

The Joint Federal/Provincial Commission into the April 2020 Nova Scotia Mass Casualty MassCasualtyCommission.ca

Commission fédérale-provinciale sur les événements d'avril 2020 en Nouvelle-Écosse CommissionDesPertesMassives.ca

Public Hearing

Audience publique

Commissioners / Commissaires

The Honourable / L'honorable J. Michael MacDonald, Chair / Président Leanne J. Fitch (Ret. Police Chief, M.O.M) Dr. Kim Stanton

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Halifax, Nova Scotia 1 2 --- Upon commencing on Wednesday, April 27th, 2022, at 9:32 a.m. **COMMISSIONER STANTON:** Hello, and welcome. Bonjour, et 3 bienvenue. We join you from Mi'kma'ki, the ancestral and unceded territory of the 4 Mi'kmaq. Let us start by remembering those whose lives were taken or were harmed, 5 their families, and all those affected by the April 2020 mass casualty in Nova Scotia. 6 7 This week, as we are broadening our focus and public proceedings 8 to explore how and why the mass casualty happened, we've been looking at matters 9 and shaping questions related to police paraphernalia, including uniforms, equipment, and vehicles. A reminder that as we broaden our focus we'll also expand the kinds of 10 public proceedings we use in this inquiry. In addition to more presentations on 11 Foundational Documents and hearing from more witnesses, you can also expect to hear 12 some more about commissioned reports and see roundtables and small group 13 sessions. 14 15 On Monday, Commission Counsel shared their brief presentations on police paraphernalia, uniforms, equipment, vehicles, and confirmation of the 16 perpetrator's replica RCMP cruiser. We also heard from the witness, Max Liberatore, 17 about the perpetrator's police paraphernalia. 18 During public proceedings today, we'll host our first roundtable, 19 20 inviting individuals with helpful knowledge to provide their insights on relevant issues. The discussion will be facilitated by Krista Smith, who is a legal policy officer with the 21 Commission's Research and Policy Team. Our Research and Policy Team is focussed 22 23 on helping us understand how and why the mass casualty happened to shape findings 24 and recommendations. The contextual information being brought forward will take many forms, including the commissioned reports, small group sessions and roundtables 25 mentioned earlier. 26 As you'll recall, a number of commissioned reports are being 27 prepared by independent researchers and writers to help us better understand the 28

issues in our mandate. The first batch of reports is available to you on the website, with 1 2 more to follow in the weeks ahead. I do encourage you to read them, they are 3 substantial. 4 In some cases, commissioned report authors will be joining relevant roundtable discussions to talk more about their area of expertise. Joining them will be 5 other subject area experts, some of whom have been suggested by Phase 1 and 2 6 7 Participants, practitioners and individuals who have a direct interest in the theme under discussion. 8 9 Today's roundtable will focus on police paraphernalia. You'll be hearing a variety of perspectives today, including from academics, retired law 10 enforcement, collectors of police paraphernalia, and a lawyer. 11 I'll ask Ms. Smith to bring in the roundtable participants, and I 12 understand some are joining us online as well. So Ms. Smith will help introduce the 13 people taking part in the roundtable. 14 15 Welcome everyone, and good morning. 16 --- ROUNDTABLE: POLICE PARAPHERNALIA AND POLICE IMPERSONATORS: MS. KRISTA SMITH: Okay. Thank you, Commissioners, 17 Commissioner MacDonald and Stanton and Fitch. My name is Krista Smith, and I'm a 18 member of the Research and Policy Team of the Mass Casualty Commission. And as 19 20 facilitator of our first roundtable, we'll be directing -- I'll be directing the guestions and following up and moderating the dialogue. 21 The Commissioners may choose to pose a question or ask for 22 23 clarification at any point, and as you know, roundtable discussions will form part of the 24 Commission record. These proceedings are being livestreamed now, and will be 25 publicly available on the Commission's website.

core themes related to police paraphernalia and police imposters. So we'll be looking at

the cultural significance of police uniforms and equipment, and the role that symbols

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So the questions I'll be posing today are based on the following

1 play in policing and how that shapes public and community relationships and

2 expectations with the police. And we'll also be looking at how those symbols and pieces

of equipment and uniform have meaning for the police themselves and for retired police

and for collectors. And then finally, the later part of the morning we'll be looking at the

issue of police impersonation, the scale of the problem in Canada, and the impacts of

this problem on the public trust in police.

Based on these core themes, I'll be asking a series of open-ended questions to each of our roundtable members so that we can give everyone an equitable opportunity to share their perspective. We've selected the group with great care so that the Commissioners and the public can hear from a variety of perspectives. Each of them have a unique perspective and area of expertise.

The first series of questions will help us to understand what policing symbols, including pieces of uniform and equipment, mean to police, retired police, and collectors. The second series of questions will explore the broader cultural significance of these symbols and how depictions of police in popular culture shape public expectations of police. And then our third series of questions this morning will consider the Canadian case law and media reports of police impersonation. We'll discuss how perpetrators tap into the authority and cultural power of policing symbols to achieve criminal ends. We'll also consider the impact that such depictions have or deceptions have, on the public's trust in police.

So as with every roundtable discussion, the intention is to provide the Commissioners and the public with a deeper understanding of the core themes so that everyone is well-positioned to engage in conversation in Phase 3 about lessons learned and potential recommendations.

So to get us started, I am going to ask each of our roundtable members to introduce themselves and explain why the topic of police paraphernalia is important to them or how their work is connected to that theme.

So I'd like to start with our poor remote participants, who my back is

1	to them, so it's even hard to see you guys. Good morning, and hello.
2	So Meaghan Daniel, I'd like to maybe start with you. Could you
3	introduce yourself and tell us a little bit about you?
4	MS. MEAGHAN DANIEL: Yes.
5	Good morning, everyone, and good morning Commissioners. I'm
6	really grateful for the opportunity to share my thoughts, and I'm so very grateful for all of
7	your time this morning and for the work you're doing with the Commission generally.
8	So my name is Meaghan Daniel. Please just, if it's all right, call me
9	Meg. I'm a settler lawyer practicing in Ontario but living in Montreal. I've been in
10	practice for about 12 years now, and in that time, my practice has focussed primarily on
11	what others might call social justice. That term lacks a bit of concreteness, so I often
12	say something like state accountability.
13	During my career, which has been in association with Faulkners,
14	LLP, a firm in Toronto but now in my own practice, I've often focused on the police from
15	the perspective of community members seeking accountability. Most often, those
16	community members are indigenous persons and beyond simply focusing on the police
17	all the way through to other interactions with the justice system.
18	So I've worked on systemic reviews, civil litigation and inquests on
19	those topics.
20	And finally, I have a Master's from University of Victoria on
21	indigenous legal traditions, focusing on the remote communities in northern Ontario,
22	and I teach as a sessional instructor at McGill with courses related to those topics.
23	MS. KRISTA SMITH: Thanks so much, Meg.
24	lan?
25	DR. IAN LOADER: Good morning, everyone. I, too, am honoured
26	to be here and looking forward very much to the discussion this morning.
27	My name is lan Loader. I'm a Professor of Criminology at the
28	University of Oxford and a Professorial Fellow at All Souls College from where I speak

1	to this morning. I also have an Honorary Professorial appointment at University of
2	Melbourne in Australia.
3	My work over the last 20-odd years or so is focused on several
4	things.
5	I have a kind of interest which which speaks to what we're talking
6	about this morning on kind of public sensibilities, I guess, towards questions of crime
7	and social order and kind of related - interested in the kind of meanings and sources of
8	security and insecurity in people's everyday lives, something I'm working very actively
9	on at the moment.
10	Also, I have a long-standing interest in the politics of crime control,
11	but my I guess what originally got me into this as a kind of life as a line of work was
12	policing. It was a subject of my first book and it's though I work on other things, my
13	interest in policing has never entirely gone away.
14	And I think one of the things that's always interested me in relation
15	to police is not just not just its own organizational practices and cultures and modes of
16	accountability and government, as important as all those issues are, but a wider series
17	of questions to do with what I choose to call the social meanings of policing, you know,
18	the ways in which people come to think about and feel about and respond to the
19	broader question of police and policing in any given society for all sorts of reasons.
20	I think there's kind of cultural dimensions of policing as a kind of
21	institutional practice are extremely important. I'll say more about that as the morning
22	unfolds.
23	MS. KRISTA SMITH: Thanks, lan.
24	We're just going to go by first names here, if that's okay with
25	everyone, I think.
26	I'm going to take it now over to Julia Cecchetto.
27	MS. JULIA CECCHETTO: Good morning, everybody. So my
28	name is Julia Cecchetto. I was a police officer for 31 years. I attended the Atlantic

1	Police Academy in 1990 and then went straight to what, at that time, was Halifax Police.
2	That amalgamated into Halifax Regional Police a few years in, and
3	I served there for 27 years. I was very fortunate to be in a number of positions while I
4	was there. I did everything from ride the police horse, worked the General Investigation
5	Section, professional standards, patrol lots of different places.
6	My favourite posting was actually the Training Division, where I
7	trained officers in ethics, diversity, workplace harassment, and I ran a cadet class, so
8	spent a year with 20 people who turned into Halifax Regional Police Officers.
9	I retired from there in 2017 as an Inspector and I took the role of the
10	Chief of Police for the Town of Kentville, and I was there for four years.
11	During that time there, I actually became the President of the Nova
12	Scotia Chiefs of Police, so I represented all Chiefs across the province at a at a lot of
13	events and meetings, I guess. And probably the thing I enjoyed the most about that
14	was that we also created a Nova Scotia Chiefs Intimate Partner Violence Working
15	Group where we addressed things that we recognized within our agencies that could
16	improve the lives of victims of intimate partner violence.
17	Also during my 31 years, I've as I say, I ran a cadet class, so I've
18	given people their first badge and, as the Chief of Police, I've also taken back all of the
19	equipment as people retire or leave the agency. So I think that gives me a perspective
20	on what that means to people, both being given it and having it taken away from them.
21	And because I also believe that we need to be human, I am, as I
22	say, currently retired. I live with my husband, who is also a retired police officer of 33
23	years, and I have two daughters who are currently in university.
24	MS. KRISTA SMITH: Thanks, Julia.
25	Brian.
26	MR. BRIAN CARTER: Good morning. Thank you,
27	Commissioners, for having me.
28	And my name is Brian Carter. I'm a retired RCMP officer. I served

- 1 25 years in the RCMP, all in uniform. I policed rural policing and municipal policing.
- 2 I'm the Past President of the RCMP Veterans' Association of Nova
- 3 Scotia. My expertise in policing was officer survival and how to survive armed
- 4 encounters.
- I'm a lifelong learner. I am currently writing my Master's thesis for
- 6 my -- in police education and the need for police to practice and perform under
- 7 pressure.
- 8 My purpose today is to explain to people why the uniform is so
- 9 important to those who serve. The uniform is not given to us, it's earned through, blood,
- sweat and tears. We must pass training, which is six months. We live together, we eat
- together, we work together. And that's the first phase of earning the uniform.
- Not just in the training setting do we earn this, but we also earn it
- through our everyday wearing of the uniform. I can't count the number of times that I
- came home with blood on my uniform, usually blood from other people, but sometimes it
- was mine. That's earning the uniform.
- My service in Haiti, there were two murders a day. In my tour
- there, there was 300 people murdered when I was there. That is also part of earning
- the uniform, being involved in those things. I witnessed several of those murders and
- 19 the sudden deaths down there.
- 20 Historically, uniforms are worn by armed forces in all of the wars,
- 21 from the Boer War in Canada -- for Canadians, from the Boer War right through to the
- 22 Afghan War. And those who retire from military get to keep their uniform. They don't
- wear it, but they keep it because it's a memento of their proud reminder of their service
- in those conflicts and in their service.
- The RCMP have been part of every single war that Canada has
- been involved in throughout our history. We also serve in almost all the missions that
- the military serve on as well today. The RCMP is also a regiment of the Queen's
- 28 Dragoons.

1	We also have historically, the uniforms worn by the RCMP and by
2	other police agencies is part of our culture. It's also part of who we are.
3	The uniform is a common bond for all who serve our country. Less
4	than one percent of Canadians serve. We swear an oath to protect everyone in Canada
5	and uphold the laws of the country. The oath is for life. It does not expire when we
6	retire. We can be called back into service at any time.
7	We want to preserve history and pass on a sense of pride that we
8	have to our children from our service. The uniform is how we do this. It's how the
9	military has always done this. It's how police do this.
10	The uniform is part of us. It's not like putting on a suit today or
11	many of you, how you're dressed today. It's not like that at all. It is part of who we are.
12	Policing is is one of the only professions in the world where you
13	put on a uniform, walk out the door to go to work, and you know that it might be the last
14	day on earth for you. There's no other profession like that.
15	One of the things that I understand is it's difficult for people who
16	have not served to understand the importance of the uniform, but today I beg you to at
17	least try.
18	There are some other there's phrases that we use when we have
19	serve, and there's to help you understand, so I'll give you some examples of the
20	phrases that we talk about as veterans.
21	One is, "I volunteered, I served, I sacrificed. No regrets. I'm a
22	proud veteran". Another is, "Never forget who we are". Another is "Duty, Honour,
23	Country". Another is "IGY6". And that's I-G-Y-six. And it stands for, "I've got your
24	back." And then there's humorous ones as well that connect us, and that's and one of
25	them is this, "That's a terrible idea. When do we leave?"
26	These are all tied to the uniform and to our service and how we've
27	earned it.
28	Police interpreters are rare, but cause immense damage to the trust

in policing. We understand that. The majority of cases are plain clothes and unmarked 1 2 cars, rarely involve violence. And if there's recommendations to come from all of this with respect to uniforms the police wear, we must always remind ourselves that they 3 would have to have a solid goal that's achievable and measurable, you must have a 4 clear outcome identified, it must be evidence based, it must know who it is targeting and 5 be sure it absolutely achieves the outcome desired, must not be a knee jerk reaction. 6 7 If a goal is to ensure police impersonation never happens again, 8 that is not achievable, therefore it's not a goal. If the outcome is to stop impersonators 9 from dressing like police but targets retired police officers or ignores the fact that anyone can make a police uniform in 15 minutes, then it is not a properly identified 10 11 outcome. In lay terms, recommendations must be realistic and make actual 12 change. 13 We served and we want to keep our dress uniforms because we 14 are permitted to wear these uniforms on rare occasions, such as Remembrance Day, 15 regimental balls, regimental dinners, and regimental funerals. Please try to understand 16 the importance of this to veterans. This is a snapshot of why the uniform is such a part 17 of who we are. Every veteran, military or police, has their own stories about earning 18 19 their uniform. 20 **MS. KRISTA SMITH:** Thank you, Brian. You gave us a lot to think about there. We'll be unpacking a lot of these ideas as we go this morning. 21 22 And our last person is Phil. 23 MR. PHIL BAILEY: Good morning. My name is Phil Bailey and I 24 retired five years ago after completing a 40-year policing career. For the final 10 years, I held inspector and acting superintendent ranks with the Edmonton Police Service. I'm 25

pleased to be back here today because I call Truro my hometown. But today I

represent police memorabilia collectors at this roundtable, as I've been one for 45

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years.

