

External Review
Race Data in Use of Force Reporting by the
Ottawa Police Service, 2020

Submitted to
Ottawa Police Services Board
and
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Brief Biographies of Authors

Dr. Lorne Foster is a Full Professor and the Director, Institute for Social Research (ISR) at York University, which is a leading university-based survey research centre in Canada. He holds the York Research Chair in Human Rights and Black Canadian Studies (Tier 1). He also created the Diversity & Human Rights Certificate (DHRC), established in association with the Human Resources Professional Association (HRPA). This initiative is the first academic-industry partnership sponsored by a regulatory organization. His work on public policy formation and scholarship on the human rights approach to inclusive organizational change ranks among the best in its field and has consistently helped to open doors to new scholarly explorations through a synergistic laboratory of academic-and-industry collaborations.

Dr. Les Jacobs is a Full Professor and the Vice-President, Research and Innovation, at Ontario Tech University. Previously, he held at York University the York Research Chair in Human Rights and Access to Justice (Tier 1) leading the new Access to Justice Data Science Lab, while serving as Director of the Institute for Social Research. He completed his PhD at Oxford University. He joined Ontario Tech University and York University after having held full-time teaching positions at the University of British Columbia and Magdalen College, Oxford University. He was appointed a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada (FRSC) in 2017 for his internationally recognized data science contributions to equality of opportunity, human rights, and access to justice research.

For over a decade, Drs. Foster and Jacobs have worked in partnership with police services and public sector agencies across the province in areas of data collection and human rights, focusing in particular on human rights projects engaging racialized communities. They work together with the Ottawa Police Service (OPS) on the two largest Race Data Traffic Stop Projects in Canadian policing history. They collaborated with the Windsor Police Service (WPS) to conduct a program evaluation, using a human rights lens, examining all of their operational policies and regulations. They served as expert consultants for the Ontario Government and the Anti-Racism Directorate (ARD) on the formation of the *Anti-Racism Act, 2017*, and the development of the first Anti-Racism Data Standards (Standards) for collection, use and management of race data. They served as expert consultants for the Honourable Justice Michael Tulloch on both the Independent Oversight Review and the assessment of the police civilian oversight bodies – the Special Investigations Unit (SIU), the Office of Independent Police Review Director (OIPRD) and the Ontario Civilian Police Commission (OCPC), and the Independent Street Check [Carding] Review. They collaborated with the Ontario Government and the Cabinet Office (CO) on a whole-of-government review of the Workplace Discrimination and Harassment Policy (WDHP) and Respectful Workplace Practice (RWP). They continue collaborations with various police services – including Waterloo Regional Police Service (WRSP), Ottawa Police Service (OPS), Peel Regional Police (PRP) and York Regional Police (YRP) – to help develop race data collection strategies for all their interactions with the public. Their major academic publications include *Racial Profiling and Human Rights in Canada: The New Legal Landscape* (Irwin Law Books, 2018).

PART 1

Introduction

Public concerns about police use of force and racial profiling in Ontario are rooted in the experiences of racialized communities.¹ Despite modern professionalization² and numerous changes over time, including a decreases in the crime rate and criminal justice reforms, relations with policing for these racialized communities remain characterized by distrust and lack of confidence.³

The magnitude of this issue is reflected in the growing frequency of newspaper, television, and social media accounts of confrontations in multiple jurisdictions, graphically depicting the visible tensions between the police and racialized communities. In particular, the 2020 deaths Breonna Taylor and George Floyd in the United States, as well as of Regis Korchinski-Paquet and D'Andre Campbell in Canada, brought attention to transnational patterns consistent with racially biased policing. These events triggered a global outcry for a racial reckoning⁴ and launched a protracted debate around issues of police funding, training, hiring and monitoring.⁵ In light of this growing legitimacy crisis, race-based data collection and an anti-racism approach have been strongly embraced by the Ontario Government, with urgent calls to public institutions including the police to collect data on the delivery of police services.

