

**INVESTIGATING THE RACE-BASED EXPERIENCES OF ETHNIC MINORITY LAW
ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS WITH MEMBERS OF THE PUBLIC**

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DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate my thesis to my maternal grandmother Valentyna Voloshyna; I write this dedication on her 86th birthday. It is because of her that my family was able to come to Canada and I would not have the life and education I have today without her sacrifices. She has been a constant support and driver of the women in my family to take on non-traditional gender roles and break through gender-based barriers. Born in 1937 in the USSR, she has now lived through two wars and a genocide in her homeland of Ukraine. Through it all, her mind has been and continues to be decades ahead of those around her. I have never met someone who cares so little of what others think. She is an inspiration to me and models working diligently towards one's goals. She embodies resilience, determination, strength, and leadership, while her gentle soul loves unconditionally.

My grandmother passed during the final editing stages of this thesis on September 29, 2023. Peace and love to her always and forever.



Valentyna Voloshyna
June 27, 1937 – September 29, 2023

ABSTRACT

Only 8% of police officers in Canada identify as people of colour, while approximately 26.5% of Canada's general population identify as people of colour. Law enforcers do not currently mirror the demographics of the populations they serve, as agencies report difficulty recruiting ethnic minority officers who then also have higher resignation rates than their White counterparts. Many studies explore the intraorganizational discrimination and unique challenges faced by ethnic minority officers. However, there is currently no research addressing the *public* race-based experiences of officers of colour with civilians in the field. This study identifies the types and frequencies of race-based interactions experienced by ethnic minority officers in the field and how these interactions impact officers' job satisfaction, professional identity, and in turn, intention to resign. Second, this study gathers officers' suggestions regarding improvements in current policy, recruitment practices, officer training, and available support, as related to officers of colour. This mixed-methods research addresses a major gap in the current literature that supports people of colour entering and maintaining more positive law enforcement careers. Written responses from 49 officers provide insight into the unique challenges faced by ethnic minority officers in the field and the organizational and clinical implications of those events.

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Table of Contents

DEDICATION.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
LIST OF TABLES.....	x
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xii
CHAPTER 1: Introduction.....	1
Research Questions.....	3
CHAPTER 2: Literature Review	5
Ethnic Minority Law Enforcement Officers	5
Ethnic Minority Defined.....	5
Law Enforcement Defined.....	6
Theory of Representative Bureaucracy.....	7
Empirical Support for a Diverse Task Force.....	7
Current Diversity in Canadian Law Enforcement	9
Barriers in Ethnic Minority Recruitment	11
Distrust of Police.....	11
Discouragement from Community.....	12
Real and Perceived Barriers to the Application Process	13
Organizational Challenges Faced by Ethnic Minority Officers	16
Police Culture.....	16
Lack of/Slower Career Progression.....	18
Resignation Rates	20
Link Between Job Satisfaction and Attrition	21
Challenges Faced by Ethnic Minority Officers Outside of the Organization: “In the Field”	22

Racism from Members of the Public.....	23
Scrutiny for Career Choice by Members of the Public	23
Clashing of Professional and Ethnic Identity as Experienced in the Field.....	25
Research Objectives.....	27
CHAPTER 3: Method.....	30
Participants	30
Inclusion Criteria.....	30
Exclusion Criteria and Amendments.....	30
Sample Size	31
Measures	32
Demographic Information.....	32
Race-Based Interactions with Members of the Public While on Duty.....	33
Job Satisfaction	33
Professional Identity.....	34
Leave Intention.....	34
Other Impacts of RBI	35
Perspectives on Improvement	35
Procedures	35
Methods of Analysis	36
Quantitative Data.....	36
Qualitative Data	37
CHAPTER 4: Results.....	38
Investigation of Research Question One.....	38
Investigation of Research Question Two	39
Participant Demographic Information	39

Research Question 1: Impact of RBI on Job Satisfaction, Job Identity, and Leave Intention ...	42
Positive/Pleasant Race-Based Interactions (+RBI).....	43
Positive Race-Based Interactions with Civilian of the Same Race (+RBI-SR).....	44
Positive Race-Based Interactions with Civilian of a Different Race (+RBI-DR).....	48
Impacts of Positive RBI on Job Satisfaction, Professional Identity, and Leave Intention ...	48
Negative/Unpleasant Race-Based Interactions (–RBI)	50
Negative Race-Based Interactions with Civilian of the Same Race (–RBI-SR)	51
Negative Race-Based Interactions with Civilians of a Different Race (–RBI-DR).....	54
Impacts of Negative RBI on Job Satisfaction and Professional Identity.....	58
What Makes Their Job Worthwhile?.....	59
Research Question 2: Officers Improvement Suggestions.....	62
Policy Improvement Suggestions.....	64
Improvement Suggestions for Recruitment Practices	65
Improvement Suggestions for Officer Training.....	67
Improvements Suggestions for Available Support.....	69
CHAPTER 5: Discussion	72
Race-Based Interactions in Past Literature	73
Novel Data on Positive Race-Based Interactions.....	73
Novel Data on Negative Race-Based Interactions	73
Research Question One: Considerations From the Reported Impacts of RBI	75
Double Marginality	75
Racial Battle Fatigue and Police	77
Research Question Two: Incorporating Officer Recommendations.....	78
Clinical Implications.....	80
Consideration of the Increased Physical and Psychological Risks to Officers of Colour....	80

Limitations and Future Research.....	82
Sample Size.....	82
Novelty of Survey	82
Expansion of Related Literature.....	83
Further Narrowing of the Current Topic	84
Conclusion.....	84
References	87
Appendix A	94
Appendix B.....	95

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Sample Age Range and Race/Ethnicity.....	40
Table 2: Participant Job Characteristics.....	41
Table 3: Factors Reported by Officers That Made Their Job Worthwhile Personally or Professionally.....	60
Table 4: Summary of Organizational Improvement Suggestions Related to Race-Based Experiences.....	63

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Visual Representation of Research Questions.....	28
Figure 2: How Often do Officers of Colour Experience Positive Race-Based Interactions?.....	43
Figure 3: How Often do Officers of Colour Experience Negative Race-Based Interactions?.....	51

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

MOP	Member of the Public/Civilian
RBI	Race-Based Interaction
-RBI	<i>Negative</i> Race-Based Interaction
-RBI-SR	Negative Race-Based Interaction - With a Civilian of the <i>Same</i> Race as Officer
-RBI-DR	Negative Race-Based Interaction -With a Civilian of a <i>Different</i> Race as Officer
+RBI	<i>Positive</i> Race-Based Interaction
+RBI-SR	Positive Race-Based Interaction - With a Civilian of the <i>Same</i> Race as Officer
+RBI-DR	Positive Race-Based Interaction - With a Civilian of a <i>Different</i> Race as Officer

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

Law enforcement agencies have long had a turbulent and troubling relationship with ethnic minority communities (Henry & Tator, 2014). In more recent years, systemic racism, police brutality, and law enforcement misconduct seem consistently present in media; public pleas for changes in enforcement are prominent. High levels of enforcement-community tension highlight the urgency of researching policing agencies and their areas for growth (Riguax & Cunningham, 2020). Police research provides prospective improvements for law enforcement agencies, their diversity, and their public relations.

Law enforcement organizations represent the municipal, provincial, and federal leaders of our democracy on the ‘street level’ (Pierre, 2003; Bland et al., 1999); therefore, researchers have suggested looking to principles of representative bureaucracy for improving enforcement-community relations (Carroll, 2004; Hong, 2017; Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006; Riccucci et al., 2018). Representative bureaucracy states that the leaders of a democracy should mirror the diversity of the population they govern; law enforcement agencies should do the same (Wise, 2003). A 2016 report showed that Halifax was the only Canadian city with a police force representing the diversity of its population (Marcoux et al., 2016).

Many factors contribute to the homogeneous recruiting and employment tendencies of law enforcement agencies in Canada. Historically, recruitment practices have targeted mainly younger White men, who were considered more likely to assimilate into police culture and integrate well with the officers already hired (Henry & Tator, 2014). Recruitment success rates were heavily skewed in their favour (Henry & Tator, 2014). Police culture has also been criticized as being unwelcoming of people of colour and resisting their inclusion (Riguax & Cunningham, 2020). Further, some ethnic minority immigrants come from countries where police represent a corrupt and brutal body who are not to be trusted (Shusta, 2017). Consequently, some

people of colour who desire a career in policing may be discouraged or judged by their family and friends who do not view law enforcement as a respectable occupation (Rigaux & Cunningham, 2020). In Canada, people of colour are also most likely to experience negative interactions and treatment by officers, and therefore may belong to a subculture who detest police (Shusta, 2017).

For those who overcome the hurdles of becoming an ethnic minority officer and obtain a job in law enforcement, further challenges await. Compared to their White colleagues, officers of colour receive promotions later in their careers despite applying for them after approximately the same length of initial service (Shusta, 2017). Additionally, racial minority officers describe racist jokes from their colleagues as part of the ‘police culture’ and the mentality of ‘developing thick skin’ (Rigaux & Cunningham, 2020). Further, some research (Bland et al., 1999) suggests that officers of colour are historically twice more likely to resign their law enforcement jobs than White officers: The reasons for this discrepancy are speculated to be those listed above, however, no research is available specifically on the topic of attrition rates by ethnicity among officers in Canada (Schuck, 2020).

Many studies explore the intraorganizational discrimination and unique challenges faced by ethnic minority officers within their agencies (Shusta, 2017). However, there is a lack of research surrounding the public race-based conflicts experienced by officers of colour. In other words, researchers know about racial challenges experienced in the office space, but little about the race-based conflicts that occur with civilians in the public sphere. Given the disproportionate resigning rates of ethnic minority officers, it is essential to understand all the factors that decrease job satisfaction and retention for them specifically. The current study focuses on the challenges of being an ethnic minority officer rather than the barriers to becoming one. To address the gap in the literature, the focus will further narrow in on the *public* experiences of these officers in the

field. Currently the only insight on this topic is from police news interviews and intermittent quotes from qualitative studies addressing other topics (Bland et al., 1999; KGW News, 2020; Riguax & Cunningham, 2020; The Oregonian, 2020).

The current study investigates the race-based experiences of ethnic minority law enforcement officers with members of the public (MOP). The main purpose is to understand the types and frequency of race-based interactions, and the relationship of these interactions to the job satisfaction, professional identity, and resulting leave intention of officers of colour. Due to the novelty of this research topic, the current study will be flexible in exploring additional impacts of race-based experiences on ethnic minority officers. A secondary objective is to gather officers' suggestions on potential improvements in current policy, recruitment practices, officer training, and available support. Suggestions will be based on the officers' lived experiences and focus on potential steps to improve law enforcement as a career for people of colour.

This research can inform and benefit academics, counsellors, law enforcement organizations, and the public. Exploring the challenges faced by ethnic minority officers in the field can provide insight into their lower representation, occupational well-being, and job retention in law enforcement. To strive for representative bureaucracy, further research is needed surrounding the challenges of becoming and being an ethnic minority officer. Additionally, by directly asking the officers experiencing these adversities for improvement suggestions, this study can provide insight towards future policies, recruitment practices, training, and available support within law enforcement agencies.

Research Questions

The current study investigates the race-based interactions experienced by ethnic minority officers with members of the public to answer the following questions:

- (1) What is the relationship between the types and frequencies of race-based interactions experienced by ethnic minority officers with members of the public and the officers' job satisfaction and professional identity?
- (2) Informed by lived experiences, what are the perspectives and suggestions of officers regarding improvements in policy, recruitment practices, training procedures, and available support, as related to ethnic minority officers?

CHAPTER 2: Literature Review

Literature regarding ethnic minority law enforcement personnel is scarce, especially in the Canadian context. The available research worldwide on the experiences of ethnic minority law enforcers is reviewed in the following section with a focus on Canadian research where possible. For consistency, this review will first define what is meant by the terms “ethnic minority” and “law enforcement.” Following this, the theory of representative beurocracy will be presented, along with other benefits of increasing diversity among law enforcers. The current personnel diversity within Canadian law enforcement agencies will be provided, followed by an in depth overview of three reasons diversity is lacking: (1) the barriers in ethnic minority recruitment, (2) intraorganizational challenges faced by ethnic minority officers, and (3) challenges faced by ethnic minority officers outside of their organization, or “in the field.” The latter reason is the least explored in policing literature and is the focus of the present study.

Ethnic Minority Law Enforcement Officers

Ethnic Minority Defined

The Canadian Employment Equity Act (Government of Canada, 1986; 1995) defines visible minorities as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-White in colour ... The visible minority population mainly consists of [but is not limited to] the following groups: South Asian, Chinese, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Arab, Southeast Asian, West Asian, Korean and Japanese" (Conor, 2018). In accordance with the American Psychology Association (2020), this paper recognizes that the standalone term “minority,” as well as the term “Caucasian” are outdated and may be viewed pejoratively. Additionally, Statistics Canada has acknowledged the need to modernize their vocabulary from the outdated term “visible minority,” which some may find offensive (Hennig, 2019). For consistency and appropriateness, this paper will synonymously use terms such as “ethnic minority,” “non-

dominant groups,” “people of colour,” “officers of colour,” and “racial minority,” and avoid the use of the terms “minority,” “visible minority,” and “Caucasian.” In this paper, Indigenous Peoples are included in the above terms referring to people of colour. People of European origin will be referred to as “White,” which is capitalized as per all ethnic groups. Additionally, to mirror the language used by officers who participated in this research the term “BIPOC” will be used synonymously to “person of colour,” as in “BIPOC officer,” “BIPOC civilian,” or “officer of colour,” and “civilian of colour.” BIPOC is an acronym which stands for “Black, Indigenous, and people of color” (American Psychology Association, 2023).

Law Enforcement Defined

Canada maintains three levels of policing as outline in the criminal code C-45: First, the federal police known as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) deal with serious (indictable offences) and organized crime, as well as financial crime (Branch, 2020). Second, the provincial police oversee smaller communities who do not have their own municipal task force. They also police areas under provincial jurisdiction such as highways (Government of Canada, 2018). The third category is municipal law enforcement which is most numerous and includes 141 standalone police services, 36 First Nations self-administered services, and a vast array of peace officer positions across Canada (Government of Canada, 2018). Peace officers perform many of the same duties as police officers, but they may or may not be armed (Branch, 2020). Peace officers often specialize in areas of law enforcement such as corrections, agriculture, traffic and transit enforcement, hospitals, universities, and animal protection services (Government of Alberta, 2020). To remain consistent, this paper refers to all the above parties when using terms such as “law enforcement,” “policing,” “task force,” “enforcement,” “officer,” “agencies,” and any other mention of individuals who uphold the law.

Theory of Representative Bureaucracy

“In a society where inequalities in the distribution of wealth and power are visibly linked to racial and ethnic differences, police organizations become the most obvious embodiment of the power of dominant groups in the eyes of minorities” (Jain et al., 2008, p. 47). As servants of the public, law enforcement organizations, in part, symbolize the municipal, provincial, and federal leaders of our democracy on the ‘street-level’ (Pierre, 2003); therefore, researchers have suggested looking to principles of representative bureaucracy for solutions to problematic enforcement-community relations (Carroll, 2004; Hong, 2017; Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006; Riccucci et al., 2018). Representative bureaucracy states that to be effective and legitimate, leaders of a democracy must socially and demographically reflect the populations which they govern (Wise, 2003). In the context of Canadian law enforcement, the principle of representative bureaucracy theorizes that society would benefit if policing agencies hired more male and female officers of different backgrounds reflecting Canada’s diverse population. In randomized police-civilian encounters, race was the single-best predictor of citizens’ treatment by police when controlling for variables such as education, age, income, and sex (Jain et al. 2008). It is projected that more diverse agencies would better represent their communities’ interests (Bradbury & Kellough, 2011). Additionally, more diverse law enforcement staff could help shift police culture by internally breaking down racial prejudices through the increased knowledge and understanding of different cultures (Rigaux & Cunningham, 2020).

Empirical Support for a Diverse Task Force

As Canadian research on the benefits of law enforcement diversity is limited, evidence will also be drawn from studies based in the United States. Close and Mason (2006; 2007) conducted two studies demonstrating that the presence of ethnic minority officers at traffic stops benefited the interests of ethnic minority groups (Bradbury & Kellough, 2011). Their research

found that ethnic minority drivers received better treatment and more lenient charges when encountering an officer of the same ethnic background. The White officers in the study tended to discriminate against ethnic minority drivers and were more likely to perceive them as potentially guilty of a crime. White officers were twice as likely to search an ethnic minority driver in comparison to a White driver (Close and Mason, 2007). The officers' treatment of drivers became even more polarized when specifically comparing interactions between White officers and officers of the same race as the driver. Male Latino drivers were 2.5 times more likely to be searched if pulled over by a White officer, compared to a Latino officer, while Black male drivers were almost five times more likely to be searched by a White officer than a Black officer (Close & Mason, 2007). Racial discrimination of drivers still occurred with officers of colour, but to a much smaller degree than with White officers. In other words, White drivers were least likely to be searched regardless of the officers' race. Similar results were found by Hong (2017) who demonstrated that a larger proportions of ethnic minority officers on a task force significantly decreased the number of racially diverse drivers being stopped and searched.

While the current study does not focus on gender diversity in law enforcement specifically, research regarding the effects of greater ratios of female officers contributes to our understanding of how underrepresented groups benefit law enforcement agencies and their public relations. Meier and Nicholson-Crotty (2006) compared police forces in the United States and found that agencies with the highest ratios of female officers were more likely to receive reporting for sexual assaults, as well as make more arrests for those assaults. Female victims were more willing to report their sexual assault to female officers, who in turn increased the likelihood of an arrest being made (Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006). In line with other research (Schuck, 2020; Hong, 2017), this study suggests that members of the public may feel more comfortable and trusting of officers with similar demographics and backgrounds. One Canadian study

(Carmichael & Kent, 2015) reviewed the rates of lethal force used by officers in different jurisdictions; they found that higher ratios of female police officers within agencies directly correlated to fewer instances of lethal force. Carmichael & Kent (2015) support that diverse task forces benefit citizens and communities in many ways. The implications of a mostly White male police force should be considered in relation to the experiences of civilians of colour, and especially women of colour in Canada.

Overall, a higher representation of ethnic minorities in law enforcement has been positively associated to organizational legitimacy and public trust in the police (Hong, 2017; Schuck, 2020). More diverse task forces have fewer instances of misconduct, citizen complaints, and use of force (Hoekstra & Sloan, 2022; Paoline et al., 2018; Riccucci et al., 2018). Similar benefits were observed from the increase in female representation among officers (Carmichael & Kent, 2015; Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006; Schuck, 2020). Gender-diversified task forces had increased levels of organizational legitimacy and trust, along with improved receptiveness towards female victims, a greater frequency of proactive changes within the agency (Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006), and fewer instances of lethal force used on civilians (Carmichael & Kent, 2015).

