Practical or Tactical?
A Political Sociological Analysis of the Contests of Police Militarization in Canada

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Abstract

Police paramilitary units emerged as a tool for police agencies during the 1980's to deal with dangerous calls for service such as hostage situations, barricaded persons, terrorism and sniper situations. American policing scholars began tracing the annual call outs of tactical units to determine if tactical policing has shifted away from its original purpose towards a more proactive police response. Canadian literature on police militarization is limited but follows similar American research trends by focusing on the annual callouts of Canadian tactical teams to prove that tactical policing has been normalized.

This project uses Bourdieusian concepts (field struggle, capital, symbolic power) to address gaps in the existing literature surrounding police militarization by determining the strategies and capital used by community groups and the police to defend and contest police militarization in Canada. This helped answer the primary research question of: What arguments do police, government officials and civil society groups make to support or contest police militarization? What forms of power and symbolic power are utilized to shift opinion?

Relying on a Critical Content Analysis, this project established deductive categories from newspaper articles, recommendations from Independent Inquiries and media releases from community activist websites to understand the contests of police militarization.

Findings from this project were similar to previous literature regarding the arguments mobilized by the police about police militarization; however, community groups played a more active role in contesting the dominant agendas of state actors through mobilizing moral and emotional arguments. Emotional arguments were influenced by the deaths of George Floyd and Michael Brown and allowed community groups to contest police militarization through defunding and demilitarization arguments. Moreover, findings show that both the police and community groups use community safety arguments to contest and defend police militarization. Legal arguments were also mobilized by relevant parties to address Indigenous human rights violations produced through militarized police dynamic entries.

The findings also showed the impacts of high-profile cases on trends within police militarization. The Independent Inquiries following high profile cases such as the Moncton (2014) and Mayerthorpe (2005) shootings influenced military equipment procurement and SWAT standards across Canada. A Political Sociological analysis of my findings revealed the struggle within the field of police militarization regarding the procurement of militarized equipment.

This project provided a snapshot of police militarization in Canada to help understand the ongoing militarization issues as well as the relevant actors who are involved in the discourse. Directions for future research are presented at the end of this study.

Chapter 1: Introduction

In this chapter, I outline the practical significance of researching police militarization based on previous trends in both Canada and the United States. I then outline the significance of researching police militarization through a political sociological lens and conclude the chapter with an overview of the remaining 5 chapters of this thesis.

1.1 Purpose and significance: North American trends

The trend of police militarization in North America continues to increase at alarming rates. The total value of previous military equipment now in the possession of American police departments is valued at over 1.8 billion dollars (Davenport et al, 2018). Between the fiscal years of 2015 through 2017, American police departments procured 3,000 controlled items such as weapons, drones and helicopters valued at 775 million dollars. These items were transferred to 2,790 state and local police agencies and 174 federal agencies (Davenport et al, 2018). A national survey was conducted through RAND's American Life Panel in 2018 that asked 1,044 United States citizens about their opinions on governmental programs that give military equipment to police services. The survey revealed that 48% of respondents were unaware of the programs that provide policing services with excess military equipment, 46% percent support limiting the program, 38% percent do not think there should be any limitations and 16% percent had no opinion (Davenport et al, 2018). Similar trends are found in Canada as Canadian Special Weapons and Tactics units (SWAT) deploy to more calls for service more often than SWAT units in the United States (Roziere and Walby, 2018) Since 1980, there has been a 2,100 percent increase in SWAT deployments over a 37-year period in Canada, and each major Canadian paramilitary unit averages 60 deployments annually (Roziere and Walby, 2018). Statistics on the

total amount of carbine rifles accumulated by Canadian police services are less available in comparison to the United States.

Public attention towards police militarization is heavily influenced by high profile events. The 2014 Ferguson protest acted as a catalyst for the mainstream media, community activist groups, the police and academic scholar's interests toward police militarization. The militarized response of the police during the Ferguson protests, which resulted in the death of Michael Brown, revealed to the general public the acute and invasive practices available to the police through military-grade technology (see Balko, 2013, 31). The events in Ferguson further revealed the impacts of the American 1033 federal program which gives American police departments decommissioned military weapons for free and can sometimes creep their way into Canada. This program allowed 13,259 military rifles and guns to be given to American police departments from 1990 to 1999, and 201,813 guns from 2010 to 2019 (Tolan and Hernandez, 2020).

The military and the police have always shared operational and organizational characteristics. Britain's first professional police force was organizationally modelled after a quasi-military change of command. The literature in Chapter 2 highlights how the police and the military share organizational and operational similarities such as the political purpose of being the state's primary use of force entities (McCulloch, 2001, 15). Chapter 2 highlights how a historical function of the public police is to ensure the smooth functioning of the economic market, and Chapter 5 highlights how Political Sociology can be used to explore how market security is still an ongoing process through police militarization.

The current context of police militarization has resulted in policing agencies, civil society groups, academics, corporations and police unions disagreeing on both the definition of

militarization and what police actions should be considered as militarized. There is no consensus of police militarization because the definitions of both the military and police are constantly under contention (Weiss, 2011, 401). A baseline of police militarization exists historically; the police drew on military tactics to increase the state's social control and bureaucratic oversight over its citizens (Kraska, 1999 in Weiss, 2011, 399). Kraska (2007) outlines that police militarism and police militarization help to understand police militarization but can be carried out in different ways. Police militarism is summarized as "an ideology focused on the best means to solve problems," and "a set of beliefs, values, and assumptions that stress the use of force and threat of violence as the most appropriate and efficacious means to solve problems" (Kraska, 2007, 3). Militarization is when civilian/domestic police organizations increasingly draw from and pattern themselves around modalities of militarism and the military model. Police militarization is the process of domestic police forces carrying out the act of police militarism through "arming, organizing, training for, threatening, and sometimes implementing violent conflict" primarily felt in civil society through the policing using tactical/paramilitary units (Kraska, 2007, 3).

Radley Balko (2021) has broken down police militarization into two working categories: direct and indirect militarization. Direct militarization uses the standing military for domestic policing, and indirect militarization is when police agencies and officers take on more characteristics of an army (Balko, 2021, 35). This research project focuses on the latter. McCulloch (2021) argues that the significance in the traditional strict demarcation in roles between the military and the police comes in their operational goals. The primary role of domestic police is to focus on crime prevention and community safety. The standard policy within constitutional democracies is that the police can use force- deadly if necessary- but must

be proportionate and only the least amount necessary (McCulloch, 2001, 5). The military is responsible for external security threats and may use overwhelming force to neutralize enemies of the state. The lack of a civil relationship between a military soldier and their intended target is in direct contrast to the civil obligations police officers are expected to maintain. The ongoing blur between the military and the police gives rise to police militarization.

Trends of police militarization in Canada were researched by Alvaro (2000), who discovered that police services in Canada had begun to switch their mandates for their tactical teams to take on more proactive tasks within routine policing activities. The shift towards proactive responses runs counter to the original purpose of tactical policing in civilian law enforcement. The original intention of police paramilitary units was to be a swift response to the worst and most dangerous type of threats to public safety, such as hostage situations, barricaded persons, terrorism and sniper situations (Kraska, 2007, 7). In Canada, police tactical units are traditionally equipped with MP5 submachine guns, semi-automatic shotguns, M16 assault rifles, fortified tactical vehicles (which are commonly referred to as Humvees or armoured personnel carriers), battle dress uniforms (BDUs), full-body armour and place high emphasis on group solidarity/ identity as being elite officers (Kraska and Kappeler, 1997, 4). Alvaro's findings about the expansion of police mandates to include tactical unit's deployment is similar to trends of police militarization in the United States. The risk aversive nature of on-the-ground policing creates a heightened sense of danger amongst police officers and allows the police to create justifications for police equipment through mobilizing arguments about community and officer safety. These justifications widen the range of routine police situations that can be classified as a serious lethal threat and expand the need for tactical unit deployment. (Kraksa, 2021, 452).

In Canada, the public police also have a history of responding to civil protests with invasive force through paramilitary policing. The OKA crisis in Quebec in 1990 led the RCMP to collaborate with the Suréte Du Québec during a protest with the Mohawks of the Kanasetake Reserve (de Lint, 2004, 16). The police forces attempted to remove Indigenous protesters with assault rifles, concussion grenades and tear gas. Wet'suwet'en land defenders are experiencing similar amounts of police use of force because of the RCMP raids on their land due to the Coastal Gaslink pipeline, which has led Indigenous land defenders to mobilize civil rights violations against the police. Despite the public police's justifications that more military style equipment improves officer and public safety (see Issawi, 2020., Boutillier, 2014., and DeRosa, 2017), paramilitary tactics such as dynamic entries, the reliance on tactical units for backup during emergency situations, and procuring military-style equipment can result in harm to both police officers and citizens (see Trinh, Smart and Dubinsky, 2021.,. National Post, 2014., RCMP, 2014., and Gurney, 2015.) This is best demonstrated by the tragic shooting and passing of an RCMP officer during the OKA crisis and in the tragic deaths of officers during the Mayerthorpe and Moncton shootings (de Lint, 2004, 16., Roziere and Walby, 2019, 474., Davies, 2010., National Post, 2020., and Gurnery, 2015). Community activist groups also direct attention towards the harms that police militarization can cause towards racialized communities. Grassroots activists highlight how the use of tactical policing for executing search warrants can cause significant harm, proven by the falling death of Anthony Aust in 2020 (Yogaretnam, 2021., and CBC News, 2020). The increased reliance of tactical policing in routine calls for service has led community groups to create several demands towards policing agencies to defund and demilitarize. This is demonstrated by the community of Halifax's resistance to police

militarization and the City's decision to reject the Halifax Regional Police's proposal for a new armoured rescue vehicle (MacDonald, 2020).

The previous literature is limited in addressing the competing narratives surrounding police militarization. By adopting a Bourdieusian Political Sociology, this project will evaluate the ways in which certain practices of militarized policing were defended or contested by the groups involved in the police militarization network. Understanding the different positions of police militarization between community groups, corporations, policing agencies, policing unions, and academics will help to outline the contests surrounding police militarization. These contests are crucial to understand as they will give insight into how certain actors help promote the status quo of police militarization. It will also help understand how certain agendas of police militarization gain more traction and attention during certain periods and map out what actors contribute to the militarization of Canadian policing services. Political Sociology will help to understand the field struggle that occurs by competing agents within and between groups and also help understand how symbolic capital influences actors within this network.

By outlining the main arguments from the police, government officials and civil society groups it will help to understand how their arguments support or contest police militarization and show how their symbolic power is used to shift public opinion on police militarization. For my primary research goal, I am interested in understanding the arguments that are presented by the implicated social groups about the practice of police militarization and the specific reasons they use to support or contest militarization. Specifically, what police practices or police equipment attract public attention and what are the arguments or frameworks used to contest or defend them? To achieve this my secondary goals will be (1) to explore how the police procure military hardware, (2) understand the tactical relevance of the police wanting the military equipment and

the arguments they mobilize to defend them, (3) and determining what strategies and 'capital' activist groups and community members used to contest police militarization.

This project will evaluate newspaper articles, community activist group publications, governmental reports and recommendations with a Political Sociological lens to evaluate the surrounding contests about police militarization. This will help to explore the ongoing struggles from all relevant actors about police militarization and give new direction into the future.

1.2 Overview

Chapter 2 will begin with the history of policing dating back to Sir Robert Peel as well as the background information about tactical policing in Canada. It will then argue that these police tactical units have become a normal part of the daily operations of policing agencies, which is problematic because it is outside of the police's original purpose (Kraska and Kappeler 1997., Alvaro, 2000., Roziere and Walby, 2018). It will then highlight the literature that contributes to the ongoing contests regarding police militarization, as well as recent developments of police militarization in Canada. This will contain key arguments from actors that support the militarization of police and those who contest it. Also in Chapter 2 I will highlight how Bourdieu's Political Sociology can be engaged for an analysis on symbolic power and culture. The application of Political Sociology will build towards a reconceptualization of police militarization through a Bourdeiusian framework. This will occur through adopting symbolic power in similar fashion to other scholars such as Janet Chan (1997), towards an enhanced understanding of police militarization. By taking on this Bourdeiusian framework, it will allow for an analysis of police militarization while mobilising key concepts such as field, habitus, symbolic power, field struggle, processes of naturalization and capital (Swartz, 2013, 83). Chapter 3 will explain how a Critical Content Analysis is the most practical research method for

this reconceptualization on police militarization. This method is consistent with the overall paradigm of the theoretical framework and will allow for an analysis of the data that can critically evaluate and map the specific contests of police militarization. Chapter 4 will present my results. Chapter 5 will discuss my findings surrounding the contests of police militarization and answer my research questions. Chapter 6 will discuss policy recommendations regarding police militarization and will conclude the project by discussing the strengths and weaknesses of this study by raising the concomitant suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2: Normalizing Police Militarization

In this chapter, I explore the history of public policing and its relevance to the formulation of paramilitary units in Canada. I will then demonstrate how policing scholars have focused on how police tactical teams have become a normal part of policing activities and then discuss the contemporary developments of police militarization in Canada. I will then explore the ongoing contests surrounding police militarization from different groups and conclude with my theoretical framework and research questions.

2.1 History of public policing

The main intersection between the military and the public police is in their shared political purposes. Both the military and the police act as the state's primary use-of-force entities that foundationally make up the state's ability to use coercive power (McCulloch, 2001, 15). Although police militarization caught traction in North America in the early 1980s through police tactical units, the relationship between state power, the military and the public police has existed since the birth of public policing.

Systems of social control have existed before centralized policing. Societies have created order and maintained public safety through socialization and informal discipline by relying on: Parents, siblings, peers, friends, and colleagues to maintain societal rules before a centralized police force existed (Clifford & Shearing, 2001, 2). Patrick Colquhoun's parish constable system and the Thames Valley Police is an example of a non-state group that contributed to public safety through systems of volunteer-based policing. Colquhoun had success in the private sector as a merchant using the parish constable system, which contributed to his visions of seeing the poor as "producers of idleness, drunkenness and disorder, not of value" that can be controlled by the state (Williams, 2013, 326).

Colquhoun was responsible for encouraging the division between the proletariat working class and the expanding capitalist class. The creation of a moral panic around the mobility of Proletariat labour helped reinforce the need for a public police force. Colquhoun mobilized arguments about the working Proletariat as collections of individuals that breed criminality amongst themselves and used medical metaphors to argue that "class criminality" was a social disease (Williams, 2013, 327). The moral panic that was created and mobilized towards the capitalist elites and the idea that criminality was "an epidemic" is what conditioned the British Government and expanding capitalist class to accept a repressive police force into a unified program (Williams, 2013, 327). The moral panic about a Proletariat criminality epidemic was one of the main reasons that Colquhoun was able to forge the conceptual conditions necessary for the establishment of a centralized public police force.

The British Government and the police's attention to crime in England during the 1700s to 1829 was centred around the workers' opposition against the merchants and the industrialists. The threat of Proletariat "criminality" towards the functioning of labour production was Colquhoun's main reason for the need for a centralized police force in Britain. The significance of highlighting Colquhoun's framework and its relation to the political economy is because of the main objectives of his centralized police force. The target of Colquhoun's new centralized police force was exclusively the poor and not the capitalists. This centralized police force under Colquhoun sought to contain wagelessness and the mobility of labour to ensure the well-functioning of the market for capitalist production (Williams, 2013, 328).

Centralized public policing and the political economy have always shared a connection within society. The connection of the police to the economic market is essential in understanding how this conceptual variable is relevant to police militarization. Kempa (2010) builds on the

ideas of Williams (2013) to demonstrate that social control, both historically and in contemporary policing, requires more than just a uniformed police force for the prevention and detection of crime (Neocleous in Kempa, 2010, 106). Adam Smith used the idea of the police and the term *police* in relation to the security of market regulation as the main task of government. The relevance of this conceptual understanding is that crime was a product of socio-economic conditions. The proper running of the economic market is what was understood by governmental programmers and political economists as the most important branch of the police (Smith and Neocleous in Kempa, 2010, 108). Looking at the history of centralized policing provides critical insights into understanding the organizational and operational agendas of contemporary policing agencies. Outlining the connection between policing and the market economy will help to conceptualize how police agencies procure military hardware, how the police view military equipment as a 'more valued form of capital' and how the struggle over the distribution of capital creates a market economy for police militarization actors (see Swartz, 2013, 88).

The birth of professional policing occurred in England in 1829 by Sir Robert Peel. The conceptual understanding of policing is important in demonstrating how the police have always been connected to the market economy, even before professional policing transitioned into the public sector. Sir Robert Peel established the first professionalized police force in England through the Metropolitan Police Act of 1829 and the creation of the British Bobby. Peel's influence on English policing is important because of how many organizational and top-down processes he used from the military to create the British model of policing. Peel used a variety of characteristics for domestic policing that are from the military. The Parliament of London continuously refused to create a public police service due to British civilians' concerns over civil

liberties. Peel put in assurances to maintain local control over the public police's commitment to solely fighting crime and maintaining individual rights. His task was to convince the citizens of London that a police force would not be a standing army that was enforcing the principles and agendas of centralized power (Balko, 2021, 29). Peel was sensitive to the fears of a standing army but still believed the police force would need discipline and structure similar to the military for it to work (Balko, 2013, 29).

The London police force began with 3,000 officers. They wore blue uniforms to distinguish themselves from the public but avoided red to separate themselves from the British military. Peel addressed the concerns of crime prevention/control through using a quasi-military chain of command. This was done through hiring/recruiting former non-commissioned military officers and assigning them to the higher ranks because of their previous experience as disciplinarians (Reiner, 2015, 68). The survival of public policing was contingent on Peel's ability to alleviate those fears.

The British model of policing also began to formulate in the United States in 1845. In America, the formulation of public police services had a direct connection to the political economy. Police officers in America were not hand-selected like the British model but were nominated by ward leaders and political elites and assigned to the position by the Mayor (Balko, 2021, 30). The ward leaders were elected members and felt that they could put pressure on police commanders to prioritize certain policing activities in ways that would help them get re-elected. The police officers in larger metropolitans like Philadelphia and New York worked and lived in the wards they patrolled and used the police stations as soup kitchens and shelters for the homeless (Balko, 2021, 30). This style of democratic policing gave the police and its commanders the discretion to enforce certain laws in ways that reflected the priorities of the

communities they patrolled. This type of public policing became problematic because it adopted a patronage position because the only qualification to be a police officer was having a political connection. The American policing proved less effective than the centralized, less democratic London model. It was not until 1905 that August Vollmer pioneered the police professionalism movement that policing was "successfully transformed from a perk of patronage to a formal profession" with specialized knowledge and entry requirements into police recruitment (Balko, 2021, 32). Understanding the historical ways that the public police were politically connected will be beneficial in analyzing police militarization through Political Sociology.

Understanding the historical underpinnings of professional policing is important because the connections between the police, the political economy and the military are vital in understanding police militarization. One key takeaway from studying the history of policing is that even before academics critically evaluated police militarization, the public police have always been interconnected to the military. The heavy influence of military characteristics that have been adopted by the police helps to understand how the police have always been militarized. A conceptual understanding of police militarization and the different ways it impacts contemporary society must be evaluated first.

2.2 Examination of contemporary studies about police militarization

Police militarism and police militarization operate within the same paradigm but have different meanings. Kraska (2007) argues that police militarism stems from an ideology that focuses on the best way to solve problems. To do this, police militarism stresses the use of force and the threat of violence as the best way to solve those problems. Kraksa (2007) states that police militarism draws from the military through "military power, hardware, organization operations and technology" as tools to help solve social problems (Kraska, 2007, 3). Police

militarization is the process whereby the public police mobilize the ideology of militarism by incorporating military tools into their routine daily operations. Militarization is the process of "arming, organizing, training for, threatening, and sometimes implementing violent conflict" into policing operations (Kraska, 2007, 3). Therefore, police militarization is the process where civilian/domestic police services draw from and pattern themselves around modalities of militarism and the military model.

The ambiguity in the definition of police militarization is also demonstrated by Radley Balko (2021) in his book *The Rise of the Warrior Cop.* Balko (2021) created two working categories of militarization: Direct and indirect. Direct militarization focuses on the use of a standing military army to carry out routine police activities, and indirect militarization occurs when police agencies/officers take on more characteristics of the military (Balko, 2021, 35). This research project focuses on indirect militarization. Balko outlines that police militarization is not the result of the decisions of one party or person. Rather, the trend of domestic policing services adopting military ideals into their daily operations has slowly occurred and is the result of generations of politicians' support. The trend of police militarization can also be attributed to those in power who have historically exploited the public's fears by declaring war on crime, drug use and terrorism (Balko, 2021, 42).

The police and the military both share similarities and differences. The main similarity between the police and the military is their political purpose as the state's primary use of force agencies. This intersection is significant as both the military and the police make up the foundation of the state's ability to use coercive power (McCulloch, 2001, 15). Other similarities between the military and the police include: Specialist codes and language, uniforms (including battle dress uniforms –BDUs), top-down hierarchical command structure and they are both

predominantly represented by males (McCulloch, 2001, 15). Unlike the military, the public police must be accountable to the law and follow due process. The fundamental difference between the military and the police is in the official role and function of the police officer as a public servant. The role of the public police is generally the same across Western democracies: The need to prevent or discover crime, to protect life and property and to preserve peace (McCulloch, 2001, 16). The primary role of the soldier is to wage war and take out enemies, where taking life and destroying property is seen as a necessary component of their role as peacekeepers. The main difference between the two is that the police operate within society based on suspected wrongdoing while preventing and detecting crime. Military soldiers deploy against groups of individuals and people defined as the enemy from higher-ranking Government officials. (McCulloch, 2001, 18). The blurring of the two rigid organizations becomes problematic because the underlying goals of the military and the police are in opposition to one another.

There are four tangible ways to evaluate military-based policing practices: Material, cultural, organizational and operational (Kraska, 2007, 3). These four dimensions of the military model help identify the indications of a public police force operating within a police militarization paradigm. The *material* aspect refers to the military like weaponry/equipment and technology and the *cultural* aspect refers to the specific martial language, style of appearance as well as the beliefs, values and mindsets shared amongst military personnel –such as the warrior mentality. The *organizationa*l aspect refers to the military structure of command and control, similar to the idea of squads of officers patrolling a specific high crime area – which is in opposition to the traditional officer on the beat (Kraska, 2007, 3). Finally, the *operational* aspect

demonstrates they ways that policing agencies model their activities similar to the military in areas such as intelligence, high risk situations and supervision.

Police militarization impacts citizens within a democracy primarily though police paramilitary units (PPUs), and the different ways that police agencies deploy them. Kraska and Kappeler (1997) argue that there has been a lack of focus by policing scholars to study the overlaps between the military and the police. Kraska and Kappeler (1997) argue that there is a strengthening in the relationship between the criminal justice-industrial complex (CJIC) and the military-industrial complex (MIC), and how the militarization of civilian policing presents itself is through police paramilitary units (Kraksa and Kappeler, 1997, 2). A police paramilitary unit (PPU) is a part of, but distinct from, a traditional police force but has an array of military-grade weapons and technology in their arsenal. The intended and essential rationale for police paramilitary units was a swift response to the worst and most dangerous threats to public safety – hostage situations, barricaded persons, terrorism and sniper situations (Kraska, 2007, 7). The organizational structure of the PPUs are modelled after the elite military teams such as the Navy Seals and Army Rangers. These paramilitary units have joint training sessions with these military teams and train collectively under similar military command and structure. They are traditionally equipped with MP5 submachine guns, semi-automatic shotguns, M16 assault rifles, fortified tactical vehicles (including armoured personnel carriers), battle dress uniforms (BDUs), full-body armour and place high emphasis on group solidarity/ identity as being elite officers (Kraska and Kappeler, 1997, 4).

