

Police Corruption and Canada's Distinction

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ABSTRACT

Corruption in policing is a topic for renewal, in any country, as the growing challenges and opportunities of advancing technology and Internet access, changing police science and the ever-evolving relationship of police with public accountability requires constant vigilance and adjustment. This article discusses the nature of corruption in the context of Canadian policing, exploring police organization culture and the challenges of oversight and changing public scrutiny. It distinguishes individual corruption from the more prevalent, systemic corruption.

Key words: *Canada, Police Organizational Culture, Police corruption, Wrongful convictions*

INTRODUCTION

The nature of corruption in policing differs, just as the culture of police organizations and their relationships with the communities they serve vary from place to place and in different periods in history. Having worked in law enforcement myself for 35 years, and in my travels, I have observed that the nature of police integrity and corruption vary. In some countries and areas bribery is so commonplace and ingrained in daily practices that one might argue that it is not actually corruption because it is in keeping with local practices and expectations. So, it is important to clarify what "corruption" is. For the purposes of this article, corruption is defined as practices that stray from public hopes and expectations from their local constabulary.

Corruption does in fact exist, when the police routinely steal or demand bribes, if the community sees it as such. There may be places in the world where people expect the police to take bribes and it is part of the local governance system, and is, therefore, expected. When I refer to corruption, I am referring to the former, that the police steal, act unethically, demand bribes or perpetrate violence on people, and it is outside the hoped for normative behaviour by the community they serve. There are places in the world where people are afraid of the police and would not call them for help if their life depended on it. In other countries, the police are seen as public servants and people rely on them for all manner of support from keeping the peace to resolving conflicts. Canada is such a place.

In Canada, the standard of living is relatively high, although one can quickly dispel even that statement as we do have severe economic disparity. The average Canadian has a home, access to education, opportunities for employment, and a chance to live a happy and fulfilled life. At the same time, Canadian indigenous population was pushed aside during European settlement, and now suffers from poverty, lacking opportunities, overrepresentation in the justice system, and extreme marginalization in what Galtung (1996) might describe as "structural violence" or the invisible violence of poverty and the lack of educational and employment opportunities.

While disparity and widely varied living environment do exist in Canada, the overall standard of living is relatively high, and police officers are generally paid well. This attributes to the relatively lower incidence of bribery, theft, extortion and general corruption among Canadian policing, in comparison with many other countries. That is not to say that corruption does not exist, it is just not overt, widespread or institutionalized as it is in many other places. Corruption in Canada has involved more systemic problems, procedural problems, such as the practices that historically resulted in wrongful convictions. Where theft and extortion have occurred, it has not been organization wide, but rather has involved the occasional rogue police officer

who goes down a path of stealing in order to support gambling or substance abuse problems. This article explores the culture of Canadian police agencies, accountability over officers' behaviour and wrongful conviction cases that demonstrate how various forms of corruption have in fact occurred, but have not dominated the culture of Canadian policing.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology used in this article was primarily through literature review and one interview with the Commander of the Professional Standards Division of the larger Canadian police agency. The single interviewee is in charge of any alleged corruption cases or alleged breaches of rules or conduct in a police agency that has 1700 officers. It was found out that there is very little literature on police corruption in Canada; clearly it is a topic that needs more research. Failing to find substantial literature on the topic, the researcher also relied on direct observation and my own personal experiences over the past 35 years of my career in law enforcement.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Culture of Canadian Policing is Unique

Every profession and every organization have distinct characteristics that define them. Zwell (2000) describes organizational culture as the language, beliefs, shared knowledge and characteristics that allow groups to work together. The policing profession, in particular, has a clearly defined culture, steeped in values, norms, and a strong sense of group affiliation by their members (Crank, 1998; Niederhoffer, 1967; Paoline, 2000; Prenzler, 1997; Skolnick, 1966; Van Maanen, 1974). Nickels and Verma (2008) note that the themes that influence and define police culture include danger and ambiguity in the work, the authority to use force, a high degree of discretion, estrangement from civilians, bureaucracy, shift-work, routine contact with criminals, antagonism between front-line officers and managers, and occasionally vague and conflicting mandates. Public service is a key shared value within policing, but it is hampered any time that the public trust is damaged.

