

Intersectional Inequality: An Analysis of Police Culture in a Western Canadian City

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

Despite the plethora of research on police culture, few studies have examined police culture from an intersectional approach. To provide more intersectional research on police culture, I conducted 16 semi-structured interviews with women police officers from a police organization in Alberta to explore how they perceive and experience police culture. I find that women police officers witness and/or experience three types of workplace violence: physical violence; bullying, harassment, and intimidation; and lateral violence. Black women, Biracial (Indigenous/white) women, white women and LGBTQ2SIA+ white women report having to deescalate violent situations whenever police officers, predominantly men, commit acts of physical violence on members of the public. Black women, Biracial (Indigenous/white) women, white women and white LGBTQ2SIA+ women police officers reported experiencing various forms of bullying, harassment, and intimidation, including misogynoir, race, and gender-based harassment, sexual harassment, and homophobia. Women also report women partaking in lateral violence by competing and sabotaging other women to advance their career. I also found that anti-Indigenous racism, anti-Black racism, and xenophobia is major problem in police culture. Many examples of racism in police culture included police officers saying racist jokes on-duty and in the office; physically abusing, racially profiling, and harassing Indigenous peoples, including those experiencing homelessness; anti-Black racism in homicide investigations and officers shouting racist and xenophobic slurs at refugees. Although white women were more likely than women of colour to acknowledge systemic racism in policing, they often used colourblind interpretations to underestimate the existence of racism in police culture.

PREFACE

This thesis is an original work of Manzah-Kyentoh Yankey. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received ethics approval from the University of Alberta Ethics Board, “Intersectional Identities in Police Culture: Assessing the Experiences of Female Police Officers in Edmonton”, Pro00099350 on July 16, 2020. This project was funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada in 2020/2021, the Canadian Federation of University Women Edmonton-Margaret Brine Scholarship in 2020/2021, and the University of Alberta Intersections of Gender Thesis Grant in 2021.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to first express my gratitude to all my participants for allowing me to listen and document your experiences. Thank you for making the time to share your stories. I'll like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Sandra Bucerius and committee members Dr. Holly Campeau and Dr. Kevin Haggerty for your invaluable support, encouragement, and feedback throughout the research process. To my colleagues Dr. Marta-Marika Urbanik and Dr. Carolyn Greene: thank you for offering me the professional opportunity to publish and present our paper at academic conferences.

I'll like to thank the graduate office in the Department of Sociology for giving me the opportunity to pursue my master's degree at the University of Alberta. Your support during my time in the program has been so instrumental in my ability to complete the program. To my friends and family: thank you for your friendship, unconditional love, and support throughout my education. To the Sociology Graduate Students Association: thank you for creating a vibrant Sociology graduate student community throughout my studies. It was an honor serving as your president for the last two years (2020-2022). I'll also like to thank the Black Graduate Students Association, Canadian Sociological Association Black Caucus and the Association of Black Sociologists for the unconditional support and encouragement you provide to Black graduate students, Black post-doctoral fellows, and Black faculty. As the only Black graduate student in my department's MA Sociology program, it's nice being in spaces where I can meet and interact with people that resemble my racial identity. I'm genuinely grateful for the scholarships and research grants I received from the Social Sciences and Humanities Council, Canadian Federation of University Women Edmonton, Graduate Student Engagement Scholarship for Black Graduate Students, Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, Department of Sociology, and the Intersections of Gender.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	ii
PREFACE.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	v
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
Literature Review.....	4
Theoretical Framework.....	16
CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY.....	20
Context.....	20
Access.....	20
Sample.....	21
Interviews.....	21
Analysis.....	22
CHAPTER THREE: POLICE CULTURE AND WORKPLACE VIOLENCE.....	24
Abstract.....	24
Introduction.....	24
Physical Violence.....	25
Bullying, Harassment, and Intimidation.....	33
Lateral Violence.....	43
Discussion.....	46
CHAPTER FOUR: RACISM, COLOURBLINDNESS AND POLICE CULTURE.....	48
Abstract.....	48
Introduction.....	48
Racist Jokes.....	51

Anti-Indigenous Racism.....	53
Anti-Black Racism.....	57
Xenophobia and Racism.....	61
Discussion.....	62
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION.....	64
Intersectionality.....	64
Limitations and Suggests for Future Research.....	64
APPENDICES.....	80
Appendix A: Interview Guide.....	80
Appendix B: Recruitment Letter to Participants.....	83
Appendix C: Information Letter and Consent Form.....	84
Appendix D: Mental Health Resources.....	87

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Historically, police organizations in Canada, the United States, Europe, Australia, and New Zealand have always been overwhelmingly dominated and constructed by white, cis-gendered men (Garcia 2021; Hassell and Brandl 2009, Miles-Johnson 2020; Murray 2021). Women from across the globe started working for various policing organizations in the early 20th century (Garcia 2021). Women were only assigned to investigate crimes committed against women and children and did not have the legal right to arrest a suspect (Garcia 2003, 2021). From the early 1900s to the 1970s, women in Canada hired to work in predominately anglophone cities such as Toronto and Vancouver received the same police training as men but did not carry firearms and were only assigned to work in community policing, foot patrol, and administration (Garcia 2021). In the 1970s, municipal and provincial police services in Quebec and the RCMP, however, had very few women in their organization (Garcia 2021).

In the 21st century, policing in Canada, the United States, Europe, New Zealand, and Australia remains a white-male-dominated organization, outnumbering women, racial minority, and LGBTQIAA2S+ officers (Boogaard and Roggeband 2010; Garcia 2021; Miles-Johnson 2019; Murray 2021). Although the number of women in policing has been gradually increasing since the 1980s, by 2019, women only represented 22% of all Canadian police officers (Conor et.al 2019). Racial minority officers accounted for only 8% of all Canadian police officers in 2019 and 4% were Indigenous (Conor et.al 2019). Officers that do not conform to the white male masculine police culture often experience harassment, discrimination, and violence (Bikos 2021; Mouto 2018; Rabichuk 2022). Whenever an officer files a complaint about racism, sexism, queerphobia, sexual violence, etc, to the organization, they often face reprisal, receiving no support from their

white male-dominated police unions and associations (Mulligan 2021; Rabichuk 2022). For example, women police officers from numerous Canadian police services have publicly shared their experiences of racism and sexual violence to the Canadian news media (Boudjikianian and Paris 2021; Rabichuk 2022). When women officers file complaints about racism, sexism, and workplace violence, they report being shunned by their local Canadian police service (Mulligan 2021; Rabichuk 2022).

Over the last two years, racial justice movements in the United States, Canada, and globally brought more attention to the ongoing issues of police violence against Black, Indigenous, and people of colour (Roscigno and Preto-Hodge 2021; Stelkia 2020). These movements have also called into questioning the culture of police organizations, generating widespread calls for police reform, police transformation, and police abolition (Cobbina-Dungy and Jones-Brown 2021). Two years ago, just a few weeks before the death of George Floyd in the United States, the Winnipeg Police Service killed three Indigenous people (Elisha Hudson, Jason Collins, Stewart Andrews) in 10 days (Murdock 2022). Victims of racist police violence also include people of colour with mental health disabilities (Franklin 2022). D’Andre Campbell, a 26-year-old Black man from Brampton, Ontario with schizophrenia was killed by two police officers after calling the police for medical assistance (Kelley and Syed 2020). A few months ago, Latjor Tuel, a 41-year-old Black Sudanese man in Calgary was killed by police officers while experiencing a mental health crisis (Franklin 2022). While some urban, suburban, and rural communities have attempted to address police culture by implementing diversity hiring policies and practices in police organizations (Preito-Hodge 2020), others have focused on defunding police expenditure and investing in the community (Levin 2021).

Many studies that examine police culture focus on race or gender (Cashmore 2001; Garcia 2003, 2021; Holdaway 2009; Holdaway and O’Neil 2004; Langan, Sanders, and Agocs 2017; Murray 2021; Rigaux and Cunningham 2020) and only a few studies examine police culture through an intersectional lens (Bikos 2022; Boogaard and Roggeband 2010; Hasan 2021; Yu 2020). Intersectionality stresses the importance of examining the intersection of structural inequities such as patriarchy, racism, ableism, and heteropatriarchy (Collins and Blige 2020; Collins 2019; Crenshaw 2017). Intersectionality addresses six central themes: “social inequality, intersecting power relations, social context, relationality, social justice, and complexity” (Collins and Blige 2020: 31). Intersectionality provides a framework for understanding how the intersection of race, gender, class, and other oppressive forms of power such as capitalism reproduces social inequality (Collins and Blige 2020; Collins 2019; Crenshaw 2017). An Intersectional analysis illustrates how xenophobia, for example, does not look the same for women of colour, men of colour, LGBTQ2S1A+ people, persons with disabilities, etc. and instead understands that the intersections of race, ethnicity, gender, class, sexuality, nationality, migration status and so on affect how individuals experience discrimination (Collins and Blige 2020; Collins 2019; Crenshaw 2017).

Most of the research on police culture focus on the United States, United Kingdom and Australia (Chan 1997; Ingram, Paoline and Terrill 2013; Paoline 2003, 2004; Loftus 2010; Manning 2005; Miles-Johnson 2020; Paoline and Gau 2018; Panter 2018; Reiner 2010; Sierra-Arevalo 2019, 2021; Reiner 2010; Waddington 1999), but less is known about police culture in Canada (Bikos 2016, 2022; Campeau 2015, 2019; Langan, Sanders, and Agocs 2017; Langan, Sanders, and Gouweloos 2019; Murray 2021; Mouto 2018; Rigaux and Cunningham 2020; Sanders, Weston, and Schott 2015). To provide more intersectional research on police culture, I

conducted 16 semi-structured interviews with women police officers from a police organization in Alberta to explore how they perceive and experience police culture. Specifically, I address three research questions: *What are women police officers' perceptions and experiences of police culture? What are the experiences of women police officers in fitting into (or transforming) police culture? How does the intersection of race, gender, class, and other social structures affect the opportunities and challenges women face in policing?* For the remainder of Chapter 1, I will provide an overview of the literature on police culture and of intersectionality theory. In Chapter 2, I will discuss my methodology and sample. In Chapter 3, I will discuss my findings on workplace violence, including physical violence; bullying, harassment, and intimidation; and lateral violence. In Chapter 4, I will discuss my findings on racism, racial colourblindness and police culture. In Chapter 5, I will address limitations and suggestions for future research.