The primary role of police paramilitary unit's is to threaten/use force when carrying out their operational goals, instead of a strategy of last resort (Kraska and Cubellis, 1997, 610). This idea is in contrast to the notion that underpins a civilian police officer within a democracy, one

that is entrusted to use minimum force and to keep the peace. The idea of minimum force is designed to enhance the protection of the community while maintaining the peace by ensuring that violence does not escalate (McCulloch, 2001, 20). Police tactical units, police militarism and police use of minimum force contradict one another.

The threat and implementation of violence at the hands of police militarization presents itself in two dominant forms. The first is the use of police paramilitary units executing search warrants and using dynamic entry's onto private property. The other is public order policing, where these PPUs are mobilized for crowd control and order maintenance at large social gatherings. Public order policing is the mobilization and use of police authorities to establish a legitimate balance between governmental/societal, collective/individual and rights/interests during mass demonstrations (de Lint, 2004, 2). Public order policing is best seen through the Ferguson, Missouri protests, where images of PPUs armed with heavy assault rifles aiming at protestors in armoured personnel carriers was broadcasted nationwide. The significance of this for police scholars is that regardless of advancement in technology and surveillance, it is still the use of force that forms the underlying foundation of state and police power (Kraska, 2021, 454).

The other way police agencies can use their police paramilitary units is through proactive police tasks, consisting of no-knock raids and quick knock entries into private residences (Kraska, 2007, 7). The purpose of no knock raids during the execution of search warrants is for the collection of evidence from inside private residences. These tactical teams use explosives such as flashbangs to disorient suspects, placing them in a prone position and handcuffing them so that officers can search the area. This military style of domestic policing becomes problematic as these situations are not always a forced reaction that requires the immediate assistance of violence specialists. But rather a selection by police services choosing to use this "highly

dangerous method" of control (Kraska, 2007, 7). The monetary expense of military tactics and allure of paramilitary culture invites police departments to find new reasons to deploy these PPUs that are outside of their original purpose (Kraska, 2021, 452). Police agencies begin to create justifications to use their tactical units outside of their traditional roles. The reactive deployments transition into proactive deployments as tactical units are entrusted with tasks such as policing hotspots, conducting traffic tops, executing petty warrants and supervising crowd control (Roziere and Walby 2019, 472). The call outs of police paramilitary units would mean little if the increase in deployments was related to the increase in the demand for their essential function, as a reactive team of elite high risk specialists for the most severe kinds of harm (sniper situations, dangerous events in progress and barricaded persons).

Even though the goals of the police and the military are in opposition, the blending of the two organizations through police militarization continues to blend the notions of maximum and minimum force. This ultimately results in increased levels of coercive force that the public police can use against citizens (McCulloch, 2001, 150). Due to these paramilitary units' elite nature, there is often minimal external review because it is framed as an internal security matter. Moreover, concerns are growing that the continuous rise of police militarization encourages a "means justifies the ends" mentality. Where due process and democratic responsibilities of civilian policing become hidden behind a "necessity and expediency" chimera and cases of injustice become obscured by the paramilitary secrecy (Hill and Beger, 2009, 31). Therefore, the use of paramilitary units in proactive policing activities such as contraband raids or executing search warrants is an example of a misplaced application of the military model within civilian policing.

Blending the roles of a democratic civilian police officer and that of a military soldier can have profound implications. When a police officer's job is framed in military terms, their actions regarding due process, appropriate arrests, and levels of use of force can be influenced towards aggression. The responsibilities of the two when interacting with the public are very different. When a civilian police officer begins adopting cultural tropes of the military, such as being "warriors," it invites a heightened sense of violence for domestic officers to behave in a military or quasi military-like fashion (Lieblich and Shinar, 2018, 128). An example of the harm that paramilitary units can cause is demonstrated by McCulloch (2001) when she talks about the Victorian Special Operations Group (SOG) using forced entry raids. Although the use of raids is risky and aggressive, McCulloch states that they "nevertheless have been integrated into everyday policing through SOG training" (McCulloch, 2001, 151). The use of raids at the hands of paramilitary units has resulted in many hundreds of citizens being subjected to frightening home invasions by heavily armed tactical police officers. Despite the danger and aggression associated with raids, many police forces continue to use force entry raids without consideration for less dangerous options (McCulloch, 2001, 151). The Chief Inspector of the Victorian SOG maintained that forced entry raids give the police an advantage despite the increased danger of dynamic entries.

Militarizing the police creates further social harms when a presumption of threat begins amongst the communities in which the police serve. When the police respond to citizens in a democracy in a militarized fashion, it sends the message that the state views citizens as posing a level of threat severe enough that warrants a violent response (Lieblich and Shinar, 2018, 130). Police militarization carries with it the assumption that the community poses a certain level of threat that is severe enough to have a readily combative force on deck. Turner and Fox II (2019)

suggest that: the procurement of military type equipment; weapons; and vehicles by police forces can be sufficient criteria to evaluate the degree of militarization within a police force (Madsen, 2020, 116).

2.3 The normalization of police paramilitary units

So far, I have identified that the police and the military have always shared a connection in public policing. In the 1980s, policing scholars such as Peter Kraska began tracing the trend that public police departments in America started adopting aspects of the military through the process of militarization. What Kraska did, and what is still popular in police militarization studies to date, is he began tracing the annual deployments of police paramilitary units to see if they have become "normalized" within routine policing. This section will examine how policing scholars have heavily focused on demonstrating this "normalization" process within police militarization.

Kraska and Kappeler created a 40 item survey to examine the normalization and increased use of American PPUs. Their target populations were policing agencies serving jurisdictions of 50,000 or more citizens and employing more than 100 sworn officers (Kraska and Kappeler, 1997, 5). This generated data based on yearly deployments of police paramilitary units, what types of deployments they were on, and yearly frequency/cumulative growth. Their findings indicated a rapid expansion in the use and normalization of police paramilitary units from 1962 to1995 into routine policing operations. They also discovered that the normalization of paramilitary policing emerged and is being used proactively while policing agencies promote their goals towards community oriented policing.

Kraska and Cubellis conducted a similar study by administering a 40 item survey and sending it to policing organizations in the United States serving a population size of 25,000 to

50,000 citizens. The purpose was to explore the implications of militarized police forces in small localities and their impact on policing. Their findings are similar to Kraska and Kappelers, because the annual call outs of PPUs and the establishment of PPUs by police forces increased over a ten-year period. The authors determined that police forces began to normalize police paramilitary units because of the increase in yearly call outs/ deployments and the use of tactical units in routine policing activities such as the execution of warrants. The two surveys (Kraksa and Cubellis, 1997 and Kraska and Kapeller 1997), revealed that there was a 1,300 percent increase in the total number of deployments for police paramilitary units in the twenty-year period. The authors conclude that two reasons could account for the underwhelming attention to this increase in deployments of paramilitary units. First, is a focus on softer policing practices such as surveillance and information gathering. Second, was because of the rise of community policing practices that give off the idea that the police were trying to democratize as opposed to militarize (Kraska, 2021, 445).

Sam Alvaro (2000) was the first Canadian researcher to explore how police militarization was impacting Canadian policing agencies. Alvaro repeated the methodology of Kraska and Kappeller's 1997 survey but transitioned it into the Canadian context. The survey was quasi replicated to include a 54 item, 136 variable instruments that was designed to make future comparative studies about police tactical units. The only publicly available literature before Alvaro regarding police tactical units was in 1989 from the Ontario Police Commission (OPC). The Solicitor General of Ontario directed the OPC to examine how police forces used police paramilitary units in Ontario. The report was the result of five fatalities between 1983 to 1988 resulting from incidents that involved police tactical units (Alvaro, 2000, 50). These police tactical units began to formulate in Ontario in 1976, and by 1989 there were 15 controlled by the

province or municipality with a combined force of 274 officers (Alvaro, 2000, 50). Alvaro finds in his research that by 1980, full-time tactical teams reported 61 annual call-outs, which is five times higher than the previous month. By 1997 they were deployed 178 times, which converts to approximately one call-out every second day (Alvaro, 2000, 99). By 2000, Alvaro concluded that his findings were representative of police tactical units having become normalized within routine policing operations.

Kevin Walby and Brendan Roziere conducted a study in 2018 using data from freedom of information laws/access to information requests. The authors wanted to explore if police paramilitary units had become a normal part of daily Canadian police operations. They did this by analyzing the yearly deployments of Canada's largest police services tactical units. To measure this normalization, Walby and Rozierre demonstrate that these paramilitary units are being relied upon to carry out routine police activities such as warrant work, traffic enforcement, community-based policing, responding to domestic disturbances and even mental health crises (Roziere and Walby, 2018, 30). The authors state that police services are reluctant and often refuse to publish data on their SWAT (special weapons and tactics)/PPU deployments, creating barriers for research. Making the data public for the first time through their access to information requests, Roziere and Walby discovered strong evidence suggesting that Canadian PPUs were routinely used for proactive and reactive work. The authors argue that this is problematic because proactive tactical policing falls outside of their intended purpose and frequently outside of what is revealed to the public (Roziere and Walby, 2018, 30). It is also significant as it aligns with similar findings from American research such as Kraska and Kappeler 1997 and Krasksa and Cubellis. 1977.

Roziere and Walby found that most large Canadian municipalities have had active SWAT units (special weapons and tactics units) for decades. They also find that the growth of police tactical teams in the future will likely come from smaller municipalities that are only now beginning to expand tactical policing. SWAT units' largest growth and deployments come from cities that serve the largest populations (Ontario Provincial Police, Regina, Windsor, London, and Manitoba) (Roziere and Walby, 2018, 709). Some tactical teams have decreased in deployments, such as Calgary, Waterloo, and Toronto, from 1500 yearly deployments in 2007 to 500 deployments in 2016. These decreases are significant, but each tactical unit deploys multiple times per day and not always for their intended reasons. Roziere and Walby also found that the "deployments are higher than Alvaro (2000) found in the late 1990s, when the average annual SWAT deployment frequency's per agency in Canada was 60" (Roziere and Walby, 2018, 709).

The ongoing work of Roziere and Walby represents, to date, the most holistic and complete information of Canadian paramilitary deployments. The purpose of this section was to demonstrate that up until this point, the vast body of literature surrounding police militarization in Canada has focused on the routine use of paramilitary units in everyday policing activity. The new bodies of work emerging on paramilitary policing are new conceptualizations of police paramilitary normalization reworked to fit specific social science disciplines. There is an overemphasis within policing studies on addressing, contending and proving the degree to which a police force is militarized within North America by demonstrating a degree of normalization. Moving forward, I will outline the relevant arguments in the literature from key police militarization actors. These main actors include large for-profit defence corporations, National Government bodies like the Department of National Defence, policing agencies, policing scholars and community activist groups. The different positions of police militarization between

these groups are what will be explored, and referred to as contests. These contests are crucial to understand, as they will give insight into how certain actors help maintain the status quo of police militarization. Understanding the previous arguments from these actors will also help to answer my main research goal of evaluating if the annual callouts of tactical teams is still an efficient measurement of police militarization in Canada. It will also help understand how certain agendas of police militarization are dominant during certain periods, and map out what actors contribute to the militarization of Canadian policing services.

2.4 The existing arguments of police militarization by the police, government officials and civil society groups

So far, the literature has explored: The history of public policing, the connections between the military and the police, a conceptual understanding of police militarization and police tactical units as a routine part of police operations. The different positions of police militarization between the relevant groups are what will be explored and referred to as contests.

Large defence corporations contribute to the contests of police militarization because they lobby and sell their products towards police agencies. The lobbying of specialized technologies from the military to other enforcement agendas has a long history, dating back to the presidency of Dwight Eisenhower. The trend of corporate lobbying towards police agencies started in the 1990s when defence production was on the decline post-Vietnam War. The lobbying of weaponry further strengthened the connection between the military model and the criminal justice system (O'Toole, 1978, 169). The Vietnam War created the need for special counterinsurgency weapons and other tactical gear for overseas warfare. Once the war had finished, the arms industry felt a great financial impact as there was no longer a need for the special insurgency weapons they were manufacturing. The lack of clientele created economic pressure for these aerospace and engineering companies who produced military equipment, so

they began to lobby and convince democratic policing agencies that they needed short take-off helicopters, landing gear, and night vision instruments (O'Toole, 1978, 169). The lobbying of weaponry further strengthened the connection between the military model and the criminal justice system (O'Toole, 1978, 169).

Another way that large defence corporations directly impact police militarization is through political campaigns and the political economy. The defence industry represents a large segment of the American economy.[1] Major for-profit defence companies manufacture the equipment sold to police departments in America with a vested interest in expanding into new markets (Rahall, 2015, 1803). The impact of the Vietnam War on defence contractors can still be felt as the defence industry stands to lose significant profits as their government contracts to fill orders for war diminishes. The lack of government clientele increases the defence industry's interest in the domestic law enforcement market because it presents a new frontier for profit (Rahall, 2015, 1803).

The connection between private defence contractors and the public police also has political implications. These defence contractors give money to political action committees that sit on and influence Congressional Senate and House members to secure government contracts. The largest portion of donations goes to active members of Congress who have political campaigns that are responsible for defence funding and oversight. There is no guarantee that this method secures defence contracts, but evidence suggests that it pays off for the industry (Rahall, 2015, 1804). Police departments are directly influenced by these large defence contractors as well. Some corporations reach out to police departments directly to help the police navigate the

[1] American Defence outlays amounted to 676 billion dollars in 2019 and represented 3.2% of the American Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Forecasting to 2030, it is predicted that the defence outlays will increase to 888 billion U.S dollars. (Duffin, 2021).

landscape of inquiring about federal grants. Major companies such as Lenco assists the police in drafting grant proposals. Once the police service decides what equipment they want, these companies then guide them through the process, making it "painstakingly easy" (Rahall, 2015, 1807).

Another key actor within the network of police militarization that contributes to the ongoing contests is the Department of National Defence. In the United States, one of the main ways police departments gain access to military technology and equipment is through the Department of Defence's 1033 program. The program originated from the National Defense Authorization Act of 1990, which has provided law enforcement agencies with a wide variety of former military equipment for free that has been warehoused to storage (Ramey and Steidley, 2018, 814). The significance of this type of program is that accessing military materials such as weaponry, vehicles, and uniforms is often an early step that leads to further militarization of police departments. This military paraphernalia leads to other dimensions of military culture within domestic policing such as language and terminology, organization based on military principles and military-style tactics. This program was the catalyst of American police militarization and the recipients who receive equipment through this program are required to use it within one year of its acquisition. The oversight of the equipment is limited to inventory checks by the Department of Defense rather than ensuring that the highly dangerous equipment is being used democratically through due process (Rahall, 2015, 1792).

It is further problematic as the 1033 program provides free military-grade equipment to resource-poor police departments, allowing them to create tactical units in smaller localities that might otherwise only exist in larger cities. Police militarization also plays an influential part in how certain segments of the population are disproportionately impacted by policing efforts. The

original intention of the 1033 program was to allocate warehoused military equipment to police forces and be a race-neutral initiative to combat violent crime and terrorism. Instead, it created reverberations within racialized communities because of the 1033 program's contribution to giving military-grade equipment to police forces already struggling to remain bias-free (Ramey and Steidley, 2018, 819).

Police militarization initiates a metaphoric war against the urban underclasses of society. One that is supported by shifting federal funds from liberal social programs, intended to benefit racialized communities, towards tough-on-crime approaches (Rahall, 2015, 1792). While the 1033 program distributes the surplus of military equipment that is no longer used by the military, the 1122 program allows these police departments to make requests to purchase newer equipment. Although the 1033 program gives military equipment away for free, the 1122 program allows police departments to purchase newer equipment through their own funds from the Department of Defence (Rahall, 2015, 1792). One of the most important aspects of the 1122 program is that it allows police departments to purchase specific mechanical parts to continue the maintenance of the equipment that it receives for free from the 1033 program.

The available literature on police militarization in Canada recognizes that Canadian police services have adopted more military traits since the early 1980's. However, Canadian tactical policing units are not as overtly militarized as American policing departments (Roziere and Walby, 2019, 479). There are also no policies that allow the Canadian military to directly transfer technology and equipment to Canadian policing agencies in similar ways as the U.S. There are signs of Canadian policing agencies being impacted by the American 1033 and 1122 programs, as several police services such as Ottawa and Windsor currently use Large Armoured

Vehicles made by American for-profit defence companies such as Lenco and OshKosh (Pugliese, 2014)

The 1033 program is the easiest way for American policing agencies to acquire a diverse range of military equipment to formulate paramilitary units. Another way that the Department of Defence contributes towards police militarization is through police initiatives such as asset forfeiture. The Washington Post released a study in 2014 analyzing the annual reports submitted by local and state police agencies to the Justice Departments Equitable Sharing Program. This program is an initiative that allows police departments to keep 80 percent of the assets that they seize when conducting search warrants with paramilitary units (O'Harrow, Rich, Tan, 2014). The exchange value of the assets seized under civil forfeiture returns allows police departments in America to recycle hundreds of millions of dollars to purchase military rifles and guns, large armoured vehicles and electronic surveillance gear. The police can seize any property during the search warrant that they believe helped commit the crime or links the suspect to the crime, which includes the times that police search a wrong address and take the property of the innocent (O'Harrow, Rich, Tan, 2014).

The public police also put forward arguments to maintain and procure their current and future military equipment. Roziere and Walby in 2019, used discourse analysis to evaluate media rhetoric surrounding police militarization to look at the different justifications for police obtaining large armoured vehicles. The authors found that policing agencies rely on two main overlapping themes when justifying the need for military hardware. The first is the current and often increasing danger that police officers must face in their day-to-day policing operations. The second is the need for the police to keep themselves and the public safe. Scott Phillips (2016) points out that myths within policing are rooted in police history, such as the crime-fighting

approach. The crime-fighting approach is an ideology of the police officer protecting citizens from danger that may require them to put themselves between the citizen and the danger (Phillips, 2016, 187).

Phillips (2016) best summarises the relationship between the police officer and the idea of danger as "police officers do not know exactly where danger may come, so the potential exits that danger may come from anywhere, anyone, at any time" which stresses the idea that danger becomes a chronic part of policing (Phillips, 2016, 187). Therefore, if the potential for danger is chronic and omnipresent, it helps police services justify the need for additional resources to prepare for it (Roziere and Walby, 2019, 474).

The danger myth outlined by Phillips (2016) was present in the sample conducted by Roziere and Walby, as several police officers claimed that they were responding to more dangerous and high-risk incidents. Articles from Roziere and Walby's (2019) sample had quotes from a Canadian Police Chiefs that argued in favour of new large armoured vehicles because it would help officers in "potentially lethal arrest warrants, standoffs and conflicts involving a high- calibre weapon" (Hutton, 2011 in Roziere and Walby, 2019, 474). The reference to danger by police officers in the author's sample referenced hypothetical high-risk situations such as hostage situations or active shootings. Whereas ideas of police officers protecting the public tended to refer to specific incidents that occurred in the past, such as the 2014 Moncton shootings (Roziere and Walby, 2019, 474).

Another common way that police forces push for more military resources is the idea that they need to keep up with the weaponry and technology that is already on the streets. The notion that the police become "outgunned" by street-level violence helps reinforce street-level officers' demand to have bigger guns (Phillips, 2016, 189). The omnipresent threat of danger that police

officers face is what gives rise to the rhetoric that street-level officers, as well as tactical units, must have "gear that matches the threat'" (Phillips, 2016, 190). Phillips (2016) highlights that the argument favouring giving patrol rifles to police officers to improve accuracy at longer ranges is also unsupported and could be another myth of policing. Police officers are generally less accurate when they fire their weapons, likely because of the difference in environments between range shooting and street-level confrontations (Phillips, 2016, 190). When officers are involved in shooting events, several internal and external variables impact shooting accuracy. Some officers experience audio/visual distortions during shooting events and little evidence supports that the same effects wouldn't happen with a patrol rifle. Therefore, Phillips concludes that it is questionable that patrol rifles would improve shooting accuracy.

Academics also have a direct role in the contests of police militarization. Scholars such as Peter Kraska have argued that the increase in yearly deployments of police paramilitary units indicates police militarization within American police departments (Kraska, 2007, Kraska and Kappeler, 1997, Kraska and Cubellis, 1997, Kraska, 2021). Other scholars within the literature do not believe that the frequency in deployments of tactical units is representative of police militarization. Garth den Heyer engages in an academic debate regarding the work of Kraska and Kappeler (1997) and Kraska and Cubellis (1997) and rejects the idea that the police are becoming militarized. den Heyer argues that Kraska and Kappeler's arguments about police militarization are misguided due to their lack of understanding of policing, police institutions and police officers. There is consensus that the total number of deployments of police paramilitary units increased over the 20-year period from 1980 to 2000. den Heyer associates the rise in annual deployments of those PPUs to management theory and an economic perspective (den Heyer, 2012, 354). He states that an increase in tactical unit call-outs is not a sign of police

militarization but rather the rational utilization of resources and the appropriate use of highly expensive and well-trained police units (den Heyer, 2012, 354). He also contends that the police tactical units and the military special forces joint training sessions are not a sign of police militarization but rather a shift towards mutually professionalizing two use of force bodies. The police gain the experience from the military of being tactics and violence specialists, and the military gains experience from the police given the military's shift away from search and destroy operations towards a more policing role in Afghanistan and Iraq (den Heyer, 2012, 356)

Other scholars such as PAJ Waddington argue in favour of the paramilitary style of policing. Waddington suggests the need for more military discipline or commands within tactical policing because it would reduce the unnecessary police violence and facilitate the notion of minimum force (McCulloch, 2013, 25). Waddington (1999) also argues that the concerns of Kraska and his colleagues (Kraska and Kappeler (1997) and Kraska and Cubellis (1997)) are not justified. Waddington agrees that the blur in the rigid distinctions between the military and the police is problematic as it would threaten the basis of the democratic policy, which is citizenship (Waddington, 1999, 137). But the alarm towards paramilitary policing is unwarranted because SWAT deployments are only one manifestation of police use of force. Waddington argues that the main difference between the police and the military is that SWAT units must promote accuracy during their operations while taking out "bad guys." The importance of accuracy to the police is why they fire aimed shots. Shot accuracy means very little to the military, where eliminating enemies by whatever means necessary is more critical (Waddington, 1999, 135). Therefore, Waddington concludes that police paramilitary units retain the essential division between the police and the military because they do not indiscriminately eliminate enemies (Waddington, 1999, 137).

Some academic policing scholars argue that an alternative/critical position needs to be taken towards policing issues, including police militarization. McDowell and Fernandez argue for a model of police abolition that seeks to disarm-disband-disempower policing agencies. The authors argue that police abolition becomes particularly important when evaluating the history of the public police and their connection to racial capitalism. The police started as "slave patrols" to address the growing number of poor people during the rise of industrial capitalism in the plantations and agricultural colonies (McDowell and Fernandez, 2018, 379). The police formed as a response to the slave revolt. The police's core function was to protect the property of the capitalist class, maintain stable conditions and defend against the threats that could impact capital accumulation (McDowell and Fernandez, 2018, 379). McDowell and Fernandez put forward alternatives to policing such as police disarmament, stating that the lethality of police violence is not limited to firearms but conductive energy weapons, rubber bullets, asphyxiation and assaults.

McDowell and Fernandez outline that following the protests of Ferguson, Missouri and the public police's militarized response, it seems justifiable to remove the lethal weapons from police forces given the rate at which police officers use deadly force (McDowell and Fernandez, 2018, 379). The disarmament of the police not only strives towards dismantling the police under this paradigm of police abolition but also acts as a harm reduction strategy as the number of annual civilian deaths at the hands of police lethal weapons and Tasers would be eliminated (McDowell and Fernandez, 2018, 379). The other strategy towards dismantling the public police outlined by McDowell and Fernandez is police disempowerment. The idea of disempowering the police uses diverse tactics to confront and erode police power, promotes a legitimacy crisis for

the police, and works towards a world where the function of the police itself within society has been rendered obsolete (McDowell and Fernandez, 2018, 380).