The first police insignia collection that I recall seeing was at the 1 2 Truro Police Station while on a tour with a Scouting movement at a very young age. 3 When I attended the Atlantic Police Academy, many years before Julia, in 1977, my collection started with writing letters to various police services to receive patches 4 through the mail, for stopping at different police stations and asking for the possibility of 5 adding their patch to my collection. 6 7 The patches were mounted on frames and used during police week 8 displays when I policed New Glasgow, Nova Scotia. 9 When I joined the Edmonton Police Service in 1981, the collection 10 grew and was wall to wall in my basement, thanks to a very patient wife, actually. And in the case of my door decals from the four different Picton County Police Services from 11 the 1980s, they are actually mounted on plexiglass and attached to the ceiling because 12 I ran out of room. 13 Over the years, the collection became focused on Atlantic Canada 14 and searching out as many different items of police insignia worn from here became a 15 prime goal and resulted in a lot of research, visiting, networking, and even purchasing 16 full collections to get the pieces I was missing. 17 In one case many years ago, I also sourced a re-chromed bumper 18 in Edmonton for an officer who was restoring a classic car in Newfoundland. And in 19 20 exchange for coordinating the purchase and shipping of that bumper, he gave me a patch that his father had worn as the lone officer in a small Nova Scotia town when he 21

What a find for the collection. And just an example of what we go through to try to add these pieces to our collections, serious collectors.

was the police officer there.

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Eventually, the collection was placed on the web so as many people as possible could view it and see the history behind the patches, badges, and other insignia displayed in the over 4,300 Atlantic law enforcement insignia images displayed there.

1	Since the 1980s, I've hosted many police insignia swap meets in
2	Alberta and even one in Spain during an International Police Association meeting.
3	For 12 years I had the privilege of sitting on a five-member
4	international cultural commission for the IPA and represented the 400,000 plus
5	members in over 60 countries. The exchange of police insignia is an encouraged hobby
6	by the International Police Association. Really builds networking and camaraderie
7	between officers of various countries.
8	Worldwide, there are several police collectors' groups, and in
9	Canada the Canadian Police Insignia Collector's Association, which was established in
10	1975, has over 400 members.
11	In addition to the displays in my home, I maintain several displays
12	in the Edmonton Police Service Headquarters for the enjoyment of staff and members
13	of the public. Even though I retired five years ago, I still respond to requests received
14	by the Edmonton Police Service for their patches.
15	It is amazing the networking and long-lasting friendships that have
16	developed during my many years of collecting police insignia. The excitement achieved
17	when a missing patch, badge, lapel pin, or more recently, a challenge coin, is located
18	and added to the collection is amazing. Not just the new addition to the collection, but
19	knowing another piece of policing history has been preserved.
20	Providing Canadian police insignia collectors a seat at this
21	roundtable is very much appreciated and I thank you for that.
22	MS. KRISTA SMITH: Thanks, Phil.
23	Thanks everybody. One thing I should have said earlier on is just
24	thank you for coming here today, and we're very excited, really, to hear all of you
25	interact with one another, because there's such a diversity of perspectives here.
26	So we're going to start off with our first round of questions around
27	this symbolism of policing and what it means for police and retired veterans themselves.
28	So we have heard a little bit about that already from Phil and Brian.

1 So that's great. I'd like to build on that now.

So Brian, I'd like to start with you. What parts of the police kit are important to RCMP veterans and why? What significance do RCMP veterans generally attach to these items and why might veterans have such a strong attachment to some of these items?

MR. BRIAN CARTER: Yeah, the main piece is that as an RCMP veteran, what we would like to keep is certainly the red serge, because it symbolises who we are and it is a symbol of Canada around the world. I've travelled all over the world and when you tell people that you're a member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, they know exactly who that is.

And I spend time, when I do travel, meeting with other police from every country that I go in and I'm able to trade a shoulder flash with them, like Phil does, and make that connection, and then I learn about their police agency, I learn about their culture and what policing is like there, the same as when I served in Haiti.

So the red serge is certainly the main piece. The daily uniform, really, the only use for me personally, what I would use that for, is I would take the shoulder flashes off the jacket, because it's a jacket I can work around the yard with, I'd I take them off the shirt and I'd mow the lawn or paint the house, whatever. Use that for that. The pants with the yellow stripe, no real purpose for them for me.

But with respect to the red serge, that's what we are tied to. And that involves -- there's several different ways to wear the red serge. So there's the high brown boots and the breaches, the riding gear, and then there's also what we call banana pants, which are more like a tuxedo pant, and the black boot -- ankle boot that wears with that, it's a dress boot with a spur in the heel.

All very traditional of the calvary and militaries, and hence the yellow stripe, and it has a lot of meaning to us, and it has a lot of history. And we know our history, the good and the bad in our history.

So and there was some other parts to the question?

1	MS. KRISTA SMITH: There are. And I was thinking about how
2	you addressed them in your opening remarks, so it's mainly if you want to elaborate on
3	that? But it's about why the red serge is so meaningful for retired veterans?
4	MR. BRIAN CARTER: Yeah, it's because there's a lot of pride in
5	that right from when we're in training and learning about it, and learning the history
6	about the force, and then the fact that it is a symbol of Canada, there's a great deal of
7	pride in that, and to keep that and honour that. And if you look in any of a veteran's
8	home, we'll have paintings that have Mounted Police on horses. There's Freeburgh is a
9	famous artist that paints RCMP. We have those in our home. We have all kinds of
10	them. And there's symbols that we have little pewter things that we have that may have
11	the high brown boots with a Stetson on top and that honours our dead, things like that.
12	So, it's quite military, but at the same time, it's our police our federal policing agency.
13	MS. KRISTA SMITH: Okay. Thank you.
14	Julia, I'd like to turn to you now, particularly from your perspective
15	as a retired chief, and if you could comment on what significance you did see officers
16	attaching to their kit. You also alluded to that in your intro. And as well, if you don't
17	mind, maybe share a little bit about what significance you attach to your to any
18	policing objects now that you're retired.
19	MS. JULIA CECCHETTO: Sorry. So I don't. I'm very different
20	than Brian. I do not have pictures around my home of policing. I do have the Norman
21	Rockwell picture of the officer with the little boy at the stool. That is only because I
22	cross-stitched it and it took me hundreds of hours to do it, so that is the only picture in
23	my home of policing. I do not collect. I do not keep anything. I did get my badges
24	presented to me when I left, and it was all of the badges that I had from my beginning of
25	my career until the end of my career. I do have a retired badge from Halifax, so but it is
26	in a drawer and not to be brought out. So I personally do not attach significance to
27	anything.
28	I agree with Brian in that I would like to be able to keep my dress

uniform, so that I could continue to attend the memorial services that are held in the fall 1 2 in Halifax for fallen police officers, and heaven forbid there's ever a line of duty death again, I would like to attend that, because policing was who I was. And especially 3 because I'm married to a police officer for 32 years almost, if you count the academy 4 time, it was who we are. It changes you as a person. Because, unfortunately, we don't 5 go to work every day -- and I had a very blessed career. I spent a lot of time in 6 7 community relations, I have seven years in administration, say I rode a police horse, I 8 had a pretty good career, but you still see things every day that other people don't that 9 forms a bond with your other officers. So it is almost like a family. And so the significance I think of being able to maintain contact with that family -- which is 10 interesting because there's almost a decompression. I only retired in October, and for 11 the first few months, you are very much decompressing from, you know, that family 12 around you every day. What you also realize is they were your coworkers, and you 13 come out of there with a handful of friends. So there's a whole process to retiring that I 14 think I'm almost through. Because I had different roles, my husband struggled with that 15 a lot more than I did because he was very much one of the guys, and when he left, he 16 was no longer one of the guys. He no longer knew everything. So there's that piece of 17 leaving. 18 So the pieces of the equipment that matter, the only one I wanted 19 20 when I left was my badge or badges. I think the significance is -- and municipal police I think do it different than RCMP because I think even in your process of going through 21 Depot you get a piece of equipment as you go along. In municipal police, you are given 22 23 the uniform and then the badge is presented to you, so our cadets wore the uniform 24 along the process, and then when they completed the training, they were given a badge. So it's a symbol of you've made it, you know, you are now a police officer, you 25 know, one of the family. 26 When they retire and they have to give you everything back, they 27

recognize that they are leaving the family. And I think most agencies take great care to

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- still include their veterans. You don't know everything anymore. You don't know what
- 2 happened on that crime. You're not allowed to know anymore. It's -- so you are -- all of
- a sudden you were in the know for 31 years, and now you don't know, and you -- they're
- 4 not allowed to tell you, and your friends have changed, and there's all kinds. So, sorry,
- 5 I'm rambling a little bit. Is there a piece of that that I've missed?
- **MS. KRISTA SMITH:** No, I think that's great.
- **MS. JULIA CECCHETTO:** Okay.

MS. KRISTA SMITH: Yeah, thank you.

All right. So, Phil, you can also bring us the perspective of being a veteran and what personal significance you may attach to any objects that you used in your career or that come to symbolize police. That's one aspect of what I hope you'll share with us. The other piece is the collecting bit and I've got a series of questions about that, so maybe we'll start with hearing a little bit about any connection you have as a retired police officer.

MR. PHIL BAILEY: Julie brought back some memories because I went through the academy a little earlier than her. So we started off in overalls with our white strip across our chest with our surname on it. Then you worked up into a blues uniform with no stripes, a hat with no badge. And when the drill inspector figured you'd had enough perspiration that that fit your head, eventually, you got your uniform and worked up that way. I actually kept my New Glasgow police tunic, a desire of mine. If I ever came close to fitting that again, it would be a miracle, but I actually have that on a mannequin as part of my display.

Municipal police officers, they earn the uniform. We separate, at least in Edmonton, what can be kept when you retire. So we separate very clearly, if you resign from the police service before completing your minimum 25 years that qualifies you for retirement, everything you have goes back to the quartermaster materials manager. That's every shirt you were issued, pair of pants, badge, you name it goes back. However, once you've hit your 25 years or plus and retire from the police

1	service, you're permitted to retain your badge. So in my pocket today I have the exact
2	badge that I wore when I was an inspector with the Edmonton Police Service. The only
3	difference is, when the chief presented it back to me at my retirement boo, the rocker
4	bar on the bottom that said inspector became a rocker bar that said retired from that.
5	The badge is a significant thing for a police officer. I just want to
6	read you just a couple very short excerpts from the speech that the training branch
7	inspector provides to recruits because recruits do not get issued their identification
8	badge until they have passed the block one training. And it says,
9	"To many of us, it is a symbol of honour and pride.
10	This badge, our badge also carries the history of
11	those brothers and sisters who served before you,
12	those who, like you, chose to take on the life of a
13	police officer. From the moment you first decided you
14	wanted to pursue this path, you have chosen to take
15	on a responsibility of honouring the badge through
16	your dedication, determination and pride. This badge
17	represents the final goal of, at times, arduous training
18	and you have earned it through your blood, sweat and
19	tears. Remember this day, cherish this day, as you
20	are the select few who have taken it upon yourselves
21	to go along with the sacrifices a police officer takes.
22	This badge should be an inspiration for you to go out
23	and work hard to protect and serve your community
24	every day. It should inspire you to be the best police
25	officer you can be and conduct yourself with
26	professionalism, respect and care." (As read)
27	So when we retire, it is an honour for us to be presented back our
28	badge and just simply a rocker bar. We get a different ID card, so it's a retired ID card

versus the police ID card, and we get to retain, similar to the RCMP, our dress uniform.

2 When have I worn my dress uniform since I retired? I've worn it in colour parties. I've

also take great pride when I can attend the police officer memorial service each year

and put that uniform back on to show respect for the officers who passed going forward.

A lot of police collectors aren't really into uniforms as much.

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6 They're hard to display, they're hard to store. Police hats, I probably have a hundred

different police hats in my collection. Quite honestly, they were a lot easier to display

when I was on the job and had more area in my offices and headquarters, but they're all

displayed, they're on my website for people to see. But again, it's the pride in the

uniform. Some of the badges that have been provided to me by families, it's because

they wanted the symbol of what their family went through to be recognised, and on my

website, I've actually put honour to the people that have worn those badges.

One last little story. There was a widow. Her husband was a police officer in a small town Nova Scotia for years. That was what he was, what the family was, and she had to the end his forage cap, his police hat with his badge, and that was in a place of honour in the family living room so that when anytime any friends of family came over they remembered the service that her husband provided to the citizens. So to take that away from somebody like that I think is contrary to really what we all want to do for goodness of caring for people.

Does that give you a bit of an idea?

MS. KRISTA SMITH: Definitely. And then if you could turn to the collector perspective, in particular. First of all, it's an area that I don't know much about; I've learned now in talking to you and others. But if you could just tell us a little bit about how the process of collecting works and how it's changed over the years since you've been collecting, which I think you've been collecting for quite a while.

MR. PHIL BAILEY: Yeah, it has -- it has taken on a -- quite a change, and that's part of the reason that I host police insignia swap meets annually, is to get people back face-to-face.

When I started collecting, as I talked about earlier, you would either meet an officer, while in the Atlantic Police Academy there were in-service training officers that would come, and they'd have different patches on their uniforms. So as soon as I saw one I was missing they'd get tapped up and they'd send me one or take one off their -- off their shirt. You go can through door-to-door to police services, you know, bringing one of yours, asking for one of theirs to go, or through the mail. You'd send out a feeler for a collector, and then you'd wait three, four weeks, then you'd get a letter back, and it would go back and forth like that.

Where it has really changed in the last several years is the online trading. So you've got outfits, like eBay, that have 160,000 police items, give or take a couple, listed right now. Probably about 3,000 to 4,000 of those are Canadian police items if you were to narrow it down with a search word "Canada". So what's that done is taken some of the camaraderie away from the collectors because they're not dealing directly with another collector or a person that's managed to locate, let's say, a patch, but managed to get a second patch, so then they trade that one for one that they're missing. And it -- it's really the networking that's not there as much anymore going...

There are several Facebook pages out there for collectors, very dedicated, hundreds of people on them. To be upfront, I'm not one of them. I don't participate in the Facebook collectors pages or anything like that. So that has been a real shift. Almost you're not looking the person you're trading with in the eye and getting to know them a little bit when you go from that.

But again, the interest in collecting out there is very, very strong. The big thing we see coming out now, which definitely could not be used as -- for impersonation are the challenge coins that are being produced by the various police services and the units within police services, and then traded, bartered back and forth from there.

MS. KRISTA SMITH: For someone like me, who knows nothing, what is a challenge coin, and why is it called that?

MR. PHIL BAILEY: Okay. If you excuse me, it's probably easier to 1 2 show Krista what a challenge coin is. So this goes -- challenge coins go back to the --3 to the military days, where somebody may be captured, you didn't know who they were, they were out of uniform, and the option was that you challenged that person. And if the 4 person could produce the challenge coin of their regiment, it assisted in the 5 identification. 6 7 It's really become a symbol of camaraderie. In Edmonton, when we 8 had our first challenge coin, a senior officer, inspector or higher, actually physically 9 presented each officer with one of the challenge coins as a symbol of honour and respect from there. This one, you probably can't see it here, I'll lay them up here for the 10 break, this is the Edmonton Police Veteran's Association challenge coin, and then this 11 one is the current Edmonton Police challenge coin. 12 There's so many of them out that I've actually focussed my 13 collection down to the only Atlantic Canada law enforcement agency challenge coins 14 and the City of Edmonton. And I've got probably a couple hundred that are out there 15 16 now. So it goes through phases. Shoulder patches, and then lapel pins, 17 tie tacks. I gave away more tie tacks to children when I was on the street policing. I 18 used to carry a pocket of spare ones because there's the pleasure you get from pinning 19 20 your -- a replica of your badge to a -- to a child in a situation is amazing. And the impact that that has on that person going forward. 21 Shoulder patches as well. People write the Edmonton Police 22 23 Service — I use Edmonton as an example, simply because that's the one I know and do 24 — and ask for a -- for a patch from the service for their collection. When I review that, 25 for example if it's a Girl Guide group, out in New York, which was fairly recent, wrote a nice thank you letter, I have old style patches, like our previous style patches that I'll 26 give to somebody like that. If somebody comes in, and they're a police officer or a bona 27

fide collector, then one of our current patches will go out.