Current Diversity in Canadian Law Enforcement

In 2016 Halifax was the only Canadian city with a police force representative of its population's diversity (Marcoux et al., 2016). On the provincial level, Prince Edward Island was the only province with an average police force diversity representative of its population (Statistics Canada, 2018). All other cities and provinces in Canada had large discrepancies between the ratio of ethnic minorities in task forces versus the general public. For example, over half of Vancouver's (51%) and Toronto's (54%) populations are made up of ethnic minority groups, however, 22% and 25% of their police forces are people of colour, respectively (Statistics

Canada, 2019). People of colour make up 35% of Edmonton's population and 33% of Montreal's population while the same is true for only 10% and 8% of their officers, respectively (Statistics Canada, 2019).

As of 2022, there are 70,566 police officers in Canada, 8% of whom self identify as belonging to an ethnic minority group (Statistics Canada, 2023a). The most recent available statistic showing ethnic minority officer ranks was from 2016; it showed that there were 145 commissioned (highest ranking) officers of colour and 6,760 non-commissioned officers of colour in Canada at that time (Conor, 2018). For comparison to the general population, Statistics Canada (2023b) reported that people of colour made up 26.5% of Canada's population in 2022, totaling 9,639,200 individuals. To achieve ethnic representative bureaucracy in Canadian law enforcement, the ratio of officers of colour needs to be more than tripled. Some evidence of an increase in diversity in policing is reflected in the most recent recruitment classes, 12% of which were recruits of colour (Conor et al., 2019). Jain et al. (2008) summarize why this is an important step for Canadian law enforcement agencies:

If minority communities are able to become [a larger] part of police organizations and then to influence their decision-making processes, police organizations, in time, may become less likely to perpetrate behaviour that is oppressive to minority communities ...

As the gulf between police organizations and their communities narrows with the provision of more responsive policing, and as a result, the image of the police as an instrument of oppression weakens its hold, minority and aboriginal youth are more likely to consider policing as a career. The accommodation of diversity is not just a publicrelations exercise, but, as research suggests, it may lead to increased productivity and economic performance. (pp. 49-50)

Currently many major policing agencies across Canada report difficulties recruiting and retaining ethnic minority officers (Jain et al., 2008; Rigaux & Cunningham, 2020). Historically, recruitment and selection practices were highly skewed in favour of White male officers who “fit-in” with already hired officers and their occupational culture (Jain et al., 2000; Rigaux & Cunningham, 2020). Despite agencies making changes to recruitment practices current efforts are not able to attract enough ethnic minority applicants and recruits to mirror Canada’s diverse profile (Jain et al., 2008). Although there is no new data available, it is an additional concern that, historically, people of colour who do become officers have disproportionately higher attrition rates compared to their White coworkers (Bland et al., 1999). The literature regarding the barriers of creating a more diverse task force in Canada can be divided into two domains: One side examines the challenges of becoming, and the other side examines the challenges of being, an ethnic minority officer.

Barriers in Ethnic Minority Recruitment

Many factors contribute to the homogeneous recruiting tendencies of law enforcement agencies in Canada. Current research addresses three primary barriers causing fewer people of colour to apply for and attain jobs in law enforcement: Distrust of police, discouragement from their communities, and the real and perceived barriers of the application process.

Distrust of Police

Considerable literature explains why individuals belonging to ethnic minority groups are less likely to trust law enforcement (Jain et al., 2008). Generally, police distrust can be linked to two situations; negative experiences with police (personal or as seen through media coverage), and/or immigration from a country where police are corrupt and distrusted (Jain et al., 2008). In North America, racial minorities are the most likely group to encounter negative experiences with officers and therefore are more likely to belong to a subculture who detest police (Shusta, 2017).

Logged negative experiences of people of colour that link to the distrust of law enforcement include police aggression, harassment, offensive language, over-causal interactions, assumptions of guilt and unjustified searches, not believing citizens of colour, questioning visible affluence, and physical harm including death (Tyler, 2005; Henry & Tator, 2014).

On the other hand, some racial minorities who have not had personal encounters with police understandably still distrust them, as their only exposure comes from negative media coverage (Henry & Tator, 2014). Media reports of harmful and deadly encounters between police and racial minority victims significantly decline public, especially people of colour's trust in law enforcement (Ayoyo, 2018). In one study (Ayoyo, 2018), Black immigrants in the United States were interviewed and the results showed that they trusted the Canadian criminal justice system more due to fewer news reports of police shootings of Black individuals. They reported having more confidence in Canadian versus American police and believed that Canadian police were the "lesser of two evils" based on media coverage (Ayoyo, 2018).

Even off-duty police officers have reported discrimination by other police leading them to distrust their own organizations. Some ethnic minority officers have been racially profiled when out of uniform and recall the White officers not believing that they were off duty police until a badge was presented (Paul & Birzer, 2017). In an interview (Paul & Birzer, 2017), one officer said, "after my incident, I didn't even want to have anything to do with uniformed officers. I didn't trust them after that, and I've been with them for 29 years" (p. 575).

Discouragement from Community

Some ethnic minority immigrants come from countries where police represent a corrupt and brutal body who are not to be trusted (Shusta, 2017). Newcomers to Canada from dictatorial and repressive regimes are most likely to consider policing jobs, unethical and even criminal (Jain et al., 2008; Shusta, 2017). Due to this background, some people of colour who do want a

career in policing may be discouraged or judged by their family and friends who do not view law enforcement as a respectable occupation (Rigaux & Cunningham, 2020). For example, in an interview study by Rigaux and Cunningham (2020) a Chinese officer described challenges associated with his community image: “In China, police are corrupt and not be trusted ... we layer mistrust on top of a language barrier so then you have Chinese, the Somalian and Filipino communities seeing a uniform and thinking of corruption and violence” (p. 12).

In this same study, some officers also reported that once they became police and immersed themselves into their communities, perceptions were shifted (Rigaux & Cunningham, 2020). Additionally, officers stated that communities tend to be highly aware of how many officers of colour work in the area (Rigaux & Cunningham, 2020). Based on street-level conversations officers reported that non-dominant communities pay close attention to the diversity in law enforcement (Rigaux & Cunningham, 2020). Research shows that initiating positive interactions in diverse communities is a strong method for police to regain the trust of diverse groups and subsequently gain more diverse recruits (Jaine et al., 2008). Improving the representative bureaucracy of police forces will further increase citizens’ trust in policing agencies, proliferating a positive cycle of trust and recruitment with ethnic and gender minorities (Hong 2016; Jain et al., 2008; Riccucci et al., 2018; Schuck, 2020;).

Real and Perceived Barriers to the Application Process

Historically, recruitment practices have targeted mainly younger White men who were considered more likely to assimilate into “police culture” and mirror the officers already hired (Henry & Tator, 2014). Jain et al. (2008) asked a group of ethnic minority and Indigenous youth which words came to mind in relation to “policing as a career” Their responses included words like: White male, authority, unwanted, command respect, discrimination, corruption, judgmental, and racism. With the introduction of the Employment Equity Act of 1986 and 1995, police

agencies attempted to become more cognizant of the biases within recruitment, selection, and promotional practices which favoured White men (Jain et al., 2008). Police culture was, and still is, criticized by researchers for being unwelcoming of ethnic minorities and resisting their inclusion (Rigaux & Cunningham, 2020). In a longitudinal study of Canadian police recruitment and selection procedures Jain et al. (2008) identified several changes in diverse recruitment efforts since the introduction of the Employment Equity Act (Government of Canada, 1986; 1995): There have been significant increases in the use of recruiter visits to community colleges and ethnic minority organizations (Jain et al., 2008). Additionally, most police services in Canada now use Indigenous and ethnic minority role models and media outlets to promote careers in policing. Jain et al. (2008) describe the positive implications of these changes as a visible decline in ethnic groups' distrust of the police, a decline in perceptions that ethnic minorities are not welcome in enforcement jobs, decreased perceptions that law enforcement is not an honourable career, and decreased perceptions that being an officer is too dangerous. Although these improvements have been recorded, all the above barriers still largely exist in task force recruitment of individuals from diverse backgrounds (Rigaux & Cunningham, 2020). Furthermore, some diverse groups have expressed that they are unsure if people from certain ethnic backgrounds can apply for law enforcement jobs in Canada (Rigaux & Cunningham, 2020); this reflects the need for ongoing agency progress and diverse community outreach.

In interviews conducted by Jain et al. (2008), people of colour considering applying to law enforcement assumed that the physical requirements of the selection process would be too strenuous for them to pass. This is despite ethnic minority, Indigenous, and White applicants having similar pass rates on the physical ability tests. Although physical fitness was only a perceived barrier, applicants are expected to pass a "multiple hurdle" process and research has shown that ethnic minorities have significantly higher fail rates in most of the other "hurdles".

For example, failure rates on the general aptitude test are almost twice as high for ethnic minority applicants than White applicants (Jain et al., 2008). Further, racial minority applicants are more likely to fail the written communication assessment, psychological test, and interview portion. These differences emphasize the need to review racial bias and reassess the validity of these tests (Jain et al., 2008). Updated research is needed to confirm if there are inherent issues in the current selection instruments. For people of colour who choose to pursue a career in policing, the largest challenge becomes passing the selection instruments, whose racial biases and validity are unknown (Jaine et al., 2008).

There is some evidence of a few agencies lowering the score requirements for ethnic minority applicants (Rigaux & Cunningham, 2020). In an interview, one officer describes walking out of a recruitment exam because the examiner openly told him that he, as a racial minority, would require a lower score to pass (Rigaux & Cunningham, 2020). The current focus regarding diverse recruitment should be to evaluate the selection instruments for potential bias and overall validity and increase ethnic minority representation on interview and selection panels; changing scoring standards for different groups is not recommended as this can perpetuate the harmful narrative that some officers are hired to fill a quota and not based on merit (Jaine et al., 2008; Rigaux & Cunningham, 2020).

Some research has found promising strategies to advertise law enforcement jobs to people of colour (Schuck, 2020). Schuck (2020) suggests that agencies can target people of colour by emphasizing the humanitarian and economic characteristics of the job. Additionally, Schuck (2020) found that applicants with humanitarian motivations for becoming an officer may later have higher job satisfaction, career outlook, and job retention. Improved efforts in hiring ethnic minority groups have been observed at many policing agencies, but the data regarding the

effectiveness of these improvements and the slow positive trend in ethnic minority recruitment is still limited (Jordan et al., 2009).

Organizational Challenges Faced by Ethnic Minority Officers

For applicants of colour who overcome the hurdles of recruitment and obtain a job in law enforcement, further challenges await. Current literature provides an in-depth overview of the intraorganizational discrimination and unique challenges faced by officers of colour (Bland et al., 1999; Henry & Tator, 2014; Jain et al., 2008; Rigaux & Cunningham, 2020). These challenges include: racism within police culture, lack of or slower career progression compared to White colleagues, and higher resignation rates among ethnic minority officers.

Police Culture

Before reviewing the issues within police culture Henry and Tator (2014) provide an important foundation:

'police culture' is actually a subculture, in that police officers are first and foremost members of the society in which they live. Their cultural beliefs, perceptions, values, and norms are therefore influenced as much by the standards of the White dominant culture as by the values unique to their occupation ... we can assume that by the time a woman or man is recruited and selected for the police force, that person has probably already absorbed society's racialized assumptions. (p. 93)

Officers, like all people, enter their jobs with preconceived stereotypes towards certain groups (Henry & Tator, 2014). As part of their duties, they then conduct criminal profiling, which can often turn into racial profiling, and consequently elevate existing prejudices while also forming new ones (Henry & Tator, 2014). In this way, discrimination erroneously becomes a part of the job and enters police culture (Henry & Tator, 2014). Officers of varying races self report that the longer they spent patrolling at the street-level, the higher risk they had of developing prejudices

and hostile attitudes towards certain ethnic groups (Rigaux & Cunningham, 2020). “Through this socialization process, racial biases become fixed ideas and images, which are later incorporated into departmental norms” (Henry & Tator, 2014, p. 96). Police organizations, like other closed organizations (i.e. armies, religious orders, jails, and hospitals), can brew staff characteristics of isolation, conservatism, machismo, a sense of mission, a barricade mentality, and distrust and cynicism towards the public, particularly towards certain racial groups (Henry & Tator, 2014).

The discriminatory tendencies embedded within the organization can then transfer onto the ethnic minority staff who work there. In a qualitative study Rigaux & Cunningham (2020) interviewed East Indian, Chinese, Filipino, and Black police officers about the barriers they experience in police culture, leadership, and recruitment. Many reported discriminatory comments or racist “jokes” from their colleagues, as being part of the mentality of “developing thick skin.” Some officers stated that hearing remarks about their race was a regular part of their job since coworkers constantly “joke around with one another” (Rigaux & Cunningham, 2020). For example, one officer recalled joining a new team where he was the only person of colour and was told “you are messing up our bright and white reputation” (Rigaux & Cunningham, 2020, p.10).

A qualitative study involving 41 ethnic minority officers (Bland et al., 1999) reported that 80% of them described experiencing negative discriminatory events in their careers. From the same group, 60% believed that their negative discriminatory experiences impacted their career growth and outcomes (Bland et al., 1999). Research supports that there are harmful effects of racism on the individuals experiencing it, regardless of whether the racism is intentionally malicious or in the form of a “joke” (Douglass et al., 2016; Henry & Tator, 2017; Shusta et al. 2017).

Alternatively, recruits of colour also worry about reversed discrimination or tokenism (Rigaux & Cunningham, 2020). *Tokenism* is when racial minorities are hired purely on the grounds of race for the fulfillment of diversity quota (Gustafson, 2008). Tokenism was a common theme that emerged during Rigaux & Cunningham's (2020) interviews with officers of colour. Officers expressed insecure thoughts about why they were hired. One officer said, "Tokenism is something I think I fear the most ... I don't want anything because of my race," another officer expresses, "If I was hired based on ethnicity, I would feel like I always had to try and defeat that" (p. 12). Officers of colour wished to have reassurance that their selection process was equal to all other recruits and their hire was based on strong qualifications and experience.

Lack of/Slower Career Progression

Although there is no recent data on the topic, historically, another difficulty faced by ethnic minority officers is their lower rates of promotions, especially in higher up positions (Jaine et al., 2008; Bland et al., 1999). Previously, ethnic minority officers were less likely than White officers to report that the promotion processes in their organization was open and fair (Bland et al., 1999). Compared to their White colleagues, ethnic minority officers received promotions later in their careers despite applying for them after approximately the same length of initial service (Bland et al., 1999). The discrepancies were even larger when considering higher up positions (Jain et al., 2008). In the past it took ethnic minority officers one to two years longer after applying to receive higher up promotions (Bland et al., 1999). There is some evidence that the promotion of officers of colour has increased in the United States more recently (Gustafson, 2013), however Canadian data on the topic is not available. Of the Canadian police forces who provided data, Jaine et al., (2008) found that of the officers promoted 5.1% and 8.6% where Indigenous and ethnic minorities, respectively. Of the promoted Indigenous and racial minority officers, 98% received the most junior level promotion to constable. Higher position promotions,

such as chief, deputy chief, chief superintendent, superintendent, and inspector, among BIPOC officers have been extremely rare (Jaine et al., 2008). This rarity was reflected by the mere 145 commissioned (highest ranking) ethnic minority officers across all of Canada in 2016 (Conor, 2018). For direct comparison, there were approximately 3000 more White commissioned officers in Canada at that time (Government of Canada, 2018).

In a qualitative study regarding ethnic minority police, most participants reported a clear lack of diverse representation in the higher leadership roles (Rigaux & Cunningham, 2020). However, officers feared that actions to fix this representation could result in tokenism taking place, or racial minorities being viewed as “charity cases.” Officers of colour expressed that capable ethnic minority candidates were not necessarily applying for higher up positions due to the “lack of transparency in the promotion processes ... and a lack of ‘fit’ in the networking structures” (p.13). Jain et al. (2008) observed similar concerns where ethnic minority officers perceived a lack of promotional opportunities but also feared potential backlash from their peers if they were to get promoted. They worried that their colleagues would consider them underserving of the promotion and think that they received it due to special treatment (Jain et al., 2008).

A result of the slower career progression of ethnic minority officers is that few ethnic minority leaders and role models exist in law enforcement, and therefore rarely show up on promotional review boards and interview panels (Jain et al., 2008). This lack of representation on selection and promotion committees circulates the majority-race rating bias that contributes to the “head-start” that White officers historically have as a group in law enforcement professions (Prewett-Livingston et al., 1996). Additionally, it should be noted that besides some instances of transfers in higher up positions, Canadian police forces only hire individuals at the constable (most junior) level (Jain et al., 2008). Jain et al. (2008) express concerns that on average across

Canada there is a minimal eight-year requirement of service before being able to apply for higher up promotions. Since all minority groups (e.g., racial, gender, sexual orientation, etc.) are relatively new to policing compared to White men, they have a significantly smaller pool of candidates who are senior enough to apply for top positions (Jain et al., 2008). Women of colour are the most disadvantaged by this situation (Jain et al., 2008).

Resignation Rates

Bland et al. (1999) found that officers belonging to non-dominant groups had double the resignation rates of their White counterparts. For White officers, the main reason for leaving was retirement (45% of leavers), while for officers of colour resignation (53%) was the main reason for leaving (Bland et al., 1999). After controlling for transfer, retirement, and death, 31% of White officers who left the force resigned, compared to 60% of ethnic minority officers who left (Bland et al., 1999). This study also found that while the retention rates of White officers had improved in the late 1900's, the retention rates of ethnic minority officers steadily dropped over time. In a more recent British study, Barron and Holdway (2016) found that 30% of Black and Asian officers who resigned their policing job said that one of the reasons for their resignation was "the experience of being Black or Asian in the force" (p.171). Although the exact reasons for the increased attrition of officers of colour are unclear, Schuck (2020) identifies some possible reasons being, "prejudice, discrimination and sexual harassment, conflicts between work and family obligations, dissatisfaction with the organization, job stress, insufficient supervisory support, and overall job dissatisfaction" (p. 11). Additionally, there is no literature addressing whether officers of colour are provided mental health services adjusted for the unique race-based challenges they face. Support for officers regarding race-related issues primarily seems to come from other ethnic minority officers rather than from formal supervisory support or mental health services (Bolton & Feagin, 2004).

There is a need for up-to-date research on the relationship between ethnicity and resignation rates among Canadian police. Additionally, future research should address the specific factors that could lead to disproportionate resigning rates of officers of colour. Once these factors are more understood, appropriate adjustments can be made to the mental health supports available to officers of colour experiencing race-based issues.