Literature Review

Since the 1960's, decades of ethnographic work on police culture in the United States, United Kingdom, New Zealand, and Australia have examined how officers interpret the occupational norms and values within the bureaucratic structure of police organizations (Chan 1997; Loftus 2010; Sierra-Arevalo 2019, 2021). Police culture research in the 1960s and 1970s illustrated that police officers often expressed the need for solidarity and discipline with officer colleagues in police-community encounters (Banton 1964; Skolnick 1966; Bittner 1970; Westley 1970; Manning 1977; Van Maanen 1974, 1975, 1978). However, the authority officers enforced on communities made them a socially isolated group, resulting in an "us versus them" mentality (Banton 1964; Skolnick 1966). In response to this potential danger, officers develop a "working personality," which socializes officers to be skeptical and suspicious towards the communities they police and arrest individuals who break the law (Skolnick 1966: 42). The "symbolic assailant" is

a police officer whose “gesture, language and attire the policeman has come to recognize as preclude to violence.” (Skolnick 1966: 45). However, the culture of authoritarianism in policing creates a “blue wall of silence” (Bittner 1970; Westley 1970) that damages police accountability and helps officers avoid organizational punishment for police misconduct, ranging from excessive use of force, wrongful arrest to murder (Skolnick 1966).

Police culture is a complex set of behavioural characteristics and cultural values that influence how officers perform their assigned tasks and duties (Crank 2014; Ingram, Paoline and Terrill 2013; Paoline 2003, 2004; Paoline and Gau 2018; Reiner 2010; Waddington 1999). Police culture emphasizes strong solidarity with officer colleagues, misogyny, racism, suspiciousness, and conservatism (Reiner 2010). Police culture includes a “warrior-like” mindset (Sierra-Arevalo 2019, 2021; Stoughton 2014) that glorifies violence, aggressive masculinity, abuses authority and is extremely resistant to accepting community criticism and police reform (Herbert 2001; Manning 2005; Paoline, Myers and Worden 2006; Westley 1970). Reiner (1992:109) noted, however, that police culture “is not monolithic, universal nor unchanging” (Reiner 1992 cited in Chan 1996).

Policing scholars have focused on examining various police subcultures (Fielding 1994; Manning 2007; Reuss-Ianni and Ianni 1983; Souhami 2014; Hobbs 1988; Waddington 1999; Young 1991). Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (1983) examined two hierarchical police subcultures in an American police department: “management cop culture” and “street cop culture” (Reuss-Ianni and Ianni 1983: 253-254). Street cop culture is the personal relationships and informal social networks that define police work (Reuss-Ianni and Ianni 1983). In contrast, management cop culture is the bureaucratic structure and rules that come from decision-making, policies, and governance throughout the police organization (Reuss-Ianni 1983). In this case, each division or unit within a police organization is under the authority and supervision of an inspector, sergeant, and

superintendent (Reuss-Ianni and Ianni 1983). Consequently, when police organizations attempt to change police culture, the two police subcultures are constantly in conflict, resulting in “disaffection, strong stress reaction, increasing attrition, and growing problems of integrity” (Reuss-Ianni and Ianni 1983: 254).

Canteen culture is an element of the police subculture that encloses the misogynistic and racist behaviour of police officers (Souhami 2014; Waddington 1999). The informal conversations that occur off-duty among police officers involve racist and misogynistic police jokes (Waddington 1999). Fielding (1994: 47) describes canteen culture as a form of “hegemonic masculinity” (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005), outlining four police occupational cultural values: aggressiveness, competition, heterosexism, and patriarchal violence against women. Prokos and Padavic (2002) find that hegemonic masculinity is a central part of police culture. Their analysis of an American police training academy illustrated that although the academy trained new police officers (predominantly men) through a gender-neutral training program, officers were taught that women are less valuable to the policing profession than men, and it was therefore acceptable to excessively criticize and harass women police officers, especially those in positions of police leadership (Prokos and Padavic 2002).

Other policing scholars have conceptualized police culture by drawing from anthropological theories, cultural sociology, and the sociology of organizations (Campeau 2015, 2019; Chan 1996, 1997; Shearing and Ericson 1991). Chan (1997) examined the strategies and challenges of changing police culture and improving police-race relations in New South Wales, Australia. Drawing from Bourdieu's (1990) notion of the ‘field’ and ‘habitus’ and Sackman's (1991) cultural organizational knowledge framework, Chan (1997) identifies how police culture can potentially change by transforming the institutional, political, and social structures of policing

through examining the relationship between the ‘field’ “the social and political status of visible minorities, discretionary powers of the police, and legal protection against police abuse” (Chan 1996:116) and the ‘habitus’ “cultural dispositions; cultural knowledge in street-level police work.” (Chan 1996:112-119). Nevertheless, attempts to change police culture is unsuccessful when changes in the field and habitus are not widely accepted by police officers (Chan 1997). The attempts by the New South Wales police in Australia to eliminate systemic racism and improve police-race relations suggest that the institutional and political pressures from the government, police oversight agencies and communities can possibly change the culture of police organizations (Chan 1997).

Officers use various cultural resources (e.g., scripts, boundaries) to navigate the police organization (Campeau 2015). Despite the vast number of policy and practical transitions in policing organizations, some officers are opposed to changing police culture, also known as “cultural inertia” (Campeau 2019:70). Cultural inertia, Campeau (2019) argues, is sustained through a set of cultural resources in police organizations: “informal myth-management of *internal* practices on the one hand, and formal ceremonial myth-building with *external* policing constituents (i.e., government, oversight agencies, etc.) on the other” (Campeau 2019: 70). High-ranking senior officers (predominantly white men), avoid changing police culture by using cultural resources to maintain dominant cultural norms and beliefs about policing, whereas new police officers, including women, LGBTQ2SIA+, and people of colour, utilize cultural resources to advance their policing careers and protect their reputation in the organization (Campeau 2019). As a result, the cultural resources predominantly held by white male senior officers in police leadership become less accepting amongst the newer group of police recruits (Campeau 2019).

Campeau (2019) uses cultural sociology and institutional theory to examine the relationship between policing, police reform, and cultural knowledge.

While police culture is not globally monolithic (Reiner 2010; Sanders, Weston, and Schott 2015), policing has always been gendered (Garcia 2021). A gendered organization is one where gender stereotypes about men, women, and other gender identities (e.g., transgender, non-binary), construct organizational policies and practices (Acker 1990). Gender manifests in organizations through the “gendered division of labor” and interactions between dominant and marginalized groups that reinforce gendered hierarchies and social structures (Acker 1990: 146). Police work is gendered where more cis-gendered men than women, non-binary, and transgender officers (Garcia 2021; Miles-Johnson 2020; Panter 2018), hold higher-ranking positions of authority, and the division of tasks is "...patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine" (Acker 1990: 146). Police organizational practices such as recruitment, training, and job promotion have gendered the policing profession to prevent women, non-binary, and transgender police officers from having a successful career (Alexander and Nowacki 2022; Miles-Johnson 2020; Langan, Sanders, and Gouweloos 2019; Panter 2018). Despite numerous efforts to increase the number of women in policing, women police officers face significant difficulty in gaining acceptance within police organizations, and the number of women officers in upper management positions (e.g., Chief, Superintendent, Sergeant) is scarce (Alexander and Nowacki 2022; Bikos 2016; Brown et. al 2019; Garcia 2021; Loftus 2009; Silvestri 2007; Souhami 2014).

Gendered police subcultures affect the way women police officers work in policing (Bikos 2016; Garcia 2003, 2021; Martin 1980; Morash and Harr 2012; Murray 2021; Rabe-Hemp 2018; Westmarland 2017). Women police officers either perform gender stereotypes or internalize

aspects of the masculine police culture (Bikos 2016; Westmarland 2017). Martin's (1980) analysis of women police officers in the United States found the tension between gender and police culture resulted in women choosing to become a POLICEwomen or PoliceWOMEN. Women who adopted the POLICEwomen identity stressed the importance of having a successful career and fitting into the masculine police culture (Martin 1980). Women at this end of the spectrum resisted the stereotypical treatment of women officers by, for instance, refusing to contact their male colleagues for assistance while on-duty (Martin 1980). POLICEwomen believe that enacting stereotypical forms of masculinity is necessary for them to gain acceptance within the police organization (Martin 1980). Women police officers with what Martin (1980) called a PoliceWOMEN identity maintained stereotypical feminine norms of women such as caregiving and empathy. PoliceWOMEN differentiated themselves from their male colleagues by working in roles traditionally not defined as masculine police work, such as dealing with families, schools, community policing, human resources, sexual violence, homelessness, and mental-health-related calls (Martin 1980).

Martin (1980) suggested that women officers can only be a PoliceWOMEN or a POLICEwomen at work. However, more recent studies find many women officers incorporate both predominant stereotypical forms of masculinity and femininity in police culture interchangeably (Bikos 2016; Morash and Harr 2012; Murray 2021; Rabe-Hemp 2009). Drawing on West and Zimmerman's (1987) "doing gender" approach, Rabe-Hemp (2009) argued that women do not simply choose to be either a POLICEwomen or policeWOMEN but instead incorporate both police cultural values through socialization. Rabe-Hemp (2009) found that women distinguished their policing styles from men and described "doing gender" (West and Zimmerman 1987) and "doing policing work" (Rabe-Hemp 2009: 114), simultaneously. Women

officers described themselves as better than men at providing support to victims of crime and responding to calls involving children (Rabe-Hemp 2009). Women officers often rejected police occupational cultural values such as violence and authoritarianism and instead adapted gendered stereotypes directed at women such as maternal caregiving, interpersonal communication, empathy, and de-escalation (Rabe-Hemp 2009). Some women officers, however, denied the idea that women are the "pansy police" by engaging in the stereotypical masculine aspects of police culture such as "putting hands on," "getting dirty" and "scuffing up knees" (Rabe-Hemp 2009: 125). One strategy women officers used in "doing gender" (West and Zimmerman 1987) and "doing police work" (Rabe-Hemp 2009: 114) was comparing their policing styles to other women to conform to the dominant masculine police culture (Rabe-Hemp 2009).

Morash and Harr (2012) argued that women officers are not "doing gender" and "doing policing" simultaneously as Rabe-Hemp (2009) identified but are instead "redoing" and "undoing" gender in police work. Drawing from 21 in-depth interviews with women officers from various racial backgrounds, most study participants redid gender by rejecting stereotypically masculine and feminine characteristics (Morash and Harr 2012). Women valued their abilities to communicate effectively and be more compassionate with members of the public than their male counterparts (Morash and Harr 2012). For example, two women officers (one Latina, one white) described how women's unique skills and qualities in policing affected how they handle violent encounters (Morash and Harr 2012). Specifically, one of them said women tend to be calmer and more approachable to members of the public than men. (Morash and Harr 2012).

In contrast, women officers claimed that men tend to be more aggressive in their interactions with members of the public, and "coming through the door ready to arrest everybody who looks at him wrong." (Morash and Harr 2012: 13). Furthermore, women viewed men's

"machismo" and "pride" as liabilities to police work, and they perceived women's policing skills and qualities as an asset in policing (Morash and Harr 2012: 14). Women who undid gender in police work believe that sex and gender is irrelevant to police culture (Morash and Harr 2012). For example, one senior officer from the study believes her ability to handle child abuse and sexual assault cases is unrelated to her sex and gender (Morash and Harr 2012). Morash and Harr (2012) also found that white women were more likely to engage in "gender-blindness" by denying gender inequality in policing and instead believe that men and women officers are treated equally in the police organization and encounter similar situations at work.