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Challenge coins I usually don't deal with, with one big exception 1 2 here not too long ago, and that was a lady that wrote, it just brought tears to my eyes, it 3 still does, because her brother, a police officer, had been shot in the line of duty. I just -- he survived, but he went through hell to survive. And what she was doing was 4 reaching out to different police departments to put together a challenge coin collection 5 so when he got out of hospital he could see how fellow officers honoured him. And so 6 7 naturally, one of these coins was in that collection when it was presented to him. MS. KRISTA SMITH: Thank you, Phil. 8 9 MS. JULIA CECCHETTO: So I would agree with Phil. So when I was chief in Kentville, I would receive requests weekly, at least, letters, phone calls 10 asking for a flash, especially since Kentville changed its flash midway through my time 11 there. There was a great deal of work to that to determining if it is a legitimate collector. 12 I actually met Phil for the first time, he reached out for a flash through email. So then it's 13 a matter of determining who that person is. They come from all around the world, so 14 you can't always determine who they were, so I didn't always send a flash to everybody. 15 16 Another group that requests flashes often if there's a sick child, someone where it's especially a terminal illness. There will be a "Can you", you know, 17 "he really likes the police. Could we have flashes sent to him?" And so that's pretty 18 19 hard to not, you know, want to support a sick child. 20 But you tweaked something when you said about giving lapel pins to children. And one of the things I saw in my last year, actually, in Kentville was we 21 went to special events, and there was a walk through Kentville for the LGBT community, 22 23 and we went. And we had — because actually that stuff gets very expensive, we were 24 a small force with a small budget — we had stickers of police badges and we handed them out. And the next day we got a complaint from people who felt that we had no 25 right to give their child a piece of police equipment or, you know, whatever because they 26 as a family did not support necessarily the police or want their child representing the 27 police. 28

1	So it's a different time as well, and so you know, we now have to be
2	very aware of people's, you know, own views and feelings about the police when we do
3	that kind of thing. So again, it's changing.
4	MS. KRISTA SMITH: I just want to say, Phil, I really appreciate
5	your passion and sharing it with us. It's it really helps us to understand the these
6	perspectives that, you know, aren't part of our everyday lives. And then Julia, for you to
7	expand on sort of looking at how the times are a-changing and how things are and will
8	continue to adjust within that is a really important piece that we're we'll be talking
9	about more this morning, especially when we call on Meg and lan, who are coming.
10	But before I do call on Meg and Ian, I just want to ask one more
11	question to Phil and then we'll sort of close this round of conversation.
12	So Phil, you've very passionately shown us the police/retired police
13	perspective on why we collect, why you collect. What can you tell us, if anything, about
14	non-police who are part of the collector community that you know?
15	MR. PHIL BAILEY: Thank you very much.
16	I'd just like to read a couple excerpts because I'm not a civilian
17	collector. I was first sworn as a law enforcement officer when I was 19, actually, with
18	the Nova Scotia Department of Lands and Forests and then went into the police
19	academy, so I don't have a civilian perspective. But I reached out to collectors across
20	Canada just to to help me provide some of that.
21	And one gentleman, he says, "My interest in police insignia history,
22	uniforms started when I was a kid. I came from a very typical dysfunctional family
23	setting." I hope they're not all typical.
24	"The police attended our house on a number of
25	occasions for domestic calls for service and their
26	actions and uniforms left a distinct improvement. I
27	wanted to be a cop just like them. Didn't get there till
28	later in life, but that's another story." (As read)

One gentleman that wrote very articulate that's a civilian, he said:

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"I began collecting police patches when I was 13 years old. I saw a police collection display at the Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto in the arts and crafts building that was brought there by the International Police Association. I was fascinated by the designs from all over Canada and the United States. With some help from an OPP officer, I started a collection and began to write to police departments across the country. I was interested in a police career at the time. When vacationing in Canada and the United States with my family, I would stop at police stations and trade patches. I began learning about the history of different cities, as the designs on the patches encouraged me to find out about the illustrations and coat of arms on the insignia and the significance of those locations. When I was 16 years old, I sent a letter to my local police department requesting a letter of recommendation from them to assist me in collecting police patches from various departments. A police officer subsequently visited my house and asked to speak to me about my collecting endeavours. I happily shared my experiences, invited the officer to see my display board of patches I'd collected. Several weeks later, I received a beautifully-worded recommendation from the superintendent of the Police Division in my city supporting my collecting efforts. This no doubt was

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the result of the officer who visited me communicating to the superintendent my passion and enjoyment for collecting and that I had police patches displayed and organized in an honourable manner. I decided to pursue a teaching career instead of policing, but I continued in the hobby of collecting with great enjoyment over the years. As I travelled, I met police officers and civilian collectors in various province and states and even overseas. My favourite patches in my collection have a story behind them, how I obtained them in person from an officer or sometimes the Chief of a small town. Some of these people I maintained contact with over the years. In my career as a teacher, I also occasionally took my collection to school and used it as a teaching tool to talk about the work of the police as well as different levels of government. After my career as a teacher and principal, I am now retired. I've been collecting patches for about 43 years and still enjoy the hobby. The social aspects of collecting as well as the preservation of different styles of patches from Canadian police agencies over time, many of which are now defunct, have all created significant enjoyment for me. I even gain satisfaction out of the different materials and manufacturing processes that were used and how the structure, fabrics and stitching of the patches has evolved over the years. I've always respectfully organized and displayed the

1	patches I collect in frames and in binders. The
2	collectors I've interacted with, police or civilian,
3	without exception, treat their police collections with
4	the utmost dignity and respect." (As read)
5	MS. KRISTA SMITH: Thank you very much for especially for
6	canvassing the non-police collectors community and bringing that to us.
7	Before we move on, I just wanted to sure, Brian, and then I'll
8	MR. BRIAN CARTER: Yeah, just one quick comment.
9	A lot of this is about symbolism of policing and so on. And in the
10	RCMP, because of the red serge being a symbol of Canada and recognized worldwide,
11	yesterday a couple of cruise ships came into the city and many of those people getting
12	off the ships would have gone into shops downtown and seen Mountie-type items that
13	represent Canada as a symbol. And they buy these items and take them home.
14	If you go to Banff, for example, and you go in the shops there, you'll
15	find moose or bears with red serges on them and things like that.
16	The RCMP veterans in this province, we purchased a whole lot of
17	stuffed moose with red serges to give to the members, as many other police agencies
18	do, to hand out to children who have been abused, maybe witnessed intimate partner
19	violence, things like that, and we can give them to the children just to help them out,
20	help them get through it, and it and it opens the door for us to calm them down and
21	help them cope with it.
22	So it there is symbolism behind it, for sure, and so that's part of
23	what's in us as well, is that the symbol that it is for so many people around the world
24	and for Canadians. So that's it.
25	MS. KRISTA SMITH: Thanks very much.
26	Commissioner Fitch?
27	COMMISSIONER FITCH: Thank you, Krista.
28	And I think we agreed on first name basis at the roundtable today is

okay, and I don't want to be pre-empt Meaghan and Ian because we haven't heard from

- you yet, so I'll try and keep my questions to a minimum, but I would like to get some
- feedback from our roundtable members, and certainly want to acknowledge that
- 4 collectors such as yourself, Phil, maybe motivated for different reasons than perhaps
- somebody who is collecting for ill intent and so there's a distinction, and an important
- 6 distinction, to be -- to be made there.
- 7 And Brian, a good segue talking about the symbolism and, Julia,
- 8 your comments on how the symbolism can be interpreted differently by different people.
- 9 And I'm sure, Meaghan, you'll be speaking to that.
- 10 It's -- and I do want to say, I do have a challenge coin collection of
- 11 my own.
- In saying that, collecting items that can't be used to present
- yourself as an active police member is different than items that symbolize a police
- agency or a police service. They're very different. Different things have different
- purposes. I don't think if I go out with my challenge coin, for example, or one of our
- stuffed animals that people are going to interpret that I'm still an active police officer, so
- 17 I think those are very, very important distinctions to make.
- And I think, gentlemen, and Julia, that you would agree that not all
- members treat their kit with the same amount of care. It's not -- although there's a
- 20 responsibility to take care of taxpayer-bought uniforms and paraphernalia, it is actually
- 21 the property of your service that you are acting on behalf of and you are actually
- 22 engaged in your duties in taxpayer town-bought or municipal-bought or country-bought
- uniforms. And so when we retire, we turn all of those items back in and they are not
- 24 ours to keep.
- So I do have a couple of questions to ask, and I'll throw it out there
- 26 for discussion.
- 27 Phil, you had mentioned that, you know, you get to keep your
- badge. And I know that that is -- that's something that we do have the opportunity to

1 keep, which is nice. I know some agencies -- actually, I think the RCMP will encase

- them in plastic so they can't be reused.
- What is the purpose of a retired member keeping on their person a
- 4 badge if you aren't in active duty any more?
- 5 **MR. BRIAN CARTER:** Yeah, I have a -- we can purchase a retired
- 6 RCMP badge and it doesn't have any RCMP -- it doesn't say "police" on it. It has the
- 7 RCMP Veterans logo on it, not the RCMP logo. And it says "retired" very clear
- 8 message on it.
- 9 And we also have the retirement ID. As Phil pointed out, it's
- different than your working ID. It's a different colour. And it's because we can be called
- 11 back into service we have that ID.
- The other -- the purpose of that is I've only used mine -- never, ever
- -- we know the law. We'd never use it to identify as a police officer. We're not. We're
- retired. We're just like you, so it's never for that. We understand that.
- And what I've used mine for, and it's not seeking to use it. It just
- these things fell in front of me.
- 17 I've used it at four car accidents, four car crashes, where I was first
- on the scene and I'm able to identify as a retired member to the injured, to the other
- people there, and I can coordinate the accident scene and do it the same as I did when
- I was working so that when the first responders arrive, whether it's paramedics, fire, or
- 21 police, they know that it's organized, safe, it's structured, and I put people to direct
- traffic. You do all those things. And by identifying that -- myself in that manner when
- 23 the other first responders arrive, they understand that there is somebody here and I can
- give them the evidence that I have, that I've seen, and so on. So it's helpful that way.
- Two other occasions where I was driving by and officers were
- 26 needing assistance on the side of the road. And so I stopped. And most of the time, I
- iust acted as the cover officer, which is the person who observes and keeps other
- people away. I identified as a retired RCMP officer. Because those officers fighting

with individuals have no idea who I am. I could have been somebody coming to help 1

2 those bad guys, versus helping them. But now they feel much safer because they have

somebody else there that is there for them.

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And the other time was I caught a purse snatcher in Halifax and just Johnny on the spot and happened -- the person got away. I got a description from the lady who lost her purse and low and behold, 10 minutes later, I see the guy by her 7 description and I just approach him and talk to him, and he asks me, he says, "Are you a cop?" And I pull out my retirement badge and ID and I say, "No, I'm a retired police

officer." And then he just did everything I said and I called 9-1-1.

The responding officers to that, I also identified myself so that they wouldn't mistake me for him and so on.

And so it's still a public service. It's free of charge and it's rare, but it is there occasionally for that.

And Vancouver City Police, the chief actually was asked a question recently about calling his members back to duty, his retired members, does he ever do that? And he says, "I don't have to. They're out there on a daily basis now, the retired members." Because they, like Phil, get to keep their old badge with a banner on it that says "Retired". So hopefully that helps.

MS. JULIE CECCHETTO: So I'm the opposite again, of Brian. I don't think we should have retired ID cards. We no longer have any authority.

Oftentimes, I mean, I've only been out six months, so I might be somewhat current, but once you've been gone a few years, things change, and things change rapidly in policing. So you may not necessarily know, you know, what the current laws are, what -- especially provincial legislations, because they change quickly.

So there's also a great risk to you identifying yourself because we all know that not everybody likes the police. So you are identifying yourself as, retired or not, as a police officer, and you put yourself at risk. When we're active officers, we have the tools to protect ourselves and the public around us. When we are retired, we

- are not. We are just people.
- I also think that a retired badge or a retired ID, whether it says
- 3 "Retired" on it or not, the public does not see that. They see a shiny badge. They don't
- 4 bother to read it. They don't know what agency. They don't know if you're active. They
- 5 don't -- and so there's a -- the public assumes that you are active.
- So I don't think we should have it or be able to use it. And over the
- 7 last year for sure in Nova Scotia, all retired badges are encased in a very large chunk of
- 8 plastic so they are not able to be used.
- 9 So I think that's all I have on that.
- MS. KRISTA SMITH: Okay. I'm eager to move on to our next
- area, just so that our individuals who are out of province can jump into the conversation
- 12 now.
- We would like to turn -- we would like to broaden out this discussion
- to talk about the significance of these symbols for the communities of the police -- the
- communities that are served by police.
- So lan, I'd like to start with you. We included one of your articles in
- our package of materials. And in it, you say that the police have not only coercive
- 18 power, but also symbolic power. Can you tell us what you mean?
- DR. IAN LOADER: Yeah, yeah, I can certainly try. It may take a
- few minutes, if you bear with me.
- So here's the thing, so there's a common way in which we think
- about police as a kind of rule bound, accountable state or public bureaucracy. There's
- 23 kind of sets of organizations with visions, with strategies, with priorities, with budgets,
- just like other large organizations. And as police institutions have the range of powers,
- you know, police, they can co-assist, they can stop and search us, they can detain us,
- they surveil us, they can enter or seize our property. They have at their disposal
- various forms of technology: cars, phones, radios, computers, drones, and the like. And
- in democracies, we subject that institutional power to various kinds of constraint. We try

to govern it by law, we put in place various kinds of human rights protections, we subject it to various kinds of oversight and redress.

And as we think of police institutions as institutions that are made and we think of them in the realm of, as it were, of social action.

I think the point I was trying to make in that paper, and many other things I've written since, is that police institutions aren't just made. They're also imagined. And that when we think about policing, we don't just need to think about police as -- policing as a form of social action, but also think of it as an activity that is imbued with different kinds of social meaning.

So what I'm trying to encourage us to do is to think about policing as a cultural institution, which exists for the production of meaning, and indeed, various kinds of social nets.

In other words, so policing is an institution through which or onto which people project all kinds of hopes and aspirations, all kinds of fears and fantasies about the social world, and the policing becomes a sign of often quite emotionally charged identification, we've seen illustrations of this in the conversation we've started to have, and among some sections of the population, repulsion, which is tied up in people's minds and imaginations in all kinds of ways with questions to do with order and chaos, with security and vulnerability, with honour and dishonour, with belonging and exclusion.

Another way to think about policing is something that is both produces and is produced by a wider set of beliefs, commitments, and attachments, affiliations that people have with respect to the social world.

So when I think about policing, I always think about policing as simultaneously involving two things. We should think about policing as a set of institutions and institutional practices, and we should also think about what I sometimes call the police force of the imagination that people carry around through their lives and in their minds. And that police force of the imagination matters because it's often the

police force of the imagination that people mobilize when they're trying to make sense of, or judge, or evaluate the performance of real police officers and actually existing police institutions.

And I think for all those reasons, it pays us to attend carefully and closely to the kinds of social meanings that are produced around policing, to their content, and the kinds of effects they have, not only on actual policing practice, but on the wider social world, which is why I think the study of policing should involve not just the study of what's come to be called "police culture" in the sense that Bethan Loftus describes in her report, which is part of our background papers.

But I ask you think more widely about what I've, in various places, called policing cultures. In other words, to think about the ways in which the ideas and practices of policing is kind of situated and circulates within any given society and among particular groups within that given society.

So I think the question then becomes, how do you go about doing this?

Now, one obvious way to do so is to pay some close attention to the appeal and content and effects of the way in which police is represent -- police and policing gets represented through drama, through detective fiction, through crime, through cop shows on television, and the like. And there's now a large literature on why people read and watch such things, and what they take from them on the ways in which it sets drama off and has a habit of depicting successful policing as a kind of heroic lone wolf who is not high bound by the rules and bureaucratic procedures that keep everyone else in place.