Independent community groups and organizations also put forward arguments that support and contest police militarization. The American Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) contribute to police militarization as they help law enforcement agencies promote themselves and argue in favour of federal grant programs that escalate police militarization. This group argues that policing needs to stay level with the types of weapons and gear used by criminals they face. In contrast, other lobbying groups like National Tactical Officers Association (NTAO) ensure that American police departments get the funding for tactical gear and money from the Federal Government for officer salaries (Rahall, 2015, 1804).

Other community groups such as the Black Lives Matter Campaign Canada are pushing for a new "modern" way of policing. Through police defunding, the Black Lives Matter group advocates that disarming and demilitarizing the police will help with community safety (Black Lives Matter website, 2021). This group argues that the deployment of police tactical units disproportionately impacts Black, Indigenous and other social justice protest movements. One of the BLM demands is that Joe Biden ends the *Law Enforcement Support Office,* which transfers surplus military hardware and equipment to local law enforcement agencies (Black Lives Matter Website, 2021, Rahall, 2015 1807, Ramey and Steidley, 2018, 814). The BLM campaign pushes to end the 1033 program to help demilitarize the neighbourhoods of Black Americans, as the 1033 program has already given over seven billion dollars' worth of tactical equipment to policing agencies (Black Lives Matter, 2021).

Other community groups such as the Criminalization and Punishment Education Project (CPEP) have started local initiatives such as #NOPE (No Ottawa Police Expansion) to try and

put a cap to the ongoing expansion of policing budgets. The CPEP group offers alternatives that the City of Ottawa could reinvest the money to help with community well-being and safety instead of expanding policing budgets (CPEP, 2019). Some of those strategies include: covering daycare costs for kids in Ottawa, youth one-on-one mentoring, planting community gardens to address food insecurities, hiring violence interrupters, conflict mediators and outreach workings to prevent gun violence (CPEP, 2019).

2.5 Defining police militarization

This literature review provided different academic definitions of police militarization and outlined different ways that scholars have traced the normalization of police militarization. Moving forward in this research project, police militarization must be defined as the police organizing themselves around the military model and understands the significance of the police procuring military equipment. This thesis understands police militarization as; the organizational, operational, material and cultural components shared between police tactical teams and the military and the democratic significance, collateral consequences and harm that can be produced through police tactical teams. This research project understands that police militarization is not a separate component of policing but rather an extension that shares the same intrinsic values, worldviews, understandings and struggles as routine police constables. Police militarization is not only about police tactical officers, military equipment and dynamic entries but also about the community that the police serve and their positions, experiences and worldviews about tactical teams. This definition will help contribute to the deductive themes when sampling my data and will also inform the inductive categories I will produce through the analysis.

Common throughout the literature on police militarization is that police forces have adopted paramilitary styles of policing into their routine policing operations. Policing scholars

have outlined through annual deployments that these tactical teams have become a normal response for police calls for service. The roles of tactical teams in contemporary policing have transitioned from their original reactive role as violence specialists to a proactive role of policing. These contested views about police militarization from scholars, the police and community groups are significant to outline because it allows for a conceptual understanding about the different agendas of police militarization. Understanding the underlying motivations about these arguments will help to answer the main research question of this project: What arguments do police, government officials and civil society groups make to support or contest police militarization and what forms of power and symbolic power do they use to shift public opinion?

2.6 Bourdieu's Political Sociology

Pierre Bourdieu's view on sociology is different from other political sociologists. Bourdieu's sociology and his analysis on power, symbolic power, capital and habitus will play an important role in evaluating the contested arguments between the police and community groups about police militarization. Bourdieu believes that power is an inherent part of sociology and that power is an independent domain that is inseparable from culture or economics (Swartz, 2013, 3). He views sociology and its connection to power as a phenomenon that pervades human relations. His position on power allows him to reject an analysis of power as a single dimension of sociology. Not seeing power as monolithic allows Bourdieu to reject the "traditional academic division of labour between sociology, Political Sociology and political science" (Swartz, 2013, 3). Bourdieu's take on sociology and its connection to power is relevant to the study of police militarization because the political lens allows for an analysis of military style equipment through symbolic power and field struggle. Bourdieu's view on these concepts is what he

stresses as playing an active role in the symbolic resources that make up and reaffirm existing social hierarchies (Swartz, 2013, 4). Adopting Bourdieu's view on sociology to evaluate police militarization allows for a view on policing that demonstrates how power can operate through cultural resources, symbolic categories, and classifications. These forms of symbolic power are navigated through existing institutional arrangements and into everyday life practices.

Adopting a Bourdeiusian analysis towards police militarization will be beneficial because at the heart of his analysis is the importance that symbolic forms of power play in constituting and maintaining the social hierarchies within society. Bourdieu's sociology also brings to front the more subtle and influential forms of power through cultural and symbolic forces. These forces are important to highlight within police militarization as they often interweave and operate in society through prevailing institutional hierarchies into everyday life practices. Adopting Bourdieu's framework towards police militarization will create many different avenues for exploring and conceptualizing this trend in policing. Bourdieu's framework will contribute to new ways of understanding police militarization and actor's symbolic arguments within the police militarization contests. Using Bourdieu's framework of Political Sociology is also beneficial for studying police militarization because it can view equipment as a form of capital, and understand the struggles between actors as a process of accumulating capital.

Bourdieu organizes his understandings of power into three distinct categories, all of which can be applied directly to police militarization. One of these ways is to view power in "*valued resources"* consisting of various types of social, cultural and economic capitals (Swartz, 2013, 34). Bourdieu views these forms of power/resources as capitals that can be "created, accumulated, exchanged and consumed" (Swartz, 2013, 34). Bourdieu viewed power as being zero-sum based on private accumulation and human relations. The forms of power are significant

if one form of capital is accumulated in opposition to another form of capital (Swartz, 2013, 55). Within Bourdieu's sociology, these resources become forms of capital through "social power relations" by becoming objects of struggle (Bourdieu 1996 in Swartz, 2013 ,34). The forms of capital presented are four generic forms produced from human labour; economic, cultural, social and symbolic. Economic capital relates to money and property, while cultural capital consists of information, knowledge and educational credentials (Swartz, 2013, 34). Social capital consists of acquaintances and networks, and symbolic capital deals with legitimation and prestige. Using Bourdieu's view of sociology to examine the contests of police militarization will provide a view that examines forms of power and capital as struggles through exchanges and accumulation. It shows the human struggle to maintain and increase their position within the social hierarchy (Swartz, 2013, 55).

The next form of capital that Bourdieu identified is *Power in Fields of Struggle.* Bourdieu argues that forms of power do not exist independently of one another but operate interactively, which he calls *fields.* Fields are summarized best as "Fields denote arenas of production, circulation and appropriation of goods, services, knowledge, or status, and the competitive positions held by actors in their struggle to accumulate and monopolize different kinds of capital" (Swartz, 2013, 35). Fields are connected to valued resources, where different fields can extend across social, economic, cultural and symbolic capitals. A field under Bourdieu's sociology is also a social space of conflict and competition, as Chan writes, "where participants struggle to establish control over specific power and authority, and, in the course of the struggle, modify the structure of the field itself" (Chan ,1997, 71).

These fields outlined by Bourdieu are organized spaces structured around struggles for specific combinations of capital. Field struggle under Bourdieu's typology has two dimensions.

First, there is a struggle over the distribution of particular capitals within fields, which occurs when one struggles to accumulate valued capitals or convert this capital into types of capital (Swartz, 2013, 35). Secondly is a classification struggle over who has the right to create and perpetuate a legitimate definition of the most valued form of capital based on a particular field. One significant form of capital that is outlined by Bourdieu, and will play an important role in analyzing police militarization, is political capital in the political field. Political capital is a subtype of social capital that deals with mobilizing social support around a particular phenomenon (Swartz, 2013, 37). A political field refers to the arena of struggle to take over positions of power using the political capital. It is centered around the competition that exists for control of the state apparatuses (Swartz, 2013, 37).

The last form of power that Bourdieu identifies within his sociology is *symbolic power, Violence and Capital.* This form of power is the most important typology in understanding power and domination, and it is what legitimates Bourdieu's understanding of the stratified social order. Bourdieu views power as an overarching and chronic factor that governs all social life and operates in cognitive and bodily dimensions (Swartz, 2013, 37). The language of symbolic power and violence outlined by Bourdieu emphasizes the underpinnings of the social world that are imposed by dominant groups that become internalized by subordinate groups to produce practical taken for granted understandings about the world (Swartz, 2013, 38). It is the ability and capacity for dominant groups to impose classifications and meanings as legitimate through embodied dispositions. Bourdieu mobilized the term habitus to understand how the perceptions of actions are understood within the social world. The habitus incorporates and demonstrates a place within the stratified social order to understand inclusion and exclusion within the social hierarchies (Swartz, 2013, 38). Bourdieu also refers to symbolic power as an

invisible power that can be inculcated through instruction, habit, and routine to be misrecognized (Loader, 1997, 3).

Loader connects contemporary policing and Bourdieu's symbolic power through analyzing the power the police have over legitimate pronouncement. The police have the power to "diagnose, classify, authorize and represent both individuals and the world, and to have this power of 'legitimate naming' not just taken seriously, but taken for granted" (Loader, 1997, 3). Loaders' perspective on policing and symbolic power will benefit the "field" of police militarization, as symbolic power shows that the police have the entitlement and ability to speak about the world in a manner that is rarely contested effectively.

Loader provides valuable insight into how symbolic power exists within contemporary policing. The durable dispositions/ habitus within Bourdieu's sociology gives rise to a wide range of people reacting and acting towards policing. Bourdieu outlines that the dispositions operate at the "the doxic" level, which refers to the taken for granted and pre-conscious dispositions that mould people's attitudes, perceptions and practices (Loader, 1997, 4). The significance of this is that the existing beliefs, fantasies, dispositions about policing are combined with the iconography of policing –handcuffs, policing media, tactical and SWAT teams, fingerprints and uniforms – is the effectiveness of the ritual (Loader, 1997, 4). At the heart of Bourdieu's understanding of habitus and symbolic power are its *naturalization* and *misrecognition.* Symbolic power becomes internalized and resides in the cognitive scheme and bodily expression, impacting collective dispositions and creating practices based on societal groups' internalization. This internalizing process gives rise to a naturalization process, where the dominated groups disproportionally experience it as a taken-for-granted or inevitable state of affairs (Swartz, 2013, 83). Moreover, the symbolic power within Bourdieu's framework becomes

a misrecognized obedience in that symbolic power is "accepted as legitimate rather as an arbitrary imposition" (Swartz, 2015, 83).

2.7 Applying/Engaging: How the theory is being used

Janet Chan is an Australian policing scholar who uses Bourdieu's sociology to reconceptualize previous existing strategies of looking at police culture. Chan used Bourdieu to emphasize that Bourdieu sees power as a central organizing dimension of all social life and is not independent or separate from other capitals or fields. Chan did not believe that previous ways of looking at policing culture were sufficient. She believes that a theory of police culture should account for the existence of multiple cultures within policing and a variation in cultures across police forces (Chan, 1977, 66). Chan outlines an alternative theoretical framework through Bourdieu that allows for an understanding of multiple cultures that situates the cultural practice of policing in the political context of policing to provide a theory of change (Chan, 1997, 67).

For Chan's reconceptualization of police culture, she draws on Bourdieu's definition of field that emphasizes the historical and structural relations between positions of power. Chan also uses Bourdieu's sociology of habitus/doxa, positions of power and fields/capitals to shed new light on the most effective way of reforming the police. Chan uses the concept of field and habitus to assist in her understanding the relationship between the structural hierarchy of policing organizations and the cultural practices of policing (Chan, 1997, 90). After drawing on Bourdieu's sociology, Chan's new framework explains police cultural practices based on the interaction between the social and political context of police work (field) as well as their institutional perceptions, strategies and schemas (habitus) (Chan, 1997, 92). The advantage of this new reconceptualization and the benefit of adopting a Bourdeiusian framework on policing

is that it accounts for the existence of multiple cultures and its capacity to theorize cultural change.

2.8 Questions and goals

My first research question is: How do police and civil society groups use the Bourdeiusian concepts of 'doxa' and 'habitus' to defend or contest the practice of police militarization? This research question will help to explore how each group understands the taken for granted assumptions about policing to either support or contest the actions that are produced through police equipment (habitus).

My second research question is: What arguments do police, government officials and civil society groups make to support or contest police militarization and what forms of power and symbolic power are utilized to shift public opinion? This research question will help explore how the actors within the police militarization network use symbolic power to advocate and procure military hardware and also explore how power and "the process of naturalization" can be used to contest police militarization. It will also help understand who is negatively impacted by the process of naturalization and how certain groups manage these dominant dispositions.

My last research question is about the Bourdeiusian concept of field struggle. Swartz (2013) highlights that fields, according to Bourdieu, are arenas of struggle where actors take up certain positions that are relationally in opposition to others. Swartz argues that the opposition to the field gives unity to the field (Swartz, 2013, 59). Field struggle, according to Bourdieu, is the struggle to accumulate valued forms of capital within the field, to convert it into another more valued form (Swartz, 2013, 59). Field struggle is also the struggle to create and maintain the definition of the most legitimate form of capital for a subjective field (Swartz, 2013, 59). With

this, what are the struggles being produced within the field of police militarization and who are the actors involved in the ongoing struggles of paramilitary capitals?

The main goal of this research project is to explore the main arguments mobilized by the police, government officials and civil society groups within the field of police militarization that contributes to the contests of militarization. It is important to understand why these actors are involved in paramilitary policing and what their "skin in the game" is within the field to achieve this goal. The purpose of understanding the contests of police militarization is to highlight the reasons and positions within the field made by certain groups that would help them shift the public opinion of militarization. Understanding who the relevant social groups are within police militarization will clarify the underlying objectives of these actors and better understand the ways they contribute to shifting public opinions on police militarization. Understanding how certain groups can shift the public opinion on militarization will also give insight into how specific militarization trends receive more attention in comparison to others. This goal will work towards understanding the field/network of police militarization towards demonstrating the symbolic power of these dominant groups that create deeply internalized and taken-for-granted ideas about policing (Swartz, 2013, 38).

2.9 Chapter Summary

In this chapter I highlighted the significance of the political economy and its connection to police militarization. I then explored the dynamics of police tactical units and outlined contemporary findings from police militarization research. I then outlined the contests of police militarization from the literature and concluded with my theoretical framework and research questions. The next chapter will outline my methodology through a Critical Content Analysis.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter will begin by outlining the paradigm that this project was constructed under. I will then introduce my methods for exploring the contests of police militarization by understanding the relevant arguments mobilized by the police, government officials and civil society groups about militarization that help shift public opinion. I will then present the strengths and limitations of these methods and highlight how I collected and analyzed my data. I will then conclude the chapter by outlining the ethical implications of my research project that were considered throughout the research process.

3.1 Methodology: Critical Theory and Critical Content Analysis

This research project took a critical lens toward investigating the main arguments that the police, government officials and civil society groups make about police militarization in order to shift public opinion. Critical researchers argue that the positivistic scientific paradigm is unsatisfactory as it only evaluates social phenomena at surface levels. The ontology of critical theory views reality as malleable and continuously shaped over time based on social, political, cultural, and economic factors (Guba and Lincoln, 2003, 26). Critical research analyzes social processes that delve beneath the surface level of appearances and challenge existing dominant conceptual frames in order to reveal their "underlying practices, their historical specificity and structural manifestations" (Harvey, 1990, 4). Critical theory aims to understand and inquire about the transformations of social, political and economic structures that constrain and exploit different avenues of humanity through conflict (Guba and Lincoln, 2003, 26). These social forces have helped police services shape a social reality where tactical policing and military equipment are understood as a necessary component of police work. Using critical research to explore all relevant arguments about police militarization allowed me to challenge the current

understandings and status quo of police militarization to better understand if the ongoing systems are used to oppress and control people (Harvey, 1990, 4).

Critical theory was used as a new way to conceptualize police militarization. Using this paradigm was effective because critical social research does not take for granted the "current social structure, social processes, or accepted history…" (Harvey, 1990, 6). Using critical theory allowed for questions about police militarization that asked how history conceals the processes leading to oppression and domination. It helped question the nature of existing knowledge about tactical policing and direct attention toward the arguments made by the police, government officials and civil society groups about police militarization that legitimate and dispute claims about paramilitary policing (Harvey, 1990, 6). Using critical theory to evaluate police militarization allowed for substantive questions to be asked about the current and existing policing processes. Thinking critically, I must understand knowledge as "a dynamic process and not a static entity" (Harvey, 1990, 3). This project attempted to highlight the different arguments from police associations, policing agencies, community groups, and different levels of government about police militarization. This allowed myself as the researcher to understand who is involved in militarizing the police and understand the different reasons why these actors support or contest police militarization.

The ontology of critical theory argues that there is a reality that exists and can be discovered but that reality is continuously shaped and influenced by the social, political, cultural and economic forces. Critical theory argues that sites of conflict are the best places for research because they can reveal a reality within those sites of conflict (Strega, 2005, 207). One of the major benefits of adopting this ontology is that critical theory helps reveal hidden truths and uncover myths. The ontology of critical theory aligns with the Bourdieusian concept of 'field

struggle' which was used to analyze my findings. Being the primary researcher, the investigated material collected in this research project was interactively linked with my own situated values (Guba and Lincoln, 2003, 110). Uncovering truths aligned with my research objective of understanding what arguments do police, government officials and civil society groups make to support or contest police militarization and to understand what forms of power/symbolic power they utilized to shift public opinion.

The epistemology of critical theory allows for a traditional distinction between the investigator and a particular object/group that sees the research findings as value mediated (Guba and Lincoln, 2003, 110). Using critical theory to study police militarization was beneficial as the critical research methodology requires a transactional dialogue between the researcher and the research object. Using this approach was necessary to transform misunderstandings about police militarization into informed consciousness through dialogue with the research material because I viewed myself as the subject matter expert who could remain objective (Guba and Lincoln, 2003, 110). As a critical researcher, I needed to strip away the surface layer of illusion or falsehood about certain arguments of police militarization in order to create a more informed consciousness. Although I did not directly interact with the groups I researched, this project attempted to understand a diverse understanding of police militarization that accounted for multiple realities to further understand the impacts that key groups had on shifting public opinions of militarization.

This research project used Critical Content Analysis as the main qualitative methodological approach. Critical Content Analysis shares its understandings from content analysis, which is used as an umbrella term for research methods that analyze, describe and interpret different written documents (Short, 2016, 3). Using Critical Content Analysis allowed

me to critically explore the arguments that police, government officials and civil society groups make about police militarization from the analyzed documents that I selected. Critical Content Analysis was necessary to investigate and create critical inductive themes as they emerged from the data.

When using Content Analysis, the researcher uses the content from the texts and begins to code the text based on pre-determined themes/patterns that the researcher created beforehand. Short (2016) outlines that "…content analysis involves making inferences from texts to the contexts of their use by using analytical constructs derived from theories or research… and develop a range of techniques and approaches for analyzing text" (Short, 2016, 3). Using Critical Content Analysis was useful for studying police militarization as it reflects a reader-response-oriented research stance that takes a hermeneutic approach. The meaning of the material only has significance in the transaction between the researcher and the text. The texts selected for the research therefore have multiple meanings that depend on the researcher's intentions and the context of the study (Short, 2016, 4). The purpose of the researcher reading the documents in content analysis is to make sense of a research goal outside of the text, which influences the meanings constructed from the research. Therefore, determining what information was relevant was a choice that I made as the primary researcher that was influenced by my own ontology.

Researchers use Critical Content Analysis as a political stance and research tool to examine inequities from multiple perspectives. The researchers that adopt a critical stance for Content Analysis primarily focus on locating power within social hierarchies "by understanding, uncovering and transforming conditions of inequity embedded in society" (Short, 2016, 5). This critical position is used to challenge the assumptions within meaning-making and in the world that privilege some and oppress others. Using CCA to explore the positions and interactions

between civil society groups and the police was beneficial in understanding how they create their own meanings within police militarization and how paramilitary policing can "privilege some and oppress others" (Short, 2016, 5). Using Critical Content Analysis as my methodology helped to demonstrate the perspectives of individuals who have been targeted and oppressed by police militarization and those who have directly benefited from it. The arguments and positions of the main actors that I found within the documents was filtered through a Critical Content Analysis to facilitate understanding.

When researchers use Critical Content Analysis they adopt a specific lens for the frame of the research project to develop the research questions and select the texts for the data. Critical Content Analysis understands that each person interacts with a text in a unique way based on their own experiences, knowledge, value systems and cultural understandings (Short, 2016, 5). This is why researchers using Critical Content Analysis should challenge their own positions and perspectives when reading texts. The critical stance within Critical Content Analysis includes questioning the concept of truth, how it is presented, by whom and for what purposes for every article (Short, 2016, 6). In this sense, using Critical Content Analysis required me to be reflexive about my own positions and perspectives about policing and required me to challenge own personal and cultural assumptions to accurately document the experiences and perspectives of the groups that I was investigating.

At the broadest level, Critical Content Analysis involves bringing a critical lens to an analysis of texts to explore the possible underlying messages within those texts. The researcher who uses Critical Content Analysis selects bodies of text to explore the meanings and issues related to power and domination (Short, 2016, 6). One of the primary focuses of Critical Content Analysis is on critique. It involves the researcher taking on a critical examination of issues and

broader societal problems that are reflected in the texts. As a critical researcher I adopted a thematic analysis that moved beyond counting explicit words or phrases within the documents and focused more on describing both implicit and explicit ideas within the data through empirical themes (Guest, MacQueen and Namey, 2012, 10). Thematic analysis was useful because it helped to capture the complexities of different meanings from multiple groups within my textual data set (Guest, MacQueen and Namey, 2012, 7). Creating different categories and themes was important because it revealed aspects of the text that would not otherwise be apparent and outlined underlying problems about police militarization by understanding the different positions between specific groups. By using Critical Content Analysis, themes emerged from the data set about how groups defend or contest police militarization and helped to answer the primary research question of how they use their symbolic power to shift public opinion on militarization. Using Critical Content Analysis helped me as a researcher to understand the complexities of police militarization and propose concomitant suggestions for future research that will offer new possibilities of thinking about tactical policing (Short, 2016, 7).

A challenge in using Critical Content Analysis is outlined by Harvey (1990) when he argues that "Oppressive social structures do not come neatly labelled and ready for dismantling. Ideology serves to obscure the real nature of the oppressive social structure by naturalizing it" (Harvey, 1990, 208). Beginning to reconceptualize and highlight the voices of actors within police militarization may be difficult because tactical policing has become a natural part of policing operations. Other challenges of using Critical Content Analysis are highlighted by Carley (1988) when she states "this approach has met with only limited success for a variety of reasons, including lack of simple routines, time-consuming data preparation, difficulties in relating textual data to other data, and a lack of a strong theoretical basis" (Carley, 1988, 186).

One of the major limitations of this research project is the reliance on newspaper articles as the main source of data. Police tactical teams are a hard to reach group and the most available secondary data source available about them is found within newspaper articles where police representatives release media statements on behalf of individual SWAT officers. It must be taken into consideration that these newspaper articles specifically select certain phrases and opinions from police associations/representatives that best serves their own interest and the interest of the media company. Furthermore, the opinions and statements made by police representatives may not be inclusive of all opinions of tactical police officers and rather what best protects the interests of the police service. The specific quotes and data from this research project from police services are mediated based on what a specific journalist believed to be important information for their news article. Moreover, important information from civil society groups and police organizations could have been filtered out from the final product and nuance surrounding the topic could have been lost.