Most research on gender and police culture focus on the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia (Martin 1980; Morash and Haarr 2012; Rabe-Hemp 2009, 2018; Westmarland 2001, 2017). However, we know little about gender and police culture in Canada (Bikos 2016; Langan, Sanders, and Agocs 2017; Langan, Sanders, and Gouweloos 2019; Murray 2021; Sanders, Gouweloos, and Langan 2022). Drawing from feminist standpoint and gendered organizations theory (Smith 1987, Acker 1990), Bikos (2016) examined how police culture and hegemonic masculinity affect women police officers. Her findings reveal that women officers willingly assimilate into the police culture by internalizing and portraying stereotypical masculine attitudes and values in police culture such as "stoicism, aggression, and competition" to "have a quiet life" and "obtain career goals" (Bikos 2016: 12). For example, many women officers admitted that they would often avoid calling for backup because they would be perceived as "weak" by their male colleagues (Bikos 2016: 13). Other women officers would justify their behaviour by isolating themselves from their fellow women to affiliate with male officers (Bikos 2016). Despite conforming to the masculine police culture, women still experienced workplace harassment in the

form of "sexist and racist jokes, sexual stories, farting, belching, and crotch grabbing" (Bikos 2016: 15).

Police culture affects the occupational experiences and opportunities of racial minority officers (Cashmore 2001; Haarr 1997; Holdaway 1997, 2009; Holdaway and O'Neil 2004; Perez and Ward 2019; Preto-Hodge 2020; Skolnick 2008; Souhami 2014; Ray et.al 2018; Rigaux and Cunningham 2020). In a racialized organization (Ray 2019), racial minority officers often experience racism and racial discrimination, expressed through racist police jokes by their white colleagues (Cashmore 2001; Holdaway 1997; Rigaux and Cunningham 2020; Souhami 2014). Simon Holdaway (1997) found in his study that Black, Asian, and white officers said they heard officers say racist police jokes and comments quite often, especially on duty. White officers however, significantly underestimated the persistence of racism in police culture (Holdaway 1997). Similar patterns of racism in police culture were found in Rigaux and Cunningham's (2020) study of racial minority officers in a Western Canadian city. Particularly at the constable level, many of their respondents witnessed their colleagues make racist jokes and comments about "Chinese, Filipino and Indian Groups." (Rigaux and Cunningham 2020: 9). White officers racially abuse racial minority officers as a way of testing their ability of fitting into the police culture (Cashmore 2001). Many racial minority officers believe that racism in police organizations continue to persist because the culture is still defined and dominated by white men (Cashmore 2001; Rigaux and Cunningham 2020).

Police culture also helps to explain racism in policing (Bell 2018; Chan 1997; Foster 2008; Perez and Ward 2019; Roscigno and Preto-Hodge 2021; Satzewich and Shaffir 2009; Smith and Gray 1985; Wortley et. al 2020). Police officers often reinforce racial stereotypes about people of colour by depicting them as dangerous criminals who are extremely violent and irrational (Perez

and Ward 2019; Wortley et.al 2020). Jeannine Bell (2018) noted the importance of Skolnick's (1966) concept of the symbolic assailant to understanding the ongoing police violence of Black men and women in the United States. Considering the several murders of Black people by American police departments, and racialized policing practices (e.g., Broken Windows, Stop and Frisk, No-Knock Police Raids, Gang Suppression, Police Surveillance, Excessive Use of Force), Bell (2018) argues that Blackness itself is the symbolic assailant, where Black men, regardless of age, ethnicity, gender, class, and neighbourhood context, are always perceived as dangerous, "suspicious and up to no good" (Bell 2018: 534). Black women experience police violence, especially in situations where they have a mental health disability, "advanced age, and when they are in the presence of young children," resulting in a serious injury, or even death (Bell 2018: 548). The concept of the Black symbolic assailant, according to Bell (2018), starts as early as childhood, as Black youth are "criminalized and placed into the 'school-to-prison pipeline'" (Bell 2018: 542).

We know little about police officer's perceptions of racism in police culture in Canada (Satzewich and Shaffir 2009). Based on 18 semi-structured interviews with police officers from various gender and racial backgrounds, Satzewich and Shaffir (2009) found that police officers repeatedly denied racism in Canadian policing, arguing that racial profiling is an important part of police work. Satzewich and Shaffir (2009) argue that, when police culture is applied to understand racism in policing, racial profiling "occurs even in the absence of officers who may be inclined to prejudice or discrimination against members of visible minorities" (Satzewich and Shaffir 2009: 201). Satzewich and Shaffir (2009) identified three general discourses officers (both white and racial minority) used to deny allegations of racism in Canadian policing: "the intolerance of intolerance, the discourse of multiculturalism, and the discourse of blaming the victim" (Satzewich and Shaffir 2009: 212).

Conversations about racism in Canadian policing are often obscured by stories about multiculturalism, tolerance, and inclusion (Samuels-Wortley 2021). Many of the police officers denied racism in policing by referring to changes to police organizations equity, diversity, and inclusion policies, claiming that racism is no longer apart of contemporary Canadian policing (Satzewich and Shaffir 2009). Officers often pointed to Canadian multiculturalism policies and practices to deny racism, arguing that younger police officers grew up in racially diverse communities and “have gone to school with other students of diverse backgrounds” (Satzewich and Shaffir 2009: 216). Lastly, officers denied allegations of racism by suggesting that people of color often play the “race-card” to prevent officers from assessing their criminal behaviour (Satzewich and Shaffir 2009:217). The authors findings suggest, however, that officers use racially colourblind ideologies (Bonilla-Silva 2022) to deny the existence of racism in Canadian policing (for example, see Gordon 2022).

Although decades of research have examined how police culture affects the occupational experiences of racial minority and women police officers (Bikos 2016; Cashmore 2001; Garcia 2003, 2021; Martin 1980; Morash and Haarr 2012; Haarr 1997; Holdaway 1997, 2009; Holdaway and O’Neil 2004; Murray 2021; Preto-Hodge 2020; Rabe-Hemp 2018; Rigaux and Cunningham 2020; Souhami 2014; Westmarland 2001, 2017), far less studies have examined women of colour’s experiences in policing (del Carmen, Greene, Nation and Osho 2007; Dodge and Pogrebin 2000; Hasan 2021; Holder, Nee and Ellis 2000; Martin 1994; Hassell and Brandl 2009; Pogrebin, Dodge and Chatman 2000; Texeira 2002; Yu 2020).

A larger number of studies focus solely on the experiences of Black women police officers (Martin 1994; Dodge and Pogrebin 2001; Pogrebin, Dodge, and Chatman 2000; Preto-Hodge 2020; Texeira 2002; Townsey 1982). Black women report experiencing hostility and harassment

by white women, white men and Black men who feel that Black women have reduced their chances of receiving desirable job offers and promotions (Martin 1994; Dodge and Pogrebin 2001; Pogrebin, Dodge and Chatman 2000). Black women are often told by white officers that they are not qualified nor capable of working on certain work assignments (Dodge and Pogrebin 2001; Martin 1994; Pogrebin, Dodge and Chatman 2000). When Black women are on duty, they receive less protection than white women (Martin 1994; Preto-Hodge 2020). Preto-Hodge (2020) noted that white men are more likely to protect white women from completing certain police work assignments and duties. White men drew on gendered and racialized stereotypes of femininity to conceptualize Black women officers as “tougher, less in need of protection, and less deserving in the organization, consistent with the militarization of police culture which values toughness and risk taking” (Preto-Hodge 2020:103). Black women report experiencing sexual harassment by both white and Black men in the form of sexually explicit comments, unwanted sexual advances in return for job promotion and inappropriate touching (Texeira 2002). Police culture treat Black women officers as outsiders within the police organization (Martin 1994; Preto-Hodge 2020; Pogrebin, Dodge, and Chatman 2000).

Policing isn't only a masculine culture, but one dominated by white, heterosexual, male police officers (Bikos 2022; Loftus 2008; Mouto 2018). White supremacy and patriarchy in police organizations support the dominance of white, cis-gendered, heterosexual men, which poses several challenges for racial minority, women of colour and LGBTQIA2S+ officers (Bikos 2022; Hassell and Brandl 2009; Loftus 2008, 2009; Miles-Johnson 2020; Mouto 2018; Panter 2018). White, heterosexual, male officers tend to show hostility towards police diversity programs, policies, and practices (Bikos 2022; Loftus 2008, 2009). Police diversity recruitment programs tend to only focus on the overall representation of police officers, rather than the cultural values in

policing that create racist, sexist, and queerphobic work environments (Bikos 2022; Preto-Hodge 2020). Police organizations are both gendered (Acker 1990) and racialized (Ray 2019), and as a result, a culture of fear, silence, and punishment is commonly found amongst officers regardless of rank and this prevents officers from reporting police misconduct (Bikos 2022). Police violence, aggressive masculinity, whiteness, and a reluctance to change police culture continue to persist in police organizations (Bikos 2022).

Theoretical Framework

Intersectionality is rooted in the legacy of women of colour grassroots activism, where Black, Indigenous, Asian, Chicana and other women of colour feminists from the United States and globally challenged oppressive social structures such as racism, sexism, classism and other forms of power such as “structural, disciplinary, cultural and interpersonal” (Collins and Blige 2020: 32), to critique whiteness in feminist movements and to address the lack of intersectional analysis in understanding various social justice issues such as poverty, health inequality, inadequate childcare, criminalization, and human rights (Crenshaw 1989, 1991; Collins and Blige 2020; Collins 2019; Crenshaw 2017; Duran and Jones 2021; Farmer et. al 2021; Haynes et. al 2020). In the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s women of colour feminists and activists in academia produced various intersectional feminist theories and frameworks that solidified the field of intersectionality studies such as *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (Anzaldúa 1987), *Women, Race, and Class* (Davis 1983), *Ain't I a Woman? Black Women and Feminism* (hooks 1981), and *matrix of domination* (Collins 1990) (also see Beal 1969; Combahee River Collective 1977; Hill 1990; hooks 1981; King 1988).