Public Trust is Key in Legitimizing Police Authority

Kaariainen's study into policing in 16 different European countries established that the perception of government corruption is directly correlated with decreased public trust in the police (Kaariainen, 2007). Jackson and Bradford (2010), and others, have further found that trust is improved when the police are perceived as being competent and fair. Other studies have confirmed that in order for trust of the justice system and its agents to thrive, citizens must feel that the system protects all parties' interests equally; not only the rich or the elites (Hohl, Bradford & Stanko, 2010; Tyler, 2005; Waddington, 2010). These findings generalize from the police to other government agencies as well; perceived unfairness creates distrust.

Westmarland (2010) explored the relationship between the police and communities in England seeking to determine whether trust is improved by community-based approaches that engage the public. She found out that citizens generally want more input into police priorities and decision-making. The police, on the other hand, were found to be cautious about people's motives; they are often uncomfortable with sharing information with decision-making authority, unless they are sure that the citizens involved are competent and able to make valuable and informed contributions (Ibid). For example, the police would not want a criminal gang leader or organized criminals involved in developing policing strategies. A question arises over who should assess competence to work with the police, and how that is to be determined. Westmarland's study sheds interesting light on the two-way nature of trust. The police, as well as the public, need to earn trust in a two-way relationship in order to work effectively together.

Achieving and maintaining trust is difficult, as government agencies can lose trust if they are perceived as manipulating who they work with. At the same time, they lose credibility and effectiveness if they attempt to work with people who are not considered to be representative of the community at large or are in fact criminals with ulterior motives. In Canada, fractures within and between Aboriginal groups are a case in point. It is difficult, or impossible, to find people who represent the entire indigenous community,

yet government sometimes deals with only one or a small number- thus leaving some out. For example, members of several prominent Aboriginal families in Manitoba have reported that there is so much conflict between the chief and band councils on some reserves, that when one member of a family gets elected to council, many people that do not belong to the extended family of the elected individuals leave the reserve. Sometimes people leave because they know that the newly elected chief is likely to favour their own extended family in terms of funding and job appointments (confidential informants).

If government agencies are seen to be working with the wrong people on issues such as gang prevention, others may not trust what they do. Therefore, government resources should be directed into assisting marginalized communities to make the best use of bridge-building opportunities by developing the skills of community members who can represent people competently, fairly, and in a victim-oriented, non-political manner. Skill and sensitivity development must also take place in mainstream society and within police agencies in order for non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal peoples to work together effectively.

Goldsmith (2005) also studied public trust in the police in several countries and found out that without public trust in police, “policing by consent” is difficult or impossible, and public safety suffers. Goldsmith’s findings resonate with Sir Robert Peel’s second principle, that the police depend upon public approval for legitimacy, and his seventh principle, that the police are the people and the people are the police, and that the police should be seen as merely an extension of the public (Peel, 1829). Peel (1829) established the first professional police force in London, and he is attributed with articulating the principals of good policing that are heavily relied on to this day in police agencies around the Global North. Great strides have been made in Canadian policing over the past two decades, to respect and include better community representations and engagement. Public trust and engagement are among the top priorities for police agencies across Canada (Christmas, 2014, 2013).

Police Officers are subjected to Relentless Scrutiny and Professional Jeopardy

Accountability is important if government agencies are to maintain public trust. The public are now much better informed than they were in the past, due in large part to the instant access to information of the internet. Most people in Canada have a smartphone and access to the internet. Police officers now have to expect that their every move and everything they say is being recorded at all times. This transparency has made government agencies like the police much more accountable. Accountability and allegations of corruption within government and policing agencies are being revisited in this new context, but they often reflect back to the earliest debates about the nature of good governance and accountability.

The early social contract philosophers included Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), John Locke (1632–1704), and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) (Held 1996). Hobbes describes the need for governments to have extensive power and authority in order to prevent citizens from reverting back to a violent state of nature, otherwise “the life of man [would be] solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short” (Hobbes, 1651, xliii). This principle defines the need for organized policing and law and order, because without social control there would be chaos and uncontrolled violence. Having seen first-hand, over my 35-year career in law enforcement, the violence that people are capable of, I have come to appreciate that Hobbes’s statement as an immutable truth about the nature of people and the human condition. However, Hobbes’ statement about human nature does not clarify how police corruption should be controlled.