Link Between Job Satisfaction and Attrition

It is well known that higher job satisfaction enhances employee wellbeing, and in turn, lowers the likelihood of resignation (Wright et al., 2007; Yorulmaz et al., 2017) Research on police resignation (also referred to in research as attrition, retention rate, burnout, or leave intention), is still limited, especially in the Canadian context. In line with other professions, studies on police show that higher levels of job satisfaction and professional commitment relate to a lower likelihood of officer resignation (Ahmad et al., 2018; Chan & Doran, 2009).

A study of Pakistani police officers showed a clear relationship where higher job satisfaction, and high professional commitment, which is one's devotion and pride towards one's job, led to significantly lower leave intention (Ahmad et al., 2018). Another study, looking at Australian police found that officers who remained at their jobs longer were highly satisfied with policing as a career. However, these same officers were dissatisfied with the police organization they worked for and the systems of performance evaluations and promotion, causing almost half of them to consider quitting (Chan and Doran, 2009). As previously discussed, officers of colour have faced challenges within police organizations regarding performance evaluations and promotion, therefore, although Chan and Doran (2009) did not look at ethnic minority officers specifically, their research still provides insight on potential reasons for the higher resignation rates among ethnic minority officers.

Higher job satisfaction leads to a sense of employee wellbeing and, in turn, increases employees desire to keep their job (Wright et al., 2007); parallel, people who are less satisfied with their jobs or their organizations are more likely to resign (Chan and Doran, 2009; Yorulmaz et al., 2017). Therefore, it could be concluded that since ethnic minority officers have twice the resignations rates of White officers (in the evaluation conducted by Bland et al. (1999)), they may be less satisfied with their jobs or the enforcement organizations they work for.

Thus far, no research has specifically explored the street-level or frontline factors that may further be impacting ethnic minority officers' job satisfaction. The current study is interested in examining ethnic minority officers' experiences (e.g., race-based interactions) outside of their agencies that could further be contributing to lower job satisfaction. In other words, this study aims to identify factors in the field that contribute to higher resignation rates among ethnic minority officers.

Challenges Faced by Ethnic Minority Officers Outside of the Organization: “In the Field”

To the author's knowledge, no Canadian research currently exists directly examining the challenges faced by ethnic minority officers, outside of their organizations, with civilians. Some insight on the public race-based experiences of officers of colour is available through officer interviews in qualitative research on other topics (Bland et al., 1999; Jain et al., 2008; Kochel, 2020; Riguax & Cunningham, 2020), as well as online news interviews (KGW News, 2020; Lee & CNN, 2021; The Oregonian, 2020). These interviews provide some insight on the factors that may be decreasing officers' job satisfaction and professional identity, which contribute to job attrition. From the limited sources available, below is an informed overview of the unique challenges faced by ethnic minority officers with civilians while in the field. These challenges can be grouped into: (1) experiences of racism, (2) scrutiny for career choice from family and the general public, and (3) clashing of professional and ethnic identity.

Racism from Members of the Public

In an interview for KGW news (2020) Portland police officer Jakhary Jackson discusses some of his race-based conflicts with members of the public. He describes incidents of civilians mocking his physical features, racial slurs, and derogatory naming calling. Jackson states, “I have been called the N word [by civilians] I cannot even count, in the time that I have been a police officer” (KGW News, 2020). In the book *Black in blue: African-American police officers and racism* (Bolton & Feagin, 2004), officers working in Southern United States describe racist interactions with civilians as common parts of their day to day work: Interviewed officers discussed racist experiences such as White civilians not acknowledging their policing authority due to their race or making comments such as “go back to where you came from.” One officer describes having their home vandalized by white supremacists.

Again, truly little information is available about the race-based experiences of officers of colour with members of the public, especially in Canada. The current study aims to address this gap, and investigate the unique challenges faced by officers of colour “in the field.”

Scrutiny for Career Choice by Members of the Public

The discouragement of entering a law enforcement profession, as discussed earlier, can spill over into judgment once the individual has obtained the policing job (Bland et al., 1999; KGW News, 2020; Kochel, 2020; Lee & CNN, 2021; Riguax & Cunningham, 2020). Officers are scrutinized for their career choice in two primary ways: First, through the disapproval from relatives and communities who believe the job is either unrespectable or unsafe; officers were perceived to have entered a profession not worthy of pride by the family or that the profession was “not meant for” a person of colour. Bland et al. (1999) explains that:

Ethnic minority and White officers were equally likely to encounter initial shock from friends/relatives when raising their decision to join the police service. For

all officers, safety concerns had been paramount. Asian and Black officers also reported additional familial concerns not reflected in comments by White officers. These included a disregard for the professional status of the police vis-à-vis other occupations, and, perceptions of racism within the police. (p. 34)

Second, officers of colour experienced scrutiny for their career choice from family members, ethnic communities, and members of the public who perceived the officer as a race-traitor for choosing a career in law enforcement. Bland et al. (1999) reported that some officers described becoming alienated from their families who remain unsupportive of their career choice for the perceived betrayal: Such individuals perceived the officers as “joining the opposing side” (Bland et al., 1999; Kochel, 2020; Riguax & Cunningham, 2020). A recent study examining the experiences of Black officers working during the Black Lives Matter protests in the United States (Kochel, 2020) reported that all the 11 officers of colour interviewed described experiencing negative race-based interactions with members of the public, primarily Black civilians referring to them as “Sell-outs” for working in policing.

Officers have reported accusations of betrayal from both their own communities and social circles as well as from civilians who are strangers to them. For example, officer Jackson (KGW News, 2020) explains that with enforcement-community tensions rising, many citizens now generalize all police as being racist and bad people. He demonstrates this in the shaming that he receives for his career choice from members of the public:

Having people tell you what to do with your life, that you need to quit your job, that you are hurting your community [by being a police officer] when they are not even part of your community. Once again ... a privileged White person telling a person of colour what to do with their life. (transcribed from audio)

Sacramento Police Chief Daniel Hahn echo's this experience of BIPOC officers being scrutinized by people of different backgrounds by saying: "Now it's not only coming from the African American community, we will have officers on a line during protests, and young 18, 19, 20-year-old White kids will walk up and call them a race-traitor and sell-out" (Lee, A., CNN., 2021). The generalization that all police are racist and anti-ethnic minority creates a narrative that ethnic identity and police professional identity cannot coexist; that an individual must choose one or the other, and that people of colour who choose a career in law enforcement consequently turn their back on their ethnic identity:

Clashing of Professional and Ethnic Identity as Experienced in the Field

Sergeant. Yvette Shephard from the Oregon State Police said, "I think since I have started this job people have responded to me differently. I have lost some friends; I have been called an "Uncle Tom" ... a "Sell out" ... I have been told that the only reason I am in this job is because of affirmative action ... It's a bit hurtful because ... I am still the goofy, corny person they have always known but when I put on this uniform it's like I became an enemy" (The Oregonian, 2020, transcribed from audio).

An *Uncle Tom* is a term based on the main character of a well-known anti-slavery novel *Uncle Toms Cabin* written by Harriet Beecher-Stowe in 1852. The book is known to have had a powerful effect on American attitudes towards slavery. The main character Uncle Tom is seen being overly subservient to White slaveholders, creating the term Uncle Tom (Kaufman, 2006). Meriam-Webster dictionary (n.d.) defines Uncle Tom as "a Black person who is overeager to win the approval of Whites (as by obsequious behavior or uncritical acceptance of White values and goals); or a person who is overly subservient to or cooperative with authority." Sergeant. Shephard explains that her becoming a police officer, as a Black woman, is perceived by some as her submission to the dominant culture, and therefore some people view her as an Uncle Tom

(The Oregonian, 2020). Shephard (The Oregonian, 2020) goes on to say that “ones would say I’m not being true to ... my race because if I were, I wouldn’t want to work for a system that’s killing our Black and Brown people.” As a female officer of colour, she describes unique challenges and backlash against her career choice through people’s perceptions that her ethnic identity cannot line up with her work. However, she states that her reasoning for joining the police was to be able to help people and that her job has provided her with that opportunity.

Similarly, in his interview with KGW News (2020), Portland officer Jakhary Jackson discusses the challenge of clashing identities: Although he presents both a strong racial and professional identity, he describes scrutiny from people who believe that becoming an officer is a betrayal to the Black community. Jackson states, “I’ll say this, there is this saying where if you are a Black cop, you are not Black. [Yet], I take this uniform off and I am suspicious, I look like someone [people] would call the police on. When I was young ... I got jumped by a group of White people and me putting this uniform on does not erase that history that I have had” (KGW News, 2020).

The clashing of ethnic and professional identities results in officers of colour experiencing double marginality in their occupation and ethnicity. Kochel (2020) explains *double marginality* as:

The challenge that arises from multiple reference groups is that membership in one group can generate tension with the values, roles and expectations of another group.

Experiencing rejection or suspicion due to membership in multiple social groups is referred to as double marginality (Alex, 1969). It is a feeling of not being fully accepted as a legitimate group member (Campbell, 1980). Among Black police officers, this can feel like conflicting expectations from the Black community and by White police colleagues (Alex, 1969). Carter (1995) explained that Black officers are “caught in the

middle,” because some Black community members view Black officers as traitors when they become police officers, representatives of structural oppression. (p. 3)

To summarize, the challenges faced by officers of colour outside of their organization, or in the field, appear to be racism and derogatory name-calling from member of the public, scrutiny for their career choice which may be seen as unrespectable or as a “betrayal to their race,” and the perceived mutual exclusivity of the police identity and certain racial identities, as portrayed by members of the public. For now, these are the lived experiences of a few ethnic minority officers, rather than a sure summary of collective experiences. More research is needed to collect a generalizable depiction of ethnic minority officers’ experiences in the field.

Research Objectives

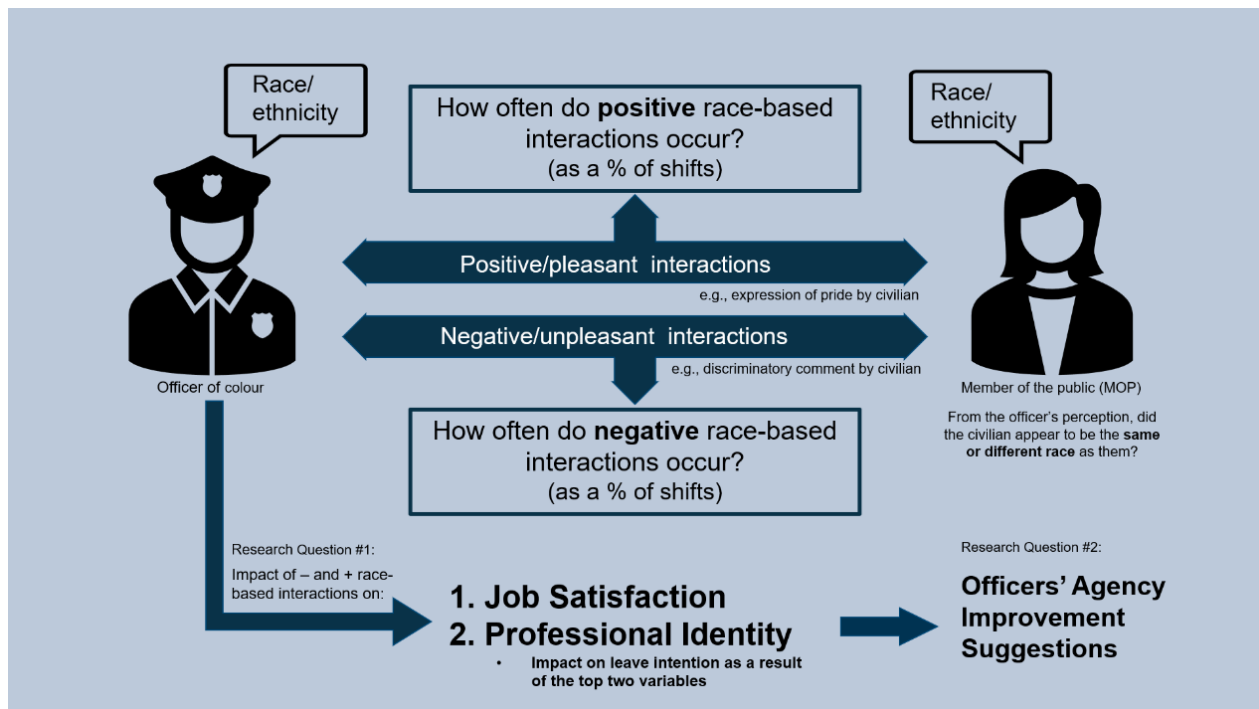
This study is the first of its kind, directly aiming to investigate the race-based experiences of ethnic minority officers outside of their organizations and on the “street-level” in Canada. The main purpose is to understand the types (positive/pleasant vs. negative/unpleasant) and frequency (occurrence from 0-100% of shifts worked) of race-based interactions experienced by officers of colour (with a civilian of the same race or different race as the officer), and how the officers’ job satisfaction and professional identity scores are influenced by these interactions. As predictors of leave intention, job satisfaction and professional identity were selected as the dependant variables, however, officers were also asked directly about intentions to leave their job.

A secondary objective is to explore officers’ perspectives on policies, recruitment practices, training, and available support related to ethnic minority officers. Their lived experiences and views will be used to generate recommendations for remediation and further inquiry to support people of colour in entering and maintaining law enforcement careers. The main objective of this study is to answer the following two research questions (also see Figure 1):

- (1) What is the relationship between the types and frequencies of race-based interactions experienced by ethnic minority officers with members of the public and the officers' job satisfaction and professional identity?
- (2) Informed by lived experiences, what are the perspectives and suggestions of officers regarding improvements in policy, recruitment practices, training procedures, and available support, as related to ethnic minority officers?

Figure 1

Visual Representation of Research Questions



The results of this research can inform academics, police counsellors, and law enforcement organizations of the unique challenges faced by ethnic minority officers in the public, and how these events decline professional identity and job satisfaction, which are known predictors of leave intention. The current study contributes to the understanding of why male and female ethnic minority officers have lower representation and job retention in law enforcement. To strive for

racial equality in law enforcement agencies and representative bureaucracy in law enforcers, it is recommended that policing agencies be made aware of the barriers of becoming and being an officer of colour. Additionally, by directly asking the officers experiencing these adversities for improvement suggestions, this research can inform future policy changes, recruitment practices, officer training, and available support.

CHAPTER 3: Method

The present research is a mixed method, non-parametric, study that investigates the race-based interactions with civilians experienced by ethnic minority officers, and how these interactions impact the officers' job satisfaction, professional identity, and in turn leave intention. To investigate this topic an online anonymous survey was developed through Qualtrics survey software. Officers were recruited through internal email chains sent by supervisors and social media posts that included a link with access to the survey. Officers also had the opportunity to share the link with other coworkers. The following section reviews the participants recruited, the measurements for each research question, methods of recruitment, and methods of data analysis.

Participants

Inclusion Criteria

This study focused on the experiences of ethnic minority officers in Canada exclusively. Therefore, the officers who participated in this research worked for either the federal Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) or Canadian provincial or municipal police or peace officer agencies, including Indigenous police services. The participant inclusion criteria was as follows: Individuals of any adult age and gender, who self-identify as a person of colour, and currently or previously work(ed) in a Canadian law enforcement agency as an officer.

Exclusion Criteria and Amendments

In the demographic portion of the survey participants were asked to select their race/ethnicity from a list provided. Although this research was exclusive to officers of colour, the option "European or White" was included in the answers as a later exclusion filter. During the analysis it became clear that several participants who selected "European or White" should not be excluded from the research. This occurred for three reasons; firstly, one officer who identified himself as "European or White" later referred to himself as "Mixed Race" in written portions

where he described his experiences of racism. The survey categorization of “European or White” overlooked people of colour of European decent, therefore, those cases were corrected manually during data analysis. Secondly, three officers who self-identified as “European or White” later described themselves in open ended sections as having dark skin or features and having experienced racist comments from civilians which informed the research. Based on the information provided by these officers, their backgrounds were Greek, Moldovan, and unknown and they described experiencing derogatory terms from civilians who perceived them as people of colour or as people of other ethnicities. These participants were not excluded from the data as their responses shed light on the treatment of officers of colour by members of the public. Lastly, two White officers wished to share interactions that occurred with their ethnic minority partners while on duty together. As they were closely involved in the incidents, their reports were included in the tally of types of race-based interactions experienced by officers of colour, but not in the analysis of the impact of RBI on officers of colour in the Results section.

Sample Size

The desired sample for this study was 100 officers, however, due to limitations (see Discussion), a smaller sample was obtained. The anonymous Qualtrics survey was launched and open to participants for just over one year. In this time, 59 law enforcement officers from across Canada responded to the survey and were given the opportunity to enter the prize draw. All questions in the survey were optional to answer, however, participants who skipped 30% of questions or more were excluded from the data set. Nine participants were omitted for this reason. Additionally, one participant’s data was omitted for not consenting to participate, and three sets of data were omitted for the participants not meeting the inclusion criteria of identifying as a person of colour. At the researcher’s discretion, six officers who identified

themselves as “European or White” were not excluded from the dataset as per the Amendments section above. After exclusions, the final sample size was 46 participants.

Measures

No instrument has previously been developed to measure the race-based experiences of ethnic minority officers with members of the public. A novel survey (see Appendix B) was created in Qualtrics, an online survey software. The questionnaire consisted of multiple choice and short answer questions collecting the following information: (1) demographic information, (2) race-based experiences with members of the public while on duty, (3) officers’ job satisfaction, (4) prominence of the officers’ professional identity, (5) leave intention as a result of positive and negative race-based interactions, and (6) suggested improvements to policies, recruitment practices, officer training, and available support.

The survey concluded with a link that brought participants to a separate webpage where they had the option to enter their email address for the prize draw. Collecting contact information on a separate web page ensured that email addresses were in no way connected to the officers’ survey data. The research invitation poster, and research survey (including the consent form on page one) may be reviewed in Appendix A and B, respectively.

Demographic Information

The demographic portion of the survey asked officers about their gender, age, race/ethnicity, level of education, citizenship/immigration status, job title, type of law enforcement agency they worked for, jurisdiction population and diversity, years worked in law enforcement, and years intended to stay in a law enforcement career. Descriptive statistics were used to explore potential relationships between officer demographics, race-based experiences, and impact of these experiences.

Race-Based Interactions with Members of the Public While on Duty

The portion of the survey that focused on race-based interactions (RBI) with members of the public was divided into positive/pleasant race-based interactions (+RBI) and negative/unpleasant race-based interactions (-RBI). Participants were asked how often each kind of interactions occurred as a percentage of shifts (0% being never and 100% being every shift worked). Positive and negative RBI were then each divided based on whether the civilian appeared to be the same race (SR) or a different race (DR) as the officer. This distinction was made to explore the differences of impact on the officer based on the civilians race. To abridge, the four types of race-based interactions which officers were asked about are: (1) positive race-based interactions with someone of the same race (+RBI-SR), (2) positive race-based interactions with someone of a different race (+RBI-DR), (3) negative race-based interactions with someone of the same race (-RBI-SR), and (4) negative race-based interactions with someone of a different race (-RBI-DR). Within each of these four sections, participants were asked about the perceived impacts that these interactions had on them personally and professionally.