In 1989, Kimberle Crenshaw conducted a Black feminist analysis of intersectionality in her article, “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics” (Crenshaw 1989). Crenshaw (1989) used intersectionality theory to identify Black women’s experiences of employment discrimination and to critique the notion that Black women claims could only fall under the category of race or gender. Crenshaw’s (1989) central argument concerned the troubling consequences of treating race and gender inequality as mutually separate social problems in antidiscrimination law, feminist theory and antiracist politics. Crenshaw (1989) analyzed three antidiscrimination law court cases: “*DeGraffenreid v General Motors, Moore v Hughes Helicopter and Payne v Travenol*” (Crenshaw 1989: 141). Antidiscrimination law court cases regularly erased Black women’s experiences of racism and sexism in the workplace because they frequently made decisions based on race or gender, which did not sufficiently capture Black women’s employment experiences (Crenshaw 1989). Race discrimination cases predominantly recognized Black men’s work experiences and gender discrimination cases regularly recognized white women’s work experiences (Crenshaw 1989).

Crenshaw (1991) expanded upon her work to explain how the structural, political, and representational conceptualizations of intersectionality affect the way anti-violence initiatives, laws and policies address violence encountered by women of colour. Structural intersectionality describes how social institutions, and their policies fail to address the needs of women color experiencing gender-based violence (Crenshaw 1991). When violence intervention strategies create policies only based on gender, they fail to consider the additional structural inequalities that exist for women of color, immigrant women, working-class people and LGBTQIAA2S+ people (Crenshaw 1991). For example, childcare responsibilities, poverty, queerphobia, threats of

deportation by the government (Crenshaw 1991: 1245-1248). Political Intersectionality illustrates how antiracist and feminist organizations marginally exclude women of colour (Crenshaw 1991). For example, Crenshaw (1991) noted that while Black communities were addressing violence encountered by Black women, Black antifeminists such as Shahrazad Ali simultaneously justified violence against Black women by claiming that race and gender-based violence benefits the Black community and therefore, Black men should physically abuse Black women when necessary. Third, representational intersectionality refers to how some anti-violence policies reinforce racist and sexist stereotypes about women of colour (Crenshaw 1991). Crenshaw (1991) provided more insight into how intersectionality examines the structural, political, and representational aspects of social inequality.

Despite intersectionality's attention to racism, patriarchy, classism, and other structural inequalities such as heteropatriarchy, ableism, xenophobia, and colonialism (Collins 2019; Crenshaw 2017), the concept of intersectionality is rarely applied in studying police culture (Bikos 2022; Boogaard and Roggband 2010). Organizational scholars who conduct research on sexism, racism and classism and other social problems in organizations often only focus on one of these oppressive structures, rarely attempting to study them as intersectional forms of social inequality (Acker 2006, 2011, 2012; Holvino 2010). All organizations have "inequality regimes" (Acker 2006: 443), where organizational policies and practices reproduces intersectional inequalities in organizations (Acker 2006). Hierarchies within organizations are usually gendered (Acker 1990) and racialized (Ray 2019); high-paying work positions are usually occupied by white men in Canada, United States, Europe, Australia, and New Zealand, whereas people of colour usually occupy work positions within the lower ranks of the organization (Acker 2006). An intersectional analysis helps to unravel the structural problems that reproduce intersectional systems of power

and social inequality in organizations (Acker 2006, 2011, 2012; Holvino 2010). In chapter two I discuss about my methodology and sample.

CHAPTER 2

Methodology

Between February of 2021 and April of 2021, I conducted 16 in-depth, semi-structured interviews with women police officers from a police organization in Alberta. My initial inquiry into getting access to the police organization was gained through the police service's research unit. After a couple of meetings with a police constable, he forwarded my name to the research unit and notified them that I would be sending along a research protocol form. In August of 2020, just about a month after I received ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, I submitted a research protocol form, research proposal, and CV to the police services' research unit. A couple days after submitting my protocol form, the constable confirmed the receipt of my request, and stated that he had forwarded my research protocol form to senior management for approval.

Given that police culture is deeply rooted in patriarchy, racism, and queerphobia (Bikos 2022; Miles-Johnson 2020; Preto-Hodge 2020), getting access to police organizations can be challenging for academic researchers, especially researchers who are not white, middle-class men and women (Chan 1997; Samuels-Wortley 2022; Sanchez and Portillos 2018). I'm a cis-gendered, heterosexual, young (late 20's), Black women university graduate student who has never worked for any police organization. Finally, after numerous attempts to determine the status of my request, my access to the police organization was approved in mid-December 2020. I began collecting data in February 2021.

I recruited women police officers to share their perceptions and experiences of police culture. A member of the police services' research unit forwarded my recruitment letter to women police officers, including those who identify as a woman of colour (28) and LGBTQIAA2S+ (4),

inviting them to participate in the study. Officers who were interested in participating in the study contacted me directly by email and I sent a follow-up email to schedule an interview. Of the 16 interviews, 8 were conducted on the phone, whereas 8 were conducted online using Zoom. 13 out of 16 participants self-identified as white, 3 identified as Black and one identified as biracial (half Indigenous/half white). Four white women police officers identified as openly gay, and all had same-sex partners at the time data collection took place. Out of the three Black women involved in the study, two are biracial (half-white), but racially identify as Black. The average length of service is 14 years, with a range of 5 to 24 years of policing experience. During the time interviews took place, seven were constables, two were superintendents, one was a detective, one was an inspector, three were sergeant, one was staff sergeant, and one was staff sergeant to the chief of staff. There are currently no women in the deputy chief rank within the police organization. The organization has never had a women police chief (highest rank), and as of 2021, only one woman of colour has progressed past constable and detective rank.

I employed a 'semi-structured' interview style, so that respondents can respond directly to questions but still feel comfortable bringing up other points for discussion (Warren 2001). Before each interview began, I gave each respondent a consent form to read and sign (see appendix C), detailing the purpose of the research study, their rights and my responsibilities in the research process and assuring confidentiality, anonymity and voluntary participation. Before and during the interview, I informed my respondents that their participation in the study is voluntary and are free to decline their consent to participate in my thesis project at any time without any consequences and can refuse to answer any question posed to them during the interview. Interviews lasted between 45 and 60 minutes. I asked a series of questions about occupational culture, the division of tasks, police-citizen encounters, and transforming police culture, paying particular attention to

how the intersectional aspects of police culture are characterized and divided amongst officers (see appendix A). With the consent of my participants, I audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim immediately after the interview.

Throughout the data collection stage, I continuously analyzed interviews by frequently re-reading interview transcripts and identifying relevant themes and categories discussed by female police officers. I independently coded and analyzed each interview using NVivo 12 software. I divided the interview transcripts into different sections, carefully analyzing and identifying various themes and categories (Charmaz 2014; Strauss and Corbin 1998). Through “open coding” (Saldana 2016: 115-119), I identified 13 broad categories, including: “Barriers Women Face in Policing,” “Barriers Women of Colour Face in Policing,” “Diversity,” “Homophobia,” “Racism,” “Perceptions of Women in Policing,” “Skills and Qualities,” “Recruitment,” “Changing Police Culture,” “Police-Citizen Encounters,” and “Work Environment,” “Gender Discrimination” and “Gender-Based Harassment.”

To ensure coding quality, I re-read the transcripts at least twice and created more categories and subcategories, which included: “Barriers faced by Women in Policing: Career Advancement, Gendered Physicality, Job Promotion, Physical Test, Work-Life Balance,” “Workplace Violence: Physical Violence, Bullying and Intimidation, Harassment, Lateral Violence”, “Sexual Harassment,” “Use of Force,” “Tokenism,” “Sexual Assault,” “Perceptions of Safety,” “Politics,” “Police Oversight,” “Police Unions,” “Recruitment: Hiring, Preparation, Training,” “Maternity Leave,” “Transphobia”, “Race and Gender-Based Harassment”, “Pregnancy” “Racial Minorities”, “Police-Community Relations,” “Gun Violence,” and “Perceptions of the Police”, “Islamophobia”, “Racism: Systemic Racism, Overt Racism, Racist Police Jokes, Anti-Indigenous Racism, Anti-Black Racism, Racism/Xenophobia, Racial Colourblindness.” I then used an axial

coding approach by identifying relationships among the categories and subcategories I documented during the earlier and later stages of qualitative data analysis (Saldana 2016). In Chapter three, I discuss my findings on police culture and workplace violence among women police officers.

CHAPTER 3

Police Culture and Workplace Violence Among Women Police Officers

Abstract

Despite the abundance of research on women in policing and police culture, little is known about women police officer's experiences of workplace violence. Based upon 16 interviews with women police officers from a police organization in Alberta, this study examines how women police officers experience workplace violence. My findings reveal that women police officers witness and/or experience three types of workplace violence: physical violence; bullying, harassment, and intimidation; and lateral violence by their colleagues. Black women, white women and LBGTQ2SIA+ white women report having to deescalate violent situations whenever police officers, predominantly men, commit acts of physical violence on members of the public. Women of colour, white women and white LBGTQ2SIA+ women police officers reported experiencing various forms of bullying, harassment, and intimidation, including misogynoir, race, and gender-based harassment, sexual harassment, and homophobia. Women also report women partaking in lateral violence by competing and sabotaging other women to advance their career.

Keywords: Workplace Violence, Police Culture, Intersectionality, Qualitative Research

Introduction

Policing organizations in Canada, United States, Europe, Australia, and New Zealand are dominated by a white supremacist masculine culture that often adapt conservative, misogynistic, racist, and cynical approaches to doing police work (Miles-Johnson 2020; Panter 2018; Reiner 2010). Police officers are socialized to be skeptical about the officers they work alongside, as well as the communities they often encounter (Paoline 2004; Skolnick 1966; Sierra-Arevalo 2021).

Women police officers often face hostility and rejection in police organizations due to whiteness, racism, sexism, homophobia, transphobia, xenophobia, and other structural inequalities (Bikos 2022; Hasan 2021). Women who break the “blue wall of silence” (Bittner 1970; Westley 1970) by filing a complaint about racism, workplace harassment, gender-based violence, and other forms of police misconduct to their organization often face retribution, receiving no protection or accountability from their white-male dominated police unions and associations (Milligan 2021; Nhan 2014).

Despite the plethora of research on women in policing and police culture, (Bikos 2016; Martin 1980; Martin and Jurik 2007; Morash and Haarr 2012; Murray 2021; Rabe-Hemp 2009, 2018; Sanders, Gouweloos, and Langan 2022; Sierra-Arevalo 2019, 2021; Stoughton 2014; Waddington 1999; Westmarland 2001, 2017), little is known about women police officers experiences of workplace violence (Kelloway and Perrott 2006). Based upon 16 semi-structured interviews with women police officers from a police organization in Alberta, I discuss my findings on police culture and workplace violence among women police officers.

Findings

My findings reveal that race, gender, sexuality, class, and other structural inequalities (Collins and Blige 2020; Collins 2019; Crenshaw 2017), affected women officers’ experiences of workplace violence within the context of police culture. Women police officers experienced and/or witnessed three types of workplace violence: (a) Physical Violence; (b) Bullying, Harassment, and Intimidation; and (c) Lateral Violence.