In 2017, the Province of Ontario enacted the *Anti-Racism Act* (ARA)⁶ informed by broad community and stakeholder feedback through 10 community consultations across the province. The ARA calls for the Province to address systemic racism and promote racial equity through a variety of means, including naming and addressing racism in all forms. A regulation under the ARA was passed in 2018 to require Public Service Organizations (PSOs) especially in the Education, Child Welfare and Justice sectors to collect race-based data to measure, monitor, address and eliminate systemic racism. Ontario's *Data Standards for the Identification and Monitoring of Systemic Racism* were passed by Order in Council in April 2018 and provide Police Services with specific direction regarding the collection of race-based data. The purpose for collecting the disaggregated race data under this Act is to eliminate systemic racism and advance racial equity.⁷

When we employ race-based data collection we are not measuring race, we are measuring racism. Systemic racism involving the police is ultimately a systems failure by the police service. Fully disaggregating race data helps to expose hidden trends and flawed practices, enables the identification of vulnerable populations, helps establish the scope of the problem, and provides for evidence-based decision-making that can close the gaps in systems, improve outcomes, and contribute to a more socially equitable future.

Effective from January 1, 2020, police services in Ontario are required to collect data on the race of people who are subjects of a use of force when interacting with the police. A

Use of Force (UFR) Report must be completed for every UFR incident. This reports require police officers to state their perception of the subject's race as well as provide other information about the incident. The names of the subjects of a UFR incident are not included in the reports. Examples of when a report is required include use of a firearm or taser.⁸ The reports are reviewed by designated staff within the police service, and their Chief of Police, or designate, is required to submit the completed report to the Ministry of the Solicitor General.⁹ The new requirement to collect race data for UFR incidents serves the purpose of identifying, monitoring, and addressing potential racial bias or profiling by police, while maintaining the privacy and protection of any individuals included.¹⁰

Ottawa Police Service (OPS) Equity Roadmap

In a presentation to the Standing Committee on Public Safety & National Security, Ottawa Police Chief Peter Sloly acknowledged, “[S]ystemic racism is a well-established concept rooted in our colonial past, embedded in our legislation, enabled in our institutional practices and sustained in our organizational culture.”¹¹

Systemic discrimination, and anti-Black and anti-Indigenous racism, lie at the core of many of our broader public sector institutions, and is perhaps most visible in our police and criminal justice systems. Years of reports, studies and case law have made clear that the time is over for debating whether this bias exists in policing.¹² Systemic racism occurs when organizations implement procedures, regulations and/or practices that, whether deliberately or as an unintended consequence, negatively impact racialized persons.

OPS Chief Sloly further notes: “[T]he existence of systemic racism does not condemn all the individual members of these organizations as racists. That said, all members and the organization must recognize and own the reality of individual biases and systemic issues, then be collectively committed to addressing them on an ongoing basis.”¹³

Over the last decade, the Ottawa Police Service has significantly increased its capacity to drive the principles of equity, diversity and inclusion in every aspects of the organization. Prior to the *Anti-Racism Act* (ARA), the OPS pioneered race-based data collection in Ontario with the launch of the Traffic Stop Race Data Collection Project (TSRDCP), the largest race data study in Canadian policing history. The TSRDCP is a bi-annual research initiative that supports the delivery of professional and equitable policing services. The OPS also implemented the Equity, Diversity and Inclusion (EDI) Action Plan for 2020, to build capacity to advance inclusion within the Service and in service delivery to the Ottawa community. The Service implemented the Respect, Values & Inclusion (RVI) Directorate – to ensure full implementation, ongoing evaluation and continuous improvement of EDI strategies. It committed to working with community partners in Ottawa to develop a new Mental Health Response Strategy. In addition, the Service announced major organizational and operational changes to better serve all OPS members and to better work with their community partners – especially with

members of our most marginalized and racialized communities. This is all part of a continuous effort that the OPS has made, and continues to make, to build a comprehensive approach to police systems management that expands equity and fair policing efforts in a sustainable way.

OPS Use of Force Reports

In a human rights context, a justified police use of force or use of force properly conducted is based on three guiding principles:

1. The principle of **necessity** – minimum necessary force that is reasonable in the prevailing circumstances.
2. The principle of **proportionality** – force proportionate to the threat posed by a suspect and/or the harm that a law enforcement official is seeking to avoid
3. The principle of **precaution** – law enforcement operational planning that minimizes risk to potential lethal force.¹⁴

When exercising their duties, officers are authorized to use force to ensure the protection of life, preservation of peace, prevention of crimes, maintenance of order, and / or apprehending suspects. When considering use of force options, an officer must ensure community safety and a duty of care for all involved, including their own personal protection.

Regulation 926 s.14.5 of the *Police Services Act* sets out the requirements in relation to Use of Force, including: approved weapons, training, reporting, and technical specifications for available use of force options. Officer intervention is also guided by the Province of Ontario Use of Force Model (2004). In accordance with the Act, officers are required to submit a Use of Force Report when a service member:

- Draws a handgun in the presence another person, unless that other person is a member of the police service;
- Points a firearm at a person;
- Discharges a firearm;
- Uses a weapon on a person;
- Uses a Conducted Energy Weapons (CEW), commonly called a Taser
- Uses physical force on a person that results in an injury.