The -RBI section involved two additional questions: (1) officers were asked if they have ever been scrutinized for their career choice because of their ethnicity, and (2) if they have ever reported a -RBI to a supervisor. The latter question contributed to our understanding of whether management may already be aware of some of the unique challenges faced by officers of colour in the field.

Job Satisfaction

Multiple studies considering the job satisfaction of police officers (Ahmad et al., 2018; Schaible, 2018) have used the empirically validated (Bowling & Hammond, 2008) Michigan Organizational Assessment Questionnaire Job Satisfaction Subscale (MOAQ-JSS) developed by Camman, Fichman, Jenkins, and Klesh (1983). This 3-item scale asks the following questions:

(1) All in all I am satisfied with my job, (2) In general, I don't like my job, (3) In general, I like working here. These are answered on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree. Scores on job satisfaction are obtained by averaging the responses from the three questions, with note that the second question is reverse scored. The MOAQ-JSS was used in the current study to measure officer job satisfaction.

Professional Identity

In alignment with Schaible's (2018) police study based on identity theory, the strength of an officers' professional identity was measured by its standing in comparison to other identities possessed by that individual. In the current study, officers ranked the following life roles based on their significance: partner/spouse, parent, officer, religious person or volunteer, family member. As an example, if being a police officer was the most important role in the participant's life, they would rate "officer" as one; if being a volunteer was the next most important role in their life, it would be rated as two, and so forth. If an identity did not pertain to a participant, they were instructed to leave the space blank or input "0" (see Appendix B). To decrease confusion and completion time, the following identity items were removed from the original measure: neighbor, friend, grandparent, child, sibling, relative (changed to family member). Additionally, to accommodate the current research questions, one item was added to the ranking list: ethnic community member.

Leave Intention

To ensure the link between RBI and job attrition was explored thoroughly, the survey included three questions directly asking officers about leave intention. These questions were as follows:

- Q11. How long do you plan on working in law enforcement?

- Q21. Do positive race-based interactions make you want to stay at your job?
- Q22. Do negative race-based interactions make you want to leave your job?

Other Impacts of RBI

Survey questions 13, 14, 16, and 17 (see Appendix B) asked officers if they had ever experienced each of the four types of RBI (+RBI-SR, +RBI-DR, -RBI-SR, and -RBI-DR). If an officer responded “Yes” they were asked the additional written response question: “What happened? How did this type of interaction impact you personally and/or professionally?” The open-ended questions allowed this research to explore impacts of RBI outside of the intended dependent variables and report unrestricted results that reflect officers’ true experiences.

Perspectives on Improvement

Finally, the last part of the survey asked officers for their improvement suggestions towards agency policies, recruitment practices, officer training, and available support. The questions in this portion of the survey were purposefully ambiguous to allow for open and creative responses by participants (see Appendix B). Questions followed the structure: “How can your organization’s (one of the four items e.g., training) be improved to better support ethnic minority officers?” Officers were instructed to answer based on their lived experiences with specific consideration towards officers of colour.

Procedures

The research invitation poster (see Appendix A) was disseminated to Canadian peace and police officers via LinkedIn and email. Existing relationships with law enforcement organizations (e.g., Calgary Police Services and City of Edmonton Peace Officers) were utilized by emailing the research invitation poster to supervisors to distribute among their staff. The poster included a

link to the web-based anonymous survey for interested ethnic minority officers to complete at their own convenience and on their own devices.

Access to the survey was open for officers to share amongst each other, via the link, for snowball sampling. All completed surveys were securely stored in Qualtrics and participants who provide their email were entered into a randomized draw for a \$250 gift card or one of three \$50 gift cards to 911 Supply; the winners were notified via the provided email. The consent form informed participants that their email was for the sole purpose of the draw and was in no way linked to their data. Participants were also informed that they did not forfeit their opportunity to win a gift card if they chose to withdraw from the study after starting.

Methods of Analysis

Quantitative Data

This study had a non-parametric mixed-methods design as it did not meet the assumptions of normality and collected both quantitative and qualitative data. Data was exported from Qualtrics to SPSS to conduct the statistical analysis of the quantitative data. Since most data was nominal, a Chi-square analysis was used to compute the relationships between variables. Due to the small sample size, greater than 80% of cells had expected counts less than 5, meaning that completing the Chi-square analysis was not successful. Expected cell counts smaller than five meant that any significant values were not statistically valid. The responses to quantitative survey questions are instead presented in the Results section as frequencies within the current sample. Spearman's correlations were run for the few survey questions which supplied ordinal data (e.g., frequency of RBI x job satisfaction score) however, relationships between variables were mainly inferred from written responses.

Qualitative Data

The Results section emphasizes the qualitative data, which was analyzed manually by the researcher and categorized into themes. The thematic analysis was completed using the six-step method developed by Clarke and Braun (2017). First, the written responses were reviewed and coded by highlighting observed key words and phrases. Next the codes were organized into potential emerging themes. Themes were double checked for their relevance to the whole dataset and given concise names. For example, the two officer quotes, “this increased my pride for my work” and “it made me feel proud” were placed into the theme “Officer pride.” Themes were then interpreted and are presented below with occurrences tallied for each one.

Unidentifiable quotes and paraphrasing were used to exemplify typical responses within each theme group. There was no limit to the number of themes that one quote could fall under. For example, in discussing why he felt his job was worthwhile, an officer responded: “Having good work/life balance. Supervisors are understanding of job that we do. Decent pay.” This response would be counted under each of the three themes, “Work/life balance,” “Coworkers/supervisors,” and “Salary or benefits.” If a participant quote included any identifying information such as names, the name of the service they work for, or highly specific cases, these details were omitted, generalized, or the quote was paraphrased. Officer quotes provided insight on the relationships between the independent variables (+RBI-SR, +RBI-DR, -RBI-SR, and -RBI-DR) and dependent variables (job satisfaction score, professional identity score, and leave intention response). Additionally, officer quotes provided broader insight on the impact of RBI past the intended dependent variables in the research questions.

CHAPTER 4: Results

This mixed methods study investigated the race-based interactions (RBI) experienced by ethnic minority officers with civilians during front-line duty. Survey questions collected insight on the types and frequencies of RBI and the impacts of these interactions on officers. This research was specifically interested if RBI may contribute to officers of colour having higher resignation rates than White officers. The impacts of RBI on job satisfaction and professional identity were examined as these are strongly linked to resignation. The qualitative survey questions were open and ambiguous which allowed officers to discuss impact topics outside of job satisfaction, professional identity, and leave intention. Since previous literature on the race-based experiences of officers of colour was scarce, this study was intentionally designed to be open, flexible, and guided by participant responses. The survey encouraged officers to share what they thought was most valuable and reassured them that “there are no right or wrong answers.” The flexible nature of this study meant that the structure of the Results section was participant-guided and not as rigidly focused on solely answering the research questions. The two research questions of this study are presented below along with how each question was investigated using the survey data.

Investigation of Research Question One

- (1) What is the relationship between the types and frequencies of race-based interactions experienced by ethnic minority officers with members of the public and the officers’ job satisfaction and professional identity?

The first research question was investigated using two avenues: Descriptive statistics (frequencies) provided insight on the occurrence of race-based interactions (RBI) and some impacts of RBI on officers (e.g., the percentage of officers that indicated that negative RBI make them want to leave their jobs). Second, a thematic analysis of qualitative data expanded on the

literature of common types of RBI experienced by officers, and the impact of RBI on officer job satisfaction, professional identity, leave intention, and other impact topics provided by officers. First, participant demographic information is provided below, after which the first research question is answered in three parts: 1) the types and impacts of positive race-based interactions, 2) the types and impacts of negative race-based interactions, including officers experiences of scrutiny for their career choice, and 3) an overview of why officers felt their job was still worthwhile.

Investigation of Research Question Two

- (2) Informed by lived experiences, what are the perspectives and suggestions of officers regarding improvements in policy, recruitment practices, training procedures, and available support, as related to ethnic minority officers?

The second research question was solely answered through the thematic analysis of officers written responses to survey questions 25 to 29. Responses between the five questions overlapped, therefore, each topic is presented under one of the four sections where it was discussed most often: (1) policy improvements, (2) recruitment suggestions, (3) training improvements, (4) improvements to available support.

Participant Demographic Information

Of the 46 officers whose data was used, 35 identified as male (76.1%), 10 identified as female (21.7%), and one identified as other (2.2%). As can be seen in Table 1, most participants were between the ages of 18 and 41. Additionally, Mixed Race and South Asian participants were most prominent in this sample of officers. Almost half of participants ($n = 21$) were born in Canada with about an equal amount having citizenship through immigration ($n = 20$). A small number ($n = 4$) were permanent residents or other ($n = 1$).

Table 1.*Sample Age Range and Race/Ethnicity*

Participant characteristic		<i>N</i>	% of sample
Age range	18-25	8	17.39
	26-33	21	45.65
	34-41	8	17.39
	42-49	1	2.17
	50-57	4	8.70
	58-65	3	6.52
	66+	1	2.17
Race/ethnicity	South Asian	7	15.22
	Chinese	3	6.52
	Indigenous	2	4.35
	Black/African American	6	13.04
	Filipino	1	2.17
	Latin American	0	0.00
	Arab	1	2.17
	Southeast Asian	3	6.52
	West Asian	1	2.17
	Korean	2	4.35
	Japanese	2	4.35
	European or White	6	13.04
	Mixed Race	9	19.57
	Other	3	6.52

Note. Percentages are out of 46, as all participants responded to the age and race demographic questions.

The highest level of education for most participants was a bachelor's degree ($n = 21$ or 45.65%) followed by a certificate program ($n = 14$ or 30.43%), high school diploma ($n = 4$ or 8.70%), other ($n = 4$ or 8.70%), some high school ($n = 2$ or 4.35%), and one participant completed a master's degree (2.17%). As can be seen in Table 2, most participants at the time of this research held a front-line law enforcement position. This reflects that frontline positions are most numerous in law enforcement agencies, but additionally reflects that there are few people of colour in managerial roles in Canadian law enforcement. As previously discussed, a 2016 statistic revealed that there were 145 commissioned (highest ranking) officers of colour in all of Canada at that time (Conor, 2018). It should be noted that this value did not include peace officers and

therefore the pool for participants working in management roles was more than 145 officers for this study. Table 2 provides the job characteristics of the officers who participated in the current research:

Table 2.

Participant Job Characteristics

Job characteristic		<i>N</i>	% of sample
Job title	Trainee or Candidate	1	2.22
	Front-Line (e.g., Constable, Peace officer, Sheriff)	38	84.44
	Middle Management (e.g., Inspector, Staff Sergeant, Sergeant)	3	6.67
	Executives/Upper Management (e.g., Chief, Deputy Chief, Superintendent)	3	6.67
	Agency type		
	Municipal (e.g., City of Edmonton Peace Officer, Calgary Police Services)	37	82.22
	Provincial (e.g., Ontario Provincial Police Force)	5	11.11
	Federal (e.g., RCMP, Military Police)	3	6.67
	Indigenous Police Services (e.g., Blood Tribe Police, Cree Police Service)	0	0.00
	Specialty Police (e.g., Niagara Parks Police)	0	0.00
Jurisdiction of officer	Metropolitan (population 1 million +)	29	64.44
	Large City (population 500,000 - 999,999)	7	15.56
	Medium City (population 200,000 - 500,00)	3	6.67
	Small City (population 50,000 - 200,000)	5	11.11
	Town (population 1000 - 50,000)	0	0.00
	Rural Area (population <1000)	1	2.22

Note. Percentages are out of 45, as one participant did not respond to these demographic questions.

In addition to jurisdiction, it was valuable to know about the diversity of the population that the officer served. Approximately half (51.11%) of officers ($n = 23$) described that they are a different race/ethnicity than the majority of civilians in their jurisdiction, while 16 officers (35.56%) noted that multiple race/ethnicities equally populate their jurisdiction, and six officers (13.33%) felt that the majority of people in their jurisdiction appeared the same race as them. This question was asked to understand the differences in experiences of officers who work with civilians of all backgrounds versus a specific group (e.g., Indigenous Police Services on a reserve). Regrettably, the sample size was too small to analyze this distinction in the current study.

At the time of the survey, one participant (2.2%) had worked in law enforcement for less than a year, 17 participants (37.8%) had worked in law enforcement for 1-4 years, 13 (28.9%) had worked in law enforcement 5-9 years, five (11.1%) worked for 10-14 years, two (4.4%) worked for 15-19 years, and seven participants (15.6%) had worked for over 20 years in law enforcement. The majority (57.8%) of officers ($n = 26$) said that they planned on working in that field until retirement. Three officers (6.7%) were actively thinking about or in the process of leaving the field, and four officers (8.9%) identified wanting to leave law enforcement in the next 1-4 years. Leave intention is explored further via open ended questions as seen in the Results.

Research Question 1: Impact of RBI on Job Satisfaction, Job Identity, and Leave Intention

Within the “Race-Based Interactions” (RBI) block of the survey, officers were only prompted to provide written responses if they had answered “Yes” to having experienced that type of RBI. Additionally, as some experiences may have been distressing to discuss further, it was reiterated that any question could be skipped over. For these reasons the response rates in the written portions of the survey range drastically and therefore percentages for the qualitative data are not provided; instead, responses are tallied. Regarding the few inferential statistics presented

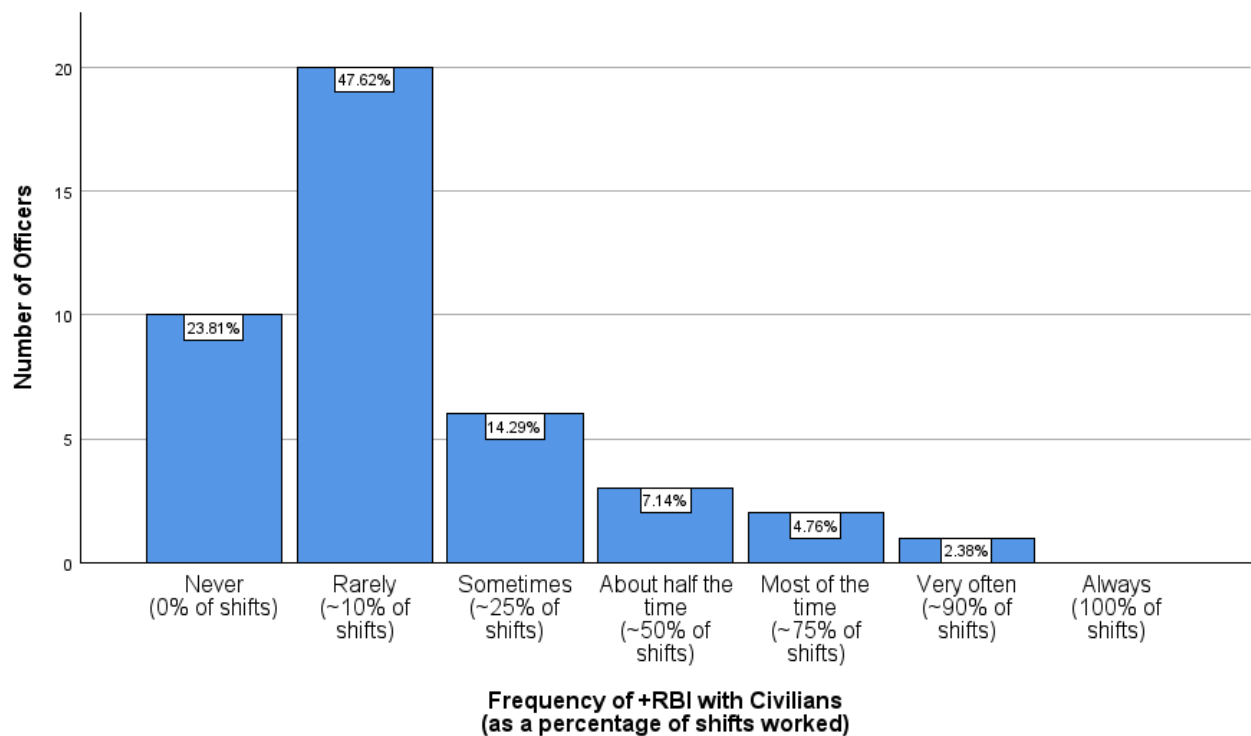
in the results, an alpha level of .05 was used to determine statistical significance. Again, variable response rates between questions and the small sample size thwarted the Chi-square analysis. A few Spearman’s correlations were computed with ordinal data, however, these correlations should be viewed through the lens of the discussed limitations. The most significance should be placed on the words of the officers who described their experiences.

Positive/Pleasant Race-Based Interactions (+RBI)

Before exploring the impacts of race-based interactions (RBI), it is first necessary to understand the types and frequencies of RBI. Figure 2 breaks down how often officers of colour reported experiencing +RBI with any civilian, regardless of race, age, or who initiated the interaction. An example of a +RBI would be a civilian approaching an ethnic minority officer to tell them they are proud to see a person of colour in uniform.

Figure 2

How Often do Officers of Colour Experience Positive Race-Based Interactions (+RBI)?



Note. This figure was formulated from responses to survey question 12.

As per Figure 2, 48% of participants ($n = 20$) who responded to survey question 12 said that they experience positive RBI rarely, or during approximately 10% of shifts. Participants did not appear to have many positive race-based experiences with individuals of a different race, therefore, it is presumed that the majority of +RBI are with civilians who appear the same race as the officer.

There were no significant Spearman's correlations between the frequency of +RBI and job satisfaction, professional identity, or leave intention (all p 's $> .05$). In the written portions officers discussed +RBI with civilians who appeared to be the same race (SR) primarily surrounding five distinct themes as expanded on next.

Positive Race-Based Interactions with Civilian of the Same Race (+RBI-SR)

Of the officers who responded, 57.14% experienced *positive* RBI with civilians of the *same* race. Twenty-Two officers elaborated with stories of +RBI-SR that fell into five categories: Officers experienced, (1) officer pride, (2) civilian pride, (3) increased civilian trust and comfort with police, (4) civilian appreciation for diverse officers, and (5) civilian curiosity towards policing jobs. Officers' written responses implied a positive impact of positive race-based interactions with civilians who appeared the same race (+RBI-SR).