But you can also pay close attention to the way in which police get represented in news media, both in kind of, you know, old forms of news media and increasingly in the world of Twitter, Facebook, YouTube and the like, the ways in which other kinds of media get produced in which, you know, policing gets represented, talked about, discussed, and the like. So that's one way we could go.

It seems to me that when we think about this question, it's important to kind of not treat kind of policing as activity and policing as symbolism as somehow separate spheres, because I think in all kinds of important ways, they blur. They blur in the following ways. In a sense, it seems to me that all police action produces meaning, by which I mean the policing among -- policing among other things is a kind of communicative institution. The -- every single police act, every arrest, every non-arrest, every joke, every remark, every response to service, all of it, from the smallest micro to the macro, every single police action sends an authoritative message to the person who either receives it or is its audience about where they or others fit into existing social hierarchies, about where they belong, how they belong, whether they belong, and so on and so forth. You know, policing is constantly communicating or teaching lessons and mediating people's sense of belonging in any particular given society.

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So it's not that there's a world of action and a world of police symbols. It seems to me that all police activity has a symbolic dimension which we need to pay careful attention to. But it also seems to me that the opposite of that is true, which are the police symbols, the things that we've been talking about thus far in the conversation, they also don't just exist in a world of symbols. They also have practical and material effects, so that we should pay close attention to the attachment that people have to uniforms, to badges, to handcuffs, to memoires, to cars, to sirens, to riot shields. We should pay close attention to the ways in which -- I could go and get my own small collection, which is in the room next door, to the ways in which the police become viable or postable in various kinds of toys, knickknacks. If you go to any London gift shop, you'll find all kinds of items of that kind. And to think about the kinds of meanings of police that those kinds of icons and those kinds of symbols place into circulation, and to think about the ways they -- in which they place and contribute to the ways in which police start to seem obvious, and natural, and taken for granted when we think about the kinds of things and processes and institutions that contribute to public safety and social order.

Now, in this respect, it strikes me that my country and yours have 1 2 something in common, by which I mean England and Canada, which we have -- they are societies in which the police and policing have become closely and intimately tied to the production of certain kinds of national identity through the form of the Mounties in Canada to the form of the bobby in England. That has always struck me as interesting, but I also think it kind of raises -- it raises a kind of puzzling and possibly troubling question that we might want to think about, and the question is this. So can societies which venerate their police officers in these ways, rather than say their doctors, or their teachers, or their social workers, or their careworkers, can the society that venerates or is preoccupied or even obsessed by police in these ways find itself able to have a sober conversation about what the police can and cannot contribute to public safety and social order.

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MS. KRISTA SMITH: I'm just writing that, Ian. Thank you.

There's a lot there, and you're setting the stage for many of our questions to come, so I'm going to resist the temptation to follow up with you this moment, knowing that I'm going to hear more from you later.

Meg, I'd like to turn to you now. Similar question, the symbolic power of policing, how does that shape how police interact with communities, with their relationships with communities and how they serve those communities, serve as -yeah.

MS. MEAGHAN DANIEL: Yeah, so when I think of this question, and the others before me have talked about sort of the cultural significance and the various depictions that we have of police in art and then into our imaginations, what I picture actually is the art of Kent Monkman here in Canada who often uses the uniform of the RCMP in his paintings like the Prophecy, or the Storm, or Unceded Territory. And these images are to not celebrate a Canadian pride, but rather to reference genocide and other atrocities that have been perpetrated by Canada on Indigenous peoples. And so, I mean, as the RCMP would put it, the history between the RCMP and Indigenous

peoples in Canada is difficult. And for Indigenous peoples, it's not a question of history.

If I were to ask an Elder in Thunder Bay right now, what do you think of the RCMP, he

would reference their purpose, that they were created to ascertain sovereignty over

4 Indigenous people and their lands. That's what he thinks of the RCMP in this moment,

5 not as a historical question.

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Beyond that sort of general purpose, there are specific acts that stand out, and I'm not going to rehearse them, but to my mind, the most important would be that the Indian Act legally appointed RCMP officers as truant officers to enforce attendance and return children to residential schools. So talking about the RCMP, and focussing on them in their particular role vis-à-vis Indigenous people in Canadian history, I want to also talk about racism in other forces as well, which looms large in the consciousness of Indigenous people. I mean, if you consider, for example, previous to coming to Montreal I was living in Thunder Bay, and so if you look at the recent systemic reviews in relation to the Thunder Bay Police Service and the Thunder Bay Police Service Board, you find findings of racism as against Indigenous people. And so for Indigenous people in Canada, RCMP and other police aren't a symbol of perhaps comfort at the order of society as it might be for white, upper middle class family that we think of the police and feel that comfort and -- or protection from a criminal element, or a symbol of Canadian pride, all of those things. But for Indigenous people it's a symbol of genocide and overincarceration, or a symbol of that foreign and imposed justice system, those elements of colonialism that are yet ongoing.

And I want to say too that my perspective is really informed by this past decade of my sort of professional relationships, but I should admit to you that these are also personal relationships, because I heard the others speak from the position of family when they talked about their fellow officers as family. I was reminded in a shocking way that the perspective I take is greatly influenced by my friends and family. My husband and my sons are First Nations from Treaty 3, so this is part of the conversations that we have, attempting to explain colonialism to our 4-year-old, or why

are those orange t-shirts hanging in the gas station at Koocheching, so trying to explain

2 residential schools. We can't escape those conversations. And so while I have a four-

- year-old who also is in love with the police and loves to play at putting people in jail,
- 4 eventually, as he grows older and is more able to handle those hard conversations, we
- 5 have to talk about the history of the police in relation to that side of his family that went
- 6 to residential school. And so this will be part of his imagination too. It's not something
- 7 we can leave behind.

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So I focussed on Indigenous people because, you know, that is my life here. But I'm also thinking of the cultural representations of police and art, in

particular, what I listen to often in trying to get pumped up to go to court and have some

difficult conversation about police is music, and that music that now for decades has

spoken to the underlying roots for Black Lives Matter and related movements of

abolishment, which invokes the role of policing in slavery in the United States. And

again, like I say, this isn't history. It's ongoing and it plays out in a real way in the

relationship between police and those black Indigenous and people of colour when

we're talking about racism and incarceration currently.

And I just wanted to share, just a -- I was yet again shocked, a very concrete example, because I can feel that I understand that perspective and how deeply it's held and then be surprised yet again.

Because I had a friend — I went to law school in Manitoba, a dear friend that I met there — who was pulled over, and the police gave her a ticket for operating a cell phone while driving, and she claimed to me that she had not done it, and I believed her, And she wanted to go to court and refute that and fight that ticket. The night prior, however, she was hospitalised for anxiety because, as she told me about it, what she was worried about, in particular, is that in order to fight the ticket she was going to have contradict what the law enforcement officer had to say, and she was really focussed on the question of whether or not he would wear his uniform to court. Was she going to have to look at an officer and say that "What he said isn't true and

what I say is true." And that was overwhelming to her.

And that severe anxiety is borne out of her experience at residential school. She was an attendee, and there was an RCMP officer who played a role in her attendance. And all of this together made it a serious consideration to her, that though she swore up and down that she has a holder and her cell phone was in it, she was going to accept the ticket rather than confront her fear of contradicting a uniformed officer in court. That was overwhelming to her, and I was surprised by it. Again, and again, and again I get -- I get shocked out of my own perspective and my own privilege to say this is very, very traumatic.

And so in short, like I don't want to sound like I'm overstating, but I feel like these symbols are in fact terrorising to some, as much as they are celebrated by others. And so I find myself on the other side of the discussion where I hear the pride, and I don't want to say you shouldn't feel pride at the service that you've provided, but to also recognise that for others those symbols are so frightening as to still them into inaction in the face of what they feel is an injustice.

And so what I want to end on is to note that when I say that there -these symbols are terrorising, that means that there's not just a difference in the feelings
of some settlers and some members of the Indigenous community, but in fact, they are
opposite feelings. That's what strikes me from this, that a symbol of policing doesn't
invoke a feeling of safety from vulnerability to some criminal element, but in fact,
invokes the opposite, which is vulnerability. And I think that that's something that we
have to sort of take very seriously in considering access to these symbols and images
and how they make Indigenous and black and people of colour feel when confronted
with them.

MS. KRISTA SMITH: Meg, thank you very much. I really appreciate the story, especially. It really helps bring to light the -- another perspective on what police uniform can bring for people.

I think I'd like to ask a follow-up question maybe to Julia on this, is

1 I'm just thinking back to the stickers on the -- the badge stickers at the parade, and how

- times are changing and how we're entering a time when maybe we're starting to
- 3 reconcile these really starkly different images or meanings of these symbols for people
- 4 and taking it into account. So acknowledging that it means safety for some, it means
- family for some; for others, it means vulnerability and fear. How do we -- how do we as
- 6 police, as -- and I mean, I know you're retired, but I think you've probably grappled with
- 7 this a bit. As police, how do you -- what's the action? What's -- how do you -- how do
- 8 you work with communities knowing that there are these different meanings that the
- 9 symbolism of policing may be ascribed to you?

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MS. JULIA CECCHETTO: Well, I think that's exactly what we need to do, which is work with communities that have historically been, I won't say persecuted, but been victims of a justice system, which is more than police, but police have a front-end of it. So we work with those communities and try to understand. You know, we continue to try to recruit, which is a very difficult thing. And the other thing is, you know, training. I mean, in all honesty officers need to be trained. Because it's great that I attended a meeting as the chief of an agency to meet with those groups and understand their point of view, but if it doesn't get down to the officer who is in the car

who is responding to their scene, then there's no value in that.

So I think, you know, heads of agency need to be aware of it, put the right people at the table to have those conversations, not someone with, you know, a great deal of their own bias, so make sure the right person is there, and then make sure that message gets down to the people who are actually, as I say, responding to the call. And I think, you know, really that's the way forward, and it is going to be a long way forward because policing is very deeply entrenched, as lan has said, in -- you know, it's very institutional and this is what we do and this is how we do it, and it's a big change to start, you know, moving that to a different way.

Restorative justice has been a big piece of that. You know, when restorative justice first started being thrown around, police officers were like "This is a

- waste of our time, and why are we doing this, and this serves no purpose in it, and it's a
- get out of jail free", you know. But yet, officers are now coming to recognise the value in
- that and not criminalising somebody for, you know, something that was a mistake of
- 4 their youth or, you know, a mistake of perhaps overindulging in something.
- So it's a long slow process that involves training, it involves the right
- 6 people at the table, and having open conversations and actually hearing what those
- 7 communities have to say and how it makes them feel.
- 8 **MS. KRISTA SMITH:** Thank you.
- lan, if you don't mind, we've got a lot of ideas floating around here.
- 10 Where do you -- what do you pick up on in all of this?
- DR. IAN LOADER: Well, two things occur to me. One is an
- immediate response to what Meg just said. What one is to, if I can, just scroll back to
- the conversation that we're having about collecting and maybe try and join up some of
- the dots.

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- I -- I was -- I, too, was very powerfully struck by the -- by the story
- you told, Meg, about your friend, you know. I -- I'm in -- I'm in no position from this
- distance on that little information to diagnose the sources of the anxiety. But my
- immediate sense of what was going on in the story you told is the anxiety that your
- friend experienced wasn't just a product of a kind of -- a kind of record of historical
- 20 experience, but was actually about the discordance between what we're taught the
- 21 police authority should mean and an actual experience of that authority.
- So the -- so the anxiety about having to challenge the
- uniform, when the uniform is meant to stand for something which is about impartiality,
- independence, honour, representing some conception of the public good, and one's
- own -- it's that discordance between the meaning of the symbol and its representation in
- her -- its appearance in her life, that seemed to me to be the thing that we generated the
- 27 anxiety, the anxiety you described. But I -- I'll just leave that hanging.
 - I wanted to kind of -- I -- I was thinking a lot about the, in

different ways, a very moving story you had told about the honour that people who have

- served in the police for many, many years feel about various of the police symbols, and
- about this question about why policing is such a kind of symbolically loaded activity.
- 4 And there's clearly different kind of things that I'm -- I'm an academic, so I'll do that
- 5 boring thing that academics do, which is come up with categories, so please bear with
- 6 me.
- So at one level, there is -- there is different kinds of
- 8 things going on, which you might place in the continuum, one that there's kind of --
- 9 there's officers who just want, out of a sense of kind of pride in their own career, to keep
- hold of certain symbolic or iconic aspects of that career, the uniform, the badge or
- whatever. There -- there's people who want to -- there's this -- police and ex police
- officers who want to engage in a more extensive form of collecting, and there's people
- who are not police officers who just like collecting.
- And when everyone was speaking, I was trying to -- I was trying to
- figure out how you situate both the -- the kind of attachment to police symbols and the
- kind of wanting to kind of hold them and collect them, assemble them and display them,
- and so on and so forth, and what might -- well, how we might think about it in relation to
- other things. And so here's what was going through my head:
- So what one possibility it seems like it's just like other forms of
- collecting. You know, people collect stamps, you know, soccer player stickers, cups
- 21 and saucers, and so on and so forth, so we -- so we think about it as just like that. And
- 22 that doesn't -- that doesn't seem to me to be right for all kinds of reasons that we could
- 23 go into.

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- On the opposite end of the scale, you could think about it as a very
- police specific thing. It's kind of just about the uniqueness of policing that generates this
- 26 particular attachment to various kinds of icons and symbols that people want to kind of
- collect and keep hold of.
 - And that doesn't seem right because you can think of two other

kinds of comparisons. The other is -- one comparison is the kind of family resemblance

- that exists between the police and the military. So the importance of the kind of uniform
- here seems to me to be salient, as does various kinds of other kind of associations,
- 4 hierarchal organizations being specialists in violence of various kinds of forms.

So that's one kind of possibility that we put it in that kind of police military camp.

Then I wondered whether actually another kind of comparison or resemblance might be in play here, which is maybe the attachments to the symbols and icons, the job, is common among those professions who do what the sociologist Everett Hughes once called societies' "dirty work". And what he meant by "dirty work" was work that was kind of difficult, it was kind of morally troubling, often used -- deploying kind of, you know, problematic means to achieve virtuous ends, and it was work that, as it were, the general public has kind of outsourced to specialist organizations, police, social workers. So they like to know that that work is being done, but they don't want to know too much detail. And if you speak to police officers, they often say that that's how the public kind of treat them.

And so I wonder whether this kind of -- this association with kind of symbols and collecting is a kind of feature of people who spend careers doing that kind of "dirty work".

And I guess the question then becomes -- the question then becomes, in that respect, do you find similar kinds of things among doctors, or nurses, or teachers, or firefighters, or lawyers? I mean, I don't know the answer to that question. But if that's not the case, I kind of wonder whether it then kind of segues into the other bit I was trying to say in my introductory remarks. So one has to ask questions about, you know, what's going on, for good and for ill, when a society chooses to venerate its police officers in the way that this kind of symbolically charged aspect of policing suggests that it does, rather than its social workers, or its teachers, or its care workers, or its nurses, or so on and so forth.