The research strategy of penetrating fronts was crucial in understanding "what actually happens" when exploring the different arguments that the police, government officials and civil society groups make about police militarization (Hammersley, 2014). Some community groups are spearheaded by members of racialized and gendered groups who have first-hand experience of the harms of tactical policing. Other activist groups argued that policing is not a proper solution to community safety and well-being, and their calls for police de-tasking also apply to the agendas of police militarization. Whereas the police believed that military equipment can be a sufficient way to carry out community safety and well-being while maximizing their own safety and security. The strategy of penetrating fronts helped me understand what happens during certain situations against what official accounts said happened and allowed me as the researcher

to discover what people "actually do rather than what they say they do" (Hammersley, 2014). This research strategy was useful in documenting what civil society groups and the police "really believe" versus what they claimed to believe or feel (Hammersley, 2014).

Hammersley (2005) outlined that the focus and assessment of the political spectrum should be related to the validity and relevance of the research findings and not my own identity and political orientation (Hammersley, 2005, 184). Having worked within the different political frameworks, while also analyzing the validity of frameworks, it was crucial that I did not allow my own implicit biases and political orientations influence the results. Within the analysis, I did this by trying to understand the perspectives and experiences of both groups and not be dismissive of either side of the contests of tactical policing. It was crucial to understand the risky, dangerous, and emotional/mental challenges that tactical unit officers face through police militarization. It was equally important to understand the collateral consequences and lived experiences of civil society groups who have first-hand experiences of the harms of police militarization. Being able to tackle the issues of power within police militarization with a critical lens was crucial and the findings of the project must be dictated by the data and not my own political orientation (Short, 2016, 6).

3.2 Analytical Technique: Thematic Coding as a Critical Content Analysis

I used an explanatory and content driven analysis to analyze the arguments made by police associations, police services, civil society groups and government bodies about police militarization. Before conducting the analysis, there were 4 deductive themes that were applied to help categorize the data based on the types of groups I was looking for. These deductive themes were: Community groups, government documents, how the equipment is being used and the police. These 4 deductive themes were informed based on the types of arguments, groups and

my own conceptual definition of police militarization that were present in Chapter 2. When coding the articles in NVIVO 12, I created empirical and inductive codes to identify with Bourdeiusian elements of capital, field struggle, power/symbolic power and doxa/habitus.

Based on the previous literature about police militarization and using the critical position through Critical Content Analysis, I used online qualitative search engines to look for articles about police militarization. After meeting with the University of Ottawa's criminology librarian, I started my analysis by looking for articles on the University's online library, selecting advanced search and using key words in the "any field" and "contains" tab bar. I also found newspaper articles by going to the virtual websites of popular and mainstream newspaper company's such as *the Sun, the Globe and Mail, CityNews, CBC News* and *the Citizen.* This helped me find newspaper articles on police militarization from across Canada. The final way that I retrieved the data is by going to the University of Ottawa's library homepage, going to databases- research guides, selecting criminology and then selected the advanced search in the ProQuest Databases. Some of the key words that I used for my search were: Violence specialists, police militarization, large armoured vehicle, de-militarization, police association/union AND police militarization, Black Lives Matter AND police militarization and police militarization AND use of force. The existing literature, adopting a critical stance and the previous deductive categories informed my decision on selecting those key words in my search. These key words also elicited the most available literature surrounding police militarization within the secondary data sources. The exclusion criteria for articles that I chose were documents that did not mention "police militarization." This was beneficial for my data set so that the authors of the article were specifically referencing my research topic and increased the amount of available information within the article that could be empirically coded. Sampling the articles in this way was crucial

for collecting information on the police, government officials and civil society groups that would help to explore what arguments they are using to help shift public opinion on police militarization.

Sampling the articles in this way resulted in a data set that included publications and media stories that were released from community activist groups such as: Black Lives Matter, No Pride in Policing Coalition, The National Defunding Network, Winnipeg Police Cause Harm, Defund604 and DefundSPVM. Exploring the positions of community groups about police militarization was beneficial in understanding the different alternatives that they put forward and the different arguments they present to help shift public opinion about police militarization. I also collected documents from government websites about police militarization. Public Safety Canada made press releases about police militarization regarding Defence Minister Bill Blair being asked questions by the media about the procurement of Large Armoured Vehicles for police services. These press releases date back to June of 2020, and were beneficial for understanding how political leadership justifies the need for police to have military equipment. Provincial Governments also released independent reviews about the role of policing in relation to public safety. Halifax Regional Municipality recently submitted a report written by the Board of the Police Commissioner's Subcommittee that outlines the role of the public police through a defunding campaign. Exploring the key arguments of the Committee surrounding the roles of policing and the ways that defunding can impact police militarization were crucial for understanding how certain groups contest militarization. Both Edmonton and the Parliament of British Columbia have released similar reports, which I also incorporated into my analysis to understand how they discussed police militarization.

The articles that I selected for the data set consisted of 26 news media reports, 10 civil society group publications, 13 government reports and 1 university statement. The list for the selected articles (n=50) is available in Appendix B. Once the articles were selected, I coded the data based on inductive and empirical themes that were influenced by Bourdeiusian concepts of power, symbolic power, capital, habitus and field struggle. Ensuring that political sociological concepts were operationalized within the coding was crucial for allowing the theory to help answer the research questions within the analysis. The empirical list of codes (N=37) is available in Appendix A. I used NVIVO 12 for the coding process and it allowed me to go through each article and draw out inductive and empirical themes that began to overlap across the articles. The point of saturation was reached after 37 codes were identified, which is when I knew as the researcher that no new information could be provided.

The empirical material within this methodology was approached through a factist perspective, which allowed me to work within the critical paradigm. The purpose of the factist perspective is that it clearly demarcates the divisions between reality and the claims that are made about the world (Alasuutari, 1995, 47). With this technique of content analysis, the textual data provided throughout my analysis was used as a pathway into the reality of police militarization. Adopting this factist perspective for evaluating police militarization, assumes that I can say something about the reality within the social world and that my empirical material can be a point of entry into that social reality. Therefore, my views as a critical researcher will be value mediated and cannot affect the data that is provided through my analytical process. I decide the reliability and validity of the data as a critical researcher, and I must be aware and reflexive of my own epistemological presuppositions.

My research questions and conceptual framework for this research project are rooted in a Bourdeiusian Political Sociology. It is important to note the differences between my methodological approach, and the approaches of Janet Chan and Pierre Bourdieu. Janet Chan used Bourdieu to investigate the tension and conflict between the public police and visible racialized groups. Chan wanted to understand "why did years of police reform make so little difference to police racism?" (Chan, 1997, 4). Although understanding the arguments that racialized and gendered groups make about police militarization is important, it is only one aspect of my research project. Although police racism may be one facet of police militarization, I wanted to investigative the emotional, legal and civil rights arguments that racialized and gendered groups made to contest or support police militarization within my analysis. Another difference between my project and Janet Chan's is that she used a mixed methods approach that consisted of police officer surveys through questionnaires as well as semi-structured interviews. Chan was also focused on reforming the police based on the interactions between the police and racialized communities whereas my project wants to explore the dynamics of power and domination that exist between racialized communities and tactical police officers through secondary data. This project is not focused on reforming the police but seeks to make concomitant policy recommendations and offer direct steps for future academic research on police militarization.

Adopting a Bourdeiusian Political Sociology was beneficial for my research project because it can critically evaluate the dominant systems of power that are at play between groups. My research project will build on a major limitation of Bourdeiusian political theory. Bonikowski (2015) argues that Bourdieu's theory of state power is rudimentary because it relies on the interplay between bureaucratic and political fields of power. He argues that Bourdieu's

theory lacks a comprehensive theory of social change. Bonikowski argues that "…we learn little about how institutions are transformed over time, where and why opposition to the status quo emerges in the political field, what accounts for the success or failure of political mobilization…" (Bonikowski, 2015, 3). This major limitation of Bourdieu outlined by Bonikowski (2015) justifies my research question. Bourdieu failed to understand the symbolic power that "dominated groups" can possess to reject dominated labels. It must be understood how the police and civil society groups use their symbolic power to support or contest police militarization and how their arguments are used shift public opinion on militarization.

3.3 Chapter summary

In this chapter I outlined the paradigm of this research project as well as the methodological framework. I then outlined the data collection process through a document analysis and then highlighted how I was going to collect and analyze the data. I concluded the chapter with my analytical technique and how my use of Political Sociology is different from Chan (1997, 2004) and Bourdieu (in Swartz, 2013). The next chapter will explore my findings from the data.

Chapter 4: police, government and civil society group arguments that support or contest police militarization

From the data, racialized community activist groups and the police put forward specific types of arguments that defend their position on police militarization. In order to organize the specific themes for this chapter, deductive categories were created and empirical codes emerged from the data. Community activist groups publicly opposed police militarization and mobilized arguments about morality and civil rights based on their experiences with police violence. These groups used arguments about racism and violence to highlight how police militarization disproportionally impacts racialized communities so that they could offer solutions to police militarization through defunding, de-tasking and demilitarizing. The newspaper articles and reports/recommendations also showed that the police use specific justifications about tactical units, the procurement of military equipment and large armoured vehicles when questioned about police militarization. The documents also revealed how mass casualty events can impact police militarization and presented the legal arguments made by law officials about the unconstitutional nature of dynamic entries. These arguments will be elaborated on in more detail throughout this chapter.

4.1 The Impact of Michael Brown and George Floyd on militarization

Several community groups that are directly opposed to the militarization of police forces presented moral arguments about the violence that racialized groups encounter from police tactical teams. In 2020, George Floyd died after police officer Derek Chauvin knelt on Floyd's neck for 9 minutes and 29 seconds, resulting in mass protests worldwide. Common throughout the documents from community groups were references to the deaths of George Floyd in 2020 and the shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, in 2014 to describe the ongoing

problems in policing, including police violence and police use of excessive force. The Canadian concerns about police militarization can be traced back to Ferguson, as one newspaper writes

> Scenes of heavily armed and armoured police clashing with protesters in Ferguson, Missouri, following the shooting of an unarmed black man, have sparked discussions on both sides of the border about the "creeping militarization" of police and accusations that they are wasting money on "toys for boys." (National Post, 2014).

Ferguson served as a public awareness tool about the "apparent militarization of policing and whether such a heavy presence is warranted" (National Post, 2014) and also "sparked debates on both sides of the border about police militarization" (Douglas, 2014).

The loss of George Floyd's life was captured on video and served as "undeniable evidence for those that had any doubts excessive force directed toward people of colour was a real problem" (Boothby, 2021). The result of George Floyd's death was that racialized community groups intensified their demands about defunding the police. In the summer following Floyd's death in 2020 "more than 70 defunding related events took place over the summer with historic turnouts at many protests" (Maynard, 2020). The tragic death of George Floyd created a movement that "quickly spread throughout the U.S., into Canada and around the world. Protests in Canada country called on governments to root out systemic racism pervading the criminal justice system and to defund the police." (Issawi, 2020). Police defunding is relevant to police militarization because of the strong advocacy by these community groups to place moratoriums on police funding.

One way that community groups within the analyzed documents are impacted by police militarization is through the public police's use and procurement of large armoured vehicles (LAVs). Several newspapers from the data outline how the intersection between police violence and large armoured vehicles contributes to community concerns about police militarization. One

article argues that "given the heightened attention to police violence in recent years, and the prevalence of systemic racism, creeping militarization of Canadian police services presents a concern when considering the use of appropriate force." (Issawi, 2020). Community members from Black Lives Matter (BLM) argue that the use of military-style equipment by the public police increases the likelihood of deployments against racialized and gendered groups. When talking about police LAV's, a BLM Edmonton member argued that "It makes it seem like they're ready to go to war with the public" and an Indigenous Hereditary Chief states that the police look like "standing army's" (Alaynia BLM in Issawi, 2020). Other BLM activists argue that LAV's give off an implied threat to the community that the police are sworn to protect. The use of military-style equipment elicits an emotional reaction because of the ongoing loss of life in black communities because of negative police interactions. One BLM member says that "…especially with the names of Black victims of police violence resonating in their minds, listed on signs and chanted at rallies protesting police brutality" (Alaynia BLM in Issawi, 2020). One female BLM activist talks about police LAV's as a trend of police militarization that "amplifies a pre-existing fear of police, she says, and 'of becoming another name on those signs'" (Alaynia BLM in Issawi, 2020).

Community activist groups within the analyzed documents referred to an intersection between police racism and police militarization, resulting in these groups making demands towards the police and different levels of government to prioritize anti-black racism campaigns over police equipment. A letter from Amnesty International to Prime Minister Justin Trudeau writes

> "Recent demonstrations, rallies and vigils in Canada have been sparked by outrage around the killings of George Floyd by Minneapolis police officers. The focus of protestors has broadened the realities of anti-Black racism and associated police violence in this country" (Amnesty International, 2020).

Amnesty International also pushes for a change in policing that includes a wholesale transformation of policing across Canada that would address the systemic anti-black and anti-Indigenous racism that "has long been at its core" (Amnesty International, 2020). One way of prioritizing anti-black and anti-Indigenous frameworks, according to Amnesty International, is through "significant reductions in spending on policing; and to curtail militarization of police forces" (Amnesty International, 2020).

4.2 Indigenous arguments about civil rights violations

From the data, Indigenous peoples have deployed legal, political and economic arguments about how their civil and human rights are being violated through police militarization. The Mining Injustice Solidarity Network (MISN) mobilizes colonial arguments rooted in the RCMPs history of dealing with Indigenous peoples and highlights how the RCMPs Emergency Response Team (ERT) are continuing to cause harm to Wet'suwet'en land defenders. The RCMP is Canada's national public police force responsible for policing 40% of Canada's rural and remote Indigenous communities (West, 2022). The MISN highlights an important intersection between Northern Indigenous communities and police militarization. They argue that

> "…we also see the ways that militarized policing upholds the violence's of the resource extraction industry, whether it's the RCMP carrying out force evictions in Wet'suwet'en territory, or the policing that protects the financial district in Toronto where many companies are headquartered, or the way that the police are used to repress resistance to the construction of mining projects in Canada and around the world" (MISN, 2020).

Indigenous people in Canada are more likely to experience the impacts of police militarization because "militarized police practices are more likely to be used against marginalized communities including Indigenous communities" (West, 2022). The intersection between police militarization and Indigenous people based on resource extraction is a serious

problem inherent to Indigenous people. Based on the analyzed documents, police tactical teams such as the RCMP ERT can be mobilized to carry out larger transnational corporations' agendas that directly impacts Indigenous communities. The documents highlight that Canada's identity as a "petro-state" increases the role of militarized police forces and "the use of disproportionate force become ever more important to protecting the interests of the state" (West, 2022).

The Wet'suwet'en people who are defending their land against the Coastal Gaslink pipeline were met with resistance from the RCMP's tactical response team. The analyzed documents show that Indigenous land defenders make arguments about their human rights being violated because of the "forced industrialization and police militarization of Wet'suwet'en land…" (Gidimt'en Land Defenders, 2022). The context of the Wet'suwet'en people and Coastal Gaslink pipeline is summarized as

> "…protecting our territories and sacred sites against Coastal Gaslink (CGL), a pipeline construction company subsidiary of TC Energy Corporation. The CGL pipeline, spanning 670 kilometers, will transport fracked gas to the proposed LNG Canada processing plant, which is the largest single private sector infrastructure project and one of the largest energy investments in Canadian history. Under 'Anuc niwh'it'en (Wet'suwet'en law) all five clans of the Wet'suwet'en have opposed the pipeline proposals and environmentally and culturally destructive industrial activity" (Gidimt'en Land Defenders, 2022).

The Indigenous peoples of Wet'suwet'en put forward arguments about their human rights being violated under the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (UNDRIP). They argue that through police militarization and the tactical policing by the RCMP, Indigenous people were "forcibly removed/evicted, racially profiled, surveilled, harassed, unlawfully arrested and jailed…" (Gidimt'en Land Defenders, 2022). The RCMP used military assault weapons, helicopters and dog units to conduct "militarized police raids on our territories" for the forcible removal and "criminalization of peaceful land defenders" (Gidimt'en Land Defenders, 2022).

The connection between the violations of UNDRIP in Wet'suwet'en, police militarization and resource extraction is how paramilitary police units can be deployed to carry out the interests of transnational corporations and government agencies. One argument that was presented in the analyzed documents was how much money the Government was willing to spend on paramilitary policing to remove Wet'suwet'en people. One document stated

> "What we do know is the RCMP's two-year series of raids on the Wet'suwet'en First Nation who are blocking Coastal Gaslink's access to their land. In the first three months of 2019 alone, the RCMP's operation against Wet'suwet'en cost $1,464,691 CAD." (West, 20220).

However, the report by the Gidmt'en Land Defenders argues that the surveillance of Indigenous people by the RCMP created additional costs on top of tactical policing costs

> "RCMP are contracted by the provincial BC Government to provide police serves, and RCMP operations are overseen and controlled by the federally appointed RCMP Commissioner. The RCMP deployments in Wet'suwet'en territory were authorized and supported by the provincial BC Ministry of Public Safety and Solicitor General. Nearly $20 million in public money has been spent between 2019 and 2020 to surveil and police Wet'suwet'en land defenders…" (Hereditary Chief Dinï ze' Woos in the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2022).

The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People highlighted the need for placing moratoriums on the use of paramilitary activities on Indigenous lands. UNDRIP Article 30.1 advocates that "Military activities shall not take place in lands or territories of indigenous peoples, unless justified by a relevant public interest or otherwise freely agreed with or requests by the indigenous peoples concerned" (West, 2021).

The documents also highlighted that several other stakeholders also contributed to the ongoing suppression of Indigenous peoples through police militarization. Private stakeholders such as banks, insurance companies and private donators have contributed to the pipeline project through financing the pipelines construction costs (Sulakshana, 2021). The pipelines construction

was based on a loan that "was signed in April (2021) and re upped in October to a total of CAD $6.8 billion. It was extended by a group of 27 banks, with Royal Bank of Canada leading the deal" (Sulakshana, 2021). The pipeline also has global private investors from major banks such as HSBC, Toronto Dominion Bank, and Royal Bank of Canada and private investors from Japan, Korea, China, Malaysia and the Netherlands. They are insured by Liberty Mutual, AEGIS and Energy Insurance Mutual that represents the largest private-sector investment in Canadian history (Sulakshana, 2021).

The connection between the Coastal Gaslink pipeline and police militarization is significant in demonstrating the dynamics of power that contribute to paramilitary policing and Indigenous people. The use of paramilitary policing and police tactical units can negatively impact racialized and gendered communities through violence. The use of paramilitary policing directed at Indigenous people because of capitalist-based state agendas has created "irreparable harm due to industrial destruction of Wet'suwet'en lands and cultural sites" and will continue to create negative public images of the police (Gidimt'en Land Defenders, 2022).

4.3 Activist demands for defunding, de-tasking, de-militarizing the police

The death of George Floyd was the catalyst that helped shed light on a broader struggle against anti-black and anti-Indigenous racism. Grassroots community activist groups create arguments around police militarization through mobilizing the terms "defunding," "de-tasking," and "de-militarizing" when creating their list of demands directed at provincial police services. Defunding the police is used as a tool by community groups as a potential solution to ongoing problems and as a method to curtail the militarization of police forces. The use of a defunding argument on behalf of community groups is best described in a provincial report led by the

"Board of the Police Commissioner's Subcommittee to Define Defunding Police" (BPCSDDP). The report summarizes the process of police defunding as

> "while many people think of defunding solely as a model that proposes 'taking away' resources from police, it is more constructively understood as one that advocates for returning funds to socially-based program and resources that have been removed over decades of austerity-based economic and social policy. Defunding asks us to consider whether there are better, more effective options for addressing and intervening to address crime and social harm" (BPCSD, 2022).

Police defunding is a multi-pronged approach to improving community safety and well-being that stresses the need to reimagine public safety away from the police being the primary response to solving social problems and administering punishment. The report by the BPCSDDP argued that a defunding approach to policing would highlight the need for investing in social structures "and organizations and creating separate, new models of safety based in communities and their concerns" (BPCSDDP, 2022). Defunding the police is also the process of "transitioning not only funding, but power, equipment, and force away from forces of state violence and repression and committing to invest, instead, in community centered forms of safety" (BPCSDDP, 2022). A theme that emerged from the data is that community activist organizations use the framework of police defunding to highlight that the alternatives of police de-militarization, police disarming, police de-tasking can be a more appropriate direction for policing.

From the analyzed documents, community activist groups across Canada are using arguments in favour of police defunding to focus on community-based initiatives. For example, the DefundSPVM suggests the immediate cut of "…at least 50 percent from the $665 million SPVM budget and redirect these funds to the programs and services, managed by and for affected communities" (DefundSPVM, 2021). Other activist groups, such as Defund604, demand that the Vancouver Police reduce 50% of their 2022 operating budget so that community

organizers can review the budget to determine where the funds should be allocated (Defund604, 2021). The Community Resource Hub (CRH) released a document about police defunding that focuses on community-centred forms of safety rooted in abolitionist organizing. The CRH's document advocates that the funds that are earmarked for policing could instead fund "long-term affordable housing, public transit, and community-led anti-violence projects rather than using mass public funds on forces whose primary role is to surveil, arrest, brutalize incarcerate and kill" (Maynard, 2020).

The intersection between the arguments created by community groups about police defunding and police militarization is in the application of police defunding. Generally, police defunding is viewed as "a call to decrease police budgets, size, scope and power while investing into alternative community safety models and wellbeing" including healthcare, education, affordable housing and anti-homelessness. The Edmonton Community Safety and Well-being Task Force's 2021 report to the city of Edmonton defines defunding as "to allocate money in preventive and community-building ways, rather than in reactive and militaristic ways" (Safer for All, 2021). Community groups create arguments and demands about police militarization through calls for police de-militarization or police disarming. Defund604 demands the disarming of the Vancouver Police and the removal of their lethal weapons. The Black Lives Matter movement advocates that "…immediate disarming and de-militarization of policing is a necessity as we move toward community safety" (BLM, 2021).

Some grassroots community organizations often highlight ongoing problems that their communities are facing and offer suggestions/solutions that would make policing more equitable to all citizens. One theme that emerged from the analyzed documents, is that the police and community groups both mobilized the term "public safety" but for different reasons. Community

activist groups from the analyzed documents believe that community safety would be increased if the police undergo a process of de-militarization. The CRH's National Defunding report argues that "Calls to disarm and demilitarize the police and reduce the violent weapons available to law enforcement, coupled with support for existing and new forms of community-based anti-violence, would keep our communities much safer" (Maynard, 2020). The Mining Injustice Solidarity Network (MISN) highlights the need to defund the police because it would benefit Black and Indigenous lives. The MISN draws on the history of policing to defend their position on defunding:

> "It is abundantly clear to us that the role of police in society is not to protect people, but to protect property, capital and the status quo of colonial, white supremacist capitalism. This institution is not reformable. Defund, disarm, demilitarize. Abolish the police. Change everything." (MISN, 2020).

Defund604 is a community group that advocates on behalf of marginalized groups in Vancouver, that has created a list of demands towards the Vancouver Police that stands in solidary within Indigenous communities. The framework of the 604 network seeks to defund the police as a way to contribute to a new form of public safety. One of their demands is to "disarm and demilitarize" the police by putting a "moratorium on buying new militarized equipment and police training or education or education that has potential to cause harm to community members" (604demands, 2021). Similarly, they demand the "disarming of police officers of their lethal weapons and an end to the to the Use of Force" (604demands, 2021). DefundSPVM is a Montreal based community group that also made a list of demands directed at the Service de police de la ville de Montreal (SPVM). One of their demands was to disarm and de-militarize the SPVM by withdrawing "all weapons from police officers, including tasers, batons, firearms, rubber bullets, tear gas, pepper spray" (DefundSPVM, 2021). In order to de-militarize the police

they suggest the need to "disband militarized police units, including SWAT teams and other units using military grade weapons and surveillance equipment" (DefundSPVM, 2021).