Locke argues that citizens would be foolish to trust the government blindly and should resist any government that fails to represent them well. His position describes modern-day values of government accountability. He emphasizes the importance of fairness and people’s right to self-preservation and the principal of justice in his historic statement “Who sheddeth man’s blood, by man shall his blood be shed” (Locke, 1812, p. 342). Locke further contends that for the recognition of fundamental human rights, such as security and protection of property, later became entrenched in laws. These principles lie at the heart of Canadian justice and the concept that people should be punished through court sentences, so that the victim feels retribution has been achieved to repair the damages caused by an offender’s transgressions. Locke argues that both men and governments are corruptible and need regulation; he captures the basic corruptible nature of humankind

in stating, “absolute monarchs are but men” (1812, p. 345). This resonates with the famous statement about power that is attributed to historian John Acton (1834-1902), that power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely.

The principle of holding politicians and government officials, such as the police, accountable, stands at the heart of modern democracy, as Canadians are quick to hold politicians or other government representatives to account when they make mistakes or are perceived to be dishonest. Citizens today criticize government and make public statements about the perceived incompetence of political leaders and public officials with no thought of the repercussions and persecution that they would have faced in other societies and earlier times, or if they lived now in a less open society. We should not take these hard-fought freedoms for granted as they came at great cost to our ancestors, and people are still oppressed in many countries around the world.

Citizens have a duty to hold governments accountable. Rousseau (1913) highlights the rights and duties of citizens in civil society. His writing has influenced much of what we take for granted in modern political thought. He argues the importance of public input into governance, stressing that citizens should only agree to be governed by just and fair government and laws, and that laws are only valid if they are for the common good. This principle resonates with the idea that collaboration and police-community partnership are the only effective strategies for addressing complex modern social problems. Rousseau’s ideas also echo Peel’s principles that call for public approval, willing cooperation, and consent by people to be policed (Peel, 1829).

The principle of public consent raises interesting questions about the role and authority and accountability of governments and police agencies. Should politicians and civil servants represent public opinion in their decisions or should they do what they think is good for the public, regardless of what citizens think? The common good theorists – Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, and others – have stressed that governments are elected and given authority to represent public values and norms. Government officials, including the police, are entrusted with working for the public good, even when they cannot openly discuss all of their activities and operations. Doing the right thing includes protecting the vulnerable, protecting the rights and interests of society at large, not only elites or individuals.

In this era of globalization and continuous technological advances, governments, by necessity, are entrusted with some duties whose elements must be kept confidential in order to operate effectively. At the same time, they should operate on the assumption that they will ultimately be open to public scrutiny and input. In policing, for example, investigation of crime and a wide range of operational activities require high security and secrecy in order to be effective. Where police agencies can stumble is confusing the need for security with the right to make value judgments on behalf of the public. The public obviously cannot know about secret surveillance operations targeting criminal activity. They can, however, have input into how those targets are selected and prioritized. Police officers are often burdened with carrying out tasks, in secret, with little to no oversight. Policing with no or with inappropriate accountability measures is a potential recipe for loss of public credibility or worse. When criminal investigations are so secret that police officers can take liberties with the way they are carried out, or the police feel that they can take actions they believe will protect peoples’ rights without any discussion or oversight, the police become self-governing and can be subject to perceived corruption and criticism (Chrismas, 2013).

Police Officers Today Face Quadruple Professional Jeopardy in their Work

They are accountable to the public and to their internal command chains. They are also held to account by internal professional standards investigations, external oversight agencies, the courts, and the ever-growing army of citizen journalists, all of whom look for, and vigorously investigate, any suggestion of misconduct. Most police oversight falls within four categories: the public (including media), internal, the courts, and oversight bodies. Together they are a source of quadruple jeopardy for police officers, far exceeding the oversight and accountability required of most other professions. Almost every police officer goes through a rite of passage when they have to testify at a court case and worry that a defence lawyer will focus his or her

cross-examination on something the officer should or should not have done during the investigation. For instance, it is challenging for officers to recall all the details of an incident recorded four years earlier under stress.