Physical Violence

Participants report they often witness officers in their organization get into fights or hostile encounters with members of the public. Julian (white), believes that getting into fights with

citizens, especially during an arrest, is the norm for police officers *“It’s literally daily that somebody gets in a fight with somebody on the street. And mainly when they go to arrest them or stop them from committing a crime. That’s just the norm.”* Chloe (white, LGBTQ2SIA+), said within the first six years of her career, she witnessed officers using physical force against members of the public *“I want to say during those first kind of six years of my career, I feel I witnessed some of those like back alley beatings from members going hands on with people and trying to solve the issue of trying to get people in this area being like, “Yeah, let’s go in” they use assaultive force that they should not have used and could get people fired for that. I witnessed one of those.”*

Chloe and her partner at the time reported some of the physical violence they witnessed while on-duty to their sergeant *“My partner at the time had to go speak with our sergeants were like, this is not fucking right and how do we deal with this?”* Chloe admitted that she and her partner didn’t inform the rest of their colleagues about reporting the incident because they were afraid of facing reprisal by the organization: *“So, we had to kind of go through overproof porting process with that, but it was very hard, and we didn’t tell anybody we’re doing that because we didn’t want to be kind of pigeonholed by anybody else and seen as kind of a tattletale. Because I just felt like I was just, yeah, that I was, I was just going to interfere, or I was going to jeopardize myself... like being a junior member at the time.....”* Chloe’s fear of facing reprisal and ultimately, jeopardizing her policing career illustrates that the ‘blue wall of silence’ (Bittner 1970; Westley 1970), solidarity and danger (Marenin 2016; Skolnick 1966; Sierra-Arevalo 2021) in police culture erodes police accountability, prevents officers from reporting police misconduct and helps officers avoid disciplinary action for committing various forms of misconduct, such as fabricating police reports, using excessive force on an individual, sexual violence and theft (Marenin 2016; Sierra-

Arevalo 2021). Officers who break the culture of silence by reporting an officer for misconduct often face punishment in the police organization (Nhan 2014).

Participants in all racial groups (Black, White, Biracial women), including LGBTQ2SIA+ white women maintained that their male colleagues tend to be extremely violent and aggressive in their interactions with the public. When their male colleague commits acts of violence towards a citizen, participants said they often attempt to de-escalate the violent encounter by speaking calmly to their colleague, advising them to stop engaging in unnecessary violence (Morash and Harr 2012). Research demonstrates that women officers, regardless of race, gender, and sexuality, tend to be more compassionate and approachable to the communities they police compared to their male colleagues (Morash and Harr 2012; Rabe-Hemp 2009). Sophia (Black) described a time when she and her former male colleague were called by a woman to remove her intoxicated friend from the bar. Her male colleague had what she describes a “*downtown personality*.” He has a tendency of being hostile and aggressive while on duty, whereas she adapts a calmer approach when interacting with the public.

As they proceeded to remove the women, Sophia’s male colleague started pushing and shoving her to the ground:

“I had an old partner that's you know we were partners for a long time when I was in southeast and his take was almost like a downtown personality where he's very hard firm and I'm the kind of "hey everyone's good, let's just calm down" and I know what to give an example I remember there was a call where some lady had invited a friend over from out of town to stay and had some alcohol and the one friend was getting a little unruly and she wanted her removed so they call us to help them remove them that she didn't want to leave and she's kind of being a bit of a pain but still you know she was moving but slowly

and my partner was just impatient and was just like bam let's go get out sort of thing and then he remember he started like pushing around and just thinking to "just like calm like back off like I'll take care of" this sort of thing so you know I'd be vocal about it of course but he's just that's his personality where he just kind of goes in heavy and what he says get out get out whereas I'm the kind of person that just says you know we get paid by the hour let's just you know you can slow it down she's fine she's not being you know she's you know she's kind of just not being fully co-operative but she's still moving. She's just moving slow, whatever, it's not a big deal."

At one point, the male officer tried to push the women to the door and started throwing her belongings outside. Sophia (Black) attempted to reduce the violence by advising her partner to remain calm throughout the incident. As the women sat on the ground, crying, Sophia sat beside her, trying to comfort her. After Sophia calmly spoke to the women, she called a cab to drop the women off to a homeless shelter:

"So, I remember he had, at one point he had tried to push her towards the door and I'm telling him like back off and then threw her stuff out the luggage out the door and just kind of being a jerk and, and, you know, she's just drunk and just, you know, whatever. She's having a bad moment. It's not a big deal. So anyways, in that situation I ended up you know, it was I think it's like November, it was kind of some frost in the snow. And she you could tell she was just like, beside herself. Obviously, there's other things going on in her life, you could tell. So, she's literally she's on the grass on the lawn, and she's crying, and bag is on the ground, but thrown. And I remember sitting like I literally like sat down beside her and having a conversation, calming her down, like, you want them to listen to you. In the end. I ended up getting her a cab, and she end up having to go to the homeless shelter.

I think she had nowhere to go. And then the cab wouldn't take her and then we had to drive her there. But anyways, in the end, it was like, you know, she, she was in the back of the car. She's like, "you know, you're a nice girl, but that guy he's just kind of jerk" basically, I said, "Yeah, I know." And I'm sitting in front of them is, he's just, that's just, you know, just some people just aren't good at dealing with people and some people aren't."

Sophia (Black) has worked in various neighbourhoods throughout her career and believes the reason her former male colleague was more aggressive and violent towards members of the public is because he used to work in downtown and other inner-city neighbourhoods, an area she says where officers tend to be violent, aggressive, disrespectful, and uncompassionate towards citizens, especially the homeless, gangs, and those struggling with a drug addiction (Urbanik, Greene and Wojnarwicz 2020). In contrast, Sophia claimed that officers who work in middle-class neighbourhoods tend to be calmer and more approachable in their interactions with members of the public:

"The only thing I guess I can say from observation is like having worked in Southeast where we deal with just mostly with your average, you know, middle class, some lower class too but the average middle-class citizens and most police officers seem pretty approachable. I guess police culture wise. I know before I came to work downtown. I did an acting sergeant before I got promoted. And I know even I was kind of concerned because downtown's always a bit rougher. And even the officers you always seem to come across a little less friendly. So, I was always kind of concerned. So, it's definitely a difference. Each division almost has like a different way of dealing with things because of the types of people that they deal with. So, I have noticed that even working downtown, people tend to have I guess, almost, I would say less patience. We get a lot of different people. But you know, we take

our time, not in any rush. Downtown tend to be a little more rougher around the edges, you do have a lot of more impoverished people's like street people, drugs, gangs. And so, I kind of noticed there's a difference in how people I guess, interact. And he is coming into a squad, like even the squad that I worked for. Even their approach, I would say was sometimes a bit more aggressive, I would say, but sort of, I don't know. Not as compassionate, I suppose.”

Sophia argues that each neighbourhood and division police officers operate have their own police culture and therefore, officers who police inner-city neighbourhoods tend to be more violent and “notorious” towards inner-city residents (Urbanik, Greene and Wojnarwicz 2020: 1).

Participants also mentioned that several male officers in their organization have “*fragile male egos*” (Sarah, white) and a tendency of losing their temper whenever they get into conflict with a citizen. Caitlin, (white, LGBTQ2SIA+), also expressed her frustrations with male officers who have anger issues, tend to be very rude and ignorant towards the individuals they often encounter on the street “*Many times, with male members where their tempers have got the better gun, they've got some misplaced aggression, and a call where there's no absolute need at all, to be rude or arrogant towards somebody they are, and they get this person all fired up, and then this person wants to fight. Whereas if we just come in and spoke calmly to the person, there would be no issue.*”

Caitlin recalled a time when she and her male colleague approached an individual sleeping in public. She wanted to politely approach the person to see how they were doing. Her male partner ended up applying excessive force by kicking the person on the foot. As the individual woke up from their sleep, the male officer immediately pulled out a taser:

“Like this actually happened last week, to me, a person hanging out in a place they're not supposed to be, and they were sleeping, and I was just going to lightly nudge the person on their shoulder and my partner wound up and gave a huge boost to the person at the bottom of their foot, scared the heck out of them. And the person woke up seeing, you know, a taser out right away. And I was like, what are you doing? Like, there's no reason for this. And then the person got up. And we realized very quickly, the person is much taller than both of us, and is now pissed off. So frustrating things like that”

Caitlin asserts that her male colleagues tend to be more violent and aggressive in their interactions with the public compared to her women colleagues. On many occasions, Caitlin would go back and apologize to the individuals for the way her male colleagues behave on-duty:

“I definitely see that a lot more with my male counterparts than a female partnership is just puffing the chest out and the ego gets up there. And then then we know we're possibly fighting with somebody or yelling at somebody who's called police who they don't feel needed to call us. And you know, don't call us again. And why did you just you know, I had to, I've had to like, go back to the calls after because I've hated the way it's been locked in my male partner, and I was never going to go back and apologize. So, I've gone say, 'Listen, I'm sorry for my partner, please call us if you ever have issues again.’”

Similar to Caitlin, Sarah (white) had a male colleague who regularly gets into fights with citizens, especially during an arrest. Sarah described a time when she experienced physical violence from her colleague while removing a man from a bar. As the two started removing the man from the bar, Sarah's male colleague started intimidating the individual: *“I've had one time where he, it was like, we were removing someone from a bar, and it was in front of everyone...like he was too jacked up. So, I could see that he was instigating with the client or the person.”* In

response to her male colleague's aggressive behaviour, Sarah tried to de-escalate the situation by communicating and calmly listening to her colleague. She believes that male officers cooperate with women officers more often than their male counterparts due to the stereotypical feminine occupational cultural characteristics women in policing tend to adapt when doing police work such as empathy, patience, and de-escalation (Rabe-Hemp 2009). *"So, I was trying to de escalate, somebody trying to help a guy, trying to do these things to just be calm. And I was listening to him, because I find that even sometimes difficult situations, when they're not following direction, like they'll comply sometimes with a female because they're not, they're not going to, most men aren't willing to fight a woman, right? So then, like the other, you know, talking techniques and, or even the whole patients that a woman has, versus maybe the male counterpart."* (Sarah, white)

Sarah (white) sometimes struggles to de-escalate violent situations because of her male co-worker's aggressive behaviour. When her male colleague came back inside to remove the man from the bar, he started doing *"pain compliance"* (Sarah, white) on him, escalating the situation: *"So, I don't I find like I can easily de escalate or versus sometimes I have male counterparts can't express themselves in a way to get the result they are requested. So, he, yeah, he was jacked up. And I took the guy outside. And then he came back, I could just tell like this, because he kept doing like pain compliance on the person. And that was kept making the situation worse."* Sarah tried to eradicate the violence by putting her hand on her male co-colleague's chest, telling him to stop using excessive force on the man. As she attempted to de-escalate the situation, her male colleague pushed her in the middle of the street: *"So, I reached out, I put my hand on his chest, I said, Hey, like, we're good, we're good. And then he shoved me like on the middle of like the street. And I shoved him back. And I was like, so shocked at that point that like my own co worker did that in the public eye, like it was crazy."*

As my findings reveal, white women, Black women, and LGBTQ2SIA+ white women officers in the study often resist certain elements of police culture such as aggressiveness, hypermasculinity, violence, and “warrior-like” mentalities (Fielding 1994; Morash and Harr 2012; Rabe-Hemp 2009; Sierra-Arevalo 2021; Stoughton 2014) and instead value the ability to communicate effectively towards members of the public and when needed, de-escalate violence and conflict (Morash and Harr 2012). In contrast, their male colleagues tend to value violence and aggressive masculinity in police culture (Fielding 1994).