The *No Pride in Policing Coalition* (NPPC) makes similar demands for a "public call for immediate action" specifically addressing

> "The Toronto City Council, The Toronto Police Services Board, The Ontario government, The Ontario Provincial Police (OPP), Canadian Boarder Services Agency (CBSA), The RCMP, The Federal Government to immediately take legislative and operational steps and emergency budgetary decisions towards defunding all Canadian Police Services" (NPPC, 2020).

The statement by the NPPC on defunding the police was written in solidarity with Black Lives Matter Toronto (BLM-TO), supporting the BLM-TO's call to defund, disarm, demilitarize and dismantle police services. The demands by the NPPC are intended to support the "widespread community calls by Black, Indigenous, 2SLGBTQ, racialized, homeless communities, people with disabilities, activists and scholars" that are committed to "real" public safety (NPPC, 2020). The NPPC argues that the public police can de-militarize in 3 ways, one of which is through "ending the Emergency Task Force (ETF) and Emergency Response Teams (similar to the US-based SWAT teams) tactical squads, military grade weapons and surveillance equipment" (NPPC, 2020). The other ways to demilitarize the police are to remove all weaponry from police including "tasers, firearms, rubber bullets, tear gas and pepper spray and to end mass surveillance of communities through the use of technologies such as facial recognition, drones and predictive policing technologies" (NPPC, 2021).

Community activist members such as Nickita Longman, an organizer for an anti-policing group in Winnipeg, argues that the interests of the police are what is causing harm. Longman argues that "As property becomes more and more protected at a higher standard than community, we see bloating police budgets, and in turn, an increase in militarized weapons" (Nickita

Longman activist for Winnipeg Police Cause Harm in Thompson, 2020). The use of large armoured vehicles by police in smaller communities often raises questions amongst community members about the need for the vehicle. This is best demonstrated in the rural farming and university city of Brandon, where citizens were left "wondering what imminent threat called for such a show of force" because "…it makes it seem like they're ready to go to war with the public" (Alaynia BLM in Hamdi, 2020). Not all community groups are completely opposed to the idea of police having LAV's. One reporter/photographer who takes pictures of emergency responders argues that police LAV's provide him a "peace of mind". Stating that he would "rather have this vehicle and not need it, than need it and not have it" (Liam Pattinson in Hamdi, 2020).

Some of the analyzed documents presented arguments about disarming specific specialized units within policing services instead of removing weapons from all police officers. The recommendations in the BPCSDDP report suggested the disarming of certain officers, like the community response officers, and minimizing the use of firearms by police generally (BPCSDDP, 2022). Similarly, the University of Simon Fraser Student Society (SFSS) made a submission *to the Legislative Assembly of BC special Committee on Reforming the Police Ac*t where they argue for a moratorium on police use of force. The SFSS make de-militarization arguments and state that "the Police act must place stricter limits on the use of weapons, including the use of police tasers." They also make similar arguments about the disarmament of specific police units, arguing that "the province must also implement a no-carry policy in Indigenous, Black and low-income communities, aimed toward disarming the police in vulnerable communities" (SFSS, 2021).

The documents presented arguments about demilitarizing the police in reference to the public's increasing consciousness about police militarization. One article writes "the disturbing video showing Floyd's violent arrest gave rise to global movement, among other things, is calling for the defunding and demilitarization of police departments" (National Post, 2020). BLM Edmonton makes similar arguments when referencing the need for a cultural overhaul in policing. They argue that "what we're demanding, and we'll continue to demand, is for the defunding and demilitarization of the Edmonton city police service… and the funding of social support that can help prevent crime" (Shima Robinson, BLM Edmonton in Boothby, 2021). The reference to a cultural overhaul is similar to police de-tasking which was used within the police defunding framework. One article made reference to "a growing movement to 'de-task' the police, which means reducing the scope of their responsibilities and reallocating the savings" (National Post, 2020). While the BPCSDDP report about police defunding argues that police de-tasking is "about identifying roles or functions of the police that they are not equipped to do, and transferring those tasks to the appropriate service provider, agency or organization" (BPCSDDP, 2022).

Kevin Walby, a Canadian criminologist in the department of Criminal Justice at the University of Winnipeg, was relied upon in several documents to give his position about police militarization. He argues that police militarization would benefit from police de-tasking because "the police should not be expanding their duties to include what the military is trained to do, because it transforms peace officers into soldiers who see members of the public as enemy combatants" (Walby in National Post, 2020). He also highlights that a major issue in police procurement and use of military-style tactics is "police latitude". Walby argues that there are few

safeguards in policing that monitor when the police "decide if they are going to use these tactics, if they're going to use these weapons" (Walby in Thompson, 2020).

The impact of community group activism through police defunding is best demonstrated in Halifax, where the city council voted in favour of "rescinding the purchase of a police armoured vehicle and will instead fund reducing anti-Black racism" (National Post, 2020). The Mayor of Halifax, Mike Savage, spoke about the scuttled purchase of the LAV as being a symbol of oppression for the Black community of Halifax. Savage said the money from the purchase of the LAV would be better off going towards anti-Black racism campaigns because "…this province has a history of systemic racism, and we have to do better" (Savage in National Post, 2020). The decision to rescind the purchase of the LAV is seen as an incremental win for community organizers that have "long complained that Canada's police forces are becoming paramilitary organizations…" but academics argue that police militarization can still happen within other auspices of police organizations. Criminologist Kevin Walby argues that there is more to police militarization than simply purchasing armoured vehicles:

> "In terms of defunding, they're actually the smallest piece of the puzzle" he said. "So I wouldn't say the decision (in Halifax) means that Halifax police are off the hook when it comes to militarization, because it could still be happening in other ways" (Walby in National Post, 2020).

Similarly, the same analyzed document uses the comments of criminologist Akwasi Owusu-Bempah, who builds on Walby's idea's about police militarization but uses the psychological theory "law of instrument." This theory is an approach to police militarization that argues that access to a certain tool "increases the probability that the tool is used for problems when other tools may be more appropriate" (Owusu-Bempah in National Post, 2020). Owusu-Bempah argues that "When you have a militarized type of policing, it creates an environment in

which the warrior cop is allowed to exist" (National Post, 2020). The cultural militarization of Canadian police forces is what Walby cautions community organizations and citizens to be aware of, even though the re-allocation of funds from the Halifax LAV is considered successful under a police defunding framework.

Community activist groups mobilize arguments about police defunding as an alternative solution to the militarization of police forces and to address Black and Indigenous concerns about the public police. These activist groups use frameworks of police demilitarization and police disarming as ways to carry out police defunding and to place a moratorium on police militarization. Indigenous and Black communities use moral, economic, legal and human rights based arguments to contest the use of paramilitary policing against racialized minorities. These grassroots activist groups also suggest that de-tasking the police would be a beneficial strategy that could address the community's concerns about police militarization. The next section will discuss the arguments that are mobilized by the police that justify the procurement of military equipment.

4.4 The impact of Large Armoured Vehicles on civil policing

There was a clear divide in the documents between community members and academics that were directly opposed to police having large armoured vehicles (LAVs) and the police who created justifications for why they need them. Some of the analyzed documents made reference to the police LAV's based on the specific model of the vehicle, such as "Thunder 1", the "Cougar", the "Grizzly" or the BearCat" (National Post, 2014). Other newspaper articles reference the LAVs based on their tactical application and abilities, such as "tactical armoured vehicles," "Light armoured vehicles," "Armour-plated truck" and "Rescue vehicle" (see Fortnum, 2019, Boskote, 2013, Government of Canada, 2020, National Post, 2020 and Boutilier,

2014). The price of an armoured vehicle ranges between $300,000 to $500,000 based on the make and model as well as any additional customizations of the vehicle. The purpose of LAVs according to the police is for

> "…downed officer rescue, police officer tactical repositioning to cover, evacuation of public, high risk vehicle intercept, and a platform for de-escalation by providing two-way communication for negotiations, in addition to introducing less lethal methods of intervention to safely resolve violent incidents" (Public Safety Canada, 2020).

The data showed that the use of armoured vehicles by police agencies "has been a long standing practice with tactical units, generally in larger police agencies, since the 1980s and sometimes earlier". In a press release from the Government of Canada's Public Safety website, Defense Minister Bill Blair was asked why funding is used for "militarizing our civilian police forces." The press release on behalf of Defense Minister Bill Blair argued that:

> "Unlike in the United States, Canadian police agencies do not receive surplus military equipment such as Tactical Armoured Vehicles (TAVs). The Canadian policing environment necessitates that the acquisition of such equipment go through an exhaustive consultative process with all stakeholders" (Public Safety Canada, 2020).

In 2006, the RMCP senior executives approved the Armoured Vehicle Program that would provide Tactical Armoured Vehicles to all RMCP Emergency Response Teams in Canada regardless of their location (Public Safety Canada, 2020). The analyzed articles highlighted that some police services in Canada do receive free transfers of LAVs from the Canadian Government. One document argues that "The free transfer of two Cougar light armoured vehicles used by the Canadian Forces in Afghanistan to police in New Glasgow, N.S., and Windsor, Ont. Value: $300,158 each" (Boutillier, 2014). Other documents highlighted that between 2007 and 2014 the Canadian Department of National Defense (DND) "donated five six-wheeled armoured vehicles to police agencies in Edmonton, New Glasgow, Windsor and two to the B.C RCMP" (West, 2022). Analyzed newspapers also revealed that the DND donated an

"MCI J4500-model bus" to the Winnipeg Police service that will help serve as their command vehicle for its major operations including tactical deployments (Quan, 2014). Another analyzed document demonstrates that between 2010-2014, the Department of National Defense spent $8.2 million on surplus military transfers through the "gratuitous transfer" program. It highlights that the RCMP was a part of a smaller proportion of clients that received transfers from the program that consisted of "various equipment and ammunition…including ballistic eyewear, small arms ammunition and gas masks arts. Cost: $32,000" (Boutilier, 2014).

The data showed that Canadian police services can also procure military-style LAVs through independent purchasing and through private donations. One analyzed document highlighted that

> "Police departments have also paid hundreds of thousands of dollars to buy armoured vehicles from private builders, as well as other military-style gear, such as sound cannons and assault rifles" (Quan, 2014).

Police services can purchase armoured vehicles directly from manufacturers through their own operating budgets. The CBC reported that by 2014 the "Windsor, Toronto London, Peel, Hamilton, Durham, Sault Ste. Marie and Ottawa" police services had acquired former military vehicles. Another document stated that the RCMP in 2012 "purchased 18 armoured trucks from Navistar Defence Canada for $14 million." (National Post, 2014). This National Post article also states that the Vancouver, Montreal and York Regional Police services have independently purchased tactical armoured vehicles "dubbed Thunder 1's, from Quebec based Cambli International" (National Post, 2014).

It is clear from the documents that private donations from large businesses to police charities or police affiliated organizations have helped police services purchase tactical equipment. One article published by the Tyee argues that police forces have received "millions

of dollars from oil companies, banks and financiers, through shadowy charitable foundations that have little public oversight and increasingly serve as a 'cash cow' of private money" (Lukacs and Groves, 2020). Similar to the stakeholders that were financing the Coastal Gaslink pipeline, the Vancouver Police Foundation are corporate partners with "LNG Canada, Royal Bank of Canada and real estate companies" that have given the Vancouver police over $3 million dollars over the last five years (Lukacs and Groves, 2020). The money was donated to the Vancouver Police Foundation paid for the VPD's "patrol boat, night-vision binoculars and a drone" and the VPD's $350,000 armoured vehicle. The Tyee document states that "The VPD's armoured vehicle carried a price tag of $350,000, most of it paid with charity dollars raised by the Vancouver Police Foundation, topped up by Vancouver taxpayers" (Lukacs and Groves, 2020). Similarly, the Vancouver Police Service acquired a $500,000 SWAT mobile command center in 2013 that was also paid for by private donations. The document from the Tyee also argues that other police agencies across Canada also benefit from corporate donations, arguing that "these police-affiliated organizations based in large cities across Canada have funded helicopters, armoured vehicles and surveillance technology for police departments" (Lukacs and Groves, 2020).

The Saint John police force in New Brunswick had a similar private donation that paid for the cost of their new armoured vehicle. The Saint John Police were given a private donation by "John Irving, president of Commercial Properties, purchased the vehicle at a cost of more than $350,000" (Fortnum, 2019). According to the Canada Revenue Agency Filings, the Calgary Police Foundation gave "$908,418 to the Calgary Police Service/City of Calgary" in 2018. The Toronto Police Service has a donation policy where any gift that is valued over $10,000 must be approved and debated by the Toronto police board. The board advocates that public donations to a police service is a "'valuable form of public support'" but the donations must be subjected to a

"transparent process and cannot compromise the 'integrity, impartiality or objectivity of the service'" (Gillis, 2020).

The analyzed newspaper articles also relied on the comments of Canadian criminologists to present their positions on police militarization and the use of LAVs by police services. Kevin Walby is an Associate Professor of Criminal Justice at the University of Winnipeg and presents critical arguments about police militarization in multiple analyzed documents. One of his arguments is about the "increasing use of heavily armed emergency response team members in routine, everyday policing" (National Post, 2020). Walby argues that SWAT teams are branching off into different sections of policing where "SWAT members… serve low-risk warrants," conduct "mental-health checks" and outlines how militarization becomes a part of community policing. (National Post, 2020). Walby argues that

> "Community policing has morphed into this kind of intelligence-gathering activity" he said. "The militaries in Afghanistan and Iraq used community policing models to… collect intelligence and feed it back into military operations. Canadian police are now using the very same tactic" (National Post, 2020).

The documents support Walby's argument that tactical policing is shifting away from their intended roles as violence specialists. One document highlights that the call-outs for the Windsor Police "range from dealing with mentally distraught people to armed standoffs to talking safety with elementary schoolchildren" (Willhelm, 2014). The ESU leader also stated that their tactical team also trains in about 30 disciplines including "high-risk warrants, warrant service, high-risk vehicle stops, rappelling from buildings, advanced firearms and how to 'invisibly deploy', which basically means surrounding your house without you realizing it" (Constable Tony Smith in Willhelm, 2014). Another important facet of tactical policing is that some police forces have full time or part time tactical team members. The Windsor ESU leader

states that when tactical members are not on high-risk calls they "are on patrol wearing their 'soft body armour.' They 'self-dispatch' to incidents that won't take up too much time – noise and parking complaints, shoplifters or taking statements at car crashes –so they won't be tied up if an emergency call comes in" (Constable Tony Smith in Willhelm, 2020).

The president of the Canadian Police Association Tom Stamatakis, would contest the idea put forward by Walby about community policing and cultural militarization. When asked about comparisons of police militarization between Canada and the United States, Stamatakis argues its "apples and oranges" and that the police don't have militaristic mindset. In reference to comments about police militarization in Canada, Stamatakis comments that "It couldn't be further from the truth" and "Our entire approach is based upon community relations" (Dawson, 2014). Community activist groups who highlight the historical colonial relationships between the police and Indigenous peoples would agree with Walby about community policing and the idea of a cultural militarization. The analyzed document written by West (2020) argues that:

> "Militarization is antithetical to the community policing model and brings with it its own military policing mentality, which sees the police as outside of the communities, acting as anonymous enforcers. Because they do not belong to the community, they are not accountable to the community and they are inherently suspicious of its members" (West, 2020).

Using tactical units outside of their intended roles through a community policing model is a calculated plan by the police to keep these "elite units connected to the community" (Issawi, 2020). The Winnipeg Police Service (WPS) would contest Walby's arguments about the increase of tactical deployments as an indication of police militarization because "the service is intentionally dispatching members of its Tactical Support Team (TST) as a safety precaution on all warrants" (Issawi, 2020). A spokesperson for the WPS says that when the tactical team is deployed, "the risk is reduced". The WPS is intentionally deploying the tactical teams on routine

calls for service such as “traffic collisions” because it serves as a reminder to tactical members that “their job is to function as police officers –first and foremost- within a community” (Constable Rob Carver in Issawi, 2020).

In a different analyzed document, Walby put forward the idea that there is pressure for police services to obtain new tools and equipment that would allow them to keep up with other Canadian police forces. Walby argued that

> “there is a pressure for police services to obtain new tools and technology, both because of a ‘keeping up with the Joneses’ effect- if other services have certain equipment, a force may feel it needs the same- as well as the fact that armoured vehicles are becoming a ‘big industry in Canada’” (Walby in Gillis, 2020).

Several analyzed newspaper articles supported Walby’s idea about the police comparing themselves against other police services as a way of “keeping up with the Jones’s.” A spokesperson from the Toronto Police Service argued in one of the documents that “The York Regional Police have owned an armoured vehicle for the past 10 years” when asked about the private donation of an LAV to the Toronto Police. In 2016, the Winnipeg Police Association was struggling with a decision to give frontline police officers carbine rifles, which would see a rifle in every police cruiser in Winnipeg. The document argues that “Municipal police Saskatchewan, Calgary and Toronto, as well as the Ontario Provincial Police, have already moved forward with carbine-equipped front-line officers” (May, 2016). Walby’s argument about police competing and wanting to have the same equipment as each other is supported by the comments of the Winnipeg Police Association president Maurice Sabourin. Sabourin argues that “It comes down to a safety issue. Currently, we have shotguns that can be used. But, ultimately, if there’s a threat at a long range, carbines are what every other service across Canada has gone to” (May, 2016). Similar arguments are made by Sergeant Matt D’Asti of the Windsor Police, who also argues

that the C8 patrol rifles are "more accurate and pose less of threat to bystanders when police are forced to use them" (Boutillier, 2014).

Another document drew on the comments from University of Ottawa criminologist Michael Kempa, who spoke about the use of military hardware by police. Kempa argues that the public should remain skeptical of "the need for the military hardware" and should scrutinize these purchases. He says that "Nobody has presented the evidence that would suggest this is an essential part of local policing" and asks "How far are we going to go and for what purpose?" (National Post, 2020). One document used the comments of criminologist Michael Weinrath who argues that the images of militarized officers sends the wrong message to the community, "especially at a time when budgets are tight and crime statistics are actually dropping" (Canadian Press, 2015). Weinrath argues that the use of armoured vehicles by the police sends the message that "we're afraid of people" (Canadian Press, 2015). Alex Mukherjee, former Chair of the Toronto Police Services Board, questions the ongoing militarization trend and argues that "There is a whole trend of greater weaponization of the service without a single, solid, well-researched, independently verified business case that justifies these things" (Gillis, 2020).

Michael Spratt is an Ottawa criminal defence lawyer who specializes in criminal law and policing. Spratt argues that militarized weapons, such as armoured vehicles, escalates conflicts with members of the public and also argues that it sends the wrong message to the community. He quotes that "These sorts of toys do put the public in danger. They do escalate conflicts. They do create sort of an image problem for the police where they aren't our protectors but they are our oppressors" (National Post, 2014).

4.5 Police justifications for needing military equipment

The police also put forward arguments that defend the use of LAVs. In some of the analyzed documents, representatives from policing organizations acknowledged the trend towards police militarization. In 2017, the RCMP Commissioner at the time Bob Paulson addressed concerns about the creeping militarization of Canadian police services when he was asked questions about a decision to give more rifles to frontline officers. One key theme that representatives from police services argue is that procuring more rifles or more military-equipment will help police officers "protect the public and themselves." Paulson is supportive of militarization concerns in his statement that he is "afraid of the trend in policing for escalating military style tools being used by law enforcement to conduct police operations" because it results in an increased reliance on force (Berthiaume, 2017). Rob Carver is a spokesperson for the Winnipeg Police Service who admits that "risk associated with police using military equipment and methods are obvious" but acknowledges the need for police to "work harder to help people understand why we would choose to do that. We don't do it lightly" (Issawi, 2020).

Another theme that emerged from the data was that police services often did not take the community's concerns about police militarization seriously or created reasons as to how their agency is not militarized. The leader of the Windsor Police ESU argues that "Everybody thinks it's over militarization, but I don't think people realize what goes on this city" when he was asked about police LAVs (Constable Tony Smith in Willhelm, 2014). Similarly, Byron Boucher is an assistant commissioner of the RCMP and he argues that "It doesn't seem like a big step toward militarization of this organization" when talking about armoured vehicles in policing (National Post, 2015).

One major argument put forward by representatives from policing agencies was the justification that armoured vehicles improves public and officer safety. One example of this is from Sergeant Jereme Leslie from the Greater Victoria Emergency Response Team who disputes the idea that "the armoured vehicle would militarize municipal departments" and argues that LAVs are a necessary component of police work because "it's a piece of equipment that's necessary to keep all the people involved in a critical incident safe" (Sergeant Jereme Leslie in DeRosa, 2017). The New Glasgow police argue that the main use for their Cougar armoured vehicle is "to increase safety not only for our officers, but for our citizens as well" (Constable Ken Macdonald in Boutillier, 2014). The New Glasgow police address the community concerns about the increased militarization of police by arguing that the Cougar will not be used offensively.

> "We're not trying to be offensive with it," he told the Star Friday. "We're not using it as an offensive police vehicle where we're actively patrolling with it or using it in that regard. It's simply to have with us at our disposal in the event we require it." (Constable Ken Macdonald in Boutillier, 2014).

Similar reassurances are provided to the public by Canadian police services who have also procured LAVs. When the Winnipeg police acquired its armoured vehicle, Superintendent Gord Perrier said that the LAV would be used for rescue missions and transporting personnel in high-risk situations, such as "armed standoffs or explosives investigations" (The Canadian Press, 2015). Superintendent Perrier says that he wants to reassure members of the public that the police armoured vehicle is not a combat weapon. He says that the police services board struggled with the decision to acquire a new LAV but "at the end of the day, we have officers and members of the public that are pit at great peril" and "putting a monetary value on life is very difficult" (The Canadian Press, 2015).

The Edmonton Police Service also justifies the need for their LAV by drawing on arguments about public safety. Inspector Dean Hilton says that the vehicle is necessary for fighting crime and that "our No.1 concern is public safety; we try to use as little force as possible" (Dawson, 2014). Hilton adds that the "purpose of our armoured vehicle… is public safety" as well as the protection of officers when they close to suspects (Dawson, 2014). The use of a public/officer safety argument is also present when the police want to more procure more weapons for frontline officers.

Other police services rely on the operational capabilities of the LAV to justify why their police force needs one, even if "these heavy-duty vehicles are sitting in a garage most days of the week- some have not been deployed even once" (National Post, 2020). The Saint John police Chief Bruce Connell argues that "In the worst of times, if something terribly goes wrong, our new rescue vehicle… may be the difference in someone going home safely to their loved ones" (Fortnum, 2019). Connell also highlights how the armoured vehicle "would be put to use in situations where officers or members of the public could be in danger, such as high-risk takedowns or even severe weather" (Fortnum, 2019). Similarly, the Windsor Police Service advocates that their armoured vehicle will provide frontline officers with "some major cover". The leader of the ESU team Tony Smith argues that

> "It is going to provide us with some major cover" "If somebody ever was to get shot, we can drive that truck right up to the person. I know in London they've been shot at in that vehicle and they've had to use it to transport. That's what it's going to be used for mostly. Rescue and rolling cover" (Constable Tony Smith in Wilhelm, 2014).