1	So then in that sense, there may be something particularly police
2	related about this kind of both about the collecting and about the kind of the general
3	kind of symbolic charge that various kinds of aspects of the police job seem to have.
4	Now differentially, both the people who do the job and as Meaghan
5	was suggesting, so those who are actually on the kind of, you know, discriminatory
6	receiving end of it.
7	Sorry, that went on for too long.
8	MS. KRISTA SMITH: No, always good. There's lots to think about
9	in there.
10	I'd like to give, I think, Brian the opportunity to jump in on this
11	conversation and give us the RCMP veteran's lens on some of these comments?
12	MR. BRIAN CARTER: Sure. The I'll go to my research and my
13	thesis, which is very helpful in some of the things.
14	And Meaghan, I agree with you completely. There are a lot of
15	issues around perceptions of police and where they came from, and they're valid, where
16	they come from. And how people view, especially from Indigenous people and other
17	groups.
18	I have a young man who is a friend of mine who has autism and
19	he's mortified by the militarization of policing. So that image now of policing with the
20	body armour over the shirt and so on is very military. And he won't approach a police
21	officer because of that. And I understand that.
22	And so when we talk about the images that we create, the
23	militarization of policing is a very bad thing. It's not helpful for that image at all. And
24	there's no real reason to put that body armour outside the shirt. It should be under the
25	shirt. But that's my opinion from an officer safety side, but on the other side, it also has
26	a great deal to do with what Meaghan spoke about.
27	Now, on the other side, when Julia talked about training courses to
28	help get through people police training, from my research and from my experience, is

- 1 flawed and it needs to be changed. And police training doesn't take into account, very
- often, how people learn. And we all learn differently and you have to use multiple ways
- 3 to teach and to get your point across.
- In any training course that an officer goes on, they retain roughly
- 5 seven percent of the information. It's not very much.
- So in order to get more than seven percent, you must practice
- 7 constantly. So -- and you can practice all the things we've talked about, but it needs to
- 8 be practiced on a daily basis.
- And another thing in the police training that's missing is dealing with
- bias. We have known and unknown bias. Sometimes it's an attempt to deal with a
- known bias, but many people deny they have that bias, and then the other is the
- unknown bias, which is very difficult to deal with because none of knows internally about
- that. We might have suspicion. And others just totally deny it.
- 14 I'll give you an example for me that deals with my experience as a
- child growing up in Truro and going to swimming lessons in the Victoria Park Swimming
- Pool. I'd ride my bicycle in elementary school to take my lessons and I pulled into the
- rack to put it in and there was a young fellow that was bullying me and wanted to take
- 18 my bicycle.
- My first experience, because of the neighbourhood I grew up in in
- Truro did not have visible minorities and did not have any Blacks in it, the first
- 21 experience I had with a Black individual was a guy that came over, he would be a little
- bit older than us, and he got my bike back for me. I had a positive experience. So my
- bias, my unknown bias started off with a positive.
- But many people have unknown bias, which is a negative, around
- visible minorities and so on.
- And police officers are no different. You will run into that with police
- officers for sure. Racism is there. Known or unknown. But these are issues that have
- to be addressed with respect to police training. It has to change. And how they deliver

it and how they incorporate practice into that.

The image of police and how people perceive police, yes, we have pride in our uniform for the reasons that I gave, but I also clearly understand that there are groups in society that see it in a very different light. And I clearly understand that and respect that.

I'll give you one other example. So individuals, you have to look at police as individuals, which is difficult because we are uniformed, but we are individuals.

And there was a case in Mi'kmaq, a couple that I had to deliver their baby because a blizzard was on and nobody could get to them, they couldn't get out of there. So I was the only person there. And I delivered the baby.

The father was an alcoholic known to me. And I delivered the baby. As I handed the baby over to him, I told him, I said, "Today is the day you have to stop drinking." And I never saw him again after that.

Nineteen years later, I was in red serge at an event and he was there, along with some other Mi'kmaq individuals, elders, that had their full headdress on and things like that.

When -- I didn't recognize him at all. It had been 19 years. He came over to me, saw me, gave me a great big hug, and said, "Thank you." And I sort of went -- and he explained who he was because I wasn't sure. And he said, "Thank you. I quit drinking that day." He showed me a picture of his 19-year-old daughter, who was then in university.

So we do touch people in a positive way, but I would also respect and understand if he -- and I'm sure he does, from the paintings that you've referred to, Meaghan, I've seen those and understand them. And I also understand that in many respects, he probably has some bad images of policing. But he has that positive one as well. So.

MS. KRISTA SMITH: So I'm really struck, Brian, by your comment about practice, bringing practice into daily activities to perhaps acknowledge the variety

of things that a symbol can mean to a viewer, a person in community.

Meaghan, I'm just wondering, just maybe a wrap up question
before we take a 15-minute break, can you comment on that? Like, what practices

4 might help to broaden or acknowledge communities' perceptions of police?

MS. MEAGHAN DANIEL: It's difficult, and I'll say why it's difficult but then try to offer an answer.

The reason is that, to the extent that my work and the work that I'm interested in focuses on the revitalization of Indigenous legal traditions, there's a limit to the practices that can be meaningful, in that to the extent that the Canadian state doesn't fulfil its Treaty obligations, and most -- under the assumption of sovereignty, police will be engaged to aid in this project, and then will come into conflict with Indigenous peoples.

Just this week, I'm working on injunctions to remove land defenders from development, and -- in the context where Canada didn't fulfil its obligations under section 35. And so the police are sort of stuck, in a certain sense, in a conflict that is truly with the Canadian state and the imposition of sovereignty.

That being said, there is still work to be done to improve that relationship within that context, within the sovereignties that are now nested on this territory. And I think that the story Brian was telling about a personal relationship formed, I think in those practices I'm sometimes more moved by those recommendations, say, from the MMIG Inquiry or from the TRC, that encourage very personal self-reflection and encourage personal shift, rather than an institutional shift because, as I say, I see institutional barriers as soon as I began to think about this problem.

But that doesn't mean that those personal shifts aren't possible in that -- and we can all begin to think of ourselves as different, as Treaty partners, and operate in a different way and question our own assumptions and our own -- as Brian puts it, our own unconscious biases because those -- when I think back through the

cases that I've dealt with, as lan puts it, every action is loaded.

The youth who died in Thunder Bay who didn't have an adequate examination into their deaths, as was found Gerry McNeilly when he reviewed their deaths and the Thunder Bay Police Force, the individual officers who examined those deaths -- or didn't, as the point was made -- they contributed to that -- to the negativity of that relationship.

And so those individual practices, those individual accountings I find to be more encouraging, and those recommendations that -- which would aim at the encouraging of those individual practices and those individual changes, rather than the institutional.

MS. KRISTA SMITH: Thanks, Meg.

Commissioners, do you have any follow-ups before we take a

break?

COMMISSIONER FITCH: I have more a, I guess, perhaps a practical question, and Brian, Julia, Phil, or others, I'd be happy to hear.

Just picking up on the conversations on some of the things, Brian, in particular, that you talked about with the view of the Vets Association. And I think it's fair to say that not all vets have the same view on their attachment to uniform when they retire. And in fact, the veterans also have retirement blazers that I know that they have an option to wear.

And so when I hear former officers talk about the importance of ceremonial dress and attending funerals, Remembrance Day parades and so forth, in a day and age where any piece of police equipment can be purchased online or replicated, is there more value in having something that distinguishes you specifically as a retired member rather than wearing a working person's piece of uniform which, ultimately, over time, will age out, need to be replaced, worn and torn, ill-fitting? The average person would not necessarily distinguish somebody showing up in a Red Serge who's retired or an active member; it's also possible, I would ask, that bad things can

also happen in a dress uniform.

So my question is; why do some vets choose to wear their veteran's blazer and others choose to maintain kit? So if you could answer that.

MR. BRIAN CARTER: Sure.

The veteran's kit that we have is multiple. You can have a blue blazer with the crest on it; you can have a red blazer with the crest on it, and some other insignia and so on. We can also wear the RCMP kilt, is also part of it.

Now, that is the one that stands out the most. I wear that at many occasions. I wear the kilt with the red blazer. I wear it to the police memorial and things like that, and it stands out. The problem is; retired members are very tight with their money. They have to purchase all these things, so the vast majority of RCMP veterans do not have the blue blazer, the red blazer, or the kilt.

The kilt is very expensive. Anyone who owns a kilt would know that.

But -- so that's quite expensive. So I think cost is the biggest piece, why not everyone has it. But they do have the serge.

Now, to your point on the serge, yes, a lot of them outgrow it. The serge shrinks and they can't get in it anymore. So there are an awful lot that can't get in their serge. I can still get in mine but many of them can't.

So it's more for -- and, again, you mentioned a point, too, that not all officers are interested in doing that, retired officers, and that's very true as well. Partially because they can't fit in the serge, they can't -- they don't want to pay for the other uniform that they can wear, and so therefore, they don't attend the events that I would attend.

And part of the reason I attended so many was because I was the president of the vets, and so I had a role that I had to play, so -- but, again, as in any volunteer organization, like the Veterans Association, you only have a small group that dedicate their time to it. The rest pay their dues and that's that. I'm sure many of you are involved in things like that.

1	So it's a mixed bag because some would use the uniform, which
2	under the RCMP Act they're allowed to for those certain events, and some would have
3	the vet's uniform, and others would just not attend. So they're all individuals, they're all
4	different, every one of us, same as everyone in this room, so we have different
5	appreciation of things.
6	MS. KRISTA SMITH: Thank you, Brian.
7	MR. BRIAN CARTER: You're welcome.
8	MS. JULIA CECCHETTO: I would agree with you, Leanne.
9	I actually did not attend the memorial service this year because it
10	was two weeks since I retired and two weeks since the person who got my job, you
11	know, went into his job. And so I did not want the confusion of, my uniform looked
12	exactly like his uniform and said, "Chief, there's nothing that says 'Retired' on it."
13	So I do believe it either should have something on it that identifies
14	that you're retired, or I'm not opposed to the blazer. I am frugal by nature so what Brian
15	said is correct. It would be great if my agency would give me that retired blazer when
16	they gave me that encased badge as well, or many people will not purchase it. But it is
17	certainly an option.
18	MS. KRISTA SMITH: Great. Thank you very much.
19	Oh, yes?
20	MR. PHIL BAILEY: Just a comment from a municipal perspective.
21	The dress uniform that we are permitted to retain is significantly
22	different than a working uniform. So a member of the public mistaking an on-duty police
23	officer with somebody in the sort of the royal blue tunic with a tight collar, of course no
24	firearms or anything like that, I don't think there's a distinction problem.
25	Second, to answer one of your questions, why somebody people
26	keep, and some people don't. I'm sure from your days as a Chief, you realize some
27	people leave the profession for different reasons. They've had different satisfactions
28	during their career than maybe others. And often it's the ones that have really been part

- of a family, the pride, the bond, and the wish to continue in retirement reflecting the
- 2 ideals that they became a police officer, where some, in fairness, were great police
- officers, when they hit their retirement age, it's kind of like Julia; I don't want to be
- 4 carrying that badge, that uniform, I've got a different life. I got a really nice addition to
- 5 my collection from one of my mentor deputy chiefs because he proofed his house of
- 6 police items after he retired because that was his career and now he's moving on to a
- 7 different career. And I was very fortunate as a senior officer, the blazer, slacks,
- 8 everything that I wore as one of my orders of dress was exactly the same as the
- 9 Edmonton Police Veteran's Association uniform, so it didn't cost me to outfit myself, but
- that's not the same with several officers. If you wanted to outfit yourself in the Veteran's
- 11 Association uniform with the blazer, the crest, the slacks, everything, that's a fair chunk
- of change coming out, and so some just choose not to do that, and so they will wear the
- dress uniform, particularly for mess dinners or the police officer memorial or funerals are
- the key things for that for us, and wear civilian attire, if they choose to attend, and
- perhaps still wear their medals to reflect their service and honour as a police officer.
- MS. KRISTA SMITH: All right. Thank you very much. We are
- going to take a break until 11:32. We'll have a 10-minute break. Thank you.
- 18 --- Upon breaking at 11:22 a.m.
- 19 --- Upon resuming at 11:35 a.m.
- 20 **MS. KRISTA SMITH:** Okay. I think we're ready to start again.
- 21 We're hoping our friends -- our virtual friends can join us. There they are. Great.
- Okay. So we've spent the early part of the morning discussing the
- 23 symbols of policing and what they mean to people, different social groups within
- Canada, but we're going to take that now and start to look at how when those symbols
- are used for police impersonation, you know, what are the effects there.
- So in our package of materials that we prepared for this round
- table, we provided a survey of media reports and Canadian case law that shows that
- instances of police impersonation may be more common than previously recognized.

So in that package of summaries, they date back to approximately 1995, and then on

- the last page of the document, you'll find links to a number of recent police
- 3 impersonation cases in the news.
- So for the purpose of this discussion this morning, we would like to
- focus on two aspects of these cases. One is the effect on the public trust in police when
- 6 individuals impersonate police, and the second is the ways in which police
- 7 impersonators tap into the powers and privileges of police to achieve their criminal
- 8 ends. So in this round of discussion, we are going to invite you each to comment on
- 9 what these cases show us about the cultural power of policing; why impersonation as a
- strategy for a perpetrator, why it works; and whether this tells us anything more about
- the cultural role of police in society.

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Canadian society.

So I'm going to start off this conversation by reading a little quote

from one of the articles that's included in our package. It's an article called "Police

14 Impersonation: Pretenses and Predators." And in it, the authors state,

"The social ramifications, [...], are numerous and often result in increased social anxiety and insecurity among the citizens. Other scholars have suggested, in addition to damaging the public's trust in authority and undermining the reputation of legitimate police officers, impersonators may threaten officers' ability to

So I would, you know, time permitting, I'd like to invite each of you to comment on this quote, and you -- and -- or just speak to the general question what is the effect on the public trust in police when individuals impersonate an officer to perpetrate a crime. So depending, of course, on your perspective, you might also comment about whether this answer changes depending on the social grouping within

do their work effectively."

So, I think, Julia, could we start with you?

MS. JULIA CECCHETTO: So I think the initial response of police 1 2 officers, and I guess I should say this is my opinion, is a sense of betrayal because 3 police officers, for the most part, you know, I always say 99.9 percent of police officers are very good people doing the right thing every day, they go out, and they work hard in 4 their communities to try to make lives better. And sometimes they aren't, and that's 5 because, you know, they don't recognize, you know, some of the things that Meg talked 6 7 about, but they are trying their best. And so when somebody goes out and 8 impersonates and does damage to the reputation, they feel a betrayal. 9 And so the other piece that sometimes comes on that is it's able to turn on the person who potentially gave them the piece of equipment, or whatever, that 10 was used for that impersonation. But one of the things that I think we see more of, and 11 actually, it's kind of in those case studies, is often equipment is not needed, is just 12 simply saying I am a police officer, and the public believes that. So the public actually, 13 you know, I hate to throw it back at them, but they need to start questioning that and 14 saying, you know, "Show me your badge, show me your ID," calling -- so calling a 15 dispatch centre and saying, "Do you have an Officer Smith that works for you and is he 16 working today, or is he working today?" And following up, and if any police officer 17 doesn't accept that you won't talk to them until that kind of background work is done, 18 then, you know, that's a problem with the police officer and you should actually let the 19 20 administration know, so that we could deal with it. But, yeah, often cases, the public just accepts somebody says I'm a 21 police officer. And if you take it -- we tend to be assertive people by nature or we 22 23 become it over time, and so just by presenting ourselves assertively and saying this is 24 who I am, we can do a lot of damage. So we had put out a post in Kentville, shortly after the incident, 25 saying all of our officers will be carrying a badge and a ID card, and you have the right 26 to ask for it. You have the right to drive to the police station if they're trying to pull you 27

over, drive to the police station, call dispatch, whatever. We had done that. And that --

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- 1 Kentville is a town of 6500 people. That post was viewed and shared over 117,000
- times from -- and it has 500 and some comments on it of people legitimately, you know,
- afraid to question police, much like what was referred to earlier. And so all of my
- officers are, like, "I have no problem doing this," like, but the public itself, the -- it was an
- 5 amazing reaction to please do this.
- So I think police are open to it. I think very much like when there's
- a bad cop, so when a cop does something wrong, nobody hates a bad cop more than
- 8 good cops. So it's very much like that and the damage, as I say, that's done to
- 9 communities and the community trust, sets an agency back, potentially years.
- 10 **MS. KRISTA SMITH:** Thank you.
- I think I'm going to mix it up and go over to Meg.
- MS. MEAGHAN DANIEL: Yeah, so I had actually a number of the
- same observations. When I read through the case law and also the article provided, it
- talked about certain demographic features, both to the people who are criminalized for
- this offence, who are by and large male, and the victims were often persons that we
- would consider vulnerable to victimization, children, women, racialized people. And I
- noticed that there wasn't an explanation sort of readily available as to why certain
- 18 people seemed to be more likely to be the victim to this particular offence of police
- impersonation. I wondered if at least part of the explanation might be a greater
- deference to authority. These are the people who are maybe less likely to enforce their
- rights, either through ignorance, as a child would be, or that we're teaching them at this
- moment to seek out police as a place of safety, or because they know that they're less
- likely to be safe when enforcing their rights, as we see in the Black Lives Matter
- 24 movement and the same in -- with relation to Indigenous communities.
- I found it, as was just mentioned, really relevant, that though there
- are not a lot of facts in the recorded decisions about how the impersonation is carried
- out, generally it seemed to be carried with sort of simply and easily obtained items, and
- 28 not an elaborate scheme by which an offender has obtained actual police

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paraphernalia. I found that very surprising, that simply the claim of being a officer, in a phone call or in person, would be enough to then obtain the power that police have to coerce people into doing things that the regular citizen does not have.