Bullying, Harassment, and Intimidation

Participants reported experiencing bullying, harassment, and intimidation in the police organization. Openly gay white women officers explained how they have an easier time fitting into the culture of the police organization compared to gay men. Nora (white, LGBTQ2SIA+) said that although the organization has made efforts to improve to the work experiences of LGBTQ2SIA+ officers, she claims that the organization is more accepting of openly gay women than gay men “*So we're making small steps, I think a lot easier to be a female, openly gay female, much more difficult to say for men...But we still have, again, certain pockets of people who don't want to accept it....*” Nora went on to explain gay men only disclose their sexual orientation in safe spaces within the organization:

“... I always say they'll speak in their safe spaces. But there's a group of people. But yeah, definitely much more difficult to be openly gay male. We do that, but we do have some opening details. It's been, you know, it's been a challenge for them. But I think I mean, I can't speak on their behalf. But it's, it's still, I think it's still difficult for them. But again, there's so much I don't think we don't know, because there's so many people who don't feel safe to come out as a male. And there might be some women who wouldn't? I don't know,

I just wouldn't know. But for sure. I know, there are males who, who just haven't. They won't."

Like Nora, Chloe (white, LGBTQ2SIA+) also argued that gay women don't face as many barriers in the police organization compared to gay men. *"That there isn't much for females. I haven't personally felt any like, homophobic slurs against my wife or I, but I've been negative again, like I truly don't feel I can think of any barriers. But for men, for gay men on this job, it is a hard go for them."* Most gay men, Chloe states, do not disclose their sexual orientation at work. For example, Chloe explained how one her friends in the organization, a gay man, has been a police officer for 15 years and not once has he ever disclosed his sexual identity to the organization. Her friend chooses not to disclose his sexual orientation to protect himself from experiencing workplace harassment and violence while working in policing. He hides his sexual orientation by engaging in heteronormative behaviours such as telling stories about having a girlfriend to his colleagues:

"I personally have a friend on the job who's kind of at that 15-year mark, and he's gay, not open at all. And he was pretty much told from hiring process to when he was being trained like you do not tell anybody you are gay, because you will do not do well in this organization. And I don't want to be identified as having a gay partner. And that was at the start of his career 15 years ago, and he has been closeted since and almost brought it out during his promotion process. He almost gave the example. But didn't feel it was right. And he, like, he makes up a story about his girlfriend. But they always joke Oh, I never see this girlfriend, I don't know you're talking about and that's been for probably 10 years, like, it's just my heart, just, my heart just breaks. But it's kind of been his normal. So, we have as being like, on the resource committee. We have way more openly gay civilian

members that are even part of our group and open then we do men, and I probably could count on one hand, the amount of men who identify as gay on the job”

When Chloe’s friend was going through the hiring and training process, human resources and police trainers advised him not to disclose his sexual orientation to everyone. At one point, he was thinking about disclosing his sexual orientation to the organization when he got promoted but later decided not to out himself. In contrast, the organization has more openly gay civilian employees than openly gay male police officers. LGBTQ2SIA+ women police officers tend to experience less workplace harassment and discrimination than LGBTQ2SIA+ men because LGBTQ2SIA+ women officers are usually able to conform to the stereotypical masculine aspects of police culture such as toughness (Colvin 2015; Giwa et.al 2022; Mouto 2018). LGBTQ2SIA+ men, however, experience more discrimination in the police organization than LGBTQ2SIA+ women officers (Jones and Williams 2013; Mennicke, Gromer, Oehme, and MacConnie 2015). LGBTQ2S1A+ men in policing face organizational barriers associated with disclosing their sexual orientation at work (Mennicke, Gromer, Oehme, and MacConnie 2015). LGBTQ2S1A+ male officers often perceive police work as a “straight man’s job” and therefore, have trouble fitting into the “old boys club” (Collins and Rocco 2015: 8).

Despite the number of privileges and power openly gay white women in the study argue to hold over gay men, research illustrates that LBGTQ2SIA+ women officers still experience workplace violence (Mennicke, Gromer, Oehme, and MacConnie 2015; Mouto 2018). Brooklyn (white) recalled a time when she was helping a LGBTQ2SIA+ women officer file a workplace harassment complaint. A police officer advised the LGBTQ2SIA+ women officer to go seek conversion therapy:

“I’ve mostly dealt with that in helping, kind of like people have trusted me to come to me and say, how do I handle this? And I’ve helped them navigate it. So, another one was like an LGBTQ plus member. Someone was talking to her about conversion therapy, and like, being super discriminatory and all that I think gay being gay is a choice and yada yada and she’s lesbian. And she obviously took huge offense. I don’t need to say any more about that. And so she didn’t necessarily want to come forward and follow the proper, like channels have a formal process are encouraged to and supportive or to do that, because I thought that person’s bias needed to be documented and formally held to an accountability piece so that they can continue to operate that way.”

Openly gay white women also reported that transgender officers experience transphobia in the organization. Chloe (white, LGBTQ2SIA+) knows of two transgender officers who have experienced transphobia in the organization. *“We have one male who is transgender. two males that I know that are transgender, and they are open about their process. But if you were to talk to them, it’s an it’s a horrific process that they’ve experienced and gone through and even to the last year, I’ve had to go through some PSB complaints against members who have said some derogatory stuff.”* In the past, Chloe explained how she has had to address professional standards branch complaints against officers who have said derogatory comments about transgender officers. Transgender officers regularly report experiencing transphobia and harassment from cisgender officers (Panter 2018). Some transgender officers, who are hired before or after transitioning, often chose to hide their transgender identity to protect themselves and when they chose to disclose their trans identity at work, they experience harassment and social exclusion in the police organization (Panter 2018).

Black women in the study reported experiencing race and gender-based harassment and bullying in the police organization, especially from upper management. Charlotte (Black) described a time when she experienced race and gender-based harassment from upper management. A junior officer at the time, Charlotte expressed to upper management some concerns she had about a series of emails forwarded to her squad regarding police ethics:

“I was really feeling like, bothered by a series of emails that have been going out to the whole branch, division about ethics. And it was really focused on a couple of people who have made some really bad decisions. But of course, rather than dealing directly with those people that made that decision, they blanketed everyone. And we're treating us all, like we made bad decisions, or that we couldn't come to like, or a morally or ethically down outcome from something. And it was really demeaning to A lot of us, especially someone who was working my ass off and doing a good job and had never had a complaint against me, and I was training other officers. And I was like, wow, this makes me feel like crap reading this. And so on that parade, I just said, you know, this is how I'm feeling about these emails, like I feel like it kind of making us feel more demeaned, then boosting morale or helping us make better decisions, I think we could rephrase needs to be more of a positive spin, rather than like an accusatory type of email. Like change the tone from negative to more of a positive thing, I think it would be more well respected than it is right now because morale sucked. People don't want to read that crap from their bosses, and they didn't feel respected or appreciated”

After Charlotte expressed her concerns regarding the email, upper management contacted her sergeant and called her a “*dark little girl*” and told her to stop complaining about the emails forwarded to her squad “*After speaking up, and I tried to do it as respectfully as I could. But*

essentially, the management went to my Sergeant after and said, and, again, this was in 2008, we were even less females back then we are now, but I was, at the time, only one of two females and essentially said, "Who's that little dark girl on parade and tell her to keep her mouth shut...."

Charlotte believes that her race, gender, and body size impacted the way upper management responded to her complaints. Upper management said racist and sexist comments to her because they wanted to make her feel unimportant and unwanted in the organization *"So not only do they don't bother to find out what my name was, I've been working under them for three and a half years, because they easily looked at the roster. I'm only possibly one female on the squad for one or two. They didn't care. And they specifically identified me as a little dark girl because they wanted me to feel belittle. And yeah, that was by gender by race by size, those three things picked out about me to make me feel like that."*

Amelia (Black) also reported experiencing race and gender-based harassment from upper management. At the time Amelia was quite new to the organization and a male staff member from upper management said an inappropriate comment about people staring at her because she's Black:

"I've had some uncomfortable situations. I think there's been times where someone has an inappropriate comment. I had an incident in upper management, and I was quite new to the force. "Oh, how are you liking being on the police force?" I'm like "Oh I'm enjoying it or whatever whatnot." and he said to me "Oh, that's good that you're loving it. He's like he was. "Oh, it's pretty weird people staring at you eh" as a guy and all I'm gonna stare at you like that. Uncomfortable. I realize it's a uniform, whatever. But he, I can't remember exactly. But it was pretty much. No. He thought people stare at me because I'm black. And not because I'm a cop. Like, do you think we live the 1980s? I don't get stared out because.

"Obviously, you must be used to it because people stare at you" something along those lines."

Black women also reported experiencing racist and sexist bullying and harassment from their colleagues who feel that they only got recruited or received job promotion because they are a Black woman (Dodge and Pogerbin 2001). Charlotte (Black) explained how the organization doesn't do a great job with highlighting the accomplishments of her colleagues, a strategy she believes will prevent racial minority and women of colour officers from experiencing tokenism *"I wish there was some other way we'd share the successes that some of these women have accomplished to the rest of the membership doesn't get to hear about. So that someone like myself, doesn't feel tokenized by the membership, even though I know I got promoted based on my accomplishments All these other people that don't work in my area, don't even know who I am."* When Charlotte got promoted to a higher position in the organization, she often heard officers say racist comments about her only getting promoted because she's is a Black woman *"Might hear someone else said "Oh, she got promoted because she's a black female." And that's what's the quote of the day versus what I actually accomplished in the last few years. Oh, 15 years of my career. So somehow just show, there's the work they've done is that got them promoted."*

When Amelia (Black) got hired and was in recruiting, she heard white officers say racist jokes about racial minority officers only getting hired to diversify the police service. Amelia often heard from white officers that racial minority officers are not qualified to do police work *"When I got hired, and I was in recruiting, I think it's standard to say that most minority failed us like a lot of the, amongst your peers, people make the joke that you were only hired for diversity, and I got where I got because of that not so much for my skills or having to pass everything we had to pass. And they think I got hired quick, too."*

My data reveals that Black women officers experience misogynoir, racism, and sexism in the police organization (Martin 1994; Dodge and Pogrebin 2001; Holder, Lee, and Thomas 2000; Preto-Hodge 2020). Police culture is rooted in white supremacy and patriarchy and as result, Black women officers experience race and gender-based harassment from their white and men of colour colleagues who feel that Black women are only given certain job promotions because of police diversity hiring programs and policies (Bikos 2022; Hasan 2021). Black women are often told by their colleagues that they are not capable of working as a police officer nor qualified to get promoted to high-ranking positions in the police organization (Pogrebin, Dodge and Chatman 2000; Preto-Hodge 2020).