Another analyzed document highlights how police officials from Vancouver to New Glasgow, N.S "defended their acquisitions" of LAVs because of the vehicles tactical capabilities. They contend that police LAVs are necessary for dealing with hostile and potentially life

threatening situations such as “hostage-takings, incidents involving barricaded gunmen or active shooters and the execution of high-risk warrants” (National Post, 2020). The New Glasgow police argue that the Cougar will be used “…in a variety of situations like life-threatening situations that may include our officers… it can be used to transfer people, to rescue people, that kind of stuff” (Constable Ken Macdonald in Boutillier, 2014).

Another argument that the police mobilized about armoured vehicles is that the LAVs undergo a process of “de-militarization”. One analyzed document highlighted that “The New Glasgow’s Cougar has been “demilitarized- i.e its weapons have been removed” (Constable Ken MacDonald in Boutillier, 2014). The Winnipeg Police made similar arguments about removing weapons from their LAV, stating that “There are a number of moving parts on the vehicle that enable us to specific types of rescue operations” and that “we guarantee that we will not be placing armaments fixed to this vehicle. Ever.” (The Canadian Pres, 2015). Daniel Blouin, a spokesperson from the Department of National Defence, argues that when DND donates surplus LAVs to police agencies, “these vehicles are de-armed and undergo a demilitarization process prior to donation” (National Post, 2020).

Police Associations also help police services in justifying the need for tactical equipment against concerns about police militarization. An example of the concerns about police militarization in relation to police unions is presented in the National Defunding report released in 2020. Which argues that

> “Police unions are different from other unions in that they do not protect the interests of the workers in the same way: they serve instead to extend and expand police budgets and police militarization. Police unions work to undermine even minor progressive shifts, including those toward increased oversight, and so are a major barrier toward police defunding” (Maynard, 2020).

The Ottawa Police Association President Matt Skof argues that there is a need for a balanced view on police militarization, "particularly as it relates to the maintenance of public order or the use of highly trained tactical teams" (Skof, 2014). Skof argues on behalf of the Ottawa Police Service that the principal mission of the police is the protection of life and property, and that the *Police Services Act* requires that certain "adequacy standards for every police service that, in turn, prescribe the equipment that officers are to wear for safety reasons on public assembly or tactical team assignments" (Skof, 2014). The adequacy standard argument highlights that as elected officials expand police mandates, it also creates the need for police to be equipped with the necessary equipment to perform those tasks. Skof argues that the dynamic between police equipment and police safety creates a myth about militarization because

> "there are no reasonable arguments for police to perform their duties without the necessary equipment. This lies at the heart of the myth of militarization of the police today. Whether it's the safety at a community protest or a tactical operation serving a warrant in a presumed high risk environment, police are trained to presume the worst-case scenario. A heavy vest, Kevlar helmet and large calibre weapon are tools prescribed by adequacy standards when a tactical team is required to force entry. A public order unit will similarly have necessary equipment should different tactics be required if a conflict escalates at a public event" (Skof, 2020).

Skof highlights that tactical units are necessary for the preservation of life and property, and concludes that "any notion that the police service is therefore being 'militarized' and that the public should be concerned, is misguided and self-serving" (Skof, 2020).

Other police representatives in Canada make similar arguments about police having the proper equipment under adequacy standards. The greater Victoria ERT argue that LAVs are "a piece of equipment that's designed to withstand bullets and other blasts and can act as a large shield in the event of an active shooter situation" and to "…keep all the people involved in a critical incident safe" (Sergeant Jereme Leslie, DeRosa, 2017). The Defense Minister Bill Blair

argues in his press release that police officers "require the best safety equipment possible to uphold the law, protect people and protect themselves" (Government of Canada, 2020). The RCMP assistant commissioner Byron Boucher also supports the adequacy standard argument through his comments on the use of LAVs by police: "It's just providing the basic tool that members need to do their job and protect the public" (National Post, 2020). Similar arguments are mobilized by the Toronto Police spokesperson Allison Sparkes when she discusses the proposed acquisition of a new Toronto police LAV. She argues that given the mandate of the Toronto Police services tactical unit to respond to dynamic and public safety situations, that "having the most up-to-date technology and equipment is critical" (Gillis, 2020).

The Canadian Police Association (CPA) also helps justify the tactical operations of police agencies against claims of police militarization. The president of the CPA Tom Stamatakis argues that tactical offers are highly trained but also acknowledges that mistakes can happen. When asked about the execution of search warrants by tactical police officers Stamatakis quotes that "There are always going to be incidences where there are outcomes that no one's happy with but we also have to remember that in most cases these warrants are executed without incident" (Trinh, Smart and Dubinsky, 2021). Stamatakis also comments of the use of dynamic entry's by police by saying "…the police are responding to the incidents that they're confronted with and we're using tactics that are hopefully keeping everybody safer" (Trinh, Smart and Dubinsky, 2021).

Another finding from the data is that when police services release promotional recruitment videos about tactical policing, they are met with resistance from the community about concerns about police militarization. The Vancouver Police Department released a promotional video in 2022 that was titled *This is who we are* which showed "stylized images of

police rappelling down buildings and structures amid some explosions." Officers were also wearing full body armour and "are shown brandishing assault rifles with dramatic music playing in the background" (Stacey and Wong, 2022). The video prompted social media responses from the public, who mobilized emotional arguments and questioned the decision to feature militarized police and the cost of producing the video, which forced the VPD to remove the video from their website. One social media post said "What kind of people are you hoping to draw with that kind of video? Why are you highlighting violence/aggression over public service?" (Stacey and Wong, 2022). Other posts questioned the monetary costs of the video stating, "Too bad taxpayers will never see that money again. Maybe think through your actions before acting." (Stacey and Wong, 2022). Another user wrote, "You must realize this isn't just a question of poor timing or 'some' being overly sensitive. VIOLENCE is not something we want from our police. We want prevention, community, compassion, care" (Stacey and Wong, 2022).

Not all community members were upset about the video as one user argued that "The images are just the reality of one aspect of what law enforcement needs to do their jobs to enforce laws and keep our communities safe" (Stacey and Wong, 2022). The police relied on public/officer safety arguments to defend their tactical response video and to highlight the diversity of career opportunities at the VPD for potential applicants. The VPD released a statement about the video stating that

> "We want applicants to know all the career options VPD has to offer-whether it be investigative community relations, forensics, K9, Marine Unit, or Emergency Response Team, just to name a few. Tactical officers, like canine, ERT and our Mounted Unit, are important aspects of front-line policing. WE want applicants to know that tactical aspects are a real and necessary part of public safety" (Vancouver Police Twitter in Stacey and Wong, 2022).

4.6 The impacts of mass casualty events on police militarization trends

What was clear from the data was the impact that mass casualty events and high profile cases had on trends towards police militarization. Several newspaper articles made reference to the deaths of 3 RCMP officers in Moncton, New Brunswick after the shootings by Justin Bourque. One of the primary debates that came from the Moncton Shootings was that the RCMP do not have the equipment necessary to match the criminal firepower of the targets that they are going up against. Which was consistent with findings from the 2005 investigation into the shooting deaths of RCMP officers in Mayerthorpe, Alberta. The press release about police militarization by Defence Minister Bill Blair provided insight about the trend of police forces acquiring TAVs (tactical armoured vehicle) that was the result of a recommendation from the Mayerthorpe shootings. It stated that

> "In 2006, RCMP senior executives gave direct that the RCMP Armoured Vehicle Program provide Tactical Armoured Vehicles (TAV) to all Emergency Response Teams (ERT) regardless of location. The specification outlined by the RCMP TAV standards are strongly supported by research and testing. There have been numerous recommendations following several fatality inquiries stating that the RCMP should have TAVS accessible to ERTs, including recommendations of the Galloway-Ostopovich Fatality Inquiry and Mayerthorpe Fatality Inquiry Report, which supported the RCMPs acquisition of TAVs." (Public Safety Canada, 2020).

The independent report by Criminal Justice professor Daryl Davies, who was hired by the RCMP to write a report on the use of Carbine patrol rifles for frontline RCMP officers, reveals important information on both Mayerthorpe and Moncton. The tragedy in Mayerthorpe highlighted several problems with the operational responses of law enforcement. The deaths of the police officers highlighted the importance of "equipping officers with the necessary tools to respond effectively whenever they are confronted by armed suspects brandishing assault rifles" (Davies, 2015). It also revealed that the time interval between "the arrival of first responders and

backup tactical units compromises the safety of officers and members of the public" (Davies, 2015). The tragedy in Mayerthorpe left frontline officers wondering if the result of the shootings would have been different if they had the equivalent fire power. One officer in Davies report argues that "If our members were equipped with carbines Mr. Rosko [shooter] would have thought twice about engaging four heavily armed and trained police officers" (Davies, 2010).

The report by Davies highlighted that the use of a patrol shotgun was becoming outdated at the time of the survey in 2010. Davies highlights in his report that in 2010, the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) issues a statement that "one of the strongest reasons for adopting the carbine is that there has been a corresponding increase in the use of assault rifles by their adversaries" (Davies, 2010). The IACP also highlighted that

> "most police handguns have a combat-effective range of perhaps 25 yards, almost any rifle likely to be used by a criminal may have an effective range of 500 yards, will have far greater stopping power, will have much greater magazine capacity, and will be capable of a considerably higher rate of fire. It will also be likely to penetrate standard issue police body armour" (IACP in Davies, 2010).

The report to *the Minister of Justice and Attorney General Public Fatality Inquiry* into the deaths of police officers in Mayerthorpe revealed similar recommendations about the use and access to RCMP carbine rifles. The report was presented before Assistant Chief Judge Daniel Pahl who agreed with a recommendation to implement an RCMP Active Shooter Response Program. Assistant Chief Judge Pahl writes that

> "This recommendation is designed to improve timely access too heavier, long barrelled weapons, primarily for ERT, but is also addressing the availability of patrol carbines for use by general duty members. This would increase response capabilities above the current shotgun and pistol deployment" (Judge Pahl in Fatality Inquiries Act, 2011).

The report also suggested that the police should use the money that has been earmarked to local detachment for "armaments, binoculars, night vision goggles and any other items considered necessary, all in the discretion of the local commander" (Fatality Inquiries Act, 2011).

The Moncton shootings revealed similar issues that were present in Mayerthorpe, mainly that "the semi-automatic pistols carried by the officers as their standard patrol weapon were no match for Bourque's rifle, of course- pistols simply don't have the effective range to equal the reach of a rifle" (Gurney, 2015). Byron Boucher who is an assistant commissioner for the RCMP stated that "We've had 41 officers killed since 1961 and 83% of them have been killed by a rifle or shotgun… the fact is we still face these kinds of threats- we just faced it in Codiac- and it isn't going to go away" (National Post, 2015). The frontline officers who responded to the immediate 9-1-1 calls during the shootings, had to get close enough to Bourque to be within shooting range of their semi-automatic pistols. The RCMP ERT had quicker access to the long barreled rifles and "five RCMP tactical armoured vehicles from as far Ottawa were deployed to Moncton, N.B., in June during the hunt for a suspect" (National Post, 2020) The dependence on ERT backup in Moncton demonstrated similar issues that officers in Mayerthorpe faced.

The Independent Review of the Moncton shootings in 2014 by the RCMP made several recommendations to improve the efficiency of tactical policing and RCMP emergency response teams. The report also confirmed that "the Mounties were simply outgunned by Bourque" because the C8 carbines that the RCMP had recently purchased were at a nearby Canadian military base because "the officers at the detachment hadn't been trained to use them yet (Gurney, 2015). The recommendations by the Independent Review contributes to the ongoing issues within police militarization, but mobilizes arguments on behalf of police officers about the safety of frontline officers and the public. One of the recommendations is the need for "ERT to

be a full-time duty function, so that all ERT members can devote the time necessary to developing and maintain highly-perishable skills" (RCMP, 2014). With this recommendation, the report suggests that the ERT personnel need to have the property equipment and training necessary to maximize the tactical advantage. Another recommendation for RCMP ERT is for a standardization of all equipment for tactical teams across the country to improve interoperable police missions. The report finds that:

> "It is recommended that a standard list of equipment be developed for ERT [emergency response team] duties and that this equipment be acquired and distributed across the program" because "An ERT assaulter in British Columbia should be in possession of the same kit items as one in Newfoundland, if the teams are to assume identical mission profiles. The same is true of sniper/observers. This would allow tactics to also be standardized to the extent possible" (RCMP, 2014).

The Independent Review also recommended that the "RCMP take immediate action to expedite deployment of patrol carbines across the Force. This action must include significant and permanent augmentation of the Force's training capacity" (RCMP, 2014). The lack of access to the C8 carbine rifles for frontline officers led the Public Prosecution Service of Canada (PPSC) to lay charges against the RCMP for a series of Labour Code violations. The charges from the PPSC argue that the "RCMP sent its officers out on the street ill prepared to meet the treat Bourque posed" (Gurney, 2015). Issues about police militarization were raised in one of the analyzed documents when comparing the trends of militarization between Canadian and American police forces. The document states that "…when carbines are a necessary piece of equipment for patrolling New Brunswick- indeed, when failure to provide them may be criminal - we are not quite so far from a militarized police force as we might like to think" (Gurney, 2015).

The Moncton Shooting and other mass casualty events impacted other areas of policing as well, as community members and police forces began to prepare for similar events in the future. The use of mass casualty events became a justification for police services to continue to advocate for more equipment. President of the Canadian Police Association Tom Stamatakis uses the situation in Moncton to advocate that there are situations that require the use of heavily armed police force. He says that there is a "legal, moral and ethical obligation" needed for incidents such as "when Justin Bourque was on the run after killing three police officers" (Dawson, 2014). The private donation of a large armoured vehicle to the Saint John Police Service was the result of a high profile case that "brought it home to New Brunswick" to ensure that "the police would be safe should something similar unfold closer to home" (Fortnum, 2019). Similar arguments were mobilized by the Winnipeg Police Service who spent "$343,000 on a new armoured tactical vehicle saying the decision was made in part because of last year's targeted attack on police officers in Moncton, N.B" (Canadian Press, 2015).

4.7 Legal positions on police militarization

The analyzed documents also presented legal arguments about using tactical teams and police raids through dynamic entries. The documents relied on the comments from defence lawyers, judges, community activists and legal precedents to highlight the harms produced through police dynamic entries. Several documents highlighted the harms that have been caused by militarized raids by police tactical teams, such as raiding the wrong home or the death of a citizen.

One of the tasks of police tactical units is to execute high-risk search warrants. CBC's *The Fifth Estate* released a report in 2021 about their investigation into police use of dynamic entries. They found that police forces across Canada conduct hundreds of "no-knock"

raids per year when executing search warrants. The report finds that officers are usually required by legal precedent to knock and state their presence and the purpose for executing the search warrant. In R v. Cornell in 2010 the Supreme Court of Canada stated that "Except in exigent circumstances, police officers must make an announcement before forcing entry into a dwelling house" (Dubinsky, Trinh and Smart, 2021). This Supreme Court ruling found that the police must be allowed "latitude" when conducting their operations to ensure officer safety. The exigent circumstances that would allow officers to conduct a "no-knock" dynamic entry are outlined by the Supreme Court as "when there are reasonable grounds to be concerned about the possibility of harm to themselves or occupants, or about the destruction of evidence" (Dubinsky, Trinh and Smart, 2021). This decision means that no precedent limits tactical units "to situations that demand their training and equipment, such as serving high-risk warrants or responding to hostage situations" (Issawi, 2020). The investigation by the Fifth Estate finds that no-knock entries have become the norm for Canadian police services, and the use of dynamic entries has resulted in long-term health impacts as well the loss of life.

One of the analyzed documents revealed the death of 23-year-old Anthony Aust, after he "jumped out bedroom window during police 'dynamic entry'" by the Ottawa Police tactical team. In 2010 Sally Gomery, an Ontario Superior Court Justice put forward legal arguments about dynamic entries by tactical teams, arguing that they infringe on citizens' civil liberties. Superior Court Justice Gomery argued that "police cannot operate from an assumption that they should break in the door of any residence that they have a warrant to search" (Judge Gomery in CBC News, 2020). The provincial Special Investigations Unit (SIU) cleared "all Ottawa police officers of criminal wrongdoing in the falling death" because the SIU was satisfied that "There are no reasonable grounds to believe that the involved officers…contributed to the complaints

death by way of criminal negligence" (Yogaretnam, 2021). Although no criminal responsibility, the death of Anthony Aust reignited the debate about the use of police dynamic entries and prompted former Ottawa police Chief Peter Sloly to put a temporary ban on the use of police dynamic entries.

Although a step in the right direction, Sloly was met with resistance from within the Ottawa Police and from the Ottawa Police Association (OPA) President Matt Skof. According to some officers, the decision to ban the use of dynamic entries prioritizes "public opinion over public safety" (Yogaretnam, 2021). OPA President Matt Skof stated, speaking on behalf of rank and file police officers, that the Chief's decision "has hampered prosecutions against priority offenders such as drug traffickers and those who consume or produce child pornography" (Yogaretnam, 2021). President Skof was also quoted as saying

> "The chief has now severely impeded an investigators ability to apprehend, gather evidence and successfully prosecute those who prey on the most vulnerable of our community, being exploited children and those suffering from addiction" and "That the move clearly neglects the police duty of care for those victims" (Mat Skof in Yogaretnam, 2021).

Although the police view dynamic entries an effective tactical strategy to ensure the perseveration of evidence, they can cause significant harm. According to police,

> "Officers estimate that the vast majority of gun and drug cases hinge on evidence seized after the search warrant and that the limited the use of dynamic entries in cases where that is precisely why they are being used runs the risk of destroying those prosecutions" (Yogaretnam, 2021).

The RCMP ERT executed a search warrant on a Rang-Saint-Georges home in 2020 looking for drugs but resulted in traumatized children. The mother of the Children, Jackie Arseneault reported that the family is "Still suffering the effects of being exposed to tear gas, being dragged from their homes by police, having guns pointed at their heads and, in the case of her 14-year-old

daughter, being forced naked from the shower" (Harding, 2020). Arseneault also stated that her 8-year-old son "tried to jump from the second storey window. Now he's having nightmares about what happened." (Harding, 2020). The RCMP defended their decision to use a dynamic entry given the nature of the investigation and "information received during the course of the investigation" in order to ensure "officer and public safety" (Harding, 2020). This example of a police raid also highlights the concept of "found ins," which is the idea of how "The people who are not suspects but are found inside the place of where police search" are treated during the raid (Yogaretnam, 2021).

The investigation by the CBC's Fifth Estate had similar findings about the harm from police raids. Peter Schnieder is an Ottawa man and victim of police no knock raid, where police made Schneider "crawl to the curb' like a dog,' held his children at gunpoint and tore apart his home in a search for a trove of weapons that didn't exist" (Trinh, Smart and Dubinsky, 2021). The police often rely on the information given to them by paid informants, which they use to help secure search warrants. Schneider's lawyer Lawrence Greenspoon raises concerns about the reliability of informants and "shoddy police work", arguing that the information provided to the police was completely inaccurate. Schneider continues to suffer as a result of the Ottawa Police's dynamic entry suffering from "depression, anxiety and insomnia" as a result of the search warrant (Trinh, Smart and Dubinsky, 2021).

The investigation by the CBC's Fifth Estate had similar findings of the harm from police raids. When the police decide to use a dynamic entry, there can be unforeseen circumstances when they enter the home that they did not originally anticipate. In 2017, the Ottawa Police had reason to believe that "Tamara Bahlawan was helping her boyfriend, a known drug dealer, stash cocaine inside her parents' home." (Trinh, Smart and Dubinsky, 2021). What the police did not

know before using a dynamic entry with a flash grenade was that Tamara's mother who was 63-year-old city employee "was at home recovering from heart surgery and watching television with her husband" (Kelsie Raycroft (mother) in Trinh, Smart and Dubinsky, 2021). The police recovered a small handgun and ammunition, but a Judge later acquitted Tamara of all charges. The family told the Fifth Estate that "they could have knocked on my door. I would have let them in…I would have respected the warrant and they could have gone through and looked wherever they wanted" (Kelsie Raycroft in Trinh, Smart and Dubinsky, 2021). Tamara's mother, Kelsie Raycroft, told the CBC reporters that she still suffers trauma and nightmares from the police raid.

The investigation by the Fifth Estate also revealed a similar story with Ottawa resident Christopher Woof. The Fifth Estate reports that "officers had bashed in his front door and set off a flashbang grenade. It was part of an investigation involving the same Ottawa drug squad that, three months later, would orchestrate the raid on Anthony Aust's family apartment" (Trinh, Smart and Dubinsky, 2021). Woof was in the shower when he suddenly heard a cracking explosion then seconds later he was face to face with Ottawa police tactical officers with their guns pointed directly at his bare body. Woof states that "I was literally held there naked, with machines guns pointed at me, for several minutes. They wouldn't let me move or even cover myself or nothing" (Trinh, Smart and Dubinsky, 2021). Police found OxyContin pills but Woof said that they were from prescriptions he got from a doctor after having surgery for a motorcycle crash.

Sam Hersh is a part of Horizon Ottawa, which is a grassroots community organization, who spoke about the use of the police dynamic entries as a breach of civil liberties. Hersh argues that "There's no excuse for breaching anybody's civil liberties in this way" … "If they want to

convict folks, then they'll have to do so lawfully and justly in a court of law. And maybe this is legal now, but that doesn't necessarily mean that its right to do something like this" (Yogaretnam, 2021). Hersh also calls for a complete ban and end to the use of dynamic entries by police. He says that "Quite frankly, we as an organization… would like to just see an end to dynamic entries… because there's no reason that there should be a military-style assault on people's home" (Hersh in Yogaretnam, 2021).

Mark Ertel, an Ottawa defence Lawyer, argues that the lack of safeguards on using police weapons during callouts like executing search warrants justifies the need to have "prior judicial authorization as a check on this conduct, which has gotten out of control". Mark Ertel often represents clients who are wrongfully raided by police services, and he states that "among the dozens of no-knock raids he's heard about form his clients, trauma is a common by-product" (Trinh, Smart and Dubinsky, 2021). Ertel advocates that he would like to see Canada move toward a similar model in most U.S states, where a judge or justice of the peace must sign off on the use of forced entries, which are usually attached as a condition in the search warrant. Ertel also comments that "People whose homes are entered in this way, they don't recover from it" (Trinh, Smart and Dubinsky, 2021). Windsor Lawyer Kirk Munroe argues that the public police should not be dressed in a similar fashion to the military or have similar firepower. Munroe has defended many clients who were arrested by the Windsor Police Emergency Services Unit (ESU/SWAT) and argues that "our local police just should not look like an occupation army." (Willhelm, 2014). Munroe also raises an important point about police dynamic entries

> "The idea that they raid places with machine guns, what's that for? I just don't get it" he said. "When was the last time they had a shootout and the other side had machine guns, in Ontario? I don't know. I just don't get what the point of having police armed with machine guns is. If you never plan on using it, what's the point of having it?" (Kirk Munroe in Willhelm, 2014).

4.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter has demonstrated the key arguments mobilized from different groups about police militarization. Racialized groups put forward colonial and anti-Black/Indigenous racism arguments to demonstrate how police militarization disproportionally impacts racialized and gendered groups. Grassroots community activist groups mobilized arguments about police defunding, de-tasking and de-militarizing as an alternative solution to police militarization. Academic scholars were relied upon within the analyzed documents to demonstrate how police militarization can operate outside of just procuring military hardware. The police mobilized arguments around public safety and security that justified the need for police to have military-style equipment. The need for police militarized equipment was also supported by the recommendations from Independent Reports from mass casualty events and high-profile cases. The chapter concluded with the legal arguments from lawyers, judges and legal precedents about the harms that police dynamic entries can cause.

This data presented continues to provide in depth insights into ongoing trends within police militarization that were already present in the police militarization literature. However, it expands on the limited literature concerning police militarization because it highlights the arguments that are mobilized by the police on their justifications on the need for military equipment. The arguments of the police about the tactical significance of military-style equipment were largely missing from the literature in Chapter 2.