Officers are also subjected to relentless media coverage that often seems to focus more on any alleged police misconduct than on the sacrifices they make and the work they do ensuring public safety. This sort of publicity is often difficult for officers because they are acutely aware that their children, spouse, extended family, and friends will suffer from the stress caused by such public allegations. Members of the public are able to make allegations and say anything they wish to the media, while officers are bound by strict rules of confidentiality that do not allow them to speak publicly about aspects of police business or investigations. Police issues pose a difficult challenge for reporters as well. They need to report on incidents that interest the public, such as alleged police misconduct, while also attempting to be objective (hopefully), while maintaining positive relationships with the police, whom they rely on for information about high-profile police activities, stories of public interest, and public safety announcements.

Insider Whistle Blowing is Difficult

A number of accountability mechanisms have evolved to prevent civil servants, in North America, from complaining to outside sources (Delaney, 2007). Public servants are constrained by corporate ethics and rules from divulging incompetence, waste, or even corruption within government; yet, government agencies that admit mistakes more freely, demonstrating transparency in dealing with incidences of alleged corruption and mismanagement, tend to inspire public confidence rather than distrust. It is important to know who is accountable within government and to whom civil servants should report wrongdoing if they see it. Both civic duty and principles of accountability must be considered.

Many civil servants are caught in a struggle between simultaneous loyalties to the government agency that employs them, and to the public they serve (Kernaghan & Siegel, 1999). Their sense of duty may be further complicated by dedication to a third set of values, the standards that guide their profession. In the case of policing, there is a strong organizational culture that constrains officers from speaking out. These conflicts can be further exacerbated by the civil servants sense of responsibility to their families: should they risk their livelihood and all they have worked for in order to expose an injustice or a mismanaged government programme, practice or incident? Research has found that most civil servants are unwilling to risk their careers and well-being becoming a whistle-blower. However, when internal reporting mechanisms fail, some individuals do choose to go public (ibid.).

When is it appropriate to go outside of one's organization and blow the whistle? Some suggest that it should only be done when the matter being reported is contrary to peer group values (Laframboise, 1991). This argument fails, however, as it may be collective peer group values that are the problem. Breaking ranks to report perceived wrongdoing could have extreme consequences. For example, unauthorized release of information on police operations can tip off suspects, who may choose to flee and escape arrest or lie in wait and ambush the police. Lives could be at stake, if certain information is leaked. One famous, albeit dated, case of an officer standing up for major changes was Frank Serpico in the New York City Police Department (NYPD). Serpico, guided by his conscience, refused to take part in corrupt practices in the NYPD (Maas, 1973). He testified in court about the experience and supported a government programme attempting to correct widespread corruption in major American police organizations in the early 1970s. He became an outcast with his fellow officers and, tragically, was shot in the face when his peers neglected to back him up at a call for assistance in the line of duty. Canadian police agencies have much less history of corruption; however, the Serpico case illustrates the dynamics that individuals may face in attempting to affecting organizational change. Unpopular changes within the workplace are bound to be difficult without a critical mass of like-minded people, a strong chain of command, and effective leadership. Research has confirmed the range of retaliation that police officers may receive at the hands of their peers when they are deemed to be non-conforming (Cancino & Enriquez, 2004).

The act of whistle blowing is seen as revolutionary; it undermines the effectiveness of an organization and, therefore, indirectly affects service to the public. In the police context, many unauthorized disclosures have been self-serving rather than for the public good. “Deep blue” media tips are sometimes given over issues like overtime and resource deployment in order to undermine collective bargaining efforts or to voice disagreement with a unit or programme being shut down or members being redeployed. Confidential disclosures are often the only way that some incidents or corrupt practices will ever come to light, so it is incumbent upon police agencies and oversight bodies to have effective mechanisms in place for whistle-blowers to come forward safely.

Wrongful Convictions have Occurred as a Result of Poor Policing Practices

Slow court processes do not ensure justice. In fact, recent discoveries of wrongful convictions have shown the justice system to be a blunt instrument that sometimes convicts the wrong person. It also allows many guilty people to escape conviction. Holmes (2001) contends that up to 20% of all convictions in Canadian criminal courts are wrongful. Factors leading to wrongful convictions can include rushed judgments, eyewitness error, erroneous forensic science, false confessions taken by the police, tunnel vision, use of unreliable jailhouse informants, professional misconduct and racial bias (Campbell & Denov, 2016). These elements can often be exacerbated by public pressure on the police and prosecutors, especially in high profile cases, to find suspects and bring them to justice (Christmas, 2016).

