community* instead of the police. Programmes have been designed to change community attitudes, opinions and perceptions through the provision of information and "opportunities for positive police-community contact" and through the projection of the *appearance* of substantive change "by revision in superficial aspects of police operations, deployment modes, or supplemental services without any change in basic police practices and enforcement policy".

The authors conclude that, given the basic intent of most police-community relations programmes, they have not generally led to direct and meaningful involvement of citizens in police policy making.

Other factors that contribute to this lack of effective public participation have been identified as the lack of resources of community groups, the lack of support from police leadership and rank and file for this kind of involvement, and the lack of understanding of police personnel about the benefits of such programmes.

This report provides some disturbing and clear messages for those concerned with improving police-community relations in Canada. The utility of advisory committees, councils and such like has been discussed and questioned in a number of previous issues of *Currents*. Without reiterating all those concerns, the general conclusion is that the involvement of the minority communities through such vehicles occurs at a level that is far removed and outside the real decision-

making processes of the institution. Lacking authority and strategic importance in achieving institutional change, these advisory groups can actually slow and hinder the sort of changes that are required.

Secondly, when Multiculturalism Canada is prepared to bankroll any and every such initiative without a critical assessment of their impact, it is not surprising that we are distracted from pursuing more effective strategies. In addition, the strategy of using the limited resources of Multiculturalism Canada to subsidise any institutional interest in eradicating racial inequalities is of questionable benefit. Providing external tax dollars in order to consider incorporating the issue of race relations as a permanent and integral part of an institutions' operation, may in fact delay and prevent rather than accelerate that commitment. Have we come to the point in this country where we have to reward public agencies and institutions with our tax dollars for expressing a concern with promoting racial justice?

### Citizen Involvement Is Impractical?

Another interesting and important conclusion from the Eisenberg and Lawrence report is their cautionary warning of overestimating the potential for citizen involvement. This is consistent with the findings of Herman Goldstein (*Policing a Free Society*, 1977):

"In their enthusiasm to compensate for the insulation of the past, advocates of greater citizen involvement are apt to misjudge both the feasibility of achieving greater citizen involvement and the contribution that can be realized. They tend to define expectations unrealistically and to overlook predictable problems. It is extremely difficult to organize and sustain groups at the grass-roots level that are truly representative of a cross-section of the community. Limited experience with the use of advisory groups indicates that it is often difficult to achieve a consensus, that interest soon fades, and that persons representing special interests, such as the business community, become the strongest voices through the default of others. My own observations



of informal efforts to encourage greater citizen involvement at the neighbourhood level in large cities, leave me with the impression that vigorous representation of the people affected are absent, while persons who are attracted to membership on such a body are inclined to encourage and support some of the very police practices to which the advocates of decentralized decision-making are most strongly opposed''.

This sobering quotation seems to indicate two things. First, the whole notion of community control and public participation in the decision-making processes of our public institutions is a concept of great political appeal, but in practice has been little understood and misapplied. Much greater attention must be given to the appropriate mechanisms for public participation with clear understandings of the goals and objectives and functions to be pursued within each vehicle.

Secondly, citizen participation in policing will vary with the specific issue or policy in question. Not all areas of police activity are of interest to all sectors of the community. The appropriate mechanisms for citizen involvement must therefore be much more specific about the area of activity as well as the appropriate location and level of involvement within the police hierarchy.

Community relations must be seen as the lifeline on which the long-term operational effectiveness and acceptability of the police will depend. But, if we are to move beyond the somewhat nebulous and token efforts that we have seen thus far in this country, much more serious thought and vigorous analysis must be given to the consultative machinery that is necessary. It is not something that can be appended — an ad-hoc service leaving the basic organization untouched. It must be assimilated into every point in the organizational structure.

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## *How the Ottawa Police Force is Viewed by the Visible Minority Communities of Ottawa*

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BENJAMIN RADFORD

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*This article summarizes the findings of a research project undertaken in early 1984 in Ottawa, as part of the Police Intercultural Education Project (see article by C.S. Ungerleider and F.H. Echols). The project was sponsored and directed by the Joint Committee on Police/Community Education which is made up of the Police Committee of the National Capital Alliance on Race Relations and members of the City of Ottawa's Advisory Committee on Visible Minorities.*

*A major purpose of this research was to collect typical incidents, case studies, group or individual experiences involving ethnic or cultural minorities with the Ottawa Police as the basis for discussion*

*and analysis in the training programme. However, the findings are of broader interest in pointing out some of the general experiences and issues that are of concern from the perspective of the minority communities. The findings provide a preliminary understanding of the relationship between the Police and the visible minority communities.*

The case studies were divided into four categories. First, were those where the person(s) were satisfied with the actions of the police. The second category were cases where individuals did not feel they were being treated fairly, that the police showed no real interest in their situation and that the police would not get involved until an incident actually occurred. These incidents fostered feelings of frustration and a perception that the police are not really there to help.