What will be explored in the next chapter is evaluating the contests of police militarization through a Political Sociology lens. This will help answer my research questions and achieve my research goal of understanding if the annual callouts of police tactical units are still the best measurement of police militarization.

Chapter 5: Evaluating police militarization through field struggle, symbolic power and naturalization

In this chapter, I will interpret my findings from the analyzed documents through several Bourdieusian Political Sociology concepts outlined in Chapter 2. The Political Sociology framework will be used to explain the key arguments and discourses put forward by the grassroots community activists, academic scholars and criminologists, the Canadian Police Association and other police unions, Canadian police services and Independent Reports/Fatality Inquiries that were presented in Chapter 4. Exploring the contests of police militarization through Bourdeiusian Political Sociology will help answer the questions that I outlined in Chapter 2.

5.1 Symbolic power and racialized groups impacted by police militarization

One of the main goals of this research project was to understand the different arguments that police, government officials and civil society groups make to support or contest police militarization and what forms of power and symbolic power are utilized to shift public opinion. The analyzed documents revealed contests of the arguments being mobilized by the police about the need for military equipment and the arguments being made by community groups and community activists to defund and demilitarize the police. Chapter 2 highlighted how Janet Chan used Bourdieu's framework of Political Sociology to argue that the theoretical concepts of 'habitus' and 'capital' can work together to constantly create a 'field'. Chan's study of police culture can be applied to the contests and 'field' of police militarization found in Chapter 4 and help answer my research questions. Chan's conceptualization of Political Sociology explains police cultural practices based on the interaction between the social and political context of police work (field) as well as their institutional perceptions, strategies and schemas (habitus) (Chan, 1997, 92). The police as an institution develop understandings of the occupation through the laws, procedures and techniques of law enforcement and through a range of organizational

skills, attitudes and assumptions that are similar to other members on the job (Chan, 1997, 74). The advantage of drawing on Chan's reconceptualization of police culture and the benefit of adopting a Bourdeiusian framework for police militarization is that it accounts for the existence of multiple cultures and its capacity to theorize cultural change. This reconceptualization provides an avenue for research about community groups presented in Chapter 4 that can understand how these groups are moving in a new direction of symbolic power that Bourdieu did not originally theorize.

Bourdieu argues that historical relations directly impact power dynamics within his framework of Political Sociology. Evaluating the power dynamics that were present within the arguments mobilized by community activist groups helps to answer my first research question. The community activist groups within the data often drew on links between the history of police-racial relations through colonialism to demonstrate how current tactical deployments are perpetuating similar harms to Indigenous communities. This was evident in Chapter 4, where Wet'suwet'en land defenders mobilized arguments about their civil rights being violated by the RCMP's ERT executing police raids on their land. The Wet'suwet'en land defenders also argue that the continued use of police raids against Indigenous people will continue to result in a lack of trust in police and continue to damage the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the police (Gidimt'en Land Defenders, 2022). Bourdieu argues that Political Sociology "can challenge a key foundation of power relations-their legitimation- and thereby open up the possibility for social transformation" (Swartz, 2013, 5). Bourdieu's framework of sociology allows for the alternatives to police militarization that are made by community activist groups to be taken seriously when they challenge the imbalance of power relations that occur during police paramilitary operations directed at racialized communities. Chapter 4 presented several demands

directed at police services from grassroots community groups such as Defund604, DefundSPVM, the No Pride in Policing Coalition (NPPC) and Black Lives Matter Canada. These groups demanded a reduction in police budgets through police defunding and demilitarizing police by removing weapons from certain police groups.

The intersection between police militarization and racialized groups can be seen through the Bourdeiusian view of society as an "ensemble of relatively autonomous fields" (Chan, 1997, 71). Chan writes that a 'field' of police work "is a social space of conflict and competition, where participants struggle to establish control over specific power and authority, and, in the course of the struggle, modify the structure of the field itself" (Chan, 1997, 71). The 'field' of police militarization within Political Sociology can be understood "…of the historical relations between certain social groups and the police, anchored in the legal powers and discretion that police are authorised to exercise and the distribution of power and material resources within the community" (Chan, 1997, 71). Chan also draws on Bourdieu's definition of the field because "it emphasises the historical, structural relations between positions of power." (Chan 1997, 80). This also helps to answer my first research question as the historically harmful relations between police and racialized groups can be seen as a social space of conflict, competition and struggle for control over power and authority. The Mining Injustice Solidarity Network's arguments in Chapter 4 about colonial practices helps to answer my first research question:

> "The RCMP, for example, was created as an occupying force to remove Indigenous peoples from their lands, enabling 'resource' extraction. The racist and colonial legacy continues today, rearing its head recently through the RCMP's brutal and violent arrest of Chief Allan Adam in Alberta" (MISN, 2020)

Community activist groups raised further arguments in Chapter 4 about resource extraction and police tactical teams which helps answer my research question about the

dynamics between police and racialized groups. The harms to Indigenous communities by RCMP tactical teams because of Canada's transition to a "petro-state" (see West, 2022) can be understood as a "Political Field" within Bourdieu's Political Sociology. Chapter 4 also raised arguments about how the Coastal Gaslink pipeline received international funding and how key police business partners give private donations to police associations and police charities which finance paramilitary operations. The political field is "that arena of struggle for political power where other forms of capital are transformed into the capital of social support" (Swartz, 2013, 68). The political field also creates a space for competition between agents who participate in a varying degree in a struggle for political power and the accumulation of political and physical capital. The large corporations and private financing firms of the Coastal GasLink, pipeline such as "HSBC, Toronto Dominion Bank, and Royal Bank of Canada and private investors from Japan, Korea, China, Malaysia and the Netherlands" operate within a political field through competition with other stakeholders in their industry. Therefore, they rely on the RCMP to ensure the smooth construction of the pipeline at the expense of Indigenous communities, through whatever means necessary, to ensure that these corporations accumulate their collective resources (political capital) through fracked gas. Through the political field and the accumulation of political capital through collective resources militarized police forces can use disproportionate force against Indigenous communities to protect the state's interests. This finding through Political Sociology helps answer my second research question on symbolic power, as it helps understand who is involved in militarizing the police and how police militarization benefits these private donators.

The aforementioned demands of community activist groups that are made in Chapter 4 can also answer my second research question about symbolic power. Chan's framework of

Political Sociology and police culture allows for an understanding of symbolic power outside of what was initially theorized by Bourdieu. Since Chan's framework allows for multiple realities, the community groups in Chapter 4 challenge the process of naturalization highlighted through symbolic power. The dominated group within the framework of symbolic power, challenge the existing police 'doxa' and taken for granted assumptions about policing.

Arguments made by the police in Chapter 4 support the idea that the police have more social capital, which gives them the ability to reproduce their power by creating social divisions when deciding what communities are deserving of paramilitary tactics more often than others. Bourdieu summarizes this power as *par excellence:* the idea that police can make groups (groups that become over-policed) or to manipulate the objective structure of society (to create justifications for the need for routine deployments of tactical units for officer safety) that will go unquestioned because of the taken-for-granted assumptions about the nature of police work ('doxa'). Looking to Chan's analysis (1997) is useful for exploring how the police can experience a significant drop in public support as the result of "corruption" (or a lack of support from racialized communities based on concerns about police dynamic entries/militarization) which can have a serious impact on "the values of different forms of capital as well as what counts as symbolic capital" (Chan, 2007, 324). The impact on police symbolic capital would shift the balances of symbolic power in the 'arena of struggle' about police militarization between the police and racialized communities.

5.2 Explaining the 'doxa' and 'habitus' of police militarization

A critique of Bourdieu is that not enough attention is paid to the power that the dominated groups can have in shaping the "struggle" within the 'field.' The death of George Floyd and the increase in support for the police defunding campaigns has resulted in wide

support for community activist group demands. The field is shifting, where the police still hold more social capital (resources, equipment, money and property), but the dynamics of the people supporting the "dominated group" are diversifying. Chan (2007) expressed concerns about the traditional concepts of police culture because "it failed to account for variations in culture within and between police forces" (Chan, 2007, 329). The traditional view of police culture treats police actors as passive recipients of the culture in a similar way that symbolic power views the dominated group as passive actors that "accept definitions of social reality that do not correspond to their best interests" (Swartz, 2013, 39). Chan's reconceptualization helps answer my second research question because her framework allows for a shift in support of the "dominant expressions of symbolic power," which will result in fewer people fully "internalizing the taken-for-granted assumptions" about policing. The process of naturalization sees the dominated group "misperceiving the interests of power when they adopt the dominant view of the world" but the community groups from Chapter 4 actively resist this naturalization process. They understand that if the definitions of policing remain unchallenged, this form of symbolic violence will continue to self-perpetuate without powerful resistance.

The literature on symbolic power and police militarization spoke about marginalized community groups as passive actors in the 'field' of police militarization. Bourdieu argues through "legitimation" that symbolic power held by the police would stress "legitimate understanding of the social world" onto the marginalized communities who would internalize those understandings as "practical taken-for-granted understandings" (Swartz, 2013, 38). Under Political Sociology, the struggle in the 'field' of police militarization is understood through the unequal distribution of relevant capitals in the field. The "chiasmatic structure" shapes the struggle for power between economic capital (wealth, income and property) and cultural capital

(knowledge, culture and educational credentials). This is best demonstrated in the contested arguments about police paramilitary units. The police mobilized arguments in Chapter 4 that SWAT units and armoured vehicles were not indications of police militarization and actually increased public and officer safety. Whereas community groups, who are considered the dominated group under Bourdieusian Political Sociology, argued that SWAT units and armoured vehicles were indications of police militarization and argued instead for police defunding and police demilitarization. The police hold significant social capital that gives them an omnipresent source of authority. However, the significance of the capital held by community activist groups in shaping the struggle of the field could change the 'field' and require the actors within the struggle to adapt.

One of the major findings from Chapter 4 that helps to answer my first research question was how both community activist groups and police services relied on social, economic, symbolic and cultural capital arguments to defend or contest police militarization. Both the community activist groups and the police services agreed that the field of policing is meant to be about community safety, well-being and protection. This is the 'doxa' of policing because the police have the symbolic power to ensure that it should not be contested and helps protect their traditional roles of "waging war against crime, maintaining order and protecting people's lives and property" (Swartz, 2013, 53). The idea that the police are the protectors of society is the taken-for-granted truth within the contests of police militarization because of the naturalization process that allows the police to consistently defend their procurements of military-style equipment. This 'doxa' that is imposed on members of the public is what creates the emotional, legal and civil rights arguments because it makes citizens feel concerned about police militarization. The major finding from Chapter 4 is that community groups are challenging the

'doxa' of policing by raising concerns about the 'habitus' and actions of the police when using military equipment. These community groups are aware of the taken for granted assumptions about the police as protectors of society but challenge it by claiming that the existing 'doxa' serves to protect the capital held by the police and not the community.

The ongoing 'doxa' of policing is demonstrated in Chapter 4 when police associations and police unions defended the use of paramilitary policing and military-style weapons for police officers by mobilizing arguments about adequacy standards. Ottawa Police Association President Matt Skof argued in Chapter 4 that:

> "there are no reasonable arguments for police to perform their duties without the necessary equipment. This lies at the heart of the myth of militarization of the police today. Whether it's the safety at a community protest or a tactical operation serving a warrant in a presumed high risk environment, police are trained to presume the worst-case scenario. A heavy vest, Kevlar helmet and large calibre weapon are tools prescribed by adequacy standards when a tactical team is required to force entry. A public order unit will similarly have necessary equipment should different tactics be required if a conflict escalates at a public event" (Skof, 2020).

The justifications made by the police in support of military equipment is the process of the police defending the social capital that allows them to carry out militarized activities (habitus) and helps them maintain the existing 'doxa' of policing. In Chapter 4, the police mobilized justifications for military equipment that challenged the idea that the military activities and tools are indicators of militarization. The police representatives in Chapter 4 also justified the habitus of police militarization through the 'doxa' of policing based on narratives that dynamic entries and military equipment contribute to officer and community safety. This is best summarized by Chan when discussing the importance of social and cultural capital in policing:

> "agents compete for the control of various types of resource or capital. To survive in the occupation, officers require both social capital and cultural capital. Social capital- in the form of support network- is the important to ensure that officers are protected, not only against external danger or hostility associated with police work, but also against arbitrary supervisory or management practices" (Chan, 2007, 331).

The symbolic power of the police that helps them procure military equipment can be understood through cultural capital, as it creates a capacity "to make individuals more effective actors within a particular social milieu" (Swartz, 2013, 53). This helps answer my second research question as symbolic power was present in Chapter 4 when the police created justifications for needing armoured vehicles. The police created arguments about the effectiveness that the armoured vehicle would bring and contended that the tactical abilities of the vehicle would improve performance and save lives. One example of this is the Windsor Police who argue that the LAV would provide "Rescue and rolling cover" to tactical officers. Other police services argued that LAVs are necessary for dealing with hostile and potentially life-threatening situations such as "hostage-takings, incidents involving barricaded gunmen or active shooters and the execution of high-risk warrants" (National Post, 2015). While the Winnipeg Police argued that "at the end of the day, we have officers and members of the public that are pit at great peril" and "putting a monetary value on life is very difficult" (The Canadian Press, 2015). The symbolic power the police have to procure more physical capital helps them redefine the acquisition of military equipment as normal tools to do their routine tasks given the current conditions of police work.

However, the community groups in Chapter 4 highlight how the habitus (accumulation of military equipment, police dynamic entries and police raids) of police militarization is not an appropriate way of carrying out the 'doxa' of community safety and therefore requires change. The community activist groups are playing an active role in changing the field of police militarization, not only in their ability to reject the process of naturalization caused by the police 'doxa', but also by undermining the symbolic capital held by police forces and other actors who support militarized agendas (transnational corporations, capitalist/colonialist agendas). They also

attempt to change the field by advocating for less police physical and political capital by mobilizing demilitarization and police disarming arguments and less money through defunding arguments. The civil society groups in Chapter 4 challenge the 'doxa' of police militarization by contesting the 'habitus' of dynamic entries, police raids and acute/invasive police practices. While the police justify the 'habitus' to support and help them maintain the existing police 'doxa' that sees them as solely responsible for societal protection. Since there is an imbalance of symbolic capital in the dynamics of power between these community groups and the police, activist groups in Chapter 4 relied on the arguments of certain academics and legal professionals to give their claims legitimacy.

As the demands of those criticizing police militarization enter public discourse, such as police defunding and police de-militarization, the 'field' of policing will adjust, along with officer's habitus'. The contests by community activist groups in Chapter 4, such as police defunding, demilitarizing and de-tasking, fill a gap in the police accountability literature that has largely been missing. Chan argues that "the absence of public concern and political pressure to scrutinize the standards of police conduct means that there is little political risk for police organizations that ignore or pay only notional attention to police deviance." (Chan, 1996, 82). What the findings from Chapter 4 show about community activist groups who contest police militarization is that at least a portion of the population has lost faith in policing. These actors have relied on other 'fields' to mobilize their messages about community safety and well-being through police defunding, demilitarization and detasking.

Bourdieu argues that the notions of 'capital,' 'field' and 'habitus' "can be defined, but only within the theoretical system they constitute, not in isolation" (Bourdieu and Waquant, 1992 in Swartz, 2013, 62). Although the 'field' of police militarization may adjust to incorporate the

'habitus' produced by the contests of police militarization through defunding arguments, it cannot fundamentally contest the reality of the 'doxa' the police are working within. Chapter 4 presented arguments from the police about the emerging types of threats that the police are going up against, such as the shootings in Mayerthorpe and Moncton. Society still values community safety, risk management and security of citizens as important aspects of policing. Most of the arguments in Chapter 4 that were presented by the police that supported police militarization were presented through an officer and community safety discourse, which gives credibility to the influence of security 'doxa' on police services.

Chan also raises important concerns about the discretionary powers given to police officers when addressing racialized group's concerns about the disproportionate police force. In Chapter 4, several community activist groups flagged police practices and justified their arguments by stating that the police use disproportionate force. Equal concerns were raised about the oversight of police tactical teams when selecting what dynamic entry should be used when executing search warrants. Chapter 1 highlighted how the public police also have a history of responding to civil protests with sovereign force through paramilitary policing. The OKA crisis in Quebec in 1990 led the RCMP to collaborate with the Surete Du Québec during a protest with the Mohawks of the Kanasetake Reserve (de Lint, 2004, 16). Chapter 4 highlighted how Wet'suwet'en land defenders mobilized arguments about their civil rights being violated as Indigenous communities felt the harsh impacts of police raids on Indigenous lands because of the Coastal Gaslink pipeline. The police hold wide discretionary powers to stop, question, arrest, search and detain suspects, and understanding that "the ideology of the rule of law and the rhetoric of 'rights' are not always reflected in law or in practice" and is an important aspect of the police-racialized group relationship for answering my first research question. (Chan, 1996,

89). Therefore, Chan argues that "what some members of minority groups might describe as unfair targeting or harassment is well within the powers available to the police for order maintenance" (Chan, 1996, 89). A potential answer for my first research question is that Indigenous land defenders of Wet'suwet'en could be experiencing a similar situation outlined by Chan, where the increased paramilitarism could be perceived as unfair harassment to Indigenous people, but the RCMP are within their legal powers to use military tactics.

These findings about police-racialized relations are in a large part unsurprising to the reader. The legal arguments raised in Chapter 4 about the increased use of police tactical teams for search warrants support previous literature (Kraska, 2007, Roziere and Walby, 2018) about the collateral harms that are caused by police tactical teams. The use of adopting different 'fields' by community groups to mobilize police defunding and demilitarization arguments supports the previous literature about police reforms written by Chan (1996, 2004, 2007). Chan concludes that although the voices of community activist groups such as Black Lives Matter Canada can be heard, the government has historically defended the institution of the police in instances that have called for greater accountability. The community's demands towards policing have historically resulted in the government attempting to adjust the practice of policing rather than condemn it.

5.3 Understanding military equipment as a more 'valued form of capital'

My final research question asks how evaluating the field struggle that is present within police militarization has an impact on procuring military style equipment. This project wanted to evaluate what struggles are being produced within the 'field' of police militarization and understand the positions of the dominant actors that are involved in the ongoing struggles of paramilitary capitals.

The contests of police militarization between community groups and the police would be described as an 'arena' of field struggle. Within the arena, the police struggle to accumulate both physical and social capital, whereas community groups only seek to accumulate social capital. Chan writes that "for policing, the habitus incorporates various dimensions of cultural knowledge, including unexamined assumptions, accepted definitions, tried-and-true methods, shared values as well as bodily display and physical deportment" (Chan, 2007, 324). Through Bourdieusian Political Sociology, we can see that contests of police militarization create a struggle between actors within the field that produces a functional coherence. Bourdieu would argue that the actors (both community groups and the police) "take up positions relationally, in opposition to others, and it is that system of oppositions that gives unity to a field" (Swartz, 2013, 59).

Bourdieu outlines two distinct dimensions of field struggle. The first is the distribution of capitals relevant to specific fields and the struggle to accumulate more valued forms of capital. The distribution of capitals is a problem that many police representatives highlighted in Chapter 4 about the need and justifications for police officers to have the necessary equipment. The distribution of the capitals is one problem that was highlighted through the Fatality Reports and mass casualty events. The RCMP Independent Review of the Moncton, N.B., shootings report confirmed that "the Mounties were simply outgunned by Bourque" because the C8 carbines that the RCMP had recently purchased were at a nearby Canadian military base because "the officers at the detachment hadn't been trained to use them yet" (Gurney, 2015). The lack of distribution of the accumulated capitals (C8 carbines) by the RCMP, and the fact that Justin Bourque posed similar threats as the Mayerthorpe shootings (RCMP previous struggles), is supported by Bourdieu's argument that:

> "The structure of the field is a state of the power relations among the agents or institutions engaged in the struggle, or, to put it another way, a state of the distribution of the specific capital which has been accumulated in the course of previous struggles and which orients subsequent strategies" (Bourdieu 1993, in Swartz, 2013, 59).

The distribution of the specific capitals in relation to police equipment involves multiple actors, which were outlined in Chapter 4. Understanding the struggle over the distribution of capitals involves helps answer my third research question because "the struggle to accumulate the more valued forms of capital or to convert one form into another more valued form" (Swartz, 2013, 59). The police faced several struggles when procuring the military-style equipment (capitals) outlined in Chapter 4. It must be understood that the police placed heavy emphasis on military-style equipment as being a more "valued form of capital" based on their mobilized arguments about community and officer safety. The police relied on private donators, their own operating budgets, and donations from the Department of National Defense to convert the capital of money into a "more valued form of capital" which is large armoured vehicles.

The findings of Chapter 4 highlighted that police organizations compete with one another to procure military equipment, which creates a "keeping up with the Jones's" effect. The 'habitus' of police work that views the police as the traditional crime fighters, gives rise to the need for police agencies to compete over "the shared values as well as bodily display and physical deportment" (Chan, 2007, 324). The second dimension of field struggle involves the struggle over the very definition of the most legitimate form of capital for a particular field. The 'field' of policing values military equipment as a valued form of capital. Similar to the influence that market economy's had on policing highlighted in Chapter 2, Political Sociology views fields as "places of exchange- markets- where different capitals exchange one for the other but also where actors struggle to valorize one form of capital over all others" (Swartz, 2013, 57). The

competition between police services to accumulate military equipment, as both a "more valued form of capital" and a "valorized" form of capital, is seen when police services rely on the armament of other services to justify their need for equipment. This is present in Chapter 4 by the comments of the Winnipeg Police Association President, who argues that Winnipeg Police frontline officers need carbine rifles because "Municipal police in Saskatchewan, Calgary and Toronto, as well as the Ontario Provincial Police, have already moved forward with carbine-equipped front-line officers" (May, 2016). A spokesperson made similar comments from the Toronto Police Service (TPS), who argued in one of the documents that "The York Regional Police have owned an armoured vehicle for the past 10 years," which would justify the need for TPS to procure military equipment. Under Political Sociology, this competition is conflict within the structured arena of the field that sees actors trying to monopolize valued forms of capital.

The idea of a market economy that exchanges "valued forms of capital" for other forms of capital would also explain the surplus transfers of military equipment. Chapter 4 presented a contest about police armoured vehicles. Defence Minister Bill Blair released a media statement arguing that: "Unlike in the United States, Canadian police agencies do not receive surplus military equipment such as Tactical Armoured Vehicles (TAVs)" (Government of Canada, 2020). The analyzed newspaper articles found that many provincial police services received surplus transfers of LAVs from the Department of National Defense. One document highlighted that "The free transfer of two Cougar light armoured vehicles used by the Canadian Forces in Afghanistan to police in New Glasgow, N.S., and Windsor, Ont. Value: $300,158 each" (Boutillier, 2014). Other documents proved that between 2007 and 2014, the Canadian Department of National Defense (DND) "donated five six-wheeled armoured vehicles to police agencies in Edmonton, New Glasgow, Windsor and two to the B.C RCMP" (West, 2022). As

highlighted in Chapter 2, there is no 1033 program in Canada that would give police services similar easy access to LAVs, but the findings from Chapter 4 prove that Canadian police services can still procure LAVs in a similar fashion. This contest can be analyzed through a Political Sociology lens that would denote the transfers of LAVs as a field and arena of production. Swartz writes that:

> "Fields denote arenas of production, circulation, appropriation and exchange of goods, services, knowledge or status, and the competitive positions held by actors in their struggle to accumulate, exchange and monopolize these different kinds of capital." (Swartz, 2013, 57).