Officer and Civilian Pride. Twenty of the 22 officers who elaborated on the impact of +RBI-SR, discussed either civilians expressing pride to them or their own feelings of pride that emerged from positive race-based conversations with other people of colour. Participants recalled BIPOC civilians encouraging them and expressing pride and appreciation to see diversity in law enforcement. Eight officers reported interactions where people of colour approached them with the sole intention of expressing pride to see an officer of colour or pride that their children got to see an officer of colour. One officer stated: "Someone said to me, they are very proud that I look like them and in a law enforcement career. They wanted their kids to follow the same."

Individuals from non-dominant groups informed officers that they were acting as role models and having positive impacts on their communities. Officers of colour reported that these types of interactions directly impacted them to feel prouder of themselves and their careers. For example, two officers wrote:

- An ethnic woman came up to me and said she was proud of me to see an individual from a minority background working in law enforcement. This made me feel honoured to leave a positive impact on a civilian.
- I just feel that people of my same race are proud to see me in uniform serving the community. I tend to get more waves and nods of approval from those of the same race. I am happy that I can be a positive law enforcement image for my ethnic community (East Indian).

Some ethnic minority civilians asked the officers to take photos with their children who were excited to see officers who looked like them. One officer wrote:

I was attending a call and when I finished, a Black mother approached me with her 3 yr old son, stating he had never seen an officer who looked like him. She seemed pretty pleased and smiled and wanted some photos with me and her son and the police car.

Officers reported children from diverse background expressing excitement to see an ethnic minority officer due to not previously knowing that they were allowed to work in law enforcement. Two participants reported having mixed emotions: Pride for contributing to BIPOC children's knowledge that they can work in law enforcement, and sadness that the children thought that opportunity did not exist for them to begin with. When children were involved in the interaction, this appeared to be a catalyst in the officer feeling a positive and lasting impact of the interaction.

Some civilians of colour expressed extra pride for female BIPOC officers due to the intersectionality of their challenges in obtaining a law enforcement career. Consequently, female officers of colour reported being positively impacted from the recognition. One officer wrote: “I have been told several times by members of the public how proud they are to see a female from their community in uniform. I have to say it makes me feel very happy and proud of what I do .”

Trust and Comfort with Police and Peace Officers. Ten of the 22 officers who wrote about experiencing +RBI-SR, mentioned an increase in civilian trust in the officer due to some aspect of their diversity. Officers discussed people of colour telling them that they prefer dealing with BIPOC officers due to increased comfort levels, increased feelings of safety, and decreased fear of the officer. Additionally, several of these officers discussed being able to speak with civilians in their native language which brought ease during a stressful situation. For example, one officer wrote:

The member of the public became more comfortable speaking with me after I started speaking our native language. It impacted me positively as I learned that I can leverage my fluency in another language to gain compliance/make the interaction better.

Participants expressed that the increased level of trust sometimes led to more cooperation from BIPOC civilians with officers of colour as compared to with White officers. In accordance, some officers recalled times when they have stepped in for White officers having trouble with BIPOC civilians and the civilians becoming more at ease or agreeable upon the officer switch. For example, one participant said:

Another officer was having a concern with a complainant; the civilian was female African American and responded better to me and my presence rather than the White officer. The civilian did mention that she was happy to see a Law Enforcement Officer of a similar race as she's very racially profiled in her neighbourhood, by her neighbours mostly.

Lastly, BIPOC officers discussed trust on a grander scale wherein their position in law enforcement has aided trust-building with individuals and communities who tend to distrust police. Whether the distrust was due to police corruption in the civilian's birth country or negative experiences in Canada, officers of colour recounted BIPOC civilians saying that seeing diverse police helped them feel that police in Canada are more legitimate and safe. Officers of colour also reported directly challenging residents' negative beliefs about Canadian police through open conversation and answering questions.

Appreciation for Diversity. Six participants described interactions with members of the public where they expressed appreciation for the officer's diversity. For example, one officer wrote: "I attended a domestic situation where the family was greatly put at ease to have an officer of the same demographic addressing their concerns." Civilians of colour appreciated feeling more trusting and comfortable with the officer of colour compared to their police interactions in the past. Civilians appreciated officers being able to speak their native language, especially with elderly members of the public. People of colour expressed appreciation to officers for being a part of the apparent increase of diversity in law enforcement. Other members of the public told officers that they felt more understood due to the officer's ability to view the situation through a cultural lens. Two officers discussed being told by ethnic minority members of the public that they are challenging stereotypes about police officers and developing the sense that policing can be for anyone.

Curiosity About Law Enforcement Career. Five of the 22 officers who responded, discussed having interactions where BIPOC civilians were excited to see someone of their same race in uniform and became curious about policing jobs. As one officer wrote:

[I experience] positive reactions, MOP were happy the [City] Police Service has officers of colour. As I rose through the ranks it was a lot more prevalent, commenting or asking about [my position] and jobs.

Civilians of colour asked officers questions about the recruitment process and their day-to-day work. Two female officers of colour were asked about the challenges and physical aspects of the job. As mentioned before, children were often curious when seeing an officer of colour and participants described being asked by kids if they can also do that job in the future.

Positive Race-Based Interactions with Civilian of a Different Race (+RBI-DR)

Ten officers mentioned having a positive race-based interaction with someone of a different race, and this was generally a civilian expressing a broad compliment or appreciation to the officer. These interactions did not sound to be race-based and officers reported no impact from these encounters.

Impacts of Positive RBI on Job Satisfaction, Professional Identity, and Leave Intention

Research question one seeks to understand if and how positive race-based interactions impact officers' job satisfaction, professional identity, and in turn leave intention. Officers were asked how +RBI impact them personally and professionally and correlations to the dependant variables were inferred from written responses.

Job Satisfaction. Consistent with past research (Ahmad et al., 2018; Chan and Doran, 2009), this study found a significant positive Spearman's correlation between officer's job satisfaction scores and their intention to stay at their job ($r_s = .400, n = 39, p = 0.012$). Officers who were more satisfied with their jobs, responded that they wish to work in law enforcement for longer periods of time. This supports the assumption that job satisfaction decreases the likelihood of officer resignation and provisions the use of job satisfaction as a dependent variable in this study on RBI. In the current study 29 of the 39 officers who responded, presented high job

satisfaction scores (above 12), meaning that 74.35% of participants felt satisfied with their job. Four officers were dissatisfied with their jobs and the rest of scores ($n = 6$) were moderate. Survey question 23 asked officers what made their jobs worthwhile: Six officers mentioned positive RBI increasing their feelings of fulfillment in their jobs which suggests that for these officers, positive race-based interactions increase their job satisfaction. Based on responses to question 23, officers believe their jobs are worthwhile for varied reasons, each of which hold different weight for each officer. The top reasons included: the ability to help people, serving the public, and the characteristics of the job itself such as the physicality or non-repetitive nature of daily tasks. Each officer's job satisfaction is uniquely impacted by different factors based on the officers' values and why they chose a career in law enforcement to begin with. Overall, though, positive RBI appear to increase the job satisfaction of some officers and further research is needed to determine the strength and generalizability of this relationship.

Professional Identity. Positive race-based interactions appear to enhance officers' professional identities: Twelve officers discussed feeling increased pride for their job after +RBI, for feeling like a positive role model in their communities. For example, one officer stated pride for:

knowing that I'm in a unique position to make a difference - both through the traditional aspects of my job as well as ensuring that minorities are treated as I would treat my own family and showing positive sides of policing to minority populations through interactions.

Ethnic minority officers additionally felt proud for breaking down the historical narrative that policing is a job only for White men. Four officers mentioned feeling especially proud of their careers when they were able to be an example of opportunity and diversity in law enforcement for BIPOC children. When civilians expressed appreciation and pride towards diversity in law

enforcement, officers described feeling honoured, proud, valuable, unique, approved of, and recognized. Such terms used by officers suggest that officers' professional identities are magnified by positive race-based interactions. Several officers specified that positive RBI are more impactful "when in uniform" rather than in their personal lives.

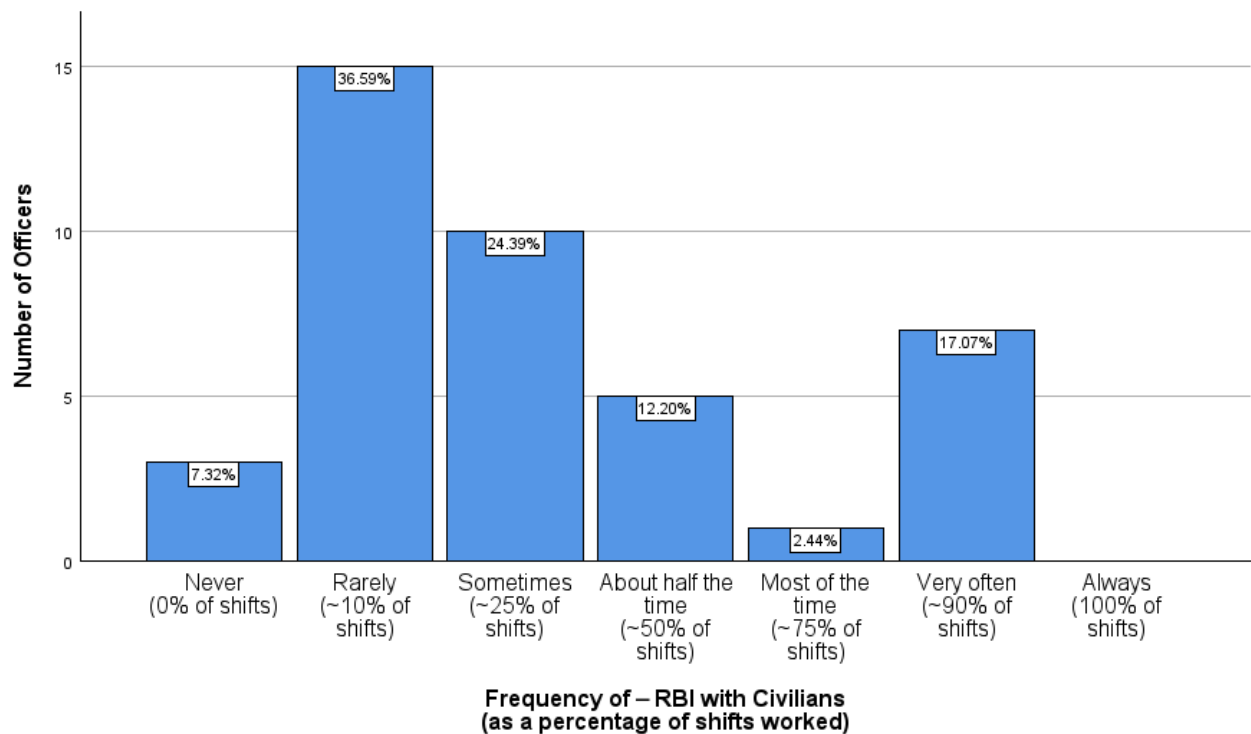
Stay Intention. From the apparent positive impact of +RBI on job satisfaction and professional identity, it corresponds that 48.72% of officers (19) responded that positive race-based interactions make them want to stay at their jobs. Overall, it appears that +RBI increase officer job satisfaction, professional identity, and stay intention, however, the strength of these relationships must be determined with future quantitative research.

Negative/Unpleasant Race-Based Interactions (-RBI)

Figure 3 breaks down how often officers of colour reported experiencing negative race-based interactions with any civilian, regardless of race, age, or who initiated the interaction. There was a significant positive Spearman's correlation between the frequency of -RBI and officers leave intention due to -RBI ($r_s = -.356, n = 39, p = .026$). As the frequency of negative race-based interactions increased, officers were more likely to report that they wished to leave their job due to -RBI. More specifically, officers who experience -RBI rarely (around 10% of shifts worked) were most likely to say that -RBI do not make them want to leave, while officers who experienced -RBI very often (around 90% of shifts) were most likely to say that -RBI do make them want to leave their job. The Spearman correlations between the frequency of -RBI and officer job satisfaction scores and professional identity scores were not statistically significant (all p 's > .05).

Figure 3

How Often do Officers of Colour Experience Negative Race-Based Interactions (-RBI)?



Note. This figure was formulated from responses to survey question 15.

Negative Race-Based Interactions with Civilian of the Same Race (-RBI-SR)

Of officers who responded, 34.15% had experienced *negative* race-based interactions (-RBI) with a civilian of the *same* race (SR) as themselves. In the written portions, 11 officers elaborated on the forms of -RBI-SR experienced and the resulting impacts. These interactions took on four main forms: Officers experienced, (1) being perceived as a race-traitor, (2) BIPOC civilians expecting preferential treatment, (3) increased noncompliance, and (4) racial slurs and name-calling.

Race Traitor. Five officers discussed experiences were individuals of their same race considered them to be traitors of their race or ethnicity because of their jobs as an officer. Officers of colour reported being called a “traitor”, “race-traitor”, “white-washed”, “Uncle Tom,” and “sell-out”. One officer wrote:

During an arrest of a young offender, he questioned my loyalty to my race and background. He called me an Uncle Tom and that essentially the Black race no longer wanted me. Professionally the comment alone was not that shocking but when you keep hearing this native over and over and over again, it affects you professionally and personally.

The reports of these types of interactions in the current study are consistent with past interviews and qualitative research as discussed in the Literature Review. The narrative that police are in direct opposition with people of colour can lead to the perspective that BIPOC officers are betraying their ethnic identities and submitting to dominant groups via their career choice. As one officer wrote:

I was assisting on a mental health call. The female was initially friendly towards me, but became racially abusive, accusing me of 'showing out' for white men, called me the n-word, and accused me of being a race traitor etc.

Officers of colour who described such interactions had a common response that they try not to be impacted by these experiences, however, the repetitive nature of those narratives can be exhausting as they constantly feel that they must defend themselves both to their ethnic communities and in their professions.

Expecting or Requesting Preferential Treatment. Five officers discussed civilians of colour expecting or requesting preferential treatment and becoming upset when the officer refused. One officer wrote:

I've had many incidents where a MOP of a different race would use racial slurs towards me. I've also had incidents where a MOP would use the phrase "us minority" to try and get out of a ticket. They would try to point out that they and I were non-white and imply that I should not give them a ticket because we were non-white and we experience racism.

Officers of colour are put into difficult positions where they are told that their ethnic identity and professional identity cannot coexist. The impact of police officers historically being mostly White males has created a narrative that resists the positive change of the very same issue. Rather than seeing police forces as becoming more diverse, some civilians perceive BIPOC officers as being more White. One officer wrote:

People of the same race expect me to look the other way when they break the law and when I had to enforce that rule, I get told I'm white-washed or a traitor. Wearing the uniform doesn't make me white.

Requests for preferential treatment and the resulting non-compliance when it is not given are novel topics which did not emerge in previous literature. These types of interactions further complicate the perceived clashing of ethnic and professional identities that officers of colour experience as expanded on in the Discussion section.

Noncompliance. Four officers discussed noncompliance by civilians as a result of the aforementioned interactions regarding race. Two officers described distinct escalations during arrests caused from refusing the civilian preferential treatment. Another two officers wrote about individuals of the same race not acknowledging their authority because of shared ethnic backgrounds. For example, one participant wrote:

When working in corrections, inmates of the same background would challenge my authority because of culture similarities. I didn't take it personally. Professionally, it can make the job more challenging because situations have escalated due to non-compliance.

Racial Slurs and Name-Calling. Five officers of colour reported experiencing name-calling and racial slurs by civilians of the same race. Most commonly, officers were called the “n-word” when being referred to as “traitors.”

Negative Race-Based Interactions with Civilians of a Different Race (-RBI-DR)

Negative race-based interactions with civilians of a *different* race (-RBI-DR) were the most numerous type of RBI experienced by officers of colour; 31 of the 39 officers who responded (79.49%) experienced -RBI-DR. These interactions took on four main forms: Officers experienced, (1) name calling, racial slurs and derogatory language, (2) racism in other forms, (3) being seen as an imposter or illegitimate authority, and (4) being accused of racism by BIPOC civilians of a different race. The majority of -RBI-DR seemed to be with White civilians, and some with civilians of colour of a different race than the officer.

Racial Slurs, Derogatory Language, and Name-Calling. Eighteen officers mentioned being called racial slurs, derogatory terms, and experiencing name-calling. One officer captured most of the 18 responses in saying:

In my few years working in law enforcement. I have been called a variety of racial/derogatory names. I tend to just ignore it, act professional and do my job. It is a common occurrence, I am no longer surprised when I am called a radicalized or derogatory name. The majority of these officers wrote similar impact statements that these types of interactions are so common that they no longer pay attention to them or allow them to have an impact. Most officers discussed responding to these forms of verbal abuse with professionalism, reminding themselves that the civilians are upset or in a vulnerable state, and “brushing it off,” or “not letting it get under their skin.” For example, two officers wrote:

- Verbally directing an Indigenous person from property as they were trespassing. Person began uttering racial slurs towards myself and my partner who is East Indian. She told me to get back on the boat to China and called my partner a terrorist. Due to constant racial comments, it does not affect me personally or professionally.

- A person we were detaining used a racial slur against me. It did not impact me personally or professionally. We deal with a difficult population that will try and get under your skin regardless of what colour it is and know how to zero in on those parts people might most take offense to. The grand majority of MOPs treat me like they would any other race.

One of the officers who identified as “European or White” but was not excluded from the qualitative dataset wrote:

People often can't figure out what race I am, so typically they will try making racist comments or using different racial slurs. It happens to my partner way more but we have each other's backs and keep acting professional. It's kind of just part of the job.

Racism in Other Forms. Twelve officers discussed other forms of racism such as civilians telling them they “do not belong in law enforcement” or that “they were only hired due to affirmative action”. Officers also reported civilians saying that they are “stealing jobs from real Canadians” and being told to “go back to their country” or “get back on the boat.” Officers of colour wrote about members of the public “refusing to be arrested or questioned by a [ethnicity or racial slur] officer” and civilians asking to speak with a White officer instead. One officer wrote:

I have been told frequently by MOPs that they "aren't dealing with an Arab person" and that they'd prefer to "deal with a White guy" (or someone of the same race). This happened in particular in the jails/with in-custody MOPs.

Similar to officers' reactions to racial slurs and name-calling, most officers reported that they try to not let these interactions impact them. Some officers discuss not feeling impacted at all while others mention becoming exhausted and bothered over time; both parties wished to not let these forms of racism change their feelings or the way they do their jobs daily. Two officers wrote:

- Early in my career [in the] 1980,s [I was] accused of being hired due to affirmative action hiring practices. Asking for a White officer/partner during arrest or interview. It bothered me, however I felt sorry for the person and chalked it up to them being angry and lashing out. Did not allow folks like that to dictate my actions or respond in a way that jeopardized my job.
- Being told to go back to my country. It really didn't have much of an effect on me as I feel when people are upset, they try and make others upset. So, in all honesty, it has zero effect.