Mr. D., a South Asian, is a federal government administrator who is in the habit of walking during his lunch break. On November 2, 1979, as he was returning to the office along the National Capital Commission walkway, beside the Park of the Provinces, an incident took place wherein he was taunted by a group of teenagers who made racist remarks, specifically "hey you Paki". As in the past, he chose to ignore remarks of this nature. However, on that particular day, it was followed by two objects hurled in his direction, one of which was a rock about 3 to 4 inches wide. The other was a flattened tin can which landed behind him. One comment followed it: "hey Paki pick that up". He returned to his office, called the local high school Principal and the police.

Mr. D. was distraught to learn that the police could not take any action since he was not able to identify the assailants and since the crowd had dispersed when they arrived. Mr. D. felt that the police considered his complaint trivial and acted in a hostile "don't bother me" manner towards him. They could do nothing until something really happened, not considering this a serious matter. He felt unsupported and frustrated that until someone gets hurt, nothing would be done. As a result, Mr. D. stopped walking in that direction during his lunch break and avoided the area.

The third category of cases were those where the individuals felt they were treated unjustly, and that their treatment was probably based on the racism of the particular policemen or the police force in general.

The fourth category of cases concerned individuals who were recent immigrants at the time of the incident. They assumed that the police in Canada would react in a manner similar to the police in their country of origin. For example, if they came from a country where the police have a great deal of power over citizen's lives, they expect Canadian

police officers will have an equal amount of power. This results in misunderstandings on both sides.

In the Black communities (including Jamaican, Barbadian, other Caribbeans and North Americans) the predominant issue was the stopping of Black males by the police for no apparent reason other than their being Black.

A Black youth, returning to his home after a movie around 1 a.m. was stopped by the police. The policeman insisted that he identify himself and where he was going. The youth, having been stopped three times before refused to comply with the officer's demand. The policeman then advised him that he was under arrest. When asked for what, the policeman replied "for suspicion". The policeman put the youth in the back of his patrol car. He asked the youth again where he lived. The youth gave him the address of his parents' home. The policeman drove to the address, whet to the door and banged on it until someone answered. The youth's parents came out and identified him as their son.

Following this incident, the youth lodged a complaint against the police officer, sending copies to Marion Dewar of the Chief of Police. He received a prompt report from the police, yet it did not include an apology. The police came to his place of work later on and asked him to sign documents that would waive any culpability of the police in the matter. He refused to sign the documents.

The youth was angry at being stopped by the police on four separate occasions. He knew of other family members, who were White, who were never stopped while walking late at night. He was embarrassed and angered by the police coming to his place of work. No apology was forthcoming.

In the Chinese communities, many first generation Chinese would only call the police if they were in extreme distress and even then, not necessarily. They believe that they should have the least possible contact with the police.



From the East Indian communities, I contacted, the general view was that they had no serious problems with the police. The exception was the Federation of Sikh Societies of Canada, who felt there were areas of poor communication between the Sikh community and the police.

The Vietnamese community did not think the police realized that Vietnamese immigrants are accustomed to the police having power over life and death. In Vietnam, the police force has power over every aspect of village and urban life, from minor domestic disputes to major criminal acts. Justice, at the hands of the police, usually occurred swiftly and the entire community took responsibility to ensure safety and order. Another important point about the Vietnamese community is that they have a different notion of how to settle a dispute or how to discipline their children. The Vietnamese community wants very much to gain a better understanding of the role of police in Canada and to understand their obligations under Canadian law. They also want the Police to better understand their community. They believe this would prevent many of the misunderstandings that presently exist.

The Cambodian community has similar concerns to the Vietnamese community. Their only other concern is that the police be kept up-to-date on immigration laws and what immigration papers are required to be carried by an immigrant.

The Multicultural Women's Association, like the Vietnamese community, saw the police lacking an understanding of the role of the police in a new immigrant's country of origin. They also thought that certain laws should be translated into several languages, such as parking regulations so that recent immigrants might be better able to respect Canadian laws.

The Muslim community did not have any major problems in their dealings with the police, but wanted their children to be instructed on the role of the police in Canada.

In conclusion, I would like to underline the finding that individuals within the visible minority communities react the most when they are publicly humiliated. Racial slurs, acts

Mrs. D., a recent arrival from South America, was watching her daughter ride a bicycle in the park. Her daughter fell off the bicycle and two Ottawa policemen rushed over to help her. When the daughter saw the two policemen coming toward her she started to run and fell and broke her nose. The police rushed over to assist her, but the girl was in a state of terror. Mrs. D. rushed to help her daughter as well, but could not speak English to the officers. The police insisted on taking the girl to the hospital and motioned the mother to follow in her car. When the policemen took the girl inside their car, she went into a total state of shock. On arriving at the hospital, the mother called her husband at work, who came over immediately. The husband, who could speak English, explained to the police that his daughter was terrified of them because in their country of origin, being pursued by the police can result in torture or death. He further stated that whenever his children see a police officer's uniform they are terrified. The officers replied by stating that they had nothing to fear from them and that they would visit the family home in two weeks and take the daughter on a tour of the police station. The officers carried through with their promise.