And so to turn to your particular question, when I was thinking about the harm, I was -- I thought about it as the immediate harm, that sort of -- the immediate victimisation, that sometimes it's a non-serious harm, gaining information, some harassment, but sometimes it is a very serious harm. There's a sexual assault or a significant physical assault or a kidnapping that follows that impersonation.

And I think that this is really destructive in an ongoing way to trust, that once it happens people are caused trauma because it's not simply the event, but it's -- Ian explained in his research, it's trauma to the -- a story that's really important to us, and we need that story in some ways to feel safe. And now that we don't know a real cop from pretend cop or a police impersonator, we have an ongoing feeling of fear and vulnerability.

And the way I think about is, as was just mentioned, the bad cop, I've had many cases where I had to claim in civil litigation the harm of having an officer abuse power, and I think it is -- of it as a comparison because the trauma, when an officer abuses their own power, is that deeply disturbing sense of fear of authority, which is supposed to be protective of you. And so it's everything from in the -- in the immediate nightmares and flashbacks and those things, but an ongoing sense, and a loss, a very profound loss.

I can anecdotally say I understand it in a very small way because I was once myself jailed in relation to the G20 protests by officers that I knew, because at the time I was a clerk at the court, and the people who were in charge of the temporary detention centre were court support workers, security officers in that same court. So they knew me, I knew them. It was openly acknowledged in between us that this was probably not an appropriate in the kettling and the thing that happened. And I had that deeply disturbing sense, as Ian explained it, that dissonance of what's supposed to

happen and what is happening, destabilising me in terms of my expectations around what police are and what they are supposed to provide to us.

And so there's the victimisation of what's happening, but there's a victimisation coming from who is committing this act, and how I imagine them, and now what I have to let go, and I won't be able to get back that trust. That breach of trust is ongoing.

MS. KRISTA SMITH: Thanks, Meg. So you talked about how it's destructive in an ongoing way because it's trauma to a story that's important to us.

lan, do you have any comment on that?

DR. IAN LOADER: Maybe. Can -- can I get back to that point after a very small detour?

MS. KRISTA SMITH: Of course.

DR. IAN LOADER: So the -- so the detour is to drag you all this side of the pond for a couple of minutes and to kind of come up -- because it's made me think about the question impersonation in a slightly altered way.

So the case that I have in mind, which has been troubling me and many other people here recently, and it may have come to your attention, is the case of Wayne Couzens, who has recently been jailed for a whole life term for abducting and raping and murdering Sarah Everard. And Wayne Couzens was a serving Metropolitan Police officer, and he abducted Sara Everard by basically showing her his warrant card and telling her she was under arrest for breach of the COVID regulations, and handcuffing her and taking her away. This was deeply shocking to many people.

There's a couple of aspects of the kind of what we subsequently found out that are relevant to take us back to this conversation. One was, it turned out there were -- there were two passersby who witnessed the abduction, who later claimed they didn't intervene because they thought an undercover cop must have been making a legitimate arrest.

When this all subsequently came to light, two further things

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happened. One was a version of what Julia just suggested, was a -- the, as it were, the

- 2 rest of the Metropolitan Police went to great efforts to distance themselves from this
- individual and his horrific behaviour, so much so that it kind of raised in my mind the
- 4 question of how we think about police impersonation. The question it raised in my mind
- is, is it possible for a police officer to impersonate a police officer if they are doing
- something which is so flagrantly illegal when they are doing it, using, you know, in this
- 7 case, their warrant card and their handcuffs?

8 And that's a very flagrant example. But I wonder whether if a police

9 officer illegally stops and searches someone, knowing that that stop and search is

illegal, are they impersonating a police officer while going about their business as a

police officer? And I often wonder whether we ought to just stop and think about that

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Now, rather similar to the point that Julia just made, the Metropolitan Police commissioner, when the scandal arose in relation to the Wayne Couzens case, advised the public if they were stopped by a police officer to scream for — and who they are worried that the -- this person either wasn't a police officer or a -- was in all sorts of ways troubling them — to scream for assistance from passersby or to call 999. And that goes to the question that the -- we have been discussing that Meaghan just raised about what the -- kind of what this does for distrust.

And it seems to me that there's something sociologically implausible about that posture in the following -- in the following two senses:

One is for a -- for a large section of the population, whose part of their ontological security is believing in a society where the police could be trusted, being told by the Metropolitan Police commissioner or any police force, "Don't trust us. Routinely don't trust us. If you're approached by a police officer, ask who they are, ask to see their warrant card, phone the station, check out their credentials, and to kind of build that into how you go about living your life." That seems to me to be a recipe for a large amount of ongoing, trauma may be too strong a word, but a ongoing discomfort.

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1	The other situation, if you think about the kinds of, as it were, the
2	the suspect populations who are routinely in the business of being stalked by the police,
3	we know enough about the kind of asymmetries of power in those encounters to think
4	that it's a tall ask for a young Indigenous or black male to actually ask a police officer,
5	you know, "I don't believe you're a police officer", not to do so in a way that doesn't
6	inflame that encounter and to make the outcome of that likely worse for them.
7	So I was kind of wondering what you kind of do with that. And it
8	seems to me there are all kinds of ways where actually what you're trying to do is create
9	a situation where everyone, irrespective of their subject position, is able to trust the
10	police. But I know that I read somewhere recently that we trust we we're able to
11	trust organisations that institutionalise distrust inside in their so you in a sense,
12	I'm kind of thinking, and I've not quite come to a view on this, that in a sense, you want
13	that kind of you want that distrust to be brought inside the organization and to work
14	effectively so the rest of us don't have to build that into our daily lives and because
15	that seems to me to be a recipe for ongoing trauma.
16	MS. KRISTA SMITH: So, lan, if I'm hearing you correctly, to me
17	you're talking about systems of accountability that would be built into a system so that
18	that burden doesn't fall on the general public?
19	DR. IAN LOADER: Yeah, I think yes. Short answer, yes.
20	Slightly longer answer, I think it's asking too much and is potentially counterproductive
21	to somehow expect the rest of us to go around carrying distrust of the police.
22	I mean, lots of people do for very good reasons. And you want to
23	and create situations where that's no longer the case. But to somehow kind of
24	communicate that message, and that seems to me to be both too much to ask, and
25	likely to be counterproductive.
26	MS. KRISTA SMITH: Okay. Thank you.
27	I think I'm going to bring it back to our original question. I'd like
28	everybody to have the opportunity to speak on this question. And you're more than

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welcome to comment on anything you've just heard, or just answer the question as

originally posed, which is what is the effect on the public trust in police when individuals

impersonate an officer to perpetrate a crime?

Brian, over to you.

MR. BRIAN CARTER: Yeah, the public trust when somebody is impersonating a police officer is just gone. And it takes years to get that back in the community where that occurs. So if it occurred in Lower Sackville, as an example, it would take years for the police in Lower Sackville, HRM, and the RCMP, to get that public trust back, because the public would be well aware of it and then they would be questioning, "Well, how do we know that the real cops are real cops?" And what that does to our justice system is it hampers the ability to do effective policing and keep the public safe.

And it's a big problem. It's complicated. And both lan and Meaghan have made some good points though. And lan's research is critical in helping to work on this because the public trusts us as police generally. Marginalized communities less so because of the history of things that have happened, and visible minorities. And that's understandable because of the things that have happened.

This is a major public trust issue when somebody poses as a police officer when they're not, and they're doing it for personal reasons, or criminal reasons, whatever. But it doesn't matter why they're doing it. It just is really, really bad on our legal system. There's no way around it. And police, as retired police and serving police, they really, really dislike these people that do this because it's a huge problem.

And then as Ian pointed out, the question -- so if you start questioning a police officer, "How do I know you're a real cop," and things like that, depending on the individual, some of those police officers will take that as offensive to them, and others will go, "Okay. I understand this. Here's how I can explain that I'm a cop." Unfortunately, you're going to get a mixed bag of tricks from the officers on the street.

And can we expect the public to know the difference? No, because 1 2 there's cases -- as the few times I worked in plain clothes, you could knock on the door and no one asked you for your badge. They just took your word for it. So just like these 3 impersonators do, it's very easy without any -- you're a cop. And they learn it from TV. 4 movies, and other things, because they see how we function and how we work from 5 those things. And it's very difficult. It's complicated and I don't have the answer of how 6 7 you would ever prevent this and -- because it's so easy to do. And they do it for the 8 reasons that they have some personal gain of some sort. 9 And so I have no way to answer how you would fix the problem. We have laws in place to deal with it. The Criminal Code is very specific on that. That 10 was brought up on Monday with -- Ms. Byrd brought up the Criminal Code and things 11 like that. 12 But it's -- the research that lan is doing is helpful for sure in 13 addressing how the public perceives police and how we should look at them, but no 14 answers. It's the same as a dirty cop, somebody that's breaking the law within the 15 police agency. No time for them. But how do you deal with it? You can charge them if 16 you catch them. If you don't catch them, you can't charge them. And does charging 17 them prevent it? If you look at research on -- from criminology about deterrents through 18 penalties, deterrents really doesn't come with a penalty. We can -- you could make it a 19 20 hanging offence and they'd still do it. So it's not easy. So it's very complicated and it will take some time to figure out how to deal with that. 21 MS. JULIA CECCHETTO: So that is one of the advantages of a 22 23 small agency. So Kentville, small community, 17 police officers. The community knows 24 their police officers. You know, 12 of them live in town. They haven't changed in many years. So they know, when they see, you know, Trevor. Trevor's been a police officer 25 here for 25 years. So he is known to that community. 26

geography of, say, Halifax and 500 officers, and what the RCMP is to transferring out

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Where that gets more difficult in large agencies is, you know, the

1 however many years and so there's always a change.

Small communities do have that advantage of repetitive every day I see this person for 30 years.

MR. BRIAN CARTER: Just to follow up on that, yes, rural communities would be the same as a small town. And rural communities, I'll give you an example, when I was transferred to St. Peter's in Cape Breton, I rolled into town, everybody knew what car I drove, where I was living, and I hadn't even moved there yet, where I was going to be living, who I was. So the communities do know you. But you can still impersonate a police officer in those communities because the people in those communities understand that there may be plain clothes officers coming through there, not the regular officers there. So you can still do it in a rural community. Less likely, but it is possible for sure.

MS. KRISTA SMITH: Phil, I want to bring it over to you. What's coming up for you?

MR. PHIL BAILEY: So the straightforward answer is it's devastating to the public. How do you respond to it? I think police services have to be open in the front, communicate through the media what happened, don't try to downplay it. And at the same time, educate their officers so that when you're asked for your identification, produce it.

Now, on the flip side, when I was younger and more what they call a dark unit, the street crimes unit, our cars looked nothing like police cars. At the time, we weren't even using red and blue lights. It was a red light. We'd pull in behind somebody, the chances of us identifying ourselves as police officers were slim to none because the person we were pulling over knew they did something and expected a response.

Now fast forward that to just a couple years before I retired, I drove an unmarked car, it had quite a lighting system on it. As the divisional inspector, I was dressed probably pretty much like I am today. A lady was talking on her phone. I said,

you know, I should just take a moment and educate her. I pulled her over. I had to convince her to look at my identification that I was a police officer before I interacted with her because I wanted to ensure that she knew who it was talking to her.

But because of the sequence of events that occurred, she, in her mind, this was a police officer that pulled me over, even though I was dressed like this and didn't ask.

It kind of brought back another thing, my son, daughter, and wife used to laugh. "Oh, Dad's got his police voice on." And so you get so used to going up to doors and investigations, especially in plain clothes unit, but the way a police officer approaches somebody, they don't ask for identification because in their mind, they have already formed the understanding that you are a person in authority.

Where it becomes challenging in a large metropolitan area is the Edmonton Police Service has about 1,800 sworn officers, but we've got a large RCMP presence in the city. The Alberta Sheriffs do executive protection, at one time had warrant execution units, you've got a big military police presence, as you do in Halifax here. So very different -- officers from various agencies could show up at a door with different identification, different approaches.

In other words, a question that came up as to actual police officers identifying themselves, there's some case law out of Alberta where it was a peace officer. Peace officers are -- there's thousands in Alberta. They're dressed similar to police officers, patches, different stripe on their pants, but they drive marked units. This person in this case was a photo radar operator, but still had a uniform on, and used that. The courts decided that he was not personating a peace officer because he was a peace officer, but that didn't diminish the criminal acts that he did as a result of that.

You asked about how -- it kind of came up as to what police officers think of other police officers that commit this type of offence. Well, I'll tell you, I was the senior ranking officer in the Internal Affairs/Professional Standards Section in the Edmonton Police Service for three years, and police officers feel about police officers

- that commit a breach that they've tarnished the badge, and there is no support for them.
- 2 It's -- we worked hard to get our badge, to present our image to the public. We joined to
- serve. We had joined to help. This person's gone off track and they breached the trust.
- 4 So, I just absolutely did not see that. And, you know, there's a separate charge for a
- 5 police officer who does that under the *Police Act* for unnecessary exercise of authority,
- 6 which could potentially lead to their dismissal from the police service separate from
- 7 actions taken by the courts.

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- 8 **MS. KRISTA SMITH:** All right. Thank you.
 - So I think the next place that I want to take us is really just a riff on what we've been talking about already, looking at the cultural symbols and how the use of those symbols to exert authority and cultural power over victims of impersonation.
 - So we've seen in those cases that are included in our packages -in our package, we saw defendants using police symbols such as flashing lights and
 clothing, and pulling people over, so often as has already been mentioned, it doesn't
 take much to get someone to pull over. Sometimes maybe it just takes your police
 voice or just how you carry yourself. So what do the cases in our materials reveal about
 the authority and cultural power of police and policing symbols?

I think let's start with Julia; is that okay?

MS. JULIA CECCHETTO: I think we're lucky as a society that we basically trust our police. So, and I think that is the problem. And while I understand what Ian says about it isn't a fair burden to put on the public to question the police, it is fair. You know, police are doing the best they can, but the public needs to question. They need to -- if somebody calls you and says I'm a police officer, you don't know. You know, you don't know, you get an email -- so very much like the fraud emails that you get on a daily basis on your phone or your email, you know, I'm your bank of whatever, please enter all your details, well, you question that. So, we -- or not we anymore, police understand that because of the changing world, we're going to be

questioned, and we're okay with that. I think most of us are okay with that.