Officer Seen as Imposter or an Illegitimate Authority. Nine of the 31 officers discussed experiences where individuals of a different race, questioned the legitimacy of the officer's authority. This occurred in two forms: Firstly, officers described situations where elderly White civilians did not believe that they were genuinely an officer due to their race; these civilians believed them to be imposters impersonating an officer. For example, two officers wrote:

- Elderly closed door and called 911 not believing I was Police. Minor frustration.
- I responded to a call of elder abuse. During my investigation I spoke to the landlady where the victim was living. I was inside her house in full police uniform and after I left I forgot to ask her something. When I returned to speak to the same landlady, she refused to open the door to speak to me. I could see her on the phone thru the blinds and was confused as to why she was not opening the door. She then shouted to me, I am on the phone with 911 because I don't believe you are a real police officer. I had to get on the radio and inform the dispatcher to ignore her call or concerns as it was me she was calling in about.

Secondly, officers described situations where due to their race, civilians refused to comply with their instructions. Civilians would state directly that their noncompliance was because of the officer's race and would sometimes ask for a White officer instead. Participants recalled interactions with civilians such as:

- "I refuse to be arrested by a chink" "go back home, we don't need people like you" "I am going to come at you with a harpoon (from a high school teacher)"
- Someone stated to me "they would not be searched by a terrorist." I have also felt that some people are inherently rude to me or refuse to listen to me based on my race, especially if there are officers of the ethnic majority around.

Civilian noncompliance because of the officer's race has emerged as a theme in both –RBI with same race and different race civilians. Officers reported that individuals of the same race may feel that they can “get away with more” due to shared backgrounds, while individuals of different races exhibit racism through verbal abuse and responding antagonistically, unlike they would with White officers. Officers discussed how their authority being undermined can lead to escalations in the situation. This puts officers of colour at increased risk when dealing with members of the public.

Civilian Claiming Racism by the Officer. Lastly, three officers of colour described civilians of colour calling them racist during arrests or questioning. Officers described frustration of a double-edged sword where they are being called racist and “white-washed,” while also experiencing racism themselves. Participants discussed being fatigued from continuous accusations from all different angles of race-based topics and the repetitive nature of negative RBI experienced in the field.

Impacts of Negative RBI on Job Satisfaction and Professional Identity

Research question one seeks to understand if and how negative race-based interactions impact officers' job satisfaction, professional identity, and in turn leave intention. Officers were asked how –RBI impact them personally and professionally and correlations to the dependent variables were inferred from written responses.

Job Satisfaction. In their survey responses officers tended to minimize the negative race-based interactions they experiences and made statements such as, “it is part of the job,” “I just brush it off,” “I don’t let it get to me,” “you just get used to it,” “the person is just upset and lashing out, you can’t let it bother you.” Throughout the survey, participants continuously demonstrated resilience and habituation to –RBI and often stated that –RBI do not impact their job satisfaction. It is crucial not to minimize the severity of racism and verbal abuse experienced by officers of colour due to their shown resilience to such interactions. Officers may be minimizing the impacts of racism and verbal abuse due to genuine indifference, perceived indifference, or as a response to the historic expectation within police culture to have “thick skin.” Most officers in the current survey self-reported that –RBI do not impact their job satisfaction, with statements such as:

I like my job because it is very rewarding and it is my passion. The negative race-based interactions I’ve had do not affect me in any way as I never take anything personally and I keep in mind that they say what they say because I am wearing the uniform.

Future research with a larger sample size is needed to compute inferential statistics on a generalizable relationship between –RBI and job satisfaction.

Professional Identity and Scrutiny for Career Choice. One form of –RBI that relate strongly to the professional identity of officers is the commonly discussed experience of being scrutinized for their career choice. In addition to negative race-based interactions with civilians,

40% of officers ($n = 16$) reported being scrutinized for their career choice, due to their ethnicity. Although career scrutiny was an independent question, many responses overlap with themes already discussed above. Thirteen officers elaborated on career scrutiny by writing about four common themes: Most prominently, seven officers of colour described being told by family, friends, and community members that they “do not belong [in law enforcement].” Two officers described experiences where their families did not consider law enforcement to be a respectable or trustworthy profession. Two officers shared that upon announcing their new jobs, the response from others was that they “only received the job due to affirmative action”. Lastly, one officer described feeling shunned by his community, due to being seen as a “traitor.”

Balancing a professional and personal identity that some people may see as mutually exclusive, is a unique challenge experienced only by ethnic and gender minority officers. The burnout described by some officers from continuously defending themselves both in their professions and their ethnic communities resembles racial battle fatigue (Smith, 2004), which is expanded on in the Discussion section. From written responses it appears likely that –RBI impact professional identity, however it is unclear if –RBI weaken or strengthen an officer’s professional identity. Further research is needed to gain inferential statistics on the relationship between –RBI and the professional identity of officers.

What Makes Their Job Worthwhile?

To shed some light on aspects of law enforcement jobs that may positively contribute to officer resilience and stay intention, officers were asked what makes their job worthwhile. Presented below is the thematic analysis of why officers felt their jobs are worthwhile (survey question 23). Participant responses ($n = 36$) divided into eight topics which are laid out in Table 3 with some (not all) corresponding quotes and tallies of how many officers mentioned that topic.

Table 3*Factors Reported by Officers That Made Their Job Worthwhile Personally or Professionally*

Why is the job worthwhile?	Example quote by officer	N
Helping people/ serving the public	<p>Seeing the smiles on the faces of the people I help makes me think it's all worth it.</p> <p>I see the positive impact of my job every shift and I'm proud to be a police officer even though lately, there's been lots of negativity around policing.</p> <p>When I was able to help someone or comfort someone in a really bad time of their life.</p>	16
Characteristics of the job: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interesting day to day • Not repetitive • Physically active • Social aspect/ meeting new people daily • Continuous opportunities to learn 	<p>Positive interactions with public, generally - not based around race. I like the diverse situations I respond to, and the fact that my job is challenging. Each call is different, so I am constantly thinking/doing different tasks.</p> <p>Money I make and the social interaction with others. I love that my job is different every day and is never boring.</p> <p>The position that I currently have challenges my problem-solving abilities. I am able to help others understand that LEO's are humans and are understanding. We aren't robots regardless of race/ethnicity.</p>	14
Making a difference in the community	<p>I view it as an opportunity to make a real difference in my community.</p> <p>Knowing that I'm in a unique position to make a difference - both through the traditional aspects of my job as well as ensuring that minorities are treated as I would treat my own family and showing positive side of policing to minority populations through interactions.</p> <p>Making a difference in people's lives and the simple thank you for your service.</p>	8

Passionate about law enforcement and public safety	<p>The ability to provide a safe and comfortable community, helping all persons, and ensuring day to day life is of the highest standards for all Canadians in my jurisdiction.</p> <p>I like my job because it is very rewarding, and it is my passion. The negative race-based interactions I've had do not affect me in any way as I never take anything personally and I keep in mind that they say what they say because I am wearing the uniform.</p>	6
Salary and/or benefits	Pay, pension and benefits. Many opportunities to learn on the job.	5
Be a role model to their community, especially youth	<p>Helping people and showing young people especially, that being an officer does not mean you have turned you back on your background, experiences and upbringing.</p> <p>I feel proud to serve my community, wear the uniform, be a positive role model. The interactions where I know I made someone feel safer make the job worth while for me.</p>	5
Good work life balance	<p>Having good work/life balance. Supervisors are understanding of job that we do. Decent pay.</p> <p>Stimulation, interesting days, active work, good pay, and being able to pursue a life outside of work.</p>	4
Good coworkers/supervisors	<p>Having good work/life balance. Supervisors are understanding of job that we do. Decent pay.</p> <p>My coworkers. Knowing I did the good job and made a difference.</p> <p>I like when I help people and my coworkers are amazing. I get job satisfaction by putting a smile on someone's face or when I solve an issue for them</p>	3

As seen in Table 3, some officers discussed positive race-based interactions as one of the aspects of their job that make it worthwhile. Understanding what officers of colour value about their jobs provides insight on how and why positive and negative race-based interactions impact

each officer differently. Again, further research with larger sample sizes is needed to gain generalizable statistics on how positive and negative RBI influence officer job satisfaction, professional identity, leave intention, and other variables.

Research Question 2: Officers Improvement Suggestions

The second research question was investigated through the final five questions of the research survey (see Appendix B); questions 25 to 29 were open-ended and intentionally ambiguous to allow for officer creativity and frankness in responses. Participants provided improvement suggestions for policies, recruitment practices, officer training, available support, and other. Officers' improvement suggestions should not be perceived as implying that all Canadian law enforcement agencies lack in that domain. Participants spoke specifically of their individual organizations and suggestions are summarized and presented whether organizations have already taken those steps or not. Across all five questions, officers wrote 33 times that they were pleased with most aspects of their agency and that they have seen major improvements in recent years. Five officers mentioned that they have seen an increase in diversity within their agency:

- I think our organizations policies are surprisingly good and have come a long way over the last few years. I saw a huge amount of diversity in my recruit class, as well as the ones before and after me.
- Overall, I would say I am very impressed with the progressive steps my area has taken in the recent years to be more inclusive. To my knowledge they are doing an excellent job.
- Outreach to minority populations [should be] ongoing – I have noticed increasing diversity in recruit classes.

- The organization should actively try to recruit ethnic officers. Our organization will only benefit from diversity, because we serve a diverse community. When I was hired to my most recent organization the recruit class was diverse, which was great to see.
- My current organization has a good spread of minorities in hiring practice.

The thematic analysis of improvement suggestions resulted in nine distinct themes that are laid out in Table 4 and elaborated on subsequently under each topic heading. Responses greatly overlapped throughout the five questions and therefore are presented below in the section where they appeared most often; tallies of the amount officers mentioned each topic are summed.

Table 4.

Summary of Organizational Improvement Suggestions Related to Race-Based Experiences

Topic	Improvement suggestion by officers	# of mentions
Policy	Stronger stance towards officers experiencing racism (from civilians and other officers).	9
	Guidance on how officers should respond to –RBI (rather than it being seen as “part of the job”).	8
	Create a structured and streamline protocol for reporting –RBI	
Recruitment	Agencies be mindful of policies around affirmative action and how they are discussed; ensure all officers know that everyone is hired based on merit.	12
	Increase diverse community outreach to build relationships and broaden recruitment pools.	16
	Ensure officers of colour are represented in media and hiring advertisements.	
Training	Organize and encourage the celebration of ethnicities within the team through cultural events, learning, and team building.	12
	Increase agency and officer awareness of RBI fatigue and the unique form of burnout experienced by officers of colour.	
	Increase diversity among training staff.	7
	Inform recruits about potential RBI and how to respond, before they are frontline.	6
	Ensure agency promotion processes are unbiased.	
	Increase representation of ethnic minorities in managerial positions.	

Note: Officers preferred informal “training” such as team building events or open forums

Support	Designate ethnic minority mentors or peer support groups with whom officers of colour can discuss RBI	8
	Encourage agency-wide open dialogue; plan open forums to hear about and discuss RBI and related topics	11

Policy Improvement Suggestions

Stronger Stance on Racism. The suggestion for management to take a stronger stance on officers experiencing racism was mentioned nine times. As one officer put, “verbal abuses and racial slurs shouldn’t be accepted as part of the job.” Participants reported wanting more guidance on how to formally respond to race-based incidents with members of the public. Officers felt unclear about where to draw the line with tolerating negative race-based interactions. Participants suggested agency wide guidance for all officers on how to react when they or their partners experience racism from civilians; this guidance could provide officers with concrete options rather than feeling that they must endure the abuse and then “brush it off.”

Participants hoped for a consistent and formal responses to racist incidents with both members of the public and within the organization. For example, two officers suggested:

- Continuous non-tolerance to racism, and to ensure any incidents of racism in the workplace are dealt with accordingly.
- Take a strong stand towards passive racism within the ranks/offices. Encourage people to [report incidents] and protect them when they do.

For supervisors to respond formally and consistently, there need to be clear and well-known outlines regarding the response to race-based situations. It is suggested that agencies expurgate their response policies for negative race-based incidents and make these policies better known to all officers. In addition to wanting more guidance around the response to –RBI, officers also suggested more structure around reporting such incidents to supervisors:

Structured and Streamline Reporting of –RBI. Eight officers suggested that agencies develop a structured and streamline protocol for reporting –RBI to management. Officers suggested there is value in managers being more aware of –RBI experienced in the field so they may provide more support and guidance to officers as needed. Of the 29 officers who responded, 21 (72.5%) had never reported a race-based incident to their supervisors (survey question 19). Simultaneously, eight officers reported that they wished there was a direct and streamline method of doing so. For example, one officer said, “maybe have an actual procedure to refer to when some sort of racial biases have occurred. This can be biases/racism with MOP or other officers.” One officer felt that, “policies should be more straight forward and applicable and updated often to keep up with modern times and [officer experiences] to support all staff regardless of their race.”

Improvement Suggestions for Recruitment Practices

Agencies Being Mindful Towards Affirmative Action. A theme that continuously arose throughout survey responses was quota hiring or affirmative action. Within the –RBI section officers reported individuals making remarks that they were only hired due to their race. Again, following the false narrative that policing jobs are only for White people, the qualifications of ethnic minority officers are overlooked in these instances and their hire is unfairly attributed to their race. Twelve officers recommended that their organizations be more mindful of the ways in which they approach and discuss diversifying task forces. Some officers wished that civilians, other officers, and they themselves had reassurance that they were hired based on merit and no quota hiring occurred. For example, four officers said:

- I wouldn't focus so much on hiring [ethnic] minorities and women. I want them to hire me because of my qualifications and not my gender or ethnicity. No quota hiring should be allowed.

- Organizations such as policing need to stop worrying about public opinion. Focus should be protecting the citizens. Ethnic minority officers shouldn't be hired based on being liked by the public or to please the public. I hope I was not one of these officers.
- Just because I am not White doesn't mean that I am not smart. Don't make minority officers feel that they got the job because of the skin colour to meet the quota.
- Hire and promote more minorities and not due to some equality strategy but make it known it's based on the qualifications of the person and not simply to fill a spot for their minority quota.

Regarding solutions, one officer wrote that, “hiring more ethnically diverse employees will be a good start so officers of colour don't seem like a token or quota hire.” Another officer suggested:

[Agencies] need to hire more officers that reflect the community they serve. They need to make it a more attractive job and place to work in order to overcome doubts of minorities that may want to join but are concerned about backlash not only from their community but acceptance from fellow officers. There should not be an English language proficiency question, especially if a candidate has a university degree ... from an English taught university.

As the anonymous officer suggested, making law enforcement a more attractive or accessible job could result in a larger and more diverse applicant pool. Sixteen officers discussed this when recommending more community outreach at ethnic events and increased diversity in hiring advertisements:

Community Outreach and Representation in Media. Sixteen officers recommended an increase in recruitment outreach to ethnic communities and at diverse events. Officers suggested: “recruiting fairs at cultural events,” “attendance at events with minority persons ([e.g.,] Pow

wows)”, and “highlighting diversity in marketing materials.” As one officer put it, it would be helpful to “portray ethnic officers in the media - we have non-white officers in high-ranking positions, but they are rarely seen, leading to public perception that all cops are white, middle aged, males.” Table 3 outlines what officers of colour value about their careers; this information could be used in recruitment advertisements to broaden civilian interest in law enforcement jobs.

Improvement Suggestions for Officer Training

Celebrating and Learning About Cultural Differences. Twelve officers recommended for agencies to implement culture-related team building. Officers believed it would be beneficial for teams to get to know one another on a cultural level. Officers suggested to “acknowledge and celebrate ethnic events in the team,” “learn more about each other and talk more about minority officials,” and “learn the strengths of different cultures.” Officers implied that building a knowledge and appreciation for ethnic differences within smaller teams would echo through the organization on a grander scale. Some participants discussed this team learning being more open and informal as opposed to structured training on race-based topics. For example, three participants suggested:

- Celebrate various ethnic cultures within the organization together. After serving 32 years, I experienced very little emphasis on Black History Month.
- Decrease the amount of e-learning done around racial topics and replace with more organic learning, e.g., open forums, team building.
- Less e-learning on diversity/racial issues; it has the unintended consequence of being cumbersome; [it is a] burden on officer time and ends up being seen as an inconvenience opposed to useful.

Agency Awareness of Race-Based Fatigue or Burnout. Eight officers mentioned a specific fatigue or burnout which results from continuous negative race-related incidents and interactions. Participants believed it could be beneficial for all teammates to have open discussions and learn about experiences unique to officers of colour. One officer suggested: “Maybe teach other officers of the backlash we face from our community and maybe they can understand what its like to walk in our shoes.” Another officer suggested:

I think presenting the real experiences and at times untold story of the line that minority officers have to walk. We battle every day for acceptance not only by MOP within our own communities but within the service as well. Fear of being labeled not Black enough or not blue enough are a constant balancing act that we have to manage on a daily basis. Officers described race-based burnout linked to feeling the need to constantly prove themselves in their communities and within their agencies. Another officer summarized this fatigue by saying:

The tole on the officer who has to prove time and time again their allegiance to both their community and the service. This is a tiring constant exercise that in my view is unique to being a minority officer. While other officers can just get on with their job, we have to always be more mindful how we are being received at all times.

Officers discussed this burnout in the training portion of improvements as many of them believed it could be beneficial to inform recruits in training about potential future –RBI and provide them guidance in advance on how to manage –RBI. As one officer put, “add something into training that talks about dealing with racism in advance.” One officer suggested that ethnic minority police come speak to recruit classes, or more officers of colour work as the trainers to have open dialogues about some of their race-related incidents. This would create the narrative from the get-

go that these incidents are talked about within the organization and support is available (see more in Improvements Suggestions for Available Support section below).

Increase Diversity Among Trainers. Seven officers suggested for agencies to have more diverse recruit trainers. For example, one officer said, “highlight ethnicity in your training staff; traditionally recruiters/trainers are Caucasian males and females.” As suggested above, ethnic minority trainers could share their unique personal experiences with new recruits or provide general information about potential future race-based interactions recruits of colour may encounter. Response protocol to race-based interactions could be reviewed before officers are front-line. One officer suggested that more diversity among trainers would also help recruits of colour feel less like a token, especially if the class is primarily White. Along with more diverse trainers, officers suggested more diversity in supervision:

Improvements Suggestions for Available Support

Promote Officers of Colour. In accordance with past research, two participants in the current study felt that promotions were not being given to officers of colour at the same rate or standard as with White officers. Participants suggested that agencies ensure there is no biases in the promotional process and that promotion panels include ethnic minority officers. One officer wrote:

Chances should be given to everyone equally. The organization should [be vigilant] if one of the higher ups is not promoting someone [because] of their race, sometimes [I feel] that is the reason there is no [ethnic minority] sergeant or inspector or other higher ups. There should be a balance.