Mrs. D. found the officers very helpful, but unaware of the type of law enforcement which goes on in her country of origin.

of vandalism that are racially based, and other forms of humiliation caused the most anger and a feeling of being wronged among the visible minority communities. This is even more strongly held when the police are seen as humiliating them. In addition, how the police are seen in handling one situation, whether they acted appropriately or not, will be transmitted into a general opinion of the police held by that particular community.



Mr. R., a Black immigrant from the island of Dominica, ran a Caribbean night club. On several occasions, while the club was open, the police visited for what he considered no apparent reason. They made various charges against him, such as having his kitchen open during the wrong hours and selling liquor after hours. When these charges were brought to court they were usually dropped. Mr. R. went to one of the chiefs of police, who directed him to lay a complaint with Morality. Mr. R. laid a complaint. They took a statement from him, but nothing was done. The police continued to visit his establishment.

Mr. R. was angry because he felt that he had done everything to comply with the law and yet he was still being harassed.

In reviewing the case studies and information received through community meetings, four central issues were identified:

- (i) persons who were recent immigrants did not have a clear understanding of what role the police played in a specific situation or how much authority police held in Canadian society;
- (ii) improved methods are needed to help members of different visible minorities understand the law and how the police enforce the law;
- (iii) there is a strong reaction on the part of visible minority members when they are publicly humiliated, especially when this humiliation is at the hands of the police;
- (iv) how the police are seen handling one situation, whether their actions are appropriate or not, will probably become the general opinion held by that particular community.

*Benjamin Radford is Executive-Director of the National Capital Alliance on Race Relations.*

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# Bill C-62 Employment Equity Act

*In June 1985, the Minister of Employment and Immigration introduced an Employment Equity Bill in the House of Commons. On October 3rd, it received its Second Reading and was referred to a legislative committee.*

*The following is a summary analysis of the Bill by a coalition of organizations representing labour, women, the mentally and physically disabled, and visible and ethnic minorities. The organizations include the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, the Coalition of Provincial Organizations of the Handicapped, the National Ethnocultural Council, the Canadian Association for Community Living (formerly the Canadian Association of the Mentally Retarded), the Canadian Labour Congress, the Urban Alliance on Race Relations, the Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women, and the Coalition for Employment Equity. The coalition represents an historic first for Canadian community action, in that the four designated groups have come together for the first time to lobby for changes of common concern.*

In October, 1984, the *Report of the Royal Commission of Equality in Employment* was released. The Commission of Inquiry, which consisted of Her Honour Judge Rosalie Abella as the sole Commissioner, recommended mandatory employment equity programmes for the federal sector. It also recommended a strong enforcement mechanism for the programmes, the implementation of equal pay for work of equal value, the creation of accessible day care, improved training programmes, and barrier-free transportation and work environments.

In response to the recommendations of the *Abella Report*, the Government of Canada is offering voluntary employment equity programmes with no enforcement mechanism. Only the reporting of workforce data will be mandatory.

Flora MacDonald, the Minister of Employment and Immigration has stated repeatedly that there will be no formal enforcement mechanism for employment equity programmes, but public reporting of workforce data is a sufficient enforcement tool since employer performance will be subject to public scrutiny.

But, public reporting is not a satisfactory enforcement tool. It once more places the burden of enforcement on the shoulders of women, and members of other target groups, who will have to obtain the reports, analyze

volumes of statistical data, and lobby for improvements if employers are not showing results.

The other enforcement route offered by the Government of Canada is filing complaints with the Canadian Human Rights Commission on the basis of the data which is made public.

The Canadian Human Rights Commission has shown no enthusiasm for exercising its authority to initiate complaints. This seems to indicate that the onus for filing complaints will continue to fall on the victims. When one of the main goals of employment equity programmes is to introduce a broader and more effective means of achieving equality than the complaint-processing system, this is a contradiction in terms.

## Four Sectors Affected

The Government of Canada's response to the *Abella Report* applies to four sectors: Federal Government Departments, Federal Crown Corporations, Federal Government Contractors and Federally-Regulated Businesses.

## Government Departments

The Government of Canada promises to strengthen the existing employment equity programme in Government.



Equal pay for work of equal value will be implemented in the public service. An invitation has been extended to the public service unions to participate on a joint-union management committee to prepare a detailed implementation plan.

Treasury Board is responsible for the employment equity activities of Government Departments.