Simply being in the wrong place at the wrong time has resulted in innocent people being caught up in police investigations and being wrongfully convicted (Lockyer, 2011). Justice is also averted when people admit to crimes they did not commit, either in plea bargain for lesser charges, or when facing parole tribunals where admitting guilt is their only hope of early release (Christmas, 2016). This is a paradox in the parole system, as a truly innocent person cannot be granted parole, in some cases, unless they repent for their alleged offences.

The Government of Canada, Office for Ministerial Review of Miscarriages of Justice, has found several wrongful convictions in the last few years across Canada (Canada, Department of Justice, 2006). Many such cases sent back to provincial justice ministers for review are investigations that were flawed by systemic problems such as insufficient disclosure at trial and investigations flawed by tunnel vision on the part of the investigators (Janis, 1971). In 2005 the Report on the Prevention of Miscarriages of Justice by the Federal, Provincial, and Territorial Prosecutions Committee Working Group, urged changes across Canada to combat issues in the justice system that have led to wrongful convictions. Some of the main causes of wrongful convictions include police tunnel vision, mistaken eye witness identifications, unreliable jailhouse informants, and misleading evidence by experts in forensic sciences. The report recommended that a full review take place (Bellemare & Finlayson, 2004).

The follow-up report was titled “The Path to Justice: Preventing Wrongful Convictions Report of the Federal-Provincial-Territorial Heads of Prosecutions Subcommittee on the Prevention of Wrongful Convictions” (Federal-Provincial-Territorial Heads of Prosecutions Subcommittee, 2011). These committees are comprised of senior police officers and prosecutors from across Canada, and emphasize that vigilance is required throughout the justice system to avoid pitfalls such as tunnel vision. The ministerial justice group was formed as a result of the case in which Thomas Sophonow was wrongly convicted in Winnipeg for the murder of sixteen-year-old Barbara Stoppel. She was viciously murdered in December 1981 in the donut shop where she worked, in a quiet, predominantly French neighbourhood of St Boniface; the public outcry for justice and closure was loud.

Sophonow was in the wrong place at the wrong time, and police focused on convicting him of the offence. The resulting investigation was a textbook case of tunnel vision. Sophonow was charged and then endured a series of trials and appeals that were unprecedented at the time. The first trial jury was unable to reach a unanimous verdict. At the second trial, Sophonow was convicted and Manitoba’s Appeal Court overturned the conviction, ordering a third trial. In 1998, the WPS reinvestigated Stoppel’s murder and found flaws in its own investigative processes, as well as identifying another suspect in the murder (Manitoba Government, 2012). In June of 2000, the then Police Chief, Jack Ewatski announced that Thomas Sophonow was innocent

of the murder of Barbara Stoppel. On that same day, the Manitoba Attorney General publicly apologized to Sophonow for his having to spend forty-five months in jail and endure three jury trials for an offence he did not commit. A subsequent public inquiry found that the police conducting the initial murder investigation had been influenced by tunnel vision that had caused them to focus on Sophonow and excluding other evidence that might have cleared him.

Many lessons have been learnt and policies and practices have been amended, making the process and management of major investigations very different today compared to 20 years ago (Buiza & Thompson, 2003). For instance, investigators often focus on eliminating suspects rather than focusing on one suspect and then discounting any evidence that does not support that person's guilt. Psychological phenomenon such as tunnel vision and groupthink are now better understood, and practices have been incorporated to avoid these pitfalls. Groupthink is a word that was coined in regard to the decision made by President John F. Kennedy's management team to invade Cuba with a small armed force. The resulting "Bay of Pigs" invasion was later recognized as a poor decision that came about because key people failed to challenge decisions. Kennedy was surrounded by people who all agreed on the invasion without raising the potential negative consequences of the decision. Incidents like the Bay of Pigs and on-going social psychological research have revealed that effective decision-making groups need to incorporate strategies for avoiding groupthink and tunnel vision (Janis, 1971).