1	So, yes, I think that the public needs to start questioning if you have
2	an assertive person, do you have a real police officer, a retired police officer, or just
3	somebody who's really bossy. So, you know, ask some questions. It's okay to, you
4	know, confront. Any police officer is going to actually understand that. If they don't,
5	then there are processes through Professional Standards where you can and hold
6	them to task, and then second time around, they will be okay with that.
7	So I'm not sure if I've answered the question, but that's what I think.
8	I think the public actually needs to start questioning a little more and challenging.
9	MS. KRISTA SMITH: So, Ian, I'm curious to know if you agree with
10	that comment and what that does to our policing the you know, the police in our
11	imagination, what does that do to our I think you called it our ontological belief
12	system. How does that change as we start to amend our notions potentially?
13	DR. IAN LOADER: I am okay. I might end up doing engaging
14	in another bit of academic bad practice, which is just splitting heads, but we'll see.
15	I think it struck me for a long time. I think this is certainly true in
16	the British context. I'll leave you with the invitation to think about whether it's true in the
17	Canadian context. I think one of the big unexplained questions in police sociology,
18	given all the kind of scandals and misconduct and other kinds of kind of institution
19	excess that we've witnessed in the last three decades, is why public support for the
20	police remains so high. I don't say that at all facetiously. I think that's a really genuine
21	puzzle as to why significant numbers of the population when polled still say that they,
22	you know, respect and support the police.
23	Now, one answer to that question is there is a there's a section of
24	the population who just and this is going back to where we kind of started, who just, I
25	think, come close to unambiguously identify the police as a force for good and just are
26	very attached to the idea that they're just great and they do a great job. But I think that
27	part of the answer to that question is that people continue to trust and believe in the
28	police when lots of evidence amasses that they're not to be trusted. Because to put it

dramatically, they look into their best, that they think that looking into their best is really

scary and they turn away. By which I mean they contemplate what it feels like to live in

a society where they can't trust the police, and they find that too psychologically

4 troubling, and they kind of suppress that thought, so they continue to tell others that

they respect the police, and they think they're doing a good job. And it's that kind of

6 cycle I had in mind when I kind of said that you're asking a lot, if you're asking people to

kind of -- to go through life routinely thinking that the police can't be trusted. It's just that

8 kind of -- that's going -- as if you make that some kind of aspiration for a better society,

and let's try and create a society in which people routinely distrust the police. Now the -

- so I'm still not sure that that's where we want to end up.

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Now I kind of get what Julia's saying, and this is where I'm going to start splitting heads, that there may be a lot to be said for just inculcating a much more kind of nuanced and skeptical view of policing and an institution and for wanting to not unambiguously identify with institution that just can wield that much corrosive power over us, and to want to be vigilant and careful and scrutinize and all those kind of things. But I still actually wonder whether that -- the -- whether you need to organize that institutionally, that that needs to become something that's built into the kind of institutional architecture of police governance accountability, it's not something that we'd want to kind of -- as a kind of policy aspiration to just outsource to individuals, as if it becomes a question for them to be routinely asking themselves, can -- this is a cop. I don't think I can trust them. I need to kind of go through a whole series of protocols in order to answer that question, that -- so I just worry about that as aspiration for wanting to hold onto the idea that kind of uncritical identification with the police in a democracy is a dangerous sentiment, and we could do with cultivating a much more pronounced degree of vigilant skepticism and that's not the -- I don't think that's the same as asking people just to be the kind of investigators of police credentials every time they come into contact with a police officer.

Phil, I saw you making some notes there. What's coming up for 1 2 you? MR. PHIL BAILEY: Sorry. I went very carefully through the case 3 law we were provided, but I did it from a collector's perspective, to say how many -- well, 4 first of all, I'll say I don't know a police officer that condones anyone personating a police 5 officer, zero. Bottom line, you want to be a police officer, peace officer, you go through 6 7 the academy like the rest of us and you earn your badge, so there is no putting up with 8 that. However, the penalties that we see coming out of impersonations are so trivial 9 that that's something that needs to be addressed, but that's for a different day. The number of cases that we were provided where somebody 10 simply put a light on a dash and used that as the effective method to stop somebody 11 and then assert authority, far outweighed the other matters, other than phone calls and 12 just saying they were a police officer, and then somebody, unfortunately, accepting that 13 they were going forward. So I looked up from a collector's perspective if there was a 14 restriction on shoulder patches, badges, I'm not really into collecting cars, uniforms, 15 well, that's a -- that's a different outfit, what impact would that have? And really in these 16 case laws, none. 17 In the time that, you know, I saw a badge being used or a patch, it 18 was generic said police. You can buy those on Amazon, eBay, you name it. 19 20 Colleagues said to me all you need to go to Mark's Work Warehouse, not to plug a company, you buy a, you know, a dark shirt, a pair of cargo pants. You put that on, and 21 you come to a citizen. Again, you project yourself in a -- in the circumstances, then 22 23 they, again, will make a informed decision in their mind that you are a police officer. 24 So public education, high; consequences for actions, significant, should be out there. But also, there's a variance across the countries as to what lighting 25 systems are even required on, for example, in Alberta it's a -- the one that can use a 26 blue light is an enforcement officer. So therefore, the availability of those for somebody 27

to buy are limited compared to some other jurisdictions.

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Meg, what would be your comment on the cultural power of some of these -- the misuse of some of these symbols?

MS. MEAGHAN DANIEL: Yeah. I was -- when I -- when I read through and was sort of reflecting on that question that's come up a few times now, the little that is required to perpetuate this offence, it sort of brought to mind the sort of games of imagination that I play with my son. And I don't know if you can identify with this if you've played games of imagination with children. The deeper he is into the game the less that it is necessary to have props which actually resemble the stories we're telling. And it sort of -- when I was thinking about that, that realisation that his imagination is so strong in -- when he is deep into that game that it fills in the rest.

And I think that Canadian society is really just deep into this game, if I can put it that way. That we're -- the power that police have has a very powerful hold on our imagination and it requires very little to invoke us -- to invoke that power, and then we will -- we will fill in the rest. And so that tells us how we should treat that power, given that it is so easily invoked and has such a powerful hold on what we will then do and how we will then act if it is invoked.

And that -- all of that together sort of led me to this question that underlies this conversation, which is a certain balancing act between the individual interests that have been expressed here, those affective interests, those emotional attachments that are very real, and in addition to those individual interests, the sort of collective interest in something that we all identified around, the idea of Canadian and police and state, that we -- that those collective interests also matter, and how attached we are to those stories and nation building and belonging and citizenship. Holding that with the idea that these aren't everyone's stories, as I said. Those are stories that only some of us to get to tell.

And so the weighing exercise seems to be between these kinds of interests, the preservation of symbols of a story that only some of us get to tell, versus

very serious harms, crimes perpetrated against oppressed persons often, who happen

- to be the same people who aren't invested in those stories because they aren't true for
- them. And so I -- that's where I was left, is -- in the weighing exercise or the balancing
- 4 exercise that we're engaged in, and I think that that context is really important when we
- 5 think about the cultural power those symbols have and our want to preserve them, is to
- 6 wonder whether in fact the weighing exercise is appropriate, given what the harm is on
- 7 the other side.
- 8 MS. KRISTA SMITH: And I think we're coming up on our final
- 9 question soon, and that's exactly where this discussion is going to go, is it a
- 10 consideration of balancing risk and harm.
- But before we go there, Brian, I wanted to make sure that you have
- an opportunity to speak to this question as well.
- MR. BRIAN CARTER: Yes, sure. I think it's really unfair to put the
- burden on the public to determine who is a police officer and who is not. And
- unfortunately because of these people who pose as police officers and are not, they're
- impersonating police, there's not much option other than to educate the public and get
- the public to ask questions and so on.
- 18 It's interesting, though, because in the RCMP, we don't have a
- badge on our shirt. We have a pocket badge. We don't carry it when we're in uniform
- because we're in uniform. We have a nametag. People often ask, "What's your badge
- 21 number?", and we go, "There's my name." So it's difficult, and that's why I say it's very
- unfair to put that burden on the public. But what choice do you have? There's really not
- 23 much option.
- And if you look at what the -- diminishing the public trust in police
- what it does, having worked in Haiti, where the people do not trust their police, haven't
- for very good reasons, and I'll explain some of the reasons why they didn't. Under the
- 27 Duvaliers, and under the military government after the Duvaliers, people were just
- arrested out of their houses and taken and executed and some were...

For example, if you needed -- if the -- if the Duvaliers said "I need the road paved", well how they did it was they'd come to my house and they would say, "Brian, I need \$10,000 from you to pave the street." And I say, "Well, I'm not giving it to you." Well, the next night, the cops are at the jail, and I'm in jail for three months, and then Duvaliers come by in jail and say, "Brian, are you ready to pay the 10,000?" "Yes, so I can get out." That's how it worked in Haiti. So when you have no trust in the police because the police are the instrument of the government, in that case, then the whole system breaks down.

So in Haiti, you also have the public's -- because there was two murders a day when I was there, that was because of that mistrust. What people did was they took the matters in their own hands, and that's how so many people were being killed. Instead of calling the police to come and solve the problem that they had, they did it on their own and they ended up murdering someone. So -- and by the way, those murders, very few of them were ever solved. Very few.

But that's what happens if you lose the trust in police in a society, and Haiti's a good example of that.

MS. KRISTA SMITH: Thank you, Brian.

Before we leave this area, we're just going to invite the Commissioners to make any comments they might wish.

COMMISSONER STANTON: Yeah, just a brief comment. I think, thinking of what -- on what Julia has said, which is the important piece may be to, in the training, to prepare police to expect to be questioned, and to empower members of the public to be asking those questions, rather than putting it as a burden on the public, but ensuring that people -- I mean, this requires, obviously, systemic change, but ensuring that people that are perhaps less likely to be able to question someone questioning them. Because Phil, you know, you know that a blue light is the only light that you're supposed to use, but if I see a flashing light behind me, I don't know that it's supposed to only be a blue light and that I should keep going.

And so I think there is quite a bit of an educational component that 1 2 is required. But I think preparing police for a -- to understand that it's all right for someone to question them and their authority is perhaps part of the -- part of the picture 3 that I'm hearing anyway, because I -- I'm not sure it's as black and white as between 4 everyone, it's a burden on the public or it's not, but rather, there is layers to it. Thanks. 5 **MS. KRISTA SMITH:** Okay. Well, we've got a few minutes left, 6 7 and I've got a couple of goals in that time. So I'd like to end this with a question that will set us up well for our Phase 3 discussion of this topic. But before we go there, it's 8 9 important that -- I would like to check in with each of you very briefly, if there's anything that you had hoped to bring to this table to share that you haven't had the opportunity to 10 share yet. But I do -- I would like to encourage it to be like a short snapper. 11 So could we start with Phil? 12 MR. PHIL BAILEY: Phil and short snappers don't usually go in the 13 same sentence, but we'll try here. 14 15 lan, just to let you know, you mentioned why wasn't there doctor collectors, nurse collectors, and you mentioned fire fighters. I would put a bet out there 16 there's far more firefighter collectors than there are police collectors out there because 17 there's just so many paid and volunteer fire services right across Canada and the 18 exchange of patches is just as prevalent with them as it is with police, and it's the same 19 as -- there's another separate area of collectors, which are your EMT, paramedic, 20 ambulance patches and badges in that case that are out there, separate collector 21 groups from that. And so that leads to a lot of the reason people collect police 22 23 paraphernalia, especially the patches, the badges, the challenge coins. It's the thrill of 24 the collecting, the hunt to get the items, the preservation of history, the display, the nice displays you can make with them going on. 25 Fortunately, from what I've read, the personation resulting from the 26 collectibles is very, very low. There is a risk, of course, to any use of personation, but 27 the reality is that if we could legislate ourselves out of every situation in the country, you 28

1	wouldn't have to worry about personation because you wouldn't have any police officers
2	at that point, to be quite straight with that.
3	So I'm just, again, pleased that we're here. I'm just hoping that
4	there's a bigger picture. And it's very devastating what happened in this province. I'm
5	very happy that in all the research that I've read is, that sure doesn't happen very often
6	with the use of police equipment, and I sure hope that never happens again.
7	MS. KRISTA SMITH: Julia?
8	MS. JULIA CECCHETTO: So I've thought a little bit about this
9	piece. So I think ultimately, I did 31 years of policing. It changed me as a person
10	because you can't not be changed by the things you see and the negativity that you see
11	every day. I don't regret that. I'm okay with that. But ultimately, the 31 years was a job
12	that paid me well, gave myself and my family a lifestyle. And so that was the return.
13	So I don't buy into that I'm owed anything. I don't think that I
14	deserve to have anything because I'm a retired police officer. My payment for that
15	came every Friday in the form of a deposit to my bank account.
16	So while I would love to keep my uniform to wear it to special
17	events, I'm not owed that. I gave. They gave back to me. I luckily came out the other
18	side of it mostly unscathed. So those are my thoughts on this.
19	MS. KRISTA SMITH: Thank you.
20	lan, how about you?
21	DR. IAN LOADER: Yeah, and if the question was have I got
22	anything did I have anything to say, which I've not. I've had the opportunity to say the
23	answers. So I'll pass.
24	MS. KRISTA SMITH: Okay. Thank you.
25	Meg?
26	MS. MEAGHAN DANIEL: The same. I've had an opportunity to
27	put forward the thoughts that I had.
28	MS. KRISTA SMITH: Thank you. I'm sure we could keep going all

day. There's a lot to tease out. But I'm happy to hear that you at least feel like you've 1 2 gotten to say the most important bits for each of you. Brian? 3 MR. BRIAN CARTER: Yeah, just two quick things I'll use because 4 of us being in Canada, hockey, our national sport is -- if you look at professional hockey 5 players, say Wayne Gretzky or Sydney Crosby, they collect all kinds of things because 6 7 they earned their jerseys and everything else from the work they had to put in to make it to the level they were playing at. That goes with any sport, race car drivers the same. 8 9 Yes, there's a difference. If you pose as a hockey player, how does it affect anybody? But it's the same concept as those people would do in their 10 collections. 11 And then the final comment is just that many of us, not all, because 12 every officer is different, but many of us in retirement or serving, we know that we were 13 trusted while we served, we know that we were trusted to carry three guns in the car, a 14 carbine, a shotgun, and carry the pistol every day. And then now that we're in this 15 position, we're now in a potential position of being -- saying, "No, we don't trust you to 16 keep your ceremonial uniform," and that hurts. 17 MS. KRISTA SMITH: Thank you. All right. So we -- I'd like to 18 move us to our last question today. It comes from a Participant Counsel who 19 20 represents a family member. And we're posing this as a way to set the table for Phase 3. And the question is do the advantages of allowing police uniforms, equipment, and 21 vehicles to circulate in the general population outweigh the risks? 22 23 Julia, can we start with you? 24 MS. JULIA CECCHETTO: So I guess if it was my family member, I

would say no. But realistically, looking at, you know, 30 some cases over a period of 25 years, it doesn't happen that often, and most times it happens is without the use of that equipment. So the risk is -- while it's always there, a person can create all of that without the real item. You can have flashes made. You can create anything on your

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computer as far as, you know, markings for a car. You can just say this is who I am and people will believe you.

So I don't see the harm in allowing older retired members to keep

their uniform, as long as it comes with some structure that, you know, it gets turned back in or, you know, whatever. And having some rules around who gets to keep that. So, you know, if somebody leaves the police force not of their own choice, they obviously should not get to keep it. So some structure around that and some structure around collecting it back on the death of the member.

But no, I can't say -- I am the mother of two daughters. If this was one of my daughters, I would say no. And that's the truth.

MS. KRISTA SMITH: Thank you.

12 Phil?

MR. PHIL BAILEY: So I'm of the opinion that you can mitigate the risk, but you can never 100 precent remove the risk. If you get somebody driven to do anything, it doesn't matter what's in the criminal code or how many police officers you have out there. The ability of us to stop that person is challenged.