BUT:

The Government has not announced:

1. The requirements for Departmental employment equity plans
2. The goals and timetable for increasing the representation of women, disabled, visible minorities and natives
3. Whether, when, and in what form Government Departments will report publicly on their progress
4. What sanctions will be imposed by Treasury Board on Departments which do not produce progress towards equality.

The initiative regarding equal pay for work of equal value is long overdue. The Government of Canada has been bound by section II of the Canadian Human Rights Act, which requires equal pay for work of equal value, for nine years.

However, there is no timetable for implementation, and no indication of the amount of money set aside to equalize women's pay.

Treasury Board has been responsible for employment equity in the Government of Canada for some years now. Women have little to show for it. Goals set for increasing women's representation have been very low and have only been set for management positions. Target groups have no reason to consider Treasury Board a credible agency in the employment equity field.

### **Crown Corporations**

The Government of Canada has announced that Crown Corporations will be required to have employment equity plans and to report to Treasury Board. Some Crown Corporations will be required to report publicly under the legislation governing federally-regulated businesses.

BUT:

The Government of Canada has not announced:

1. The requirements for these employment equity plans
2. The goals and timetables for achieving appropriate representation of target groups
3. The sanctions which will be applied to Crown Corporations if they do not produce results.

Crown Corporations which fall under the legislation governing federally-regulated businesses will not have to begin to report their workforce data for three years.

### **Government Contractors**

During the election campaign, Brian Mulroney promised this:

"A Progressive Conservative Government will ensure that all companies seeking to provide services to the Government of Canada hire increasing numbers of women to perform those services as a condition of getting the job... We will ask these firms to show us, as part of their tendering responsibilities, how many women will be hired to fulfill those contracts. There's nothing alien about that. It's just good old business sense".

In addition, during the televised debate on women's issues, Mulroney agreed with Turner and Broadbent that the Government should insist that private companies doing business with the Government of Canada be required to adopt the principle of equal pay for work of equal value.

What the Government of Canada is offering is:

- Companies *tendering* on Supply and Services contracts which are worth more than \$200,000.00 will be asked to make some commitment to employment equity.
- The commitment is undefined and it is not part of the contract, but only part of the tendering process.
- Contracts will not be cancelled for non-compliance.
- Companies can be refused the right to tender in the future, but only if the Minister of Supply and Services decides to strike companies from the list of suppliers.

- Only contracts worth \$200,000.00 or more are affected. Contractors doing \$200,000.00 worth of government work (on more than one contract) in any year are not affected.
- Only Supply and Service contracts are affected, not Public Works, Defence, et cetera. Supply and Service contracts do not encompass the majority of the Government of Canada's contract spending.
- Loans, grants, monies provided for health, education, and social programmes through cost-sharing agreements are not included within the sphere of employment equity provisions.
- Random spot checks on contractors will be carried out by officials of Canada Employment and Immigration Commission to determine whether these companies are meeting their, as yet unspecified, commitment to employment equity.
- No mention has been made of requiring these contractors to institute equal pay for work of equal value.

This does not amount to a contract compliance programme. Equity requirements do not become terms of any contract.

There will be an undefined commitment required at tendering, no comprehensive enforcement, and the sanction of being struck from the suppliers list by the Minister of Supply and Services for undefined failures. The scope of application of these measures is narrow.

### Federally Regulated Businesses

Bill C-62 will require federally regulated businesses to publicly report their workforce data starting June of 1988. Employers will be required to report on the representation of women and members of other target groups by occupation and salary grouping.

The proposed legislation does *not* require employers to have employment equity programmes. It only requires reporting.

There is no enforcement mechanism in this legislation. If employers do not have programmes and do not produce results, nothing happens. The only sanction applied is for a failure to report.

Mandatory reporting is not required for three years. Considering the little that was ac-

complished during the three-year moratorium on section 15 of the Charter, women have no reason to believe that this moratorium period will be any more fruitful. Employers do not need three years to start reporting.

### The Package

Taken all together, this package of initiatives offers women, the disabled, visible minorities and natives very little. It allows the Government of Canada to say they have responded to the *Abella Report*, but they are offering no substance, no real change. Far from offering mandatory employment equity programmes for the federal sector, the Government of Canada is simply offering a mandatory reporting system for some employers in the federal sector. Programmes are not clearly and legislatively required and there is no enforcement mechanism to ensure that federal employers begin to produce measurable improvement in their employment of women and members of other target groups.

Women have been working for years to achieve the implementation of mandatory employment equity and equal pay for work of equal value, as well as to have our childcare needs recognized as basic to any equitable employment system.

If we allow these weak initiatives to go through in the federal sector, we will have to wait for three years for reporting to be introduced, and then for another three to five years for it to be demonstrated that a public reporting system does not produce results.