DNA is the scientific advance that has cleared and continues to clear many wrongfully convicted people. Fortunately, evidence from murder cases is kept indefinitely, because physical evidence that was relied on heavily in historical court trials may be reinterpreted later through new technological lenses. Guy Paul Morin was convicted twice for the 1984 murder of Christine Jessop in Ontario, and he was later exonerated through compelling DNA evidence in 1995 (Tyler, 2005). Kyle Unger is the victim of another famous case of wrongful conviction; he was acquitted in 2009, after serving fourteen years in prison, for his wrongful 1990 conviction for the murder of Bridgette Grenier in rural Manitoba. DNA, again, was the main evidence that eventually cleared him (Winnipeg Free Press, 2011).

In a precedent-setting case, Canada's Supreme Court ruled in 2007 that the police could be sued for their role in wrongful convictions (Skurka, 2007). Sophonow's settlement was \$2.3 million (Canadian Press, 2003); this ensures that there is a motivation beyond seeking justice in seeing that investigations and trials are managed properly. But a question remains as to how many wrongful convictions there are.

In Canada, allegations of miscarriages of justice go to the federal justice department and, if errors are detected in the original investigations or trials, they are then assigned to provincial justice ministers to decide whether any action should be taken. This differs from the British system in which a commission decides which cases should be re-examined (Tibbetts, 2005). Higher standards of accountability, more stringent procedures, and increased police education have been implemented to help decrease the potential for future injustices (Criminal Law Quarterly, 2007). Much has been researched and written in recent decades on the phenomenon of wrongful convictions and the literature is useful in helping practitioners avoid investigative pitfalls (Cotler, 2010; Denov & Campbell, 2005; Kassir, 2010; Manishen, 2006; Staples, 2003; Thorne, 2005; Tyler, 2005).

Police Accountability has Changed Substantially over the Past Fifty Years

Walsh and Conway (2011) describe the challenges of police governance and accountability as having increased immensely over the past fifty years in response to "an increasingly diverse, technological, urbanized, globalized, mobile, sophisticated, rights-conscious and knowledge-based society." They found that the shift towards "intelligence-based, problem-oriented, proactive strategies" has increased specialization within agencies, which now have heavily armed tactical units, more specialized investigative units, and specialists for a much broader spectrum of tasks (Walsh & Conway, 2011:61). Policing the police is an on-going challenge and a hotly debated topic with respect to police governance and accountability (Christmas, 2013).

In 2009, the RCMP Commission for Public Complaints Against the RCMP released a report entitled "Police Investigating Police – Final Public Report" that provided results of the examination of police oversight

models ranging from the municipal level, used in Chicago, to regional equivalents in South Australia, and country-wide agencies in Great Britain (Kennedy, 2009). Kennedy found that in those countries, all of which have police systems that originated in the British tradition, there are currently three different models of police oversight.

The dependent model involves police investigating another police force. The interdependent model, utilized in British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Alberta, Yukon, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and South Australia, introduces civilian involvement into criminal investigations of police officers (Kennedy, 2009). In the interdependent model, civilian observers monitor police investigations to be sure that they are conducted with impartiality; they may also conduct investigations in collaboration with the police. This model combines police investigative experience and civilian independence. The independent model involves civilians or police officers with no ties to the agency under investigation. Ontario's Special Investigation Unit uses this model. The key advantage of an independent oversight body is that it offers an appearance of total independence and objectivity. Manitoba recently introduced their Independent Investigation Unit, similar to the Ontario model. Ultimately Kennedy finds that there are benefits, such as independence and objectivity, in reality and in perception, as well as cost constraints tied to these varied models. There is no one configuration that stands out as the best for all of Canada (ibid.). Regardless of the oversight model, police executives and frontline officers are all under increasing pressure to ensure accountability and transparency.

CONCLUSION

While statistics related to corruption in Canadian policing are not readily available, it does exist, albeit in much different form than many other countries. In my experience, and in speaking with police officers across Canada, the nature of corruption that occurs among Canadian police officers is individual officers going off the rails, sometimes feeding addictions or financial problems with escalating thefts, or breaking laws in a misplaced sense of justice - using all means necessary to ensure a conviction. Corruption is much less systemic and agency wide and generally does not permeate organizational culture as we see in many other countries. The systemic corruption we have seen was manifest in phenomenon such as tunnel vision and has been corrected over the past two decades with ever improving technology, accountability and investigative practices.

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