A single incident may require more than one level of force (i.e. application of force). This is reflected on the UFR Report. For example, an initial response may only require soft physical control (e.g. empty hands). As the incident evolves, the officer may transition to an intermediate weapon (e.g. CEW) to gain control. The incident report will capture both force options employed, and the sequence in which they were used. In a similar vein, a single incident may result in multiple use of force reports being submitted. This would occur in the event multiple officers are required to use force in response to a single incident. When completed, UFR Reports are submitted to the Professional Development

Centre Use of Force Analyst. Each report is reviewed for completeness, statistical data is verified, and then Part A of the report is submitted to the Solicitor General.

Historically, incident identifiers are not retained. This includes Part B of the Report and general occurrence number for each incident. In accordance with Ministry direction, these measures were established to protect the privacy of officers involved and to be used for training purposes only. As a result, detailed analysis of incidents has not been possible in the past. With enhancements to the UFR Report form in 2020, the OPS began capturing the general occurrence number associated with each report. The Professional Development Centre aimed to improve data collection with the intention of combining data from dispatch and records management system to develop a greater understanding of these incidents and populations commonly involved.

PART 2

Race Data Reporting for Use of Force 2020

This part of the report focuses specifically using a human rights lens to analyze the disaggregated race data that the new Use of Force Reports for the purpose of eliminating systemic racism and advancing racial equity in the Ottawa Police Service.

Key Issues for the Race Data Reporting

The reporting on race data in the *Use of Force 2020* records 348 incidents of Use of Force by the Ottawa Police Service involving 427 subjects for the period from January 1, 2020 to December 31, 2020. It is important to note that subjects include not only those directly involved in the application of force, but all subjects involved in the incident. The analysis addresses four key issues:

USE OF FORCE INCIDENTS - Are there disproportionately high incidences of use of force by the Ottawa Police Service for persons from different race groups, when compared with their respective populations in the City of Ottawa?

OCCURRENCE TYPE – Use of Force incidents are organized into occurrence types, principally Weapons Calls, Warrants, Disturbances, Mental Health Apprehensions, and Suspicious Persons. Are there patterns in the race data about these incidents? What insights do these patterns provide about any racial disparities in the Use of Force by the Ottawa Police Service?

USE OF FORCE OUTCOMES – The outcomes exercised by officers in Use of Force incidents range in seriousness, with the most serious involving the discharging of a taser, and pointing and discharging a firearm. Did racialized subjects experience disproportionately high incidences of these serious outcomes in 2020?

TRIGGERS FOR USE OF FORCE INCIDENTS – Use of Force incidents by police are often associated with two types of triggers, the subject possessing a weapon or the subject’s aggressive behaviour during the incident. Are there patterns in the data set on these two types of triggers? What does the data indicate about the race of subjects possessing a weapon or engaging in aggressive behaviour?

Data Collection and Quality

The data reported on in this analysis has been extracted from the Use of Force Reports submitted to the Ministry of the Solicitor General of Ontario by the Ottawa Police Service for the period from January 1, 2020 – December 31, 2020. These reports have prescribed data fields, which include for the first time in 2020 a race data field. The race data field follows the Anti-Racism Data Standard established in the regulations of *The Anti-Racism Act, 2017*. The race data field for subjects in Use of Force incidents sets out the following racial categories, based on the perception of the officer completing the Use of Force Report:

Table 1: Race Data Field for Use of Force Analysis

<i>Perceived Race by the OPS Officer</i>
Black
East/Southeast Asian
Indigenous
Middle Eastern
White
Other Racialized Minorities

The reliance on officer perception of race is consistent with other major race data collection initiatives by the Ottawa Police Service including The Traffic Stops Race Data Collection (TSRDC) project.

The process for ensuring data quality is provided by the Ottawa Police Service staff, as part of their compliance measures with regard to reporting to the Ministry of the Solicitor General. The information is then monitored by the Ministry of the Solicitor General (Ontario’s Anti-Racism Data Standards) to ensure consistent and effective practices are in place. The data allows for evidence-based decision making and helps ensure public

accountability. The goal is to use the data to help address systemic racism and promote racial equality.