Let's not wait that long. Let's get these initiatives corrected now. They are crucial to equality in the workplace.

### What Do We Want

**1. One central enforcement and standard-setting agency for all four sectors - Departments, Crown, Contractors, and Federally Regulated Businesses, with powers to:**

1. Define programme requirements
2. Set standards for goals and timetables
3. Receive, analyze, and publish employers' workforce data
4. Impose programme requirements and penalties on non-complying employers
5. Investigate employers' programmes, prac-



- tices, and data systems on its own initiative
6. Initiate complaints/or court actions
  2. Mandatory programmes for all four sectors (not voluntary programmes with mandatory reporting).
  3. Contract compliance (not defined commitments as a condition of tendering) for all

government contractors with over fifty employees and \$200,000.00 worth of government contracts per year.

4. Equal pay for work of equal value as a condition for contracting.
5. Employment equity programmes as a condition of all loans, grants, and receipt of cost-sharing monies.

## *Bill 140 – Metropolitan Toronto Police Force Complaints Act*

*The Citizen's Independent Review of Police Action (C.I.R.P.A.) is an independent community organization that exists to provide positive advice and assistance to persons who wish to complain about police misconduct. The following is C.I.R.P.A.'s analysis of Bill 140, the Metropolitan Toronto Police Complaints Act, 1984, which is presently before the standing Committee on the Administration of Justice of the Ontario Legislature.*

C.I.R.P.A. has two main areas of concern about Bill 140: what is in the Bill, and what is not.

### **What is in the Bill**

- Complaints lodged by persons not "directly affected" by alleged misconduct will not be dealt with under the Act. A person who is an eyewitness to an assault by a police officer should be able to lay a complaint, even if he is not "directly affected". This restriction should be eliminated entirely; however, if the government insists on retaining it, it should be amended to include "persons directly affected by or having personal knowledge of...".
- "Misconduct" is now defined as conduct that would be an offence under the Code of Offences in the Police Act Regulations. It is unclear why the government now finds it necessary to define misconduct, but if it insists on doing so, the definition should be more comprehensive. For example, a certain officer in 14 Division has been liable for

assault in two consecutive County Court civil actions, but he still remains a member of the Metropolitan Toronto Police working in 14 Division. Paragraph 1(a)(vii) of the Code of Offences provides that a conviction for any criminal offence is itself an offence under the Police Act. In practice, this allows the Police Act prosecutor to merely prove the fact of the criminal conviction without re-trying the whole case. The complainant and all the other Crown witnesses do not have to go through the ordeal and expense of a complete rehearing. Unfortunately, a finding of liability in a civil case is not considered evidence of anything under the Police Act, and a complete rehearing is necessary. If misconduct is going to be defined at all, the definition should include offences under the Code of Offences, but should not be restricted to the Code of Offences. If the government insists upon a comprehensive definition of misconduct, the proposed definition should be amended to include "a finding of liability against a

police officer in a civil court of competent jurisdiction in Ontario, for assault, battery, false arrest, false imprisonment or malicious prosecution".

- Another problem with the definition of misconduct is that it is inadequate for dealing with a situation such as the Morrish Road (Scarborough Party) incident in May of 1982. CITY-TV made a videotape of unidentified police officers clubbing party-goers as they left the scene. Although there were approximately 40 police officers at the scene at the time of these beatings, none of the officers admitted to any wrong-doing, and all officers denied being able to identify any of the offending officers. This type of collective "stonewalling" cannot be adequately dealt with under the Code of Offences under the Police Act. The best way of dealing with type of conduct is by way of a "reverse onus" provision similar to the "found-in" provisions of the Criminal Code, for example, subsection 193(2): "everyone who is found, without lawful excuse, in a common bawdy-house...is guilty of an offence punishable on summary conviction". Where there is clear evidence that offences against the Police Act Regulations were committed by several police officers, the onus should be upon the police officers to disclose the identities of the officers responsible, or else all officers at the scene (or at least the commanding officers) should be found guilty of misconduct.

- Section 19(1) of the Act provides that a complainant has 30 days from the receipt of the decision of the Chief of Police to request the Commissioner to review the matter.

Section 19(2) provides that this 30 day period may be extended by the Commissioner. On the other hand, Section 13, which permits the chief of police to refuse to deal with a complaint which he considers frivolous, vexatious or made in bad faith, and which also permits a complainant to request a review by the Commissioner within 30 days of receipt of the decision, does not provide for an extension of the 30 day period. This omission has very practical consequences, since a complainant may be

imprisoned throughout the 30 day period. We therefore recommend that section 13 be amended to permit an extension of time by the Commissioner for requesting a review of the decision of the Chief of Police to refuse to deal with a complaint.