Throughout the five questions however, many officers discussed seeing increased diversity and improvements across all race-related issues in their agency. One officer reported:

I believe my organization is doing a good job of supporting ethnic minority officers. I feel as if I am treated as equal. I want to keep seeing ethnic minority officers promoted. It has started happening and it is nice to see. A way to improve could be to have an open forum where ethnically diverse officers can interact with management specifically on these issues.

Peer Support Groups or Mentors. Throughout all responses there appeared a general theme of officers hoping for more open discussions about RBI within the whole organization but also to have designated people or groups with whom to have these discussions. One participant said, “as far as I’m aware there is no association or a place for ethnic minority officers, no one that I could speak with to share my issues or get advice from.” Eight officers had suggestions such as:

- Have peer support workers that come from different races and focus on racism incidents. For example, have a Filipino peer support worker that Filipino Officers can reach out to if needed to talk to about incidents where they experienced racism.
- Have peer support workers of different races.
- Encourage peer support and open dialogue.
- Designate actual mentors from within the organization to confide in.

Participants saw value in being open about these experiences and talking about them without worry of repercussion or gaslighting. Officers believed it would be beneficial to have designated people, groups, or spaces for race-based discussions and support.

Encouragement of Open Dialogue. Eleven officers mentioned open forums on diversity topics and the experiences of ethnic minority officers. Participants wished to speak about their experiences in an informal way as to share them with coworkers and management. Officers of

colour discussed that organization-wide knowledge of RBI would be beneficial so that partners may better support one another in the field as with any form of abuse from civilians. Participants mentioned that open forums on RBI, instead of e-learning, would make the topic more personal to the team causing teammates to be more invested in the subject matter and retain more information. One officer expressed that their organization is already doing this and recommended that it be continued as they have seen positive results. One participant responded that to better support ethnic minority officers, the agency simply needs to “encourage awareness and open dialogue.” Organization-wide open dialogue about race-based interactions provides officers of colour the opportunity to relate to one another’s experiences and normalize the impacts of such events; inform White partners of their unique workplace challenges; and inform and receive support from management regarding RBI.

CHAPTER 5: Discussion

Thus far in the literature, the exploration into the lower representation of people of colour in law enforcement careers has extracted two categories of barriers: First are the barriers of becoming an ethnic minority officer, and second are the challenges of being an ethnic minority officer. To summarize, the barriers for people of colour to become an officer may include distrust of the police, community discouragement based on the views that policing is not a respectable profession or a betrayal to one's ethnicity, and the real and perceived barriers of the application process. The challenges of being an ethnic minority officer include racism and discrimination within police culture, slower career progression, if any at all, higher resignation rates compared to White officers, and unique negative encounters with civilians related to race and ethnicity. Currently, there is a lack of literature surrounding the difficulties experienced by ethnic minority officers while on duty in the public; this is a gap addressed by the current study. To review, researchers know about the race-based challenges experienced in the office space, but little about the race-based difficulties officers encounter in the field with members of the public. Due to the disproportionate resigning rates of ethnic minority officers, it is essential to understand the various factors that may decrease their job satisfaction and retention in law enforcement careers. The current study focused on the challenges of working as an officer of colour, rather than the barriers of becoming one. Further, to address the gap in the literature the focus narrowed in on the race-based *public* experiences of these officers while on duty. Following Rigaux and Cunningham's (2020) design, the current study concluded by asking officers for improvement suggestions that could be applied to agency policy, recruitment, training, and available support, as related to officers of colour

The topic of race-based interactions experienced by officers of colour in the field is relatively new in the literature; therefore, this Discussion section will begin with an overview of

which types of RBI appeared in the Literature Review and which RBI topics appear for the first time via the current study. Next, this chapter explores broader considerations of the research question results, as well as extra impact topics and improvement topics as offered by officers. Further, the practical and clinical implications of the research results are addressed, followed by the limitations of this study, and future directions for research regarding ethnic minority police.

Race-Based Interactions in Past Literature

The current study was the first to categorize race-based interactions into pleasant/positive and unpleasant/negative and to categorize those further into interactions with same race versus different race civilians. From these distinctions several types of RBI that are new to the literature were accounted for and the complexity of RBI experienced by officers further understood.

Novel Data on Positive Race-Based Interactions

No previous literature existed looking at the occurrence of pleasant race-based interactions and their contribution to officer resilience. The current study provides the first understanding of the types of +RBI which mostly occur with other people of colour, primarily civilians of the same race as the officer. Officers revealed five primary impacts of +RBI-SR: Positive RBI-SR increased (1) officer pride, (2) civilian pride, (3) civilian trust and comfort with police, (4) civilian appreciation for diverse officers, and (5) civilian curiosity towards policing jobs. These known impacts can now be explored further in future research to understand officer resilience and intention to stay at their job, as well as expanding our understanding of what improves police relations with ethnic minority communities.

Novel Data on Negative Race-Based Interactions

Past literature on the race-based interactions of officers of colours did not distinguish if civilians were the same or a different race as the officer. This distinction in the current study extracted new forms of -RBI not previously discussed. The current study aligned with past

literature in finding that officers experienced –RBI with same race civilians such as (1) being perceived as a race-traitors, (2) scrutiny for career choice, and (3) experiencing racial slurs and name-calling. From the current study two previously unknown forms of –RBI-SR emerged which is that some BIPOC civilians expect preferential treatment from officers of colour and that this can lead to increased noncompliance. Noncompliance can also occur due to shared cultural backgrounds resulting in BIPOC civilians undermining the officers authority.

With civilians of a different race than the officer, the current study aligned with past research in showing that officers experience (1) name calling, racial slurs, and derogatory language, (2) racism in other forms (e.g., comments such as “go back to your country”), and (3) civilians undermining the legitimacy of the officers authority due to their race (e.g., “I refuse to be arrested by a terrorist”). Novel forms of –RBI-DR extracted from the current study are that (1) officers are sometimes perceived by White civilians as being an imposter impersonating an officer, and (2) that officers, despite being a person of colour themselves, experience a double edge sword wherein they are called white-washed and are accused of being racist by ethnic minority civilians that are a different race than the officer.

To summarize this study discovered race-based interactions that were not previously recorded in research on ethnic minority police. The current study provides a novel understanding of the positive race-based interactions police encounter and further research can explore how positive interactions contribute to job satisfaction, professional identity, resilience, and intention to stay at their jobs. Additionally this study provided novel information that officers of colour experience challenges in the field such as: (1) being perceived by White civilians as an imposter impersonating an officer, (2) being called white-washed and racist by BIPOC civilians of a different race, (3) BIPOC civilians expecting preferential treatment from officers of colour and increased noncompliance when preferential treatment is not given, and (4) BIPOC civilians

undermining the officers authority due to shared cultural backgrounds also resulting in increased noncompliance.

Research Question One: Considerations From the Reported Impacts of RBI

Double Marginality

Regardless of many participants describing negative RBI as not phasing them on a day-to-day basis, multiple officers also discussed a fatigue sustained overtime from the repetitive nature of negative RBI. Officers of colour experience this fatigue from the felt need to defend themselves to multiple social groups such as their ethnic communities, other civilians, family and friends, coworkers, and the organizations they work for. This is summarized well by the participant who said:

The tole on the officer who has to prove time and time again their allegiance to both their community and the service. This is a tiring constant exercise that in my view is unique to being a minority officer. While other officers can just get on with their job, we have to always be more mindful how we are being received at all times.

Some officers of colour have increased feelings of needing to prove themselves to their coworkers; this could be from being told their hire was due to affirmative action, feeling like a token, having their professional loyalty questioned, or being viewed as a representative of an ethnic group who may detest police. On the opposite note, officers of colour have the unique challenge of defending their loyalty to their race and ethnic community as well. By being told they are “race-traitors,” “white-washed,” “Uncle Toms,” “sell outs,” and so forth, officers’ values and identities are questioned by others who may not even know them. This leads to ethnic minority police also having increased feelings of needing to prove their integrity and ethnic identity to their family, friends, ethnic communities, and the general public. The narrative that ethnic identity and police identity are mutually exclusive, means that these police experience a

double marginality where their membership in one group is seen as taking away from their membership in the other. Due to the repetitive questioning of loyalty that comes from either direction, the officers' position in either group is never fully at ease. The double marginality discussed by officers in the current study is consistent with other research (Kochel, 2020) and appears to be an experience within policing that is unique to officers of colour.

There is still limited research on the impacts of an officer holding a strong job identity but also possessing perceived or real competing values or characteristics (Schaible, 2018). Kochel (2020) found that some officers responded to double marginality by leaning into their professional identities even further and emphasizing their loyalty to their coworkers. Strong police identity has been linked to improved occupational performance, flexibility, and support of more progressive policing practices leading to less corruption in the agency (Lambert et al, 2015).

On the other hand, other studies have found that a stronger police identity can be harmful when officers have emotive dissonance or discrepancies between what they think or feel, and their required duties (Bakker and Heuven, 2006). Emotive dissonance of officers with strong policing identities led to more burnout and emotional exhaustion (Bakker and Heuven, 2006). Schaible and Gecas (2010) found supporting results that a high incongruence between an officer's personal values and the values of a group important to them related to increased emotional exhaustion. This may provide additional insight into the higher resignation rates of racial minority officers in Canada. Officers experiencing dissonance between aspects of their identities could have higher levels of exhaustion leading to burnout (Schaible and Gecas, 2010). Past research has looked at similar burnout in people of colour who work in institutions historically dominated by White employees, such as universities (Smith, 2004). Smith (2004) named this burnout racial battle fatigue as expanded on below.

Racial Battle Fatigue and Police

Many participants in the current study emphasized that the repetitive nature of the race-based experiences is what makes them so poignant. Bolton & Feagin (2004) elaborate on the accumulation of officers' race-based fatigue by saying:

A report of a critical experience with discrimination by one officer typically represents much more than a single event or impression at a distinct point in time and space. It typically involves a series of past events, happenings, and incidents that are stored in memory and thereby included in the reactions to, and coping with, a present discriminatory situation or encounter. One experience thereby transcends a single moment and a single individual's interpretation of that particular moment. This experience is usually cumulative and includes shared understandings that make it collective as well. (p. 266)

The fatigue from the persistent pressure described by participants to prove and defend themselves within their organizations and in the field, resembles racial battle fatigue. Smith (2004) coined racial battle fatigue when he studied the psychosocial impacts on Black professors working in primarily White campuses. Smith (2004) pulled from research on combat stress syndrome to understand the impacts of a continuously hostile environment on individuals. *Racial battle fatigue* is the physical and psychological toll on a person of colour from their defense against repeated negative race-based interactions, microaggressions, and stereotyping (Smith, 2004). Anti-Black stereotyping such as the narratives that Black people "do not belong" in certain places, contribute to the pressures felt by Black individuals and all people of colour to defend their positions in historically White institutions (Smith, 2004). This relates to all the officers in the current study who reported being told that they "do not belong in law enforcement." Although racial battle fatigue normally roots from suppression by the dominant culture, the racial battle

fatigue of officers of colour is unique in that it comes from their own ethnic communities as well. This is demonstrated by the exhaustion officers described from both –RBI-SR and –RBI-DR.

It is valuable to be aware that officers of colour are experiencing this fatigue so that agencies can consider how to aide officers in coping. In the current study officers suggested peer support, open forums, mentoring, and designated groups to discuss race-based topics and cope with racial battle fatigue. All of the officers' improvement suggestions are discussed next in answering research question two.

Research Question Two: Incorporating Officer Recommendations

From the findings of this research, the researcher encourages law enforcement organizations to seriously consider the common statement made by participants that, “verbal abuse and racism should not just be seen as part of the job.” Officers provided strong improvement suggestions regarding the policies, recruitment, training, and available support for officers of colour. Front-line duty racism came up in each of these sections. Officers suggested policies be made more straightforward regarding how officers should respond to experiences of racism and how officers can report such incidents to management. Officers also suggested that recruits be informed of such events and trained on how to respond before becoming frontline.

Officers hoped for organized open forums where all teammates could learn about and discuss the experiences of ethnic minority officers; this would help partners to support one another better during –RBI from a place of understanding. Participants also suggested having designated ethnic minority peers or groups, where officers of colour could discuss and seek guidance and support regarding common experiences of racism in the field. Participants found value in sharing their race-based experiences and hoped that this could become customary practice within their organizations. There was a strong recurring theme of officers wanting

openness and dialogue around race-based experiences, so that they were not minimized as “just part of the job.”

To summarize, the agency improvement suggestions recommended by officers of colour were:

1. For management to take a stronger stance towards officers experiencing racism from civilians and other officers.
2. For officers to receive guidance on how to respond to RBI rather than it being seen as “part of the job.”
3. For organizations to create a structured and streamline reporting protocol for race-based incidents with member of the public and within the agency.
4. For agencies to be mindful of policies around affirmative action and how they are discussed; ensure that all officers know everyone is hired based on merit.
5. For agencies to increase diverse community outreach to build relationships and broaden recruitment pools.
6. For organizations to ensure officers of colour are represented in media and hiring advertisements.
7. For agencies to organize and encourage the celebration of ethnicities through cultural events, learning, and team building.
8. For agencies and all officers to become more aware of the RBI fatigue and burnout uniquely experienced by officers of colour.
9. For increased diversity among training staff.
10. For recruits to learn about potential RBI and how to respond before becoming frontline.
11. For agencies to ensure their promotion processes are unbiased and for an increase in representation of ethnic minorities in managerial positions.
12. For designated peer support groups or mentors with whom officers of colour can discuss race-based incidents.
13. For agency-wide encouragement of open dialogue around RBI and planned open forums to hear from officers of colour about their unique experiences.

Awareness of officers' improvement suggestions is not only useful to policing agencies but is additionally informative for clinicians who work with officers of colour towards improved mental and physical health. The clinical implications of the current study findings are outlined below.

Clinical Implications

The current study provides valuable information to clinicians regarding the unique challenges faced by officers of colour as well as what officers believe would help them manage these challenges. People of colour who are employed in predominantly white institutions, and especially in professions seen as directly opposing their ethnic identity, face the unique turmoils of double marginality and the accumulation of racial battle fatigue over time. From the results of the current study, it is suggested that clinicians encourage open dialogue surrounding race-based topics and pay close attention to when organizations or individuals minimize race-based experiences as just "part of the job."

Consideration of the Increased Physical and Psychological Risks to Officers of Colour

An unexpected finding from this research was officers' reports of civilian noncompliance due to the officers' race. This topic emerged once in the Literature Review section from the book *Black in blue: African-American police officers and racism* (Bolton & Feagin, 2004), which stated:

Some respondents explain how the authority granted to Black officers is usually not enough to overcome resistance to the idea of Black officers among many whites.

Opposition from whites is encountered at work and in the neighborhoods that are policed.

(p. 37)

The topic of noncompliance was not discernable in past literature, therefore, civilian disregard for police authority due to the officer's race was an unexpected form of negative RBI. In the current study officers reported several race-related reasons for noncompliance, such as (1) White

civilians who reject the officer's authority because they are not White, (2) White civilians who do not believe the officer is legitimate, but rather a police impersonator, due to their race or ethnicity, (3) people of colour who expect preferential treatment due to the officers race and become upset when preferential treatment is not given, (4) people of colour who minimize the officers authority due to their shared background.

Participant reports of civilian noncompliance are concerning, especially as some officers describe situations escalating, putting the officer at greater risk of physical and psychological harm. In a study on noncompliance, Nix et al. (2019) found that when civilians were disrespectful or hostile, it increased officers' antagonistic feelings such as anger and frustration and increased suspicion, perceived danger, and fear of the civilian. When civilians were outwardly noncompliant, the negative impact on officers was magnified further. Officers became more concerned that the civilian would become physically violent during incidents of noncompliance (Nix et al., 2019). Understandably, civilian noncompliance is harmful to the emotional wellbeing of officers, and when encounters escalate, this can pose a higher risk for the officers' physical wellbeing and safety. These results suggest that officers of colour may experience greater physical and psychological risks while in the field due to civilian responses to their race. As described throughout the entire paper research on all topics related to ethnic minority officers is scarce; civilian noncompliance due to officer race is yet another area which needs further inquiry. In spite of little research existing on the topic, clinicians should be highly mindful of the increased psychological and physical risks experienced by ethnic minority officers when providing mental and physical health services.

Limitations and Future Research

Sample Size

The most prominent limitation of the current study is the small sample size which prevented the Chi-square analysis to determine the statistical relationship between RBI and job satisfaction, professional identity, and leave intention. The small sample size resulted from several factors: First, the inclusion criteria for participants led to a small participant pool. Based on percentages provided by Statistics Canada (2023a), there were *roughly* 8500 officers of colour (including Indigenous officers) in all of Canada in 2022. By including peace officers, this participant pool became larger, however, gaining the desired sample of 100 would have required much more time or a formal partnership with a government or law enforcement agency. Secondly, although this research is timely in the current social climate, it is a difficult time to conduct such a study as officer fatigue has increased in recent years and officers are less willing to give their time to voluntary tasks. This was reported by several law enforcement agencies which were contacted to disseminate the current survey. Agencies who refused to aid in survey dissemination responded by saying the decision was due to the “timing of the survey and organizational survey fatigue.”

With a longer timeline for data collection, this research could undergo the process of formally partnering with police services, undergo their research ethics review, and have easier access to participants. It is recommended for future research of this type to partner with government or law enforcement agencies to gain participants more formally and have the opportunity to compute valid inferential statistics.

Novelty of Survey

Another limitation of this study was the novelty of the research topic resulting in a lack of pre-established instruments to measure the research questions at hand. No previous survey

existed to measure race-based experiences of officers of colour and the impacts of those experience. The current survey was constructed carefully with consideration of past research on ethnic minority officers; however, this research was scarce to begin with. As with any new instrument, this survey could be improved; some questions could be more concise, the survey could be shortened to increase officers' willingness to participate, the survey could be split to narrow the focus on certain topics and improve survey validity. Additionally, this survey may be more succinct if re-written by law enforcement agencies, government agencies, or researchers allowed more access to officers and opportunities for instrument trials. Despite the novelty of this research topic and survey, the data collected was invaluable and provides a steppingstone for further inquiry on law enforcement diversity.

Expansion of Related Literature

More information and structure are required in several domains related to the current study to yield more reliable, valid, and generalizable results. In chapter one, we see that there was limited research from which to pull for the development of the current studies design. The current research topic was not only novel in Canada but scarcely, if at all, examined in any country. A sparse literature review meant that some design factors were assumed best by the researcher rather than empirically supported. For example, the current study was interested in factors contributing to the higher resignation rate of officers of colour, however, the data reporting this higher resignation rate is over 20 years old (Bland et al., 1999).