There are three important related limitations on the findings reported below. The first limitation is the recognition that collected race data for subjects of Use of Force incidents is new for officers who must complete the reports. The second limitation is that because the requirement for the OPS to collect disaggregated race data for Use of Force Reports only began in 2020, comparisons to the findings from previous years is unavailable. The third limitation is the limited data fields required for the Use of Force Reports.

General Findings on Racial Disproportionalities in Use of Force Incidents

The findings are focused on a twelve-month period when race data collection was being introduced into UFR Reports. There were 348 UFR incidents reported involving 427 subjects. Table 2 provides the perceived race of those 427 subjects and portion of the total subjects involved in UFR incidents.

Table 2: Perceived Race of Use of Force Subjects, 2020

<i>Perceived Race by the OPS Officer</i>	<i>Use of Force Subjects</i>	<i>Percentage of Total Subjects</i>
Black	118	27.6%
East/Southeast Asian	12	2.8%
Indigenous	18	4.2%
Middle Eastern	50	11.7%
White	223	52.3%
Other Racialized Minorities	6	1.4%
Total	427	100%

An important broad objective of this analysis is the determination of whether there are any disproportionately high incidences of racialized subjects in UFR Incidents involving the Ottawa Police Service during 2020.

The benchmark for measuring disproportionately high incidences is the general population of Ottawa segmented by race. The benchmark used in this analysis is provided by the Statistic Canada Data Centre using their micro-data from the 2016

Census, which can be found in Table 3. When race groups are described as having “disproportionately high incidences in Use of Force” (above a ratio of 1.2 times), this means they are over-represented in UFR incidents when the share of subjects is greater than their shares in the population segments. A ratio of 1.0 times in the proportionality of incidences in Use of Force for a race group means the group’s proportion of subjects in UFR incidents corresponds to its proportion in the general population.

TABLE 3: Proportions of Resident Populations, by Race, in Ottawa, based on the 2016 Census, in comparison to Use of Force Subjects, 2020

Race Groups	Resident Populations	Use of Force Subjects	Ratio of Share of Subjects to Share of Population (1 + x-y/y)
Black	5.725%	27.6%	4.8 times
E./S./S.E. Asian	11.6%	2.8%	0.2 times
Indigenous	2.36%*	4.2%	1.8 times
Middle Eastern	4.91%	11.7%	2.4 times
White	73.24%	52.3%	0.7 times
Other Racialized Minorities	2.17%	1.4%	0.6 times

** Note that the accuracy of the 2016 Census data for Ottawa’s indigenous population has been disputed and that the Census data is said to under-report the size of the indigenous population in the city.*

Table 3 shows that there are disproportionately high incidences in Use of Force involving Black, Middle Eastern, and Indigenous subjects for the Ottawa Police Service in 2020. Given the significant number of Black and Middle Eastern subjects in the data set, the disproportionalities for those two groups are especially notable.

- Individuals who were perceived by officers to be Black had force used against them 4.8 times more than what you would expect based on their segment of the population.
- Individuals who were perceived by officers to be Middle Eastern had force used against them 2.4 times more than what you would expect based on their segment of the population.
- Individuals who were perceived by officers to be White had force used against them at a rate significantly less than equivalent to their segment of the population.

Race Data Pertaining to Incident Types

UFR incidents are organized by the OPS into occurrence types, principally Weapons Calls, Warrants, Disturbances, Mental Health Apprehensions, and Suspicious Persons. The nature of these occurrence types are often associated with UFR incidents. For example, weapons calls may be perceived as more likely to lead to UFR incidents. Other occurrence types such as Warrant, Disturbance Calls, Suspicious Persons, and Mental Health Apprehensions may have similar associations.

The data set allows for analysis comparing the race of subjects involved in particular occurrence types by the Ottawa Police Service in 2020. The focus here is on race groups where there are disproportionately high incidences of Use of Force.

TABLE 4: Race of subjects for particular occurrence types as portion of total subjects in group, 2020

Race of Subject	Total Subjects of Use of Force	Weapons Calls (95 of 348 total incidents)	Disturbance Calls (50 of 348 total incidents)	Suspicious Persons (13 of 348 total incidents)	Mental Health Apprehensions (40 of 348 total incidents)	Warrant (36 of 348 total incidences)	Total Subjects Involved in these Types of Incidences
Black	118	20 (17%)	5 (4%)	1 (1%)	6 (5%)	13 (11%)	45 (38%)
White	223	48 (22%)	19 (9%)	2 (1%)	13 (6%)	22 (10%)	104 (47%)
Middle Eastern	50	16 (32%)	8 (16%)	1 (2%)	2 (4%)	7 (14%)	34 (68%)
Indigenous	18	4 (22%)	3 (17%)	0 (0%)	2 (11%)	0 (0)	9 (50%)

The notable finding in Table 4 is that despite Black subjects have the highest disproportionalities in UFR incidents, they are the least likely to be involved in the types of incidences most often associated with Use of Force.