#### What is not in the Bill

- **Independent Investigation From Day One**

The Public Complaints Commissioner is still not permitted to commence an immediate investigation of a complaint except upon the request of the Chief of Police or in "exceptional circumstances". With an increasingly militant Police Association, we anticipate that the police will attempt to use the courts to curtail any attempt by the Public Complaints Commissioner to intervene prior to the initial 30 day period. It is essential to strengthen the Public Complaints Commissioner's powers in this regard. We strongly oppose any police involvement in the investigation process; however, since this government appears determined to permit police investigation of complaints to continue, the Public Complaints Commissioner should be able to commence an investigation whenever he deems it fit to do so in the public interest.

- **Burden of Proof and Other Procedural Problems**

The police complaints process is stacked so heavily in favour of the police that a complainant has little chance of success, regardless of the merits of his complaint. A police officer has more protection under the Act than an accused person has under the Criminal Code, even though the officer does not face criminal consequences such as imprisonment, fines or probation. Furthermore, the Act gives far greater protection to police officers than is enjoyed by doctors, lawyers or other professionals who are suspected of misconduct involving members of the public. The most significant of these procedural protections is the burden of proof, which requires proof "beyond a reasonable doubt", the criminal standard of proof. Such a high standard in disciplinary proceedings is not required in any other profession. This standard of



proof is unprecedented and totally inappropriate where the only consequences are employment-related and not criminal in nature.

- **Penalties**

The penalties imposed by the Police Complaints Board after findings of misconduct have been ridiculously low. For example, a constable found guilty of assaulting a prisoner in handcuffs in an interrogation

room in the police station, was suspended for two weeks without pay. If the Board is so reluctant to deprive a police officer of his livelihood even in cases of the most serious misconduct, it should be given the power to order the offending officer to make restitution (i.e. pay monetary damages) to the complainant. This type of remedy is available under the Ontario Human Rights Code, and there is no reason why it should not be available under this Act.

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**A REVIEW OF THE RECRUITMENT AND  
SELECTION SYSTEM OF THE METRO-  
POLITAN TORONTO POLICE**  
*Touche Ross and Partners, 1984*

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## *A multiracial police force?*

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This study was commissioned by the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force to assess its current recruitment and selection system and "to develop specific recruitment and selection methods which focus on attracting a larger pool of fully qualified minority and women applicants".

The Touche Ross report is a recognition by the Police Force of the serious under representation of visible minorities in the Force and that the existing recruitment selection procedures may be biased in favour of the White male workforce.

While the report notes that although recent initiatives have resulted in more minority applicants being hired, minority recruitment has been largely unsuccessful. The report attributes this failure to a lack of co-ordinated and focussed recruitment effort and one which has relied on traditional techniques only. The report goes on to say that the planning is limited and falls short of specific recruiting targets and strategies, all the Police resources are not used effectively, and evaluation of the process is not conducted.

Based upon this analysis, Touche Ross recommends five specific recruiting approaches:

- high-school presentations;
- minority community group presentations;
- campus recruiting;
- use of minority community role models; and,
- monitoring/upgrading, whereby those currently affiliated with the Force, but not uniformed members, are encouraged to upgrade their qualifications, if necessary, to

permit entry as a Police Constable.

In addition, apart from urging a workforce audit as a first priority to ascertain current minority group and female officer levels, the Report makes a number of other recommendations pertaining to validating certain selection criteria and the "Constable Performance Factors" to limit any discriminatory bias.

Much importance has been attached to the need to recruit visible minority people into the police. The underlying objective is that the composition of the Police should fully reflect the community the police serve. But, will the recommendations made by Touche Ross — to be a little more active in promoting the police service as a career to attract more visible minorities — achieve that goal? Will improving the technical selection procedures so that they are free of discriminatory bias result in a significant increase in the number of visible minority applications?

### **Flawed Analysis**

Of course, the answer is no. As a very limited and superficial response, this report has totally failed to seriously grapple with a very serious and complex problem. And unfortunately, if the police accept the limited analysis and even implement all the recommendations of the Touche Ross report, they are still going to find the continued unwillingness of visible minorities to join the Police Force on any appreciable scale. But then of course, the blame can be shifted to the minority communities; the onus of responsibility is on the community itself to encourage more of its members to become police officers.

Any attempt to recruit more visible minority people into the police must entail a broader examination of the institutional values within the policing system itself as expressed in job evaluation procedures, training, promotion and conditions of work. Selection and recruitment procedures cannot be dealt with in isolation when they are merely an expression of the larger organizational values.

The Touche Ross report is a flawed analysis that fails to recognize the significant impact of institutionalized and individual racism within the Police Force. As such, the report only looks at the issue as a problem *for* the police in



which the minority community poses problems for the police in that not enough of them are applying to join. Opening the entry gate wider by improving recruitment and selection procedures however, does not touch the biases that are woven into the organizational fabric, the customary processes that are never questioned or altered, but nevertheless serves to exclude minorities.