Abigail (White/Indigenous) recalled a time when she experienced workplace harassment from her former supervisor. She caught her supervisor sharing personal information about her life to her colleagues. She ended up losing friends in the organization because of the rumors:

“I had a former boss once that spoke about my personal life to my squad. And it was, of course, when I was network to defend myself, and it was extremely personal information that that should not have been shared. And at the time, I think this is again, where I maybe can explain from a woman's point of view, because I felt I'm a woman in a man's world. And it's a man talking about me. And I didn't think it would do me any good to try to defend myself or talk to my colleagues. So, I lost some friendships over that. I left the rumor and the discouraged disparaging comments that were not fair to me, I let them stand. And I wish I would not.”

Abigail was very junior at the time incident took place. She didn't report the incident to the organization because she was afraid of facing retaliation and losing future job promotional opportunities. She believes the organization needs to improve on helping police officers safely

report harassment “*But I can honestly say, you know, at that time, I was very junior on the job. I didn't want to have a bad reputation. I think that people tend to not talk about things that happened to them because they're fearful of retribution. Or maybe they'll get passed over for a job because they made a complaint. So yeah, there's definitely I think, some improvements that our police service could make about helping people deal with harassment, I think it gets tolerated a lot more than it should.*” Women of colour in policing collectively experience more workplace bullying and harassment than their white counterparts (Hasan 2021; Yu 2020). A culture of whiteness, masculinity, and patriarchy discourages women of colour from reporting workplace violence to the police organization (Bikos 2022; Hasan 2021).

Black and white women in the study reported officers saying inappropriate comments about pregnancy and police work. Stella (white), said in the early 90s, men often labelled women who got pregnant while working as a police officer as “*waste of a wrench number*” because they believe that women officers who get pregnant in the organization offer no value to the policing profession:

“But I did put up with a lot of inappropriate comments from other people. Why am I even here if I was even qualified? Then, you know, what was the what was the word they used to use, they would say, you've had initials, but essentially, like a waste of waste of a wrench number, is what we were waiting for, is because we were taking the spot where the batteries are taken, and we should be at home sort of thing, which was in the 90s, early 90s it is ridiculous people talk like that. You're just gonna get pregnant and not be able to work. So you're wasting a wrench numbers, somebody else had the job, that type of stuff. Shocked me the people that use it, usually send that to me, we're kind of the biggest loser.”

When Amelia (Black) got married, she said male officers started saying inappropriate comments about getting pregnant and leaving the policing profession. She claims that male officers often belittle women who have children while working for the police organization:

“When I had gotten married, it was 2017. Yeah, there were some comments about “oh so are you just now gonna get pregnant and now you’re going to be off the street” Excuse me? first of all, it’s none of your business. Second of all, what does that have to do with the kind of belittle females that do end up having children on the job, because they have to take time off. So there not real, their years don’t actually really count because, you know, a year they on mat leave. You know what I mean? And people get bitter about that. And it’s like, you also had children on the job, but luckily, your wife’s, you know what I mean? like, come on. And so, there are that, like, thing that women have to face being in a male dominated profession.”

When Mackenzie (white) first joined the police service, a male officer advised her not to have a lot of children while working as a police officer. The male officer eventually accepted her as a good police officer because of her policing style *“When I first joined the police service, I was told, “I hope you’re not here to just get, have a bunch of babies and go off.” Yeah, I was told, after two weeks of being here that I had a strike against me, and that was because I was a woman. But he was impressed with my work style. So, it was like I was now worthy to partner with him.”* My data illustrates that pregnant women officers face employment discrimination in the police service (Langan, Sanders, and Agocs 2017; Langan, Sanders, and Gouweloos 2019). Women often get demoted from their current positions during maternity leave and when they return to work, they must rebuild their reputation as police officers in the organization (Langan, Sanders, and Agocs 2017). The occupational values and norms of police culture such as aggressiveness and violence

(Fielding 1994) label pregnant women police officer's bodies as "out of order" for policing (Langan, Sanders and Gouweloos 2019: 466).

Only white women in the study reported experiencing sexual harassment in the police organization. Mackenzie (white) spoke about how male officers, particularly staff sergeants and detectives, repeatedly sexually harassed her at work by making inappropriate sexual comments about her physical appearance: *"I had sexual comments made to me all the time, I couldn't even stand at my desk without sexual comments, right? So, I'd always have to sit just because like what couldn't make comments about my ass. Inappropriate comments, I have been hit on by supervisors that are, you know, claiming to help me from other harassing situations and then ultimately do that themselves, and then put me into a very vulnerable position. Inappropriate text messages."* Anytime Rachel (white) is offered a job opportunity, officers would accuse her of sleeping with her instructor to get promotion *"I've had comments about like that I must have gotten jobs because I've had, like, sexual interaction with someone even when I haven't worried that because they, you know, like you start the job when you're 28. So, you only got this course because the instructor wants, you're like, I've had comments like that."* The few white women who reported experiencing sexual harassment in the police organization illustrates that women police officers often experience sexual harassment in policing, ranging from inappropriate touching, inappropriate jokes about a women's sexuality, unwanted sexual advances by officer colleagues and humiliation (Lonsway, Paynich, and Hall 2013; Brown, Gousetti, and Fife-Schaw 2018).

Lateral Violence

Lateral violence (also known as horizontal violence) refers to violence within marginalized groups in a community or organization, such as women, LGBTQ2SIA+, women of colour, persons with disabilities, etc. (Jane 2021). When I asked my participants about their perceptions about

women in the police service and whether there is solidarity or division amongst women police officers, most women in the study noted that some women police officers internalize the masculine, hierarchical culture of policing such as “stoicism, aggression, and competition” (Bikos 2016: 12) by competing and sabotaging other women for job promotion. Chloe (white, LGBTQ2SIA+) explained how there’s a “*catty culture*” between women officers due to the ranking structure of the organization “*The only thing I think I found personally in my career is and I don't know if it's with any other organization, is kind of sometimes there's a bit of a catty culture between women, because our organization is based on kind of that, again, that promoting that promotion culture a little bit that ranking structure. So are some women say kind of throwing another woman under the bus to try and get ahead of them or outshine.*”

Women also claimed that women officers in supervisory and leadership positions tend to abuse women officers in lower ranking positions, especially constables and new trainees. Brooklyn (white) provided an example of a time she witnessed a senior women supervisor harass a women constable officer by throwing objects at her on parades, advising her to quit working for the police service “*This female supervisor was doing everything she could get this constable to quit the job. She's throwing pens at her on parades, she was saying you don't you can't write a report, you're shit, you should leave, nobody likes you. They're just terrible, terrible things. And, and so it was like emotional and a little bit of like, workplace violence, but it was like definitely emotional harassment, from my superior to subordinate.*” After witnessing the incident, Brooklyn assisted the individual in navigating the incident by seeking for advice from the organization. When Brooklyn and her colleague went to speak to the complaints branch, they immediately denied the allegations, claiming the organization has no issues with the women supervisor and took no further action in investigating the incident “*I witnessed it and helped her navigate it by going to like*

harassment advisors and trying to figure out what to do because we actually went to the chain of command and they said, oh, we don't have an issue with this person. They did nothing about it."

Amelia (Black) has heard numerous stories of lateral violence amongst women officers and new recruits. She said she has a good relationship with the women in her squad, except for a few women *"I've had some I've heard some horror stories, like some women can be really rough to the recruiters and I luckily, my squads there's not that many of us.....at the beginning, there were a bit bitchy. But, I broke her down. Like, it was all good. Yeah, so sometimes it can be really toxic for some females, but I luckily wasn't one of those women. I have a good relationship with the women I work with."*

Charlotte (Black) described a time when she experienced lateral violence from a women officer in her unit. The conflict arose because the women officer, who was new to the unit, has a *"social work"* policing style, whereas the unit adapts a more law enforcement approach to doing police work *"so she comes from the opposite end of like, it's heavy, like, heavy social work, that's been her past, and then we're, we've been more enforcement. So, it seems like she just is angry at us for doing our job, because that's what we've been is enforcement."* When Charlotte tried to address the situation by having a conversation with the officer, the women started acting aggressive, blaming Charlotte for the conflict:

"Okay, can we just chat, and it was like, instantly, her demeanor change her body language changed and she was defensive and confrontational and instead of talking about, like work professional side of it, she essentially told me personally, that I'm not wanted in the branch that I'm a problem that I need to leave, that everyone's talking about me behind my back... And, you know, she's only been with us for a month, and now she will never talk to this person, again, probably isn't going to be completely open to learning because it's all coming from this person

who just know, essentially, to her, and turn it for me having what I thought would be a professional conversation to a personal attack on me. That's what I look at is, I guess, workplace violence is trying to be a bully, essentially what she did."

Women in the study noted how lateral violence is a major problem in police culture because their male colleagues tend to create a ranking structure amongst women in the police organization. Mackenzie (white) described how male officers put women officers in a gendered hierarchy by comparing women officers to other women, and not men in each squad:

"There's, there's, there's pockets that are close. I think that like I have, you have your key women in your in they've bonded with throughout your career, and I have lots of different groups of women that I bonded with. But there's also there's also a lateral violence that does occur and competition. Because ultimately, I think that the men actually, what is the right word? They unconsciously put us in a ranking structure, right, so it's like you are the best female on the squad or she's the worst female in the squad. So then females ultimately end up feeling like they're in competition with each other always. Because you're, you know, you're always being compared to the fellow female, not to the rest of the males." The example Mackenzie provides above illustrates how some women stand in solidarity among women officers (Murray 2021). However, the majority partake in some form of lateral violence because they view women officers as a threat to advancing their career and membership in the "dominant Brotherhood culture" (Sanders, Gouweloos, and Langan 2022: 10).

Discussion

This chapter discusses my findings on police culture and workplace violence among women police officers. My data reveals that Black women, white women, and white LGBTQ2SIA+ women officers witness and experience three types of workplace violence: physical

violence; bullying, harassment, and intimidation; and lateral violence. By focusing on the intersection of race, gender, class and other social structures, intersectionality provides a theoretical framework for understanding how individuals experience social inequality (Collins and Blige 2020; Crenshaw 2017). Rather than studying police culture and workplace violence among women police officers as a homogenous, undistinctive issue (Kelloway and Perrott 2006), an intersectional lens argues that women police officers are subjected to various forms of workplace violence in policing due to whiteness, racism, sexism, homophobia, transphobia, xenophobia, and other structural inequalities in police culture (Bikos 2022; Collins and Blige 2020; Crenshaw 2017; Hasan 2021).