Use of Force Outcomes and Racialized Subjects

The outcomes exercised by officers in UFR incidents range in seriousness, with serious outcomes including the discharge of a taser, and the pointing of a firearm, and the discharge of a firearm. It is noteworthy that the Ottawa Police Service only discharged firearms 23 times, none of them involving a human subject. (All of them involving an animal.) Are there any patterns in the race of the subject data for these other serious outcomes?

Table 5: Race of Subject involved in Serious Outcomes of Use of Force, 2020*

Race of Subject	Subjects of Use of Force	Firearms Discharged Incidents	Firearms Pointed Incidents	Taser Discharged Incidents	Total Serious Outcomes
Black	118	0 (0%)	65 (55%)	16 (14%)	81 (69%)
White	223	0 (0%)	104 (47%)	22 (10%)	126 (57%)
Middle Eastern	50	0 (0%)	28 (56%)	2 (4%)	30 (60%)
Indigenous	18	0 (0%)	5 (28%)	6 (33%)	11 (61%)

Black subjects in UFR incidents were the most likely to experience serious outcomes. Indeed, more than two-thirds of Black subjects have firearms pointed at them or be tasered. The likelihood of these outcomes for Black subjects was more than 10 percentage higher than for White subjects.

This finding is notable in part because, as reported in Table 4, Black subjects were the least likely to be involved in the types of incidents that are commonly associated with serious UFR outcomes.

Triggers for Use of Force and Racialized Subjects

Use of Force incidents by police are often associated with two types of triggers, the subject possessing a weapon or the subject's aggressive behaviour during the incident.¹⁵ The 2020 data set contains data that allows for an analysis and findings on both the possession of a weapon by the subject and the behaviour of the subject during the incident. Are there patterns in the data set on these two types of triggers for the race groups that experienced highly disproportional incidences of Use of Force?

The 348 UFR incidents in 2020 included 93 cases where a subject possessed a weapon. Weapons included firearms, knives, sharp and blunt instruments, and replica firearm. Table 6 provides the findings on the race of the subjects who possessed weapons.

Table 6: Subjects possessing weapons based on race, 2020

Race of Subject	Subjects of Use of Force	Possessing Weapons (93 incidents)
Black	118	18 (15%)
White	223	57 (25%)
Middle Eastern	50	10 (20%)
Indigenous	18	6 (33%)

The findings reported in Table 6 show that the two groups of racialized subjects most likely to experience a UFR incident in Ottawa are also the two groups least likely to possess weapons.

The OPS data set for UFR incidents also contains data on the behaviours and attitudes of subjects during the incident. The behaviours reported include Active Resistant, Assaultive, Achieving Compliance, Passive Resistant, and Seriously Bodily Harm or Death. Achieving compliance is the idea that Use of Force was exercised to compel the subject to be compliant. What are the findings for the behaviours of racialized subjects?

Table 7: Subject behaviours based on race, 2020

Race of Subject	Subjects of Use of Force	Achieving Compliance Incidents (90 of 348)	Active Resistant Incidents (51 of 348)	Assaultive Incidents (70 of 348)	Serious Bodily Harm (91 of 348)
Black	118	34 (29%)	12 (10%)	15 (13%)	22 (19%)
White	223	53 (24%)	31 (14%)	39 (17%)	51 (23%)
Middle Eastern	50	13 (26%)	4 (8%)	10 (20%)	17 (34%)
Indigenous	18	2 (11%)	2 (11%)	5 (28%)	6 (33%)

Like with the patterns that merge from Table 6, Table 7 indicates that achieving compliance by the OPS was directed the most at Black and Middle Eastern subjects who nonetheless experienced the highest levels of disproportionality in experiencing UFR incidents. At the same time, while the behaviour of more than half of White subjects is identified as Active Resistant, Assaultive, or Seriously Bodily Harm or Death, White subjects are less likely than either of these two other race groups to experience serious UFR outcomes.

What do the findings reported in Table 6 and Table 7 indicate overall about the race of subjects possessing a weapon or engaging in aggressive behaviour? It suggests that these factors are unlikely to explain the high disproportionalities reported in Table 3.