Secondly, any attempt to understand and improve the recruitment of minorities must recognize the wider societal realities. While the police have had no part in creating the conditions of disadvantage and discrimination faced by many members of the visible minority communities, they are nevertheless often seen as representatives of that amorphous authority responsible for the collective sense of deprivation felt by many minority members. The recruitment of minority people is not going to improve while many young people see the police as "instruments of oppression". While false and unfair that perception may be, it is of interest to note that the recent N.F.B. film, "Home Feeling: Struggle for a Community", which focusses on police-West Indian relations in the Jane-Finch corridor of Toronto, continues to foster that impression.

But certainly, visible minorities won't have that home feeling as a member of a Police Force which is predominantly White. Many individuals from minority groups seriously doubt they are wanted in a Police Force. At best they would be tolerated, but not accepted. There is a fear of prejudice from future colleagues.

Another fear is non-acceptance by the public. Minority individuals feel that they will never be accepted as law enforcement officials by a predominantly White public. Conversely, in relation to their own community and their peers, they fear that by joining a Police Force will be seen as tantamount to "selling out" or "joining the enemy".

Given these dilemmas it is inevitable, certainly for better qualified minority individuals, that other careers will be more socially satisfying and probably more financially rewarding.

### **An Appropriate Solution?**

It would appear that a more fundamental

ingredient and approach needs to be considered in being able to more realistically consider achieving the goal of a Police Force that truly reflects the communities it serves. We should step back and consider the type of personnel the police needs to perform the array of functions that it presently is being asked to perform. At the moment, all police officers must start at the bottom and are processed and trained in exactly the same way. Very little provision is made for age differentials, technical skills, formal educational achievements, life experience, or any other special strengths.

The present entry requirements therefore, reflect the idea that the police are all the same, doing basically the same job, merely with varying degrees of emphasis in certain areas. The bias in the selection system — which of course the Touche Ross report didn't discuss — is thus towards a certain notion of the "ideal" officer: — "one who is young, big and not yet established in life". Applicants who do not fit this ideal are going to have a difficult time emerging successfully from the selection process. It is these entry requirements that prohibit a rich mix of people from considering policing as a career or being fairly considered in the selection process.

What is suggested here therefore, is that the whole notion of the generalist police officer, with only one entry point and identical training needs, should be seriously reconsidered. Not only is this necessary to attract people from every cultural and racial background, but perhaps even more importantly, it is the only way to obtain the skills necessary to undertake the often complex and sophisticated tasks entailed in policing in a modern society. Every Police Force, no matter how small, has a number of different functions and responsibilities requiring various skills in varying degrees.

As John Sewell says in his excellent book, "Police: Urban Policing in Canada", (James Lorimer, Toronto, 1985), "the variety of police tasks requires that there be differing entry points for individuals with different skills and experiences. If management needs an Italian-speaking candidate to work on youth services, then recruitment practices can be structured

accordingly. That should be true for all recruits. The police should hire specific people to fill specific jobs''.

If policing is to be more responsive to, and reflective of the multiracial society it is part of, major structural rethinking is required that must impact upon recruitment practices in a

far more fundamental way than that proposed by the Touche Ross report. Spending more time promoting and advertising the police as an attractive career option for minorities and tinkering with technical details is an irrelevant and dangerous time waster.

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#### CONFERENCE REVIEW

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## *Policing in Multicultural and Multiracial Urban Communities*

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ROSANNA SCOTTI and EARL MILLER

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This national symposium, held in Vancouver, October 14 to 16, 1984, was co-sponsored by the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police and Multiculturalism Canada. The purpose was to bring together chiefs of urban police forces, visible minority individuals familiar with police/minority issues, as well as race relations experts to identify the most effective and desirable ways of dealing with policing in multicultural/multiracial settings.

There was a remarkable consistency in the types of problems being experienced in all Canadian cities. Likewise the priority ranking of issues was similar in each region of the country.

The key issues, in order of importance, were:

1. recruitment and hiring of visible minorities into the police force;
2. cross-cultural communication and training;
3. citizen complaint procedures;
4. community involvement and liaison with police officials;

5. public education;

6. ongoing police/community information sharing in a regional context.

The major outcome of this conference was the establishment of a national consensus on the key issues affecting policing in multicultural, multiracial urban communities. Included in this consensus was an agreement in each of the regions to continue joint police community initiatives on these issues in regional working groups. More specifically, the purpose of these regional working groups is to review priority issues, establish regional goals, identify implementation strategies and prepare a position statement regarding the key areas identified above.

The key participants in these regional working groups would be Chiefs of Police (or designates), regional advisory boards of minorities with expertise in the key areas, and consultants. The results of this process would not only be presented to the 1985 annual meeting of the C.A.C.P., but also be presented to the Minister of State for Multiculturalism, and findings and recommendations would be made to Provincial Solicitors and Attorneys-General, Regional Police Commissions or administrative boards and regional mayors and politicians.