Within this field of police militarization, the exchange of LAVs from one government department to another is the circulation of capitals amongst competitive actors in their struggle to monopolize capitals. The police would also struggle to procure the "more valued form of capital" they desire because of the demands of police defunding. The 'field' of police militarization consists of "structured spaces of dominant and subordinate positions based on capitals" where community groups can feel the impact of the LAVs being the "more valued form of capital." Political sociology would argue that community groups feel the impact of LAVs the most because 'fields' are stratified by the unequal distribution of relevant capitals. The field struggle that is produced within Political Sociology pits those in dominant positions (the police) against those in subordinate positions with less capital. This framework would help answer my third research question as the process of accumulating LAVs would not be an indicator of police militarization, rather the lack of capital by the dominated groups pits them up against the police. This structural explanation of power and domination is supported by Bourdieu's ideas about the dominated contributing to their own domination. Swartz writes that Political Sociology does not wish to blame the victim "but rather recognize that while domination is dispositional, it is internalized from objective structures that must be changed" (Swartz, 2013, 98).

As aforementioned, Bourdieu underestimated the amount of symbolic capital that dominated groups can have in his original theorization about Political Sociology. A critique of Political Sociology is the lack of attention given "to those inward and outward forms of resistance that shape the social order in small and large ways" (Swartz, 2013, 119). The underestimated symbolic power of the dominated group is demonstrated through a context "of struggle over the perceptions of the social world" as a tool of struggle among social groups (Swartz, 2013, 87). Another part of the field struggle outlined by Political Sociology that helps answer my third research question is a classification struggle over the right to monopolize the "legitimate definition of what is to be the most legitimate form of capital for a particular field" (Swartz, 2013, 60). The findings of Chapter 4 show that there are contested views from both community groups and the police on what police actions constitute as police militarization.

In Chapter 4, the police mobilized arguments about why procuring military hardware is not police militarization. RCMP assistant commissioner Byron Boucher argued that large armoured vehicles did not constitute indications of police militarization as he quoted that "It doesn't seem like a big step toward militarization of this organization" (National Post, 2015). The leader of the Windsor Police ESU argues that "Everybody thinks it's over militarization, but I don't think people realize what goes on this city" when he was asked about police LAVs (Issawi, 2020). Similar arguments were presented through the Fatality Inquiry that advocated for standardization of equipment for all RCMP ERT across the country because "An ERT assaulter in British Columbia should be in possession of the same kit items as one in Newfoundland, if the teams are to assume identical mission profiles" (RCMP, 2014). In comparison, community activist groups in Chapter 4 called for the removal of military-grade weapons from certain groups of police officers and argued that policing budgets should not be spent in "militaristic

ways" (Safer for All, 2021). The City of Halifax also revoked a decision to purchase a new large armoured vehicle because Mayor Mike Savage stated that the large armoured vehicle acts as a symbol of oppression/domination for Halifax's black community (Macdonald, 2020).

This contested view of police militarization represents the field struggle over the right to monopolize legitimate definitions of what forms of capital constitute actions of police militarization. There is no formal method or objective measurement to compare police militarization against, which leads to a large gap of ambiguity which can be found in the aforementioned contests about what actually constitutes police militarization. One of the ways that this form of field struggle was presented in the findings was through the different ways that the police and community groups use the word "de-militarize". Community activist groups spoke about demilitarizing as a process of taking back the weapons from the police that are also used by the military. They also spoke about de-militarizing as removing police tactical teams/ special task forces, surveillance equipment and "tasers, firearms, rubber bullets, tear gas and pepper spray and to end mass surveillance of communities through the use of technologies such as facial recognition, drones and predictive policing technologies" (NPPC, 2021). Whereas the police used de-militarizing as removing the overtly oppressive armaments that come attached to the large armoured vehicles when they are donated by Government from the military. One analyzed document highlighted that "The New Glasgow's Cougar has been "demilitarized- i.e its weapons have been removed" (Boutillier, 2014). The Winnipeg Police made similar arguments about demilitarizing, stating that "There are a number of moving parts on the vehicle that enable us to specific types of rescue operations" and that "we guarantee that we will not be placing armaments fixed to this vehicle. Ever" (The Canadian Press, 2015) and that "these vehicles are de-armed and undergo a demilitarization process prior to donation" (National Post, 2020). Both

the community activist groups and the police spoke about demilitarizing in two different ways. Bourdieu would argue that actors get caught up in the logic of struggle and "unwittingly reproduce the structure of power relations within and across fields" (Swartz, 2013, 60).

The concept of field struggle can be used to help evaluate another major contest that emerged from the data. Community activist groups argued for the removal of certain weapons from certain groups of police officers. Community groups create arguments and demands about police militarization through calls for police demilitarization or police disarming. Defund604 demands the disarming of the Vancouver Police and the removal of their lethal weapons. The Black Lives Matter movement advocates that "…immediate disarming and de-militarization of policing is a necessity as we move toward community safety" (BLM, 2021). The police mobilized arguments in Chapter 4 about the need to procure more military-grade equipment because it would also enhance community safety and well-being. There is a contested view between the police and the community groups over what types of capital would contribute the most to community safety and well-being. The contest exists within the struggle over the most "legitimate definition of what is to be the most legitimate form of capital for a particular field" (Swartz, 2013, 60). As highlighted in Chapter 2, and supported by the findings in Chapter 4, one of the only ways to measure a police services trend toward police militarization is to look at the annual deployments of their tactical teams (see Roziere and Walby, 2018, Kraska, 2007, Kraska and Kappeler, 1997). The community's demands for removing specific weapons from the police, can help answer can be taken seriously under Political Sociology because they challenge the imbalance of power relations that occur during police paramilitary operations. But removing police weapons is tautological if the only measurement of police militarization is tactical unit deployments.

As community groups have acknowledged the dominating symbolic power the police have and begin to produce alternatives that may improve their own perceptions of community safety, Political Sociology would argue that "the symbolic power relations tend to reproduce and to reinforce the power relations which constitutes the structure of the social space" (Bourdieu 1990, in Swartz, 2013, 98). It must be understood that police value military equipment as a more "valued form of capital" because the 'doxa' of police work helps police mobilize arguments of community and officer safety. Given the previous indicators of police militarization highlighted in Chapter 2, removing weapons from frontline officers would increase the annual amount of tactical unit deployments. Frontline officers would have to wait for the tactical unit's support during calls for service where long-barrelled rifles are needed, including serious occurrences such as the Mayerthorpe or Moncton shootings. This would increase the reliance on SWAT teams for routine calls for service, which would impact the previous indicators of police militarization based on the annual deployments of tactical teams. This would help answer my third research question as the reliance on the removal of weapons from frontline officers would reproduce and reinforce the power relations within police militarization, as the dynamics of power would shift towards a reliance on SWAT and increase their annual deployments.

5.4 Chapter summary

In summary to this Chapter, several contests surrounding police militarization emerged from the data that are supported by the literature presented in Chapter 2 and through Political Sociology. Racialized communities are impacted by police militarization through police raids on Indigenous land but should no longer be viewed as passive actors within the naturalization process. Indigenous and racialized people now play an important and active role in challenging police symbolic violence and resist the types of social capital/resources deemed necessary by the

police. The use of field struggle that is outlined by Political Sociology also confirmed arguments made in Chapter 2 that the police are still heavily interconnected to the market economy. Field struggle also highlighted the lack of objective measurement that police services can use to evaluate if they are exceeding militarization standards. Field struggle was also used to demonstrate the different meanings that community groups and the police attach to concepts such as "community safety" and "demilitarize." The chapter concluded with another finding from the data that was analyzed through Political Sociology that the demands for the removal of military-style weapons from the police would reinforce the structure of power relations as it would increase the police's reliance on tactical teams.

As both the police and the community activist groups continue to struggle over dominant definitions of police militarization, it is clear from the previous literature in Chapter 2 and the findings in Chapter 4, that both parties are not satisfied with the current positions on police militarization. In order to try and address concerns, it is important that the police and community groups continuously work together to produce a coherent solution. The ongoing disconnect in definitions of what community safety should entail will lead to further issues and continue to create more contests between the police and community groups.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and Directions for Future Research

In this chapter, I review the purpose and significance of this research and discuss my research questions. From there, I discuss future policy implications of the findings. The chapter concludes with the projects strengths and limitations and potential directions for future research.

6.1 Significance of the findings

The literature presented in Chapter 2 demonstrated that police tactical teams are being relied upon to carry out routine policing activities outside of their traditional roles as violence specialists. The literature focused on highlighting the "normalization" of police militarization by using the annual callouts of police tactical teams to demonstrate how police forces have become militarized over time. The issue of the normalization has been researched in depth throughout the United States and was replicated in Canada to evaluate the annual callouts of tactical teams from major Canadian cities. The literature was relevant in understanding the contested arguments about police militarization and highlighted a gap in the literature about the missing voices and opinions of tactical police officers from the discourse on police militarization. What was relevant from the literature and supported by the findings in Chapter 4 is how risk management continues to be a real issue within policing institutions. Deployments of SWAT outside of their traditional roles continue to be used by police agencies to address ongoing risk management concerns, regardless of the community's concerns about police militarization. What was seen in this thesis is that civil society groups challenge the existing 'doxa' of policing through contesting the police 'habitus' of militarization and challenging the legitimacy of police physical capital. The police mobilized arguments that justified the 'habitus' of their physical capital in order to maintain and support the legitimacy of the existing 'doxa'. The normalization of militarization has been expanded within this thesis because the police challenged the idea that the militarized activities

and tools they use are indicators of militarization. The findings of Chapter 4 revealed that the police attempted to redefine the acquisition of military equipment as normal tools to do their routine tasks. As the police attempt to justify the 'habitus' of needing military equipment they also normalize the idea that military equipment should be within the traditional 'doxa' of policing that views them as the traditional protectors of community safety and wellbeing.

When the public started to become critical of police militarization following the death of Michael Brown in 2014, and George Floyd in 2020, several parties jumped to defend and contest tactical policing. This project provided insight into the arguments that police, government officials and civil society groups make to contest or support police militarization and identifies the forms of power and symbolic power groups use to shift opinion on militarization.

Using Political Sociology to evaluate the contests of police militarization in Canada helps us understand that the police are not only a technical institution but also influenced by social, economic and political factors. This project intended to understand and analyze how the police are procuring the military hardware that is being used for police militarization through symbolic power and to explore the relevant arguments about who is defending and contesting police militarization. This project provided an overview of the relevant arguments that both the police and certain grassroots community groups were mobilizing about police militarization and understood the contests as a 'field struggle' within Political Sociology. Therefore, this project does not attempt to analyze the relationship between the relevant police actors and the community groups but take an objective position to lay out the relevant arguments and analyze them through Bourdieusian Political Sociology.

Through the findings and discussion section of this research project, we can see that actors within this network of police militarization make similar arguments seen in the collection

of literature in Chapter 2 but further developed legal, symbolic, emotional and civil rights arguments that were limited in the previous literature. These arguments are highlighted in the passive roles that dominated groups were classified into by previous Political Sociology literature and allowed this project to explore this gap. The previous literature was also limited in exploring the voices and arguments that police officers were making about the procurement of military-style equipment. This was highlighted through Political Sociology and the accumulation of "valued forms of capital" within the 'field' of police militarization. The impact of the risk discourse and how the police mobilized arguments of community and officer safety existed in previous literature about police militarization but still allowed this project to further explore this gap in the literature. The previous academic literature on police defunding and detasking was also limited to its theoretical relevance and made no clear plan on how community groups can carry out the "Disband, Disempower and Disarm" framework (see McDowell and Fernandez, 2018, 379). This project explored the gap between theoretical social science frameworks and practical on the ground activism as community groups actively resisted the "naturalization" process and continued to diversify the field of those opposing police militarization.

Moreover, this discussion on police militarization has allowed the reader to see a different lens of the police militarization debate by deductively using Political Sociology to evaluate the findings. We saw through the previous literature on police militarization that a significant indicator of police militarization was analyzing the annual callouts of police tactical teams. However, the findings of this research project demonstrate that this normalization process occurs through the police justifying the use of military equipment through the existing 'doxa' of policing which helps them use military equipment as a more valued form of capital. The reader ultimately learns that Political Sociology can be extended to understand how "dominated" groups

can actively resist the process of naturalization through symbolic power and no longer passively accept the taken for granted assumptions about policing. Bourdieusian theory helped to conceptualise the dangerous and risk aversive nature of policing ('doxa') and also helped to understand that the militarized actions of the police ('habitus') is not acceptable to the community and requires change.

6.2 Strengths and limitations of the data

In the present study, a Critical Content Analysis was used to gather different arguments that supported or contested police militarization of different police forces in Canada. As explained in Chapter 3, the analysis of the documents presented several themes that were used to understand the positions of the relevant groups involved. This Critical Content Analysis allowed for the collection and analysis of several documents and presented arguments about police militarization. The analysis allowed various themes to emerge that helped understand the arguments made by a wide range of groups. This project could take themes from a wide range of groups either defending or contesting police militarization and determine if the arguments are similar across parties. Although this project provided valuable insight to try and further understand the positions and arguments of community groups and the police about police militarization, it is limited to the documents that had comments from police representatives. The comments and positions of the police within this research project relied on senior police officials speaking on behalf of frontline police officers instead of relying on primary data from frontline officers themselves. Future research would benefit from semi-structured interviews with relevant actors to fully understand the impacts police militarization can have on lived experiences.

While this Critical Content Analysis was useful in exploring the relevant arguments made by the actors within this network of police militarization, there are certain limitations associated

with it. Although my findings offer valuable insights into reasons why actors contest or support police militarization, it is unable to speak directly to the actors identified in Chapter 4 and cannot speak for all those affected by police militarization. Therefore, the arguments seen in this project should not be viewed as "truths" but rather statements made by community members about their lived experiences and the police's operational procedures about the practice of police militarization. The data relied on the comments and documents published by newspaper articles, independent community activist groups, freelance journalists and the comments of the police in newspaper articles/ Independent Inquiries. The reliance on secondary data as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic means I am less confident in my ability to make claims for all people impacted by police militarization practices.

6.3 Future Research Considerations

The direct next steps for future research on police militarization is the need to interview police tactical teams and frontline officers to understand their perspectives on police militarization. The literature in Chapter 2 highlighted that there has been a gap in the literature where the voices and opinions of frontline tactical and routine police officers are missing from the contests of police militarization. This current research project provided a snapshot of opinions from representatives of police organizations and police unions to explore this gap in the literature, but the voices of tactical officers are still missing from the discourse. The next research project should focus on 1 specific City with a tactical unit and interview both tactical officers and a diverse sample of the community to compare and contrast the similarities and differences in responses between the police and the community. Not only would this fill a gap in the literature by adding the voices of paramilitary officers into the criminological discourse but

would also be a good metric to the police to see if the voices of the community match what the police are trying to achieve on the ground.

Another direction for future research on police militarization would be creating a national census that asks members of the community about their opinions on police militarization. The current literature on police militarization, in both academia and public newspapers, operates under the assumption that tactical policing is inherently wrong and takes for granted the idea that all members of the public are against police militarization. As seen in Chapter 4, literature and news coverage on police militarization is heavily influenced by specific high-profile events as opposed to a chronic policing issue. It should be established through a census if police militarization is a priority area that citizens are concerned about as opposed to the current structure of allowing certain academic views, newspaper articles or high profile cases to dictate what is considered to be tactically necessary for police services.

Another avenue for future research on police militarization is creating a standardized list of equipment for both frontline officers and SWAT officers that is mutually agreed upon by all relevant actors within the police militarization field. Chapter 4 highlighted that one of the recommendations from the RCMP Independent Review of the Moncton shootings was a standardized list of ERT equipment that would allow for interoperable police missions. Future policy research should take similar approaches but receive different opinions from a broad array of groups about police equipment. As highlighted in Chapter 4 and supported by the Findings in Chapter 5, there is no direct and objective measurement that police forces can use to govern themselves against trends toward police militarization. Current shifts within the field of police militarization are heavily influenced by emotional and symbolic arguments based on the elicited responses from community groups about how police equipment makes the community feel.

Future policy research should consider creating a model of police militarization that is similar to the 'Use of Force Continuum' that allows for some officer discretion but clearly outlines what the police and the Police Services Act believes to be reasonable and acceptable police practice. This type of future policy research could remove the ambiguity in defining what police actions are considered to be militarized and what police actions are considered to be solid tactical police operations.

One of the major policy implications that should be considered about police dynamic entries is adopting similar governance measures as the United States. Future policy research should investigate if removing officer discretion in the decision-making process about police dynamic entries would improve the efficiency of SWAT teams. The United States requires that police services write in the search warrant the need for the dynamic entry and a Judge must sign off on the decision. Future policy research into police discretion on dynamic entries could address some of the legal arguments raised in Chapter 4 and potentially alleviate public pressure from the police.

6.4 Chapter summary

In this chapter, I reviewed the significance and the purpose of the present study. I then discussed the impacts that Political Sociology had on the findings of the research project. From there, I concluded with the study's strengths and limitations and offered concomitant suggestions for future research on police militarization.

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Appendix A

The table below demonstrates the key words that were coded throughout the total documents (N=50) and the total amount of times that they were coded.

Keywords / Codes	Amount of times the code was referenced in the a analyzed documents
George Floyd	28
Abolition	2
Alternatives or Solutions	17
Armoured Vehicle	71
Charter of Rights Violations	4
Community Policing	19
De-tasking	3
Deaths by SWAT	5
Defunding	48
Demilitarize	12
Disarm	11
Dismantle	2
Disproportionate force	12
Dynamic Entry	50
Harm caused by Tactical Team	30
How the Equipment is being used	31
Human Rights	14
Indigenous people & the police	36
Mass Casualty Events	34
Matching the criminal firepower	11
Militarization	97
Officer or Public Safety	28
Oversight	10
Police Justifications	81
Police Services Board	8
SWAT policing protests	3
Police Weapons	33
Private Donations to Police	7
Police Stakeholders	59
Tactical teams- SWAT-ERT -ESU	59
Carbine rifle	4
Shotgun	7
Police violence	13
Public response to police militarization	26
Promotional Video (media)	3
Police culture	5

Anti-black racism	28

Appendix B

Below is a list of the documents used as the data set in Chapter 4 and were differentiated based on their operational theme.

Theme of the document	**Total number of documents**	**Name of Document** **(Title – Date – Name of Media Company/Publisher)**
Community Groups	**20**	• "10 Demands" (DefundSPVM). • "2 families left traumatized when RCMP in northeast storm houses on drug raid" (Harding, 2020 – CBC News). • "604 Demands" (Defund 604 Network 2021). • "Who's banking the Coastal Gaslink Pipeline?" (Sulakshana 2021- The Understory). • "Amnesty International open letter urges federal government to address anti-black racism" (Amnesty International Canada, 2020). • "'We will not recover from this loss': Anthony Aust's family calls for system change one year after his death" (Helmer, 2021 – Ottawa Citizen). • "Black community demanding answers from police in man's falling death" (CBC News, 2020). • "Botched no-knock raids prompt calls to limit police tactic" (Trinh, Smart, Dubinsky, 2021 – CBC News Fifth Estate). • "Canada's militarized police forces face defunding and 'de-tasking', experts say" (National Post 2020). • "Defund, Dismantle, Demilitarize the Police!" (Mining Injustice Solidarity Network, 2020). • "Vancouver police remove 'appalling' recruitment video highlighting tactical team" (Weichel, 2022 – CTV News). • Disarmament, Demilitarization &Technology: Pushing for a new 'modern' way" (BLM, 2021)

		• "In 2020, Edmonton rallied against racism and police brutality. Now what?" (Boothby, 2021 – Edmonton Journal) • "Militarization of Wet'suwet'en Lands and Canada's Ongoing violations" (Submission by Gidmit'en Land Defenders, Wet'suwet'en Nation, 2022). • "Defund, Disarm, Demilitarize, Abolish Police! A Public call for Immediate Action" (No Pride in Policing Coalition, 2020). • "A Roadmap to Police Free Futures" (National Defunding Document, 2020). • "Settler Work: The ongoing history of disproportionate force" (West, 2022 – The Monitor). • "Submission to the BC Police Act Review" (Simon Fraser Student Society, 2021). • "Vancouver police pull 'tactical response' promotional video after backlash" (Steacy and Wong, 2020 – CityNews). • "When Police Don't Knock" (Trinh, Smart, Dubinsky, 2021 – CBC News Fifth Estate).
Government Reports	**6**	• "Report to the Minister of Justice and Attorney General Public Fatality Inquiry" (Province of Alberta, 2011). • "Defunding the Police: Defining the Way Forward for HRM" (Board of the Police Commissioner's Subcommittee to Define Defunding Police, 2022). • Aiming for Safety: A needs analysis to determine the feasibility of adopting the patrol carbine in the RCMP" (Davies, 2010- National Use of Force Program). • "Safer for All" (Report and Recommendations of the Community Safety and Well-Being Task Force, 2021). • "Independent Review- Moncton Shooting- June 4, 2014" (Assistant Commissioner Alphonse MacNeil, 2014). • "Militarization of Police" (Public Safety Canada, 2020).

How the Equipment is Being Used	**7**	• "Canada bucking U.S. police militarization trend" (Boutillier, 2014-Toronto Star). • "Canadian Forces donate equipment to cops; Clashes in Ferguson, Missouri, spark debate over militarization of police" (Quan, 2014 – The Gazette). • "Cops with carbines" (Gurney, 2015-National Post). • "ERT acquires new armoured truck; Current Vehicle used 9 times last year; concern raised over police militarization" (DeRosa, 2017 – Colonist Times). • "No carbines for city police?" (May, 2016-Winnipeg Free Press) • "Private Firms Pour Millions into Militarizing Police via Charities" (Lukacs and Groves, 2020 – The Tyee). • "The armor-plated blue line- The growing militarization of police-from SWAT teams to so-called 'rescue vehicle' – is under scrutiny" (Issawi, 2020 – Maclean's).
The Police	**17**	• "'Militarization' Debate; We need a balanced view of the evolution of policing and its tactics" (Skof, 2020 – Ottawa Citizen). • "Militarization' of police sparks debate; Canadian Forces donating surplus combat gear" (Quan, 2014 – Calgary Herald). • "'We are a use of force'; Windsor police tactical team deliberately wants bad guys to think twice" (Wilhelm, 2014 – Windsor Star). • "'We call it a rescue vehicle': Growing number of Canadian police forces bulking up with armoured vehicles" (Postmedia News, 2014 – National Post). • "Board weighs use of private donation to buy armoured vehicle" (Gillis, 2020 – Toronto Star). • "BR-Police-Militarization" (The Canadian Press, 2020).

		• "Canadian police forces defended armoured vehicle acquisitions" (Quan, 2014 – The Province). • "Chief Peter Sloly's partial ban on dynamic entries raises concerns for both activists and officers" (Ottawa Citizen, 2021). • "Militarization of the Police" (Wilfred Laurier University, 2021). • "Militarized policing in Canada under scrutiny" (Dawson, 2014 – Edmonton Journal). • "Militarized police, colonial repression" (Boskote, 2013 – Halifax Media Co-op). • "Ottawa police cleared of wrongdoing in falling death of Anthony Aust" (Yogaretnam, 2021 – CBC News). • "Police across Canada test out military equipment at private supplied 'range day'" (Thompson, 2020 – Briarpatch) • "Police enter wrong home in response to 911 distress call; Women says 10 officers frightened child, awakened Black occupant at gunpoint" (Duffy, 2021 – Ottawa Citizen). • "RCMP commissioner expresses fears over militarization of police forces" (Berthiaume, 2017 – Global News). • "Saint John Police Force unveils armoured vehicle, Rescue one" (Fortnum, 2019 – Global News). • "Winnipeg police buy new armoured vehicle, partly because of New Brunswick attack" (The Canadian Press, 2015).
N=50		