PART 3

Recommendations for Improvements

Recommendations for Improvements

The Findings of the Use of Force Report 2020 are an important step forward for the Ottawa Police Service on the public reporting and analysis of race data for UFR

incidents. We have collaborated with the Ottawa Police and Community Equity Council to develop these recommendations to strengthen future reporting and action planning.

Improve Race Data Collection, Analysis and Reporting

1. Develop, in partnership with the community, a comprehensive Race Data Collection Strategy which includes:
 - a. Policy directives for a user-friendly, integrated approach that supports the collection of race data (and other demographics and variables) for the full range of OPS–community member interactions.
 - b. Prompt and transparent public reporting by the OPS of race-related findings.
 - c. Collaborative analysis and problem solving to respond to areas needing improvement.
 - d. Performance targets to reduce racial disparities in OPS service responses.
2. Increase data type/sources beyond what is required by the Ministry of the Solicitor General to deepen our understanding of UoF incidents.
3. Improve the links between UoF data and other OPS databases for reporting and analysis.
4. Leverage UoF race data analysis findings to promote equitable and value-based decision-making, policies and practices.

¹ Foster, L., Jacobs, L., Bobby S., & Azmi, S. (Eds). (2018). *Racial Profiling and Human Rights in Canada: The New Legal Landscape*. Toronto: Irwin Law.

² Stone, C. and Travis, J. Toward a New Professionalism in Policing. Harvard Kennedy School, New Perspectives in Policing. *National Institute for Justice*. <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij/topics/law-enforcement/executive-sessions/welcome.htm>.

³ Myhill, A. and Beak, K. (2008). "Public confidence in the police." *Research, Analysis and Information*. National Policing Improvement Agency. p. 1-42; Nadal, K. L. and Davidoff, K. C.. (2015). "Perceptions of Police Scale (POPS): Measuring attitudes towards law enforcement and beliefs about police bias." *Journal of Psychology and Behavioral Science*. Vol. 3, no. 2. p. 1-9.

⁴ Quarcoo, A., and Medina Husaković, M. (2021). *Racial Reckoning in the United States: Expanding and Innovating on the Global Transitional Justice Experience*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. https://carnegieendowment.org/files/202110-Quarcoo_Racial_Reckoning_final.pdf.

⁵ Chacon, C. (2020) Black Lives Matter petition calls on Edmonton to defund police service. Global News, June 7. <https://globalnews.ca/news/7037752/black-lives-matter-edmonton-defund-police/>;

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⁶ https://www.ontario.ca/laws/statute/17a15?_ga=2.195057768.559027487.1626630579-1229155316.1572535711.

⁷ Anti-Racism Act, 2017, S.O. 2017, c. 15 at 7(1).

⁸ R.R.O. 1990, Reg. 926: Equipment and Use of Force under Police Services Act, R.S.O. 1990, c. P.15, <https://www.ontario.ca/laws/regulation/900926>.

⁹ Ministry of the Solicitor General. *Policing in Ontario*. https://www.mcscs.jus.gov.on.ca/english/police_serv/about.html.

¹⁰ Anti-Racism Directorate. *Data Standards for the Identification and Monitoring of Systemic Racism*. <https://www.ontario.ca/document/data-standards-identification-and-monitoring-systemic-racism>.

¹¹ Soly, P. (2020). "Systemic Racism in Policing in Canada" Presentation by OPS Chief Peter Soly to the Standing Committee on Public Safety & National Security. https://www.cacp.ca/index.html?asst_id=2208.

¹² Ontario Human Rights Commission. (2021). *Framework for change to address systemic racism in policing*. <http://www.ohrc.on.ca/en/framework-change-address-systemic-racism-policing>.

¹³ Soly, P. (2020). Ottawa police are committed to resolving bias and systemic racism. *The Ottawa Citizen*, September 04. <https://ottawacitizen.com/opinion/soly-ottawa-police-are-committed-to-resolving-bias-and-systemic-racism>.

¹⁴ United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner. (1979). *Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials*. Adopted by General Assembly resolution 34/169 of 17 December 1979. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/lawenforcementofficials.aspx>.

¹⁵ Alpert, G. P., Dunham, R. G., Smith, M., Kenney, D., & Madden, T. (2003). The force factor: Measuring police use of force relative to suspect resistance. *Police Quarterly*, volume 6 issue: 2: 150-171; Alpert, G. P. and Dunham, R. G. (2004). *Understanding Police Use of Force Officers, Suspects, and Reciprocity*. Cambridge University Press.