#### Implications

It is now acknowledged that ethnic and racial diversity are a permanent feature of Canadian urban life and that policing multicultural, multiracial communities is a national issue. Despite differences in the make-up of individual cities, police, community representatives and race relations experts agreed on policy priorities and on the need for joint action. There is clearly a degree of readiness among senior police officials and minorities to



work together to implement changes in policing practices. Efforts must continue to be made to build regionally on the momentum generated by the symposium.

The working sessions permitted police and non-police delegates to jointly identify priority issues and a process for working out implementation strategies in each priority area. This was a significant step forward. The discussion between senior police officials and the community need no longer be primarily focussed on whether initiatives should be taken. The emphasis can now be on how jointly identified *and shared* goals (e.g. minority recruitment) can best be implemented. The shift in perspective from advocacy to implementation has generated new expectations. It has created a need for a mechanism where police and community representatives, with expert assistance, can jointly formulate substantive strategies.

Chiefs of Police in the Greater Toronto region have supported a concept of a regional consultation on policing multicultural, multi-racial communities. They have the expectation that their participation will yield results local-

ly, regionally and on a national basis for the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police. The investment of the Chiefs in this process has given it credibility and a mandate. This implies that the various separate police/race relations initiatives across the region need to be reviewed and co-ordinated to reduce duplication and overlap in effort. It is timely for the various race relations committees, councils, associations and community groups that are concerned with policing to consolidate their efforts. This can contribute to more effective police/community liaison and can maximize minority input in the regional consultation process.

This Conference represents a major turning point in the history of police/minority relations. A national consensus has been reached on the issues and a mechanism to plan action on these issues in the regional workshop has been developed. The first steps on a long road to implementation have been taken jointly by police and community.

*Rosanna Scotti is Manager, Multicultural Relations, Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto and Earl Miller is a Planner with the City of Toronto.*

# *Academics and Advocacy*

I found Peter Harries-Jones's article on Academics and Advocacy (Currents, Vol. 2, No. 4) interesting but I take issue with the perspective taken on the impact of information technology, especially as it is applied to the social sciences. Professor Harries-Jones states that where the commodity of human skill is replaced by information as a commodity, the result is human de-skilling. The implication of this process, according to Professor Harries-Jones is a decline of professional skills and positions, as well as having a negative impact on advocacy.

Another, more positive perspective can be applied to the increasing simplicity of computers and their software. Instead of having a situation where a few educated elites have control over the technology, language and knowledge, we have an ever growing community of literate users and acquirers of knowledge. Where we had mystification of knowledge and centralized control we now have demystification of knowledge and diffusion of control. There is less dependence upon the expertise of a few who have a 'mystic' knowledge, written in a language unknown to the majority of people. In history we can draw a parallel from the middle ages. Illiteracy and the control of knowledge of Latin by the elite of the Church, centralized power leaving millions dependent upon them for the interpretation of reality, humanity and justice. The implications for a class struggle are just as pregnant in the above interpretation as in the perspective presented by Peter Harries-Jones.

Likewise, I do not believe that the implications of increased simplicity of information technology is all negative for either social science or advocacy. Rather than seeing only de-skilling, we can think in terms of increased skills. We have one more tool, one more mode of inquiry at our disposal. A tool that I believe increases our capacity for social science inquiry. Statistical packages do more than confirm or deny hypotheses. They are also a way of modelling complex relationships. They permit us to handle both more complex and a

greater expanse of social information than the human mind can retain unaided. Of course social reality and social science are more than data. They are also experiential and theoretical. The idea that I, as a social scientist of the psychological persuasion, try to maintain is to combine experiential, theoretical and hard data, to form a comprehensive analysis. I would draw Peter's attention to the recent research done by Dr. Frances Henry and myself on racial discrimination in employment (1985) as an example where both inferential statistics and ethnographic methods were used in mutual support of the thesis.

I would also note that advocacy can be well served by the use of statistical analysis and system modelling. Brenner's (Personal Stability and Economic Security, Social Policy, Vol. 8, No. 1, 1977) work on the relationship between mental and physical health and unemployment rates is an excellent example of validating the qualitative observations of the relationship between human suffering and poverty. Also, our own work cited above, demonstrated concretely what observations of both blacks and whites have noted to government over and over again, that discrimination exists in the Canadian labour market. This research was instrumental in moving government to take action.

And lastly, while I agree totally that such technology is not value free, neither are the more 'traditional' modes of inquiry. All modes of inquiry can be used to either support the status quo or to challenge it. It is not in the method but in the application of the method that ends are served.

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*In the next issue:*

MINORITY ARTS  
IN CANADA