Regardless of whether resignation rates are still higher among officers of colour, research on their work contributes to our limited knowledge of their experiences, diversity in law enforcement, and barriers towards representative bureaucracy within Canadian institutions. Still, an updated report of resignation rates among officers based on demographic characteristics would be helpful. If we can observe who is resigning from law enforcement at the highest rates, we can

further narrow in on officer experiences that contribute to the homogeneity within policing staff (i.e., White males). Future research should examine officer resignation rates as a function of the demographic characteristics and experiences of the officer.

Further Narrowing of the Current Topic

Lastly, once there is a more solid foundation of research on the impacts of race-based interactions with members of the public, this topic can further be branched off to examine the distinction between impacts of RBI on officers working in a jurisdiction where they belong to the majority race or not. Future research can investigate if there are differences in the RBI and impacts of those interactions for officers who work with civilians of all backgrounds versus a specific group (e.g., Indigenous Police Services on a reserve).

As reiterated throughout the paper, there are many topics to investigate regarding ethnic minority officers and diversity in law enforcement. Every topic, discussed in this paper needs further inquiry, especially in the Canadian context. Canada continues to become exponentially more diverse, and research related to police diversity contributes to the equal care of all citizens.

Conclusion

It is projected that in the next 20 years, up to 47% of working-age Canadians will belong to an ethnic minority group (Statistics Canada, 2022). To strive for inclusivity, equal opportunity and treatment of all citizens, and equal representation of different groups within governing and policing bodies, we must improve our understanding of the continued white homogeneity of certain institutions. Currently 8% of Canadian police identify as a person of colour while the same is true for 26.5% of the general population (Statistics Canada, 2023b). While we have seen an increase in diversity in law enforcement personnel in recent years, there remain clear barriers towards proper representative bureaucracy.

In the current study officers of colour discussed the unique challenges which they face in the field with civilians. These officers encounter difficulties with citizens of all demographics for various reasons related to race and ethnicity. Officers face double marginality from their positions in policing and their positions in their ethnic communities. Officers face racial-slurs and other forms of racism often. They experience noncompliance from White and ethnic minority civilians and can be disregarded as legitimate authorities due to their race. It appears that the unique challenges faced by ethnic minority officers may even put them at higher risk of psychological and physical harm on the job.

Although inferential statistics on the impacts of RBI could not be reported, the written responses from officers provided valuable insight. The qualitative data suggests that positive race-based interactions increase officer job satisfaction, professional identity, and their intention to stay at their jobs. Negative race-based experiences with civilians of the same race and of different races appear to have a more complex relationship to job satisfaction, professional identity, and leave intention. Many officers reported habituation to negative race-based interactions and seemed to have a real or perceived indifference to such encounters. What seemed to really impact officers was the double marginality which resulted from two competing identities and the repetitive nature of all –RBI; the need to defend oneself on so many domains fed officers experiences of racial battle fatigue and could leave them feeling more burnt out than their White counterparts.

This is the first Canadian study to exclusively explore the race-based experiences of officers of colour in the field. From the stories of the 46 officers who participated, it becomes clearer why officers of colour may resign at higher rates than White officers. Racial battle fatigue, double marginality, and noncompliance due to race are just a few reasons, unique to officers of colour.

Rather than solely reporting the experiences of officers of colour, this study additionally valued hearing their agency improvement suggestions. It is recommended that police agencies take into consideration these officers' responses as a way of helping their current staff and becoming more successful in diversifying their recruit classes. The officers who have lived these experiences are the most knowledgeable on what needs to change; researchers can provide the investigative platform and it is up to law enforcement agencies to implement the constructive changes to strive for representative bureaucracy in Canadian law enforcement.

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Appendix A

Research Invitation Poster



Do you identify as a person of colour
and work in law enforcement?



**Win a \$250 gift card to
911 supply!**
Or one of three \$50 gift cards

PARTICIPANTS NEEDED FOR RESEARCH ON THE RACE-BASED
EXPERIENCES OF ETHNIC MINORITY OFFICERS

-You are invited to fill out an online survey which will take about 20 minutes.

-Your responses in the survey will be kept confidential.

-In appreciation of your time, you can enter to win one of the four gift certificates.

***For more info and access to the survey please visit https://uleth.qualtrics.com/ife/form/SV_ahMzpydwcxolNON ***

This study has been reviewed for ethical acceptability and approved by the University of Lethbridge Human Participant Research Committee

Appendix B

Investigating the Race-Based Experiences of Ethnic Minority Law Enforcement Officers with MOP

Start of Block: Consent Form

Name of Researcher, Faculty, Department, Telephone & Email:

Bozhena Fedynets
Faculty of Education
403.614.3495
bozhena.fedynets@uleth.ca
Supervisor: Dr. Kerry Bernes

Title of Project: Investigating the Race-Based Experiences of Ethnic Minority Law Enforcement Officers With Members of the Public.

This consent form is only part of the process of consent. If you want more details about information mentioned here, or information not included here, please feel free to contact the researcher, Bozhena Fedynets. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

Purpose of the Study:

You are invited to participate in research that is being conducted by Bozhena Fedynets as part of her master's thesis under the supervision of Dr. Kerry Bernes. The purpose of this study is to investigate the race-based experiences of ethnic minority law enforcement officers while interacting with members of the public when on duty. This research will inform us of the unique challenges faced by ethnic minority officers in the public, and the relationship of these events with professional identity and job satisfaction. Further we would like to hear your suggestions for improving current policy, training, recruitment practices, and available support within your organization, as they relate to officers of colour. Your lived experiences and views will be used to generate recommendations for remediation and further inquiry to support people of colour in entering and maintaining positive and rewarding law enforcement careers.

What Will I Be Asked To Do?

As a voluntary participant in this study, you will complete questions regarding your: demographics, job related race-based experiences, job satisfaction and professional identity, and your perspectives on current policies, training, recruitment, and support. This study will take approximately 20 minutes. You may skip any question which you choose not to answer. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary, and you may withdraw at any time without penalty or explanation. Simply exit out of the survey or skip to the end if you still wish to enter the draw.

What Type of Personal Information Will Be Collected?

While responses will remain anonymous, you will be asked to provide your gender, age,

race/ethnicity, level of education, citizenship status, job type, type of enforcement agency worked for (i.e. municipal, provincial, federal), years worked in law enforcement and intended years to stay.

Are there Risks if I Participate?

Your responses to the survey questions may potentially trigger emotions associated with past negative experiences. If this study causes you any undue distress and you would like to speak with a counsellor, free counselling services are available for employees through most law enforcement organizations across Canada. If you would like to be referred to a counsellor outside of your organization, please call 211 or visit <https://www.psychologytoday.ca> to connect with services in your area. If you believe that discussing past race-based experiences may cause undue stress, you should not take part in the study.

The online survey is being administered by Qualtrics©, an American software company. The online security risks associated with participation are minimal and similar to those associated with many e-mail programs, such as Hotmail© and social utilities spaces, such as Facebook©.

Will I be Compensated if I Participate?

While there is no offered compensation for this research, in appreciation for your participation you will have the opportunity to provide your email address at the end of the survey to be entered into a gift card draw. There is one \$250 gift card and three \$50 gift cards that will be available. The odds of winning the \$250 gift card are 1 in 50 and the odds of winning a \$50 gift card are approximately 1 in 20. You will provide your email for the gift card draw through a separate link after your survey is complete. The use of the separate link is so that your email is in no way connected to your survey data. The gift card winners will be randomly selected and notified separately via email once the data collection portion of the research is concluded.

What Happens to the Information I Provide?

Participation is completely voluntary and confidential. Your supervisor and employer will not be informed of your participation in this study. To protect your privacy, your data will be assigned a number by Qualtrics©. Only the researcher and research supervisor will have access to the data collected for this study. Data collected for this study will be kept on a password-protected computer. Group information will be summarized for any presentation or publication of results. No identifiable quotes from participants will be used. Research results will be presented at a thesis defense and various conferences. Police agencies may be provided with summary reports of the data.

Your survey responses will be stored in Qualtrics and analyzed using software such as SPSS or NVivo. The data will be retained for two years from when data collection ends, after this, it will be deleted. Given that responses are anonymous, data withdrawal following submission of responses is not possible.

By clicking “Yes, I consent to participate” below, you are indicating that 1) you understand the information provided to you, and 2) you agree to participate in the research project.

In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved

institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You should feel free to contact the researcher to ask for clarification or new information at any point of your participation. You may withdraw from the study at any point by exiting your browser window which contains the survey or skipping to the end of the survey if you wish to enter your email into the draw.

Questions/Concerns

If you have any further questions or want clarification regarding this research and/or your participation, please contact the researcher:

Bozhena Fedynets
at 403.614.3495 or bozhena.fedynets@uleth.ca

Questions regarding your rights as a participant in this research may be addressed to the Office of Research Ethics, University of Lethbridge (Phone: 403-329-2747 or Email: research.services@uleth.ca) The University of Lethbridge Human Participant Research Committee has approved this research study.

- Yes, I consent to participate
- No, I do not wish to participate

End of Block: Consent Form

****If the participant responded “Yes, I consent to participate” the next page that appeared for them was the Demographic Questions starting at question 1. The “Prize Draw Link” Block was presented to them at the end of the survey.**

****If the participant responded “No, I do not wish to participate” the next page that appeared for them was the Prize Draw Link as seen below.**

Start of Block: Prize Draw Link

We extend our deepest gratitude to you for participating in this study and for your contribution to this research. Thank you, officer!

If you would like to enter the draw for the incentive prizes please click on the link below. This link will take you to a new window where you may enter your email. This method ensures that your email remains separate from your survey data. Your email will only be used to inform you if you win a prize (**one \$250 or one of three \$50 gift cards to 911 Supply**).

Your email is NOT linked to your survey data in any way

https://uleth.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_ePtToIEbGReD2oS

If you do not wish to enter the prize draw you may close this window now. Thank you!

End of Block: Prize Draw Link

Start of Block: Demographic Questions

Part 1/6:

The following questions are demographic questions and are used to determine information about participants. All information is non-identifying and will be kept confidential.

Q1. Please indicate which gender you most identify with.

- Male
 - Female
 - Transgender
 - Non-Binary
 - Other
 - Prefer not to answer
-

Q2. Please indicate your age?

- 18-25
 - 26-33
 - 34-41
 - 42-49
 - 50-57
 - 58-65
 - 66+
-

Q3. What is your race/ethnicity?

- South Asian
 - Chinese
 - Indigenous
 - Black/ African American
 - Filipino
 - Latin American
 - Arab
 - Southeast Asian
 - West Asian
 - Korean
 - Japanese
 - European or White
 - Mixed Race
 - Other
-

Q4. What is the highest degree or level of education you have completed?

- Some High School
 - High School
 - Certificate Program
 - Bachelor's Degree
 - Master's Degree
 - Ph.D. or higher
 - Trade School
 - Other
-

Q5. What is your citizenship/immigration status?

- Born Canadian
 - Canadian Citizen Through Immigration
 - Permanent Resident
 - Other
-

Q6. What is your job title?

- Trainee or Candidate
 - Front-line (e.g., Constable, Peace officer, Sheriff, Ranger)
 - Middle Management (e.g., Inspector, Staff Sergeant, Sergeant)
 - Executives/Upper Management (e.g., Chief, Deputy Chief, Superintendent)
 - Other
-

Q7. Which type of law enforcement agency do you work for?

- Municipal (e.g., City of Edmonton Peace Officer, Calgary Police Services)
 - Provincial (e.g., Ontario Provincial Police Force)
 - Federal (e.g., RCMP, Military Police)
 - Indigenous Police Services (e.g., Blood Tribe Police, Cree Police Service)
 - Specialty Police (e.g., Niagara Parks Police)
-

Q8. Where are you working geographically (your jurisdiction)?

- Metropolitan (population 1 million +)
 - Large City (population 500,000 - 999,999)
 - Medium City (population 200,000 - 500,00)
 - Small City (population 50,000 - 200,000)
 - Town (population 1000 - 50,000)
 - Rural Area (population
-

Q9. In the jurisdiction where you work, most people are:

- The same race/ethnicity as you
 - A different race/ethnicity than you
 - Multiple races equally populate my jurisdiction
-

Q10. How many years have you worked in law enforcement?

- less than 1 year
 - 1 - 4 years
 - 5 - 9 years
 - 10 - 14 years
 - 15 - 19 years
 - 20+ years
-

Q11. How long do you plan on working in law enforcement?

- I am thinking about or currently in the process of leaving
- 1 - 4 more years
- 5 - 9 more years
- 10+ more years
- I plan on working in law enforcement until I retire

End of Block: Demographic Questions

Start of Block: Race Based Interactions Defined

Part 2/6:

The next section focuses on **your personal experiences** of race-based interactions with members of the public (MOP) while on duty. You will be provided with the opportunity to discuss both positive and negative experiences.

Race-based interactions:

- **any communications on the foundation of, or surrounding race/ethnicity.**
- **can be positive or negative** based fully on your perception.
- questions will provide examples of each "type" of race-based interactions **as reported by other officers in research.**

Members of the public (MOP):

- any youth or adult you interact with in the course of your duties (regardless of who initiated the interaction).
- excludes all members of your workplace.

*****Your experiences are valuable, so please provide as much detail as possible.** There are no incorrect answers.***

End of Block: Race Based Interactions Defined

Start of Block: Positive Race-Based Interactions

Q12. While on duty, how often do you experience positive race-based interactions with members of the public (MOP)?

E.g., While interacting with a MOP, they say to you: "I have not seen a lot of officers of colour around, so thank you for your service." or "It must be challenging to be an ethnic minority officer sometimes, I hope you have a great day."

- Never (0% of shifts)
 - Rarely (around 10% of shifts)
 - Sometimes (around 25% of shifts)
 - About half the time (around 50% of shifts)
 - Most of the time (around 75% of shifts)
 - Very often (around 90% of shifts)
 - Always (100% of shifts)
-

Q13. While on duty, have you ever experienced a **positive** interaction **because of your race** with a MOP that was, or appeared to be the **same race** as you?

E.g., A MOP of the same race as you says: "I have not seen a lot of officers of the same race as me, so thank you for your service."

- Yes
 - No
 - Not that I can recall
-

Display this question only if the following condition is met: Q13. Yes

Q13.1. What happened? How did this type of interaction impact you personally and/or professionally?

Q14. While on duty, have you ever experienced a **positive** interaction **because of your race** with a MOP who was, or appeared to be a **different race** than you?

E.g., A MOP of a different race than you says: "It must be challenging to be an ethnic minority officer sometimes, I hope you have a great day."

- Yes
 - No
 - Not that I can recall
-

Display this question only if the following condition is met: Q14. Yes

Q14.1. What happened? How did this type of interaction impact you personally and/or professionally?

End of Block: Positive Race-Based Interactions

Start of Block: Negative Race-Based Interactions

Part 3/6:

Q15. While on duty, how often do you experience negative race-based interactions with a MOP?

E.g. Racism, discrimination, scrutiny for career choice based on ethnicity, confrontations about your race/ethnicity.

- Never (0% of shifts)
 - Rarely (around 10% of shifts)
 - Sometimes (around 25% of shifts)
 - About half the time (around 50% of shifts)
 - Most of the time (around 75% of shifts)
 - Very often (around 90% of shifts)
 - Always (100% of shifts)
-

Q16. While on duty, have you ever experienced a **negative** interaction **because of your race** with a MOP who was, or appeared to be the **same race** as you?

E.g., A MOP of the same race as you says "How can you be an officer? You are betraying our community."

- Yes
 - No
 - Not that I can recall
-

Display this question only if the following condition is met: Q16. Yes

Q16.1. What happened? How did this type of interaction impact you personally and/or professionally?

Q17. While on duty, have you ever experienced a **negative** interaction **because of your race** with a MOP who was, or appeared to be a **different race** than you?

E.g. A MOP of a different race than you says something racist or discriminatory.

- Yes
- No
- Not that I can recall

Display this question only if the following condition is met: Q17. Yes

Q17.1. What happened? How did this type of interaction impact you personally and/or professionally?

Q18. Have you ever been scrutinized or judged for your career choice **because of your race/ethnicity**?

- Yes
- No
- Not that I can recall

Display this question only if the following condition is met: Q18. Yes

Q18.1. Why were you scrutinized for your career choice **because of your race/ethnicity**?

Q19. Have you ever reported an **unpleasant/negative** race-based interaction (e.g., racism, confrontation about your race, etc.) with a MOP to your supervisor?

- Yes. One time.
- Yes. Multiple times.
- No
- I do not recall

End of Block: Negative Race-Based Interactions

Start of Block: Job Satisfaction

Part 4/6:

Q20. The following scale is measuring your overall job satisfaction, please select how strongly you disagree or agree to each of the three statements below.

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
All in all I am satisfied with my job	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In general, I don't like my job	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In general, I like working here	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: Job Satisfaction

Start of Block: Stay, Leave, Worthwhile?

Q21. Do **positive race-based** interactions make you want to **stay** at your job?

- Yes
 - Somewhat
 - No
 - Not applicable
-

Q22. Do **negative race-based** interactions make you want to **leave** your job?

- Yes
 - Somewhat
 - No
 - Not applicable
-

Q23. What makes your job worthwhile personally and/or professionally?

End of Block: Stay, Leave, Worthwhile?

Start of Block: Professional Identity

Part 5/6:

Q24. Rank the following roles based on the importance they hold in your life. The lower the number the more important the role (e.g. If being a partner/spouse is the most important to you it would be ranked as 1, if being a volunteer is 2nd most important it would be 2, and so on). **For life roles that do not apply to you, please put the number zero (it may be easiest to start with the zeros).**

- _____ Partner/Spouse
- _____ Ethnic Community Member
- _____ Officer
- _____ Parent
- _____ Volunteer or Religious Member
- _____ Family Member

End of Block: Professional Identity

Start of Block: Improvement Suggestions

Part 6/6:

Based on your experiences in the field, you will possess valuable perspectives regarding how your organization can improve to **better support officers of colour**. The following section asks for your improvement suggestions regarding your organization's 1) policies, 2) recruitment practices, 3) training procedures, and 4) available support. **Please answer with considerations of any unique challenges faced by ethnic minority officers.**

****There are no right or wrong answers so please provide as much detail as possible and comfortable.****

Q25. How can your organization's policies be improved to better support ethnic minority officers?

Q26. How can your organization's recruitment practices be improved to better support ethnic minority recruits?

Q27. How can your organization's **training procedures** be improved to better support ethnic minority officers?

Q28. How can your organization's **available support** for ethnic minority officers be improved?

Q29. To better inform this research about ethnic minority officers' experiences in the field, do you have any final comments or concerns that were not addressed in the survey?

End of Block: Improvement Suggestions

End of Survey