We look at the police services in particular from collectors. I know very few collectors that have mocked up police cars. The only one that comes to mind was actually a California highway patrol car in the Province of Alberta. So recognizing or mistaking it as a police car was virtually impossible.

Several police services, of course, have antique cars that they roll out to show their history during parades and that, so there could be some level of regulation as far as some of the higher end police equipment. Why somebody would have a police Sam Browne, that type thing, I'm really not sure, unless it was part of a display.

I know there's lots of place in Canada with police museums, some of them private, that do very extensive education to members of the public, community - build community/police relationships, and they would be significantly impacted with

1 some legislation.

Many police services that I contacted over my years of collecting actually sent a little pamphlet with their patch and it outlined the history of the service, the pride of the officers. A couple actually made a point of saying, "The patch we've enclosed was taken off a uniform and proudly worn by a member of our police service on duty and then stapled into the information card."

So is there a risk of prohibiting that? I would say that is very, very minimal in nature.

Badges are a little more concerning, but in fairness, somebody can flash a piece of tin, and it could be a paramedic, a firefighter, a military badge; the fact, even on an Edmonton Police badge, reading the word "Police" you have to get up pretty close to actually read that on the badge, versus it being flashed from a distance.

So, yes, I guess I personally feel that there is the ability to move past the risk of a single incident happening again, and not prohibit the good work that comes from collectors, the community involvement, the *esprit de corps*, the wonderful displays that are out there for members of the public to see. And, in my case, the drive to retain the history of policing and the policing memorabilia that has been used over the years throughout our country, and particularly this province.

MS. KRISTA SMITH: lan?

DR. IAN LOADER: Okay. I'm not sure in my mind I have a clear answer to that question. What I think it would be wise to do is to kind of entertain and think hard about the possibility that the risks might outweigh the advantages, and to kind of work through why that might be the case, even if that's not the position you end up in.

So I can think of two kinds of reasons why you might want to entertain the possibility that the risks outweigh the advantages. You might describe the first as a kind of cultural risk, and the cultural risk, I mean, takes you back to where I started, would be something like this: That actually there's something not very healthy about a society that uncritically celebrates its police force, and that one way in which it

does that is to allow the pervasive circulation of police symbols and iconography. And,

- actually, the better way in which we honour the kind of troubled history of police
- relationships with all kinds of minority groups and the current difficulties with that, is to
- 4 kind of cultivate a relationship to our police force which is more kind of ambivalent or
- 5 regretful or sad or -- rather than celebratory.
- So this is a kind of reiteration of where I started. I think that we
- 7 ought to think hard about the consequences of the kind of -- of the kind of -- of societies
- that seem to uncritically celebrate their police force as if it's part of their, kind of, national
- 9 story.
- So that might be one form of the answer where we kind of say, well,
- there may be a case for saying that, actually, the risks outweigh the advantages; there
- is a risk in that cultural sense.
- I guess that's not that the question is -- my guess is that's not what
- the question had in mind, and that they were rather thinking about the kind of
- instrumental risks. And maybe that's worth thinking hard about as well.
- So if we think of a police institution as the institution in our society
- that possesses a monopoly over the use of legitimate force, you could, by extension,
- mount an argument which says actually we want that organization, therefore, to be less
- a monopoly over the symbols of the use of legitimate force, and not want some of those
- 20 symbols to kind of widely -- to widely circulate among a population or among retired
- 21 officers.
- And I don't know the answer to this question; I'm just throwing it to
- there. So it seems to -- so my understanding of the current practice is that, no, retired
- officers are allowed to keep their uniforms, but -- maybe their badges but not their guns
- and not their cars; that one thing the Commission might want to do is to think hard about
- where -- where and for what reason one draws distinctions, in terms of the kinds of
- 27 symbolism that are allowed to kind of -- officers are allowed to carry into retirement, and
- by extension, that we allow to kind of freely circulate.

1	So that's I guess that's my best effort to say well, no, let's think
2	let's entertain the possibility that the answer to that question might be actually, yes, the
3	risks do outweigh the advantages.
4	I'm not sure that's where I end up, for some of the reasons given.
5	And some of the reasons given are to do are to do with the point, that I think the
6	very powerful point that Meaghan made a few minutes ago, which is about that we're all
7	deeply implicated in what she called "The police game"; that we all we all carry
8	around a version of authority or police authority in our heads, for whatever reasons, that
9	means we often don't need the kind of symbols of police authority in order for someone
10	to be able to successfully persuade us that they are a police officer.
11	And even if that's not the case, there is a kind of just the kind of
12	pragmatic question of how of the ease by which things that just look like police
13	symbols can be bought, sold, manufactured, kind of knocked-off.
14	So there are a whole series of pragmatic issues that may weigh on
15	the side of saying actually, no, there's something approximating the status quo is
16	something we might just have to live with, but I think we should think hard about the
17	about what it might mean to say to arrive at the opposite conclusion.
18	MS. KRISTA SMITH: Thank you, lan. We certainly rely on you for
19	your academic sensibility of sort of using a process to test it backwards. I think that's a
20	it helps us to work through some of the nuances of it.
21	I'd like to take it over to Brian.
22	MR. BRIAN CARTER: Phil brought up the Sam Browne, and, you
23	know, do you need that, sort of thing. But the Sam Browne, actually, is part of the Red
24	Serge. But in retirement, you don't have the handcuff pouch. We have what we call a
25	strip Sam Browne; it's just a cross strap and a belt. So the holster and the handcuff
26	pouch, all that stuff's missing. And it's brown, it's not the black working one that they
27	carry every day.
28	One other thing is if you are talking about holsters down the road,

1	just bear in mind that there are thousands of competitive shooters in Canada like
2	myself; I shoot IPSC and competitively, and we require a holster to do that sport.

So holsters are out there, and they will be out there for the sports.

- 4 And also understand that a holster is designed for a specific gun. So you carried a
- 5 different gun than I did; my gun won't fit in your holster and yours won't fit in mine. So
- 6 you need to understand some of those things too.

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- But to go back to the original question; and does it outweigh -- does
- the risk outweigh doing it? So a risk analysis is critical. You have to do a risk analysis.
- 9 And I'll use the *Occupational Health and Safety Act* as our tool to measure it by.
 - So the *Occupational Health and Safety Act*, whether it's the federal one or the provincial one doesn't matter, they use a process to determine what the risk is. So you identify the risk, which we've done; we've identified the risk. And now you have to determine what your options are to deal with it. And under those Acts, it simply says eliminate the risk, so that nobody gets hurt, or mitigate the risk.
 - In this case, you cannot eliminate the risk; it's impossible because anybody can make a uniform. It'll take them 15 minutes to create a patch, sew a stripe, and then now their uniform. So right off the bat, you've eliminated the piece of eliminating the risk. So the risk will be there, no matter what.
 - So then you have to look at, so what are our tools for mitigating that risk? And that's what you're going to have to address. So will taking, for example, the ceremonial uniform of the RCMP away from retired members, will that have any affect on the risk? You could argue, if you use the tools that they use in Occupational Health and Safety, that the answer would be no, because people can make the uniform. So -- and the ceremonial uniform is not a working uniform, it's a ceremonial uniform.
- So anyway, that would be my comments on that, so...
- MS. KRISTA SMITH: Meg?
- MS. MEAGHAN DANIEL: Yeah, so I think I fall closer to the
 comments expressed by Ian in that I wonder about the appropriateness of the weighing

exercise, given that what we're talking about, in the sense of what it is we're protecting,

2 in keeping these symbols in circulation and keeping access to them. On the other hand

- 3 in preventing them from being abused, the types of interests in -- at play, as stacked
- 4 against each other, leave me to say the exercise is an appropriate potential for actual
- 5 real physical harm, which is what I think I rather resonated what Julia -- Julie said, sorry.
- 6 As a mother, I would have to say no.

With a mind to the actual practical harm, while remote, while perhaps the case law that we have available to us doesn't reflect that as being a crime on this -- that is perpetuated often or on that scale, in this instance the actual harm is so great, and we know that the harms are more likely to be visited on those people who don't enjoy any of the advantages of having those symbols in circulation. And so I feel that the weighing exercise or the appropriateness of doing so depends on the standpoint of the person who is asked the question.

And so if I take up the standpoint of the person who tries and fails constantly to think about things from a lens of reconciliation, if I was speaking to — the question I always ask myself, in fact, I always have one particular elder in mind — if I was speaking to an elder, and I said, "Do the risks here outweigh the benefits?", he would say ,"The benefit to who and the risk to who?" And from his mind, it might be a question that he wouldn't engage in once you'd answered that.

MS. KRISTA SMITH: Thank you very much.

Commissioners, any follow ups? Are we good? Okay.

All right. Well, on behalf of the Research and Policy Team, and the Commission as a whole, we'd like to thank you for bringing your perspectives to us today and sharing them. I think each of you have demonstrated that there's a lot to consider, and there is no right answers. There is competing interests, there is -- sometimes the way the question is asked is the most important starting point. So you've helped us to understand some of these nuances in a way that we don't often get a chance to in our very busy lives, so thank you for taking that time. It's a real act of

1	public service.
2	So thank you very much. This concludes our first roundtable.
3	COMMISSIONER MacDONALD: And let me simply say this,
4	Krista: Thank you for so ably facilitating our session today. And I just want to build a
5	little bit on what the observation you made Krista, and it's this:
6	There's a universal truism in our work since it began, and that is is
7	that anytime we asked anybody to help us in our very important work, there has been a
8	recognition that when you're helping us you're helping the people of Nova Scotia, the
9	people of Canada and beyond. And universally, when we asked, people have stepped
LO	up, and you have stepped up.
l1	So Meaghan and Ian and Julia and Brian and Phil, thank you so
L2	much for stepping up. Yes, there is a cost-benefit analysis exercise potentially at play,
L3	and I'm very mindful of the poignant remarks. On the premise of whether or not that is
L4	how you would define that exercise, it's a good starting point. So thank you Meaghan
L5	and lan for those very poignant observations.
L6	All of you have benefitted us with a very rich discussion, a very
L7	informative discussion, thought-provoking and enlightening, and your perspectives
L8	varied, but they varied in such a respectful and constructive way, and for that, on behalf
L9	of the Commission, we are very, very grateful. And so I echo Krista's thanks.
20	And we'll have some closing remarks in a few minutes, but you're
21	free to leave your tables and with our thanks, and I'm sure on behalf of the people of
22	Nova Scotia, Canada and beyond. So thank you.
23	(SHORT PAUSE)
24	COMMISSIONER MacDONALD: I'll be turning it over in just a
25	minute to Commissioner Fitch to offer some closing remarks, but before I do that, I
26	wanted to update the public on our decision of March 9th. You many of you will recal
27	this was the decision where we listed further Phase 1 witnesses that we intend to hear
28	from in going forward in our public proceedings. And in that decision, we indicated

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1	that we expected there would be requests for accommodations, and I wanted to update
2	the public on that, and specifically it's this:
3	In our March 9th, 2022, decision, we indicated that we were
4	interested in hearing from Constable Vicki Colford on specific questions regarding
5	containment efforts in Portapique on the night of April 18th, 2020, and we directed that a
6	subpoena be issued to her.
7	On March 11th, 2022, the Commission received a request from
8	for accommodation from counsel for the National Police Federation asking that
9	Constable Colford be permitted to address any further relevant questions by way of
10	affidavit as opposed to oral testimony, as we had directed.
11	We have provided for such requests in our rules, and I quote,
12	specifically, Rule 43:
13	"If special arrangements are desired by a witness in
14	order to facilitate their testimony, a request for
15	accommodation shall be made to the Commission
16	sufficiently in advance of the witness's scheduled
17	appearance to reasonably facilitate such requests.
18	While the Commission will make reasonable efforts to
19	accommodate such requests, the Commissioners
20	retain the ultimate discretion as to whether and to
21	what extent such requests will be accommodated."
22	(As read)
23	Since we expect this will be the first of several accommodation
24	requests from witnesses we have subpoenaed, we have established a step-by-step
25	process, and that has just been recently posted on our website, and I commend that to
26	you.
27	And while the fact that a request pursuant to section 43 has been
28	made, and the nature of the accommodation sought may be made public, the personal

1	information of potential witnesses is presumed to be confidential.
2	The March 11th request submitted for Constable Colford also
3	included personal information supporting her proposed accommodation. Following
4	review of this material and consideration of the reasons for which Constable Colford
5	was to be heard, Commission Counsel recommended that the requested
6	accommodation be granted.
7	In accordance with the process I've just described, Commission
8	Counsel then wrote to Participant Counsel to inform them of Constable Colford's
9	request for accommodation and of Commission Counsel's recommendation that her
10	proposed accommodation be granted. Commission Counsel invited Participant Counsel
11	to provide the Commissioners with their written feedback.
12	Having considered the recommendation of Commission Counsel,
13	the specific purpose for which we directed Constable Colford be subpoenaed, the
14	submissions received from counsel for Participants, and the fact that since our
15	March 9th decision the Commission and Participants have now had the benefit of Cst
16	Colford's written responses to questions posed earlier by the Commission and the
17	transcript of the detailed interview Cst Colford provided in the course of the Employment
18	and Social Development of Canada investigation.
19	We direct that Cst Colford be permitted to answer any outstanding
20	questions regarding the RCMP containment efforts in Portapique on the night of April
21	18 th , 2020 by way of sworn affidavit.
22	We extend the deadline for Participants to offer any outstanding
23	questions they may have for Cst Colford. We extend that to Monday, May 2 nd , 2022.
24	If questions remain for Cst Colford or new ones arise following the
25	receipt of our affidavit, we will explore alternate accommodations to ensure we reliably
26	obtain the information we need from this witness.
27	Thank you.
28	And Commissioner Fitch, if you could offer some closing remarks?

1	COMMISSIONER FITCH: Thank you, Commissioner MacDonald.
2	This session concludes public proceedings for this week, but
3	please know the work of the Commission continues as we advance our independent
4	investigation, we prepare more Foundational Documents and source materials for the
5	public, we continue to liaise with the Participants and their counsel, and work to prepare
6	for coming witnesses and other public proceedings, including more round tables and
7	small group discussions and sessions.
8	Looking ahead to proceedings next week, we anticipate sharing
9	more Foundational Documents and hearing from more witnesses focusing on the issues
10	surrounding firearms.
11	A reminder, you can see the calendar of what is coming up, along
12	with the Foundational Documents, source materials, commissioned reports, and archive
13	of proceedings on our website.
14	We're also still on track to complete our interim report by May 1st,
15	which is coming up at the end of this week. This report will share our progress to date
16	and the steps we anticipate taking as we continue to fulfil our mandate. The interim
17	report will not include recommendations, as the process of fact finding is still ongoing.
18	As required by our orders in council, the interim report will be
19	submitted to Governments of Canada and Nova Scotia, after which, it will be shared on
20	our website.
21	There continues to be a lot going on with the Commission's work
22	and we still have a significant amount of work to do together in this inquiry. As always,
23	we are incredibly grateful for your interest and your engagement, and together, we will
24	continue to learn what happened, we will explore how and why it happened, and we will
25	shape findings and recommendations to help make our communities safer.
26	Thank you very much for joining us today and we look forward to
27	meeting again. Thank you.
28	Upon adjourning at 12:57 p.m.

1	CERTIFICATION
2	
3	I, Sandrine Marineau-Lupien, a certified court reporter, hereby certify the foregoing
4	pages to be an accurate transcription of my notes/records to the best of my skill and
5	ability, and I so swear.
6	
7	Je, Sandrine Marineau-Lupien, une sténographe officiel, certifie que les pages ci-hautes
8	sont une transcription conforme de mes notes/enregistrements au meilleur de mes
9	capacités, et je le jure.
10	
11	If up
12	Sandrine Marineau-Lupien