Crenshaw (1991) originally used intersectionality to address the barriers non-intersectional anti-violence intervention policies have on addressing violence against women of colour. When it comes to addressing workplace violence in police organizations (Kelloway and Perrott 2006), solutions to addressing violence cannot be through a monolithic approach but instead should consider analyzing how race, gender, class, sexuality, among other systems of power (Collins and Blige 2020), shapes women police officers experiences of workplace violence in police organizations. In chapter 4, I discuss my findings on racism in police culture.

CHAPTER 4

Racism, Colourblindness, and Police Culture in Canada

Abstract

Despite the plethora of research on racism in policing, little is known about how police officers perceive racism in police culture. Based upon 16 interviews with women police officers from a police organization in Alberta, this study examines women police officers perceptions of racism in police culture. My results demonstrate that anti-Indigenous, anti-Black racism and xenophobia is a major problem in police culture. Officers often say racist jokes on-duty and in the office. Participants report that officers physically abuse, harass, and racially profile Indigenous peoples, including those experiencing homelessness. Participants also discussed how anti-Black racism in police culture creates racial tensions between the police and the Black community, especially regarding the way police organizations investigate Black homicide victims. Although white women were more likely than women of colour and white LGBTQ2SIA+ women to acknowledge systemic racism in Canadian policing, they often used colourblind ideologies to justify or minimize the existence of racism in police culture.

Keywords: Racism, Colourblindness, Police Culture, Intersectionality, Qualitative Research

Introduction

The recent deaths of Black and Indigenous peoples in the United States and Canada by the police have raised serious concerns about the relationship between the police and people of colour (Cobbina-Dungy and Dolores-Brown 2021; Samuels-Wortley 2021; Steinmetz, Schaefer, and Henderson 2017). Research based in the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom have proven that people of colour, especially Black and Indigenous people have less confidence in the

police than their white counterparts and are disproportionately subjected to police use of force, traffic stops, carding, police raids, and arrests (Bundy 2019; Comack 2012; Cobbina-Dungy 2021; Duhaney 2021a, 2021b; Greene, Urbanik, and Yankey 2021; Mariam and Wilder 2014; Palmater 2016; Samuels-Wortley 2019; Sethuraji et.al 2019; Owusu-Bempah and Wortley 2011; Wortley and Owusu-Bempah 2022). Despite the abundance of research on racism in policing, little is known about police officer's perceptions of racism in police culture (see Satzewich and Shaffir 2009). Based upon 16 interviews with women police officers from a police organization in Alberta, in this chapter I discuss my findings on women police officer's perceptions of racism in police culture.

Findings

Participants in this study generally acknowledged the existence of racism in Canadian policing. White women in the study, more often than women of colour acknowledged systemic racism in policing, often attributing the problem of racism to the policing organizations, the court system, and other social institutions such as healthcare (Dunbar and Holbrook 2022). Sarah (white) claims that systemic racism is embedded in Canadian police organizations, as well as in our healthcare agencies and legal institutions *"I think there's definitely like, I agree, I understand it's just about systemic racism. And that comes from history. And I do think that it's in our agencies and healthcare agencies in the court system. So, I believe like systematic racism exists."* Nora, (white, LGBTQ2SIA+), said systemic racism in Canada policing exists due to old policies designed by white men *"To say it doesn't exist, I'd be remiss to say that we don't have systemic racism. Yeah, it's built into [our system], Oh, like I said, the old policies and the way things are done, and the way things were determined by a group of white men, many, many, many years ago before you and I came to this world. And as we come across it, we just have to acknowledge it,*

and try and change.” Mackenzie (white) described how the history of colonization is entrenched in the ranking structure of policing organizations:

“Well, I think that we have things that exist in our organization that people don't even realize exists, like people don't even want to correlate the fact that because of old colonialism, that's the deepest roots of racism, is a reason why we have the uniforms that we have, right, the rank structure that we have. That's what actually got us to wear the uniform that we have. So, the whole system in itself, just the uniform we have, right? I get that there's a perfect purpose to it. I'm not saying oh, we shouldn't be in uniform. But there's, there's a history of racism within the structure just even in the court process. Right. And there's go down the court, the court aspect or not, but just trying to think of specific examples that go beyond just uniform stuff.”

Most women of colour in the study believe racial bias/overt racism in Canadian policing exists. Amelia (Black) said that police officers often have racial bias towards certain communities *“I think a lot...some people say there's no racial bias, which is total B.S. I think lot of these people do have bias, unfortunately deal with certain populations more often than others.”* Charlotte (Black) believes overt racism exists due to ignorance and the lack of educational awareness on racism in general *“I think on a global perspective that there's overt racism for sure. I think there's definitely no tolerance for it I think that there's definitely strides that can be made to address it better or educate better or recognize when it does happen yeah I think if I noticed that it's happened it's usually more so based on an uneducated opinion or not knowing or not being made aware otherwise I guess so more like closed mindedness rather than seeking out or wanting to learn or get a perception or be informed.”* Overall, women of colour attributed the problem of racism in

policing to individual behaviour rather than policing institutions or organizations (Dunbar and Holdbrook 2022).

Racist Jokes

Participants reported witnessing their colleagues make racist jokes while on-duty. Amelia (Black), has witnessed officers jokingly call each other ‘Jihadists’, mocking the Muslim community *“There’s some people that would just jokingly greet themselves by screaming, “Jihad” and making gunshots and I was like “what the hell.” So inappropriate. First of all, there are some certain things that are said that are very inappropriate.”*

Sophia (Black) noted that officers regularly say racist jokes that are at times targeted towards Indigenous peoples *“sometimes there's jokes, there's always, there's always going to be jokes that some members make that are racially, you know, kind of sprinkled with a bit of racism, not necessarily directed to me, but maybe to indigenous people,”* Caitlin (white, LGBTQ2SIA+) said officers often say racist police jokes in the office. *“In our typing room, there's all sorts of racial jokes and stuff that are said all the time. And you know, people there not aware of who's around them. And, you know, just a very just making jokes about very racially stereotypical inappropriate stuff.”* Overt racist language and racially stereotypical comments about people of colour negatively affect the way officers interact with marginalized communities (Cashmore 2001; Perez and Ward 2019). Officers use racist jokes to normalize racist police violence, which helps maintain white supremacy in police culture (Perez and Ward 2019). Police culture builds solidarity among police officers (Waddington 1999) but at the same time, normalizes racism towards people of colour by circulating racist jokes throughout the ranks of the police organization (Reiner 2010; Perez 2022).

Canadians often believe that racism in Canada is far less detrimental than the United States (Etoroma 2020). Some participants reveal they've seen officers say racist jokes at work and yet believe, however, that racism in Canadian policing is different than the United States. Rachel (white) claims that the ongoing police violence against people of colour, especially black people, in the United States is not a reflection of racism in Canadian policing:

“So, I think there is racism in the police Service. But I knew I feel like it's less I don't know how to explain this. I see what's happening in the states and how they're like targeting, like black people, and like people of color there. And I believe that's happening. Like I fully believe that it's happening. I feel like they have like such ingrained bias that they are scared when they encounter like someone of a different race, because we've just been told that their whole life. I feel like the racism here [Canada] is different than that, like, I feel like it's more of like, like, just as socially unacceptable, like, like joking or commentary kind of thing. Like I have not seen personally, a member treat someone disrespectfully at a call based on their race or like how I've perceived it like to be different than they would treat someone who is white, or of the same race as them. Like, I've never experienced that. But I've definitely experienced racist like banter and stuff like that if that makes sense. Yeah. Or like, and also like biased commentary. So, like, you know, yeah, like improper language, politically incorrect commentary, bias, stuff like that, but I have not experienced what I would perceive as like a difference in service.”

Rachel said she has never witnessed any officer treat an individual they encounter on-duty poorly because of their race. She has instead witnessed officers say racist jokes and inappropriate comments, which she believes is socially unacceptable in police agencies. Canadian police organizations often label racist police violence, especially anti-Black and anti-Indigenous police

violence, as an American problem, reinforcing the myth that Canada is an inclusive and welcoming country that is not affected by racist-colonial police violence (Etoroma 2020; Glasbeek, Alam and Roots 2020; Maynard 2017; Samuels-Wortley 2021). Canadian police agencies obscure the reality of systemic racism in policing by promoting racial diversity policies to present Canada as a place where racism is unheard of (Samuels-Wortley 2021).

Anti-Indigenous Racism

Canadian police organizations over-police Indigenous communities, often resulting in racist-colonial violence, criminalization, injury or even death and when Indigenous people call the police for assistance, they receive little to no protection (Carlton 2022; Comack 2012; Monchalin 2016; Reece 2020; Rudin 2007). Indigenous peoples are over-represented in both the criminal justice system and in the homeless population (Clark 2019; Uppal 2022). Participants noted witnessing their colleagues commit acts of racism towards Indigenous peoples, especially those experiencing homelessness. Charlotte (Black) worked in downtown and residing Inner-city neighbourhoods for some time. While she was working in downtown, she witnessed a fair number of officers act disrespectful to Indigenous peoples experiencing homelessness:

“I think the biggest thing I’ve seen is working in downtown and seeing you know certain members that I’ve worked with just be completely disrespectful to homeless to people that I mean. It’s a fine line, because I mean, there disrespectful to us a lot of times too. But I think that we know better. And when you know better you have, there’s an expectation that you do better. And I don’t think we’re ever going to repair any of that, unless we take the first step, so I think being the way some of those members treat some of its indigenous communities, some of the homeless, many downtown was very frustrating and very disappointing. And yeah, I think just the way they treated them physically, emotionally,

when they were dealing with some of them in different situations, but yeah, in a general basis, I would say that for sure.”

Chloe (white, LGBTQ2SIA+) shared a similar narrative. Chloe worked in predominantly Indigenous neighbourhoods at the beginning of her career. During that time, members of her squad held a lot of racist and derogatory perceptions about Indigenous peoples experiencing homelessness. Officers often labelled Indigenous peoples experiencing homelessness as the “*scum of society who are kind of helpless*” and would pepper spray and tear down their tents:

“And I'm gonna say I've mostly experienced it with indigenous populations, especially at the start of my career. And just being like, my, my perception and what I first thought was like a lot of indigenous people there have, there was a lot that time I was there, there was some support resources in the area. So we'd get a lot of homeless, we get a lot of drugs, we get a lot of drinking, a lot of drug use a lot of camps and I'd say the mentality of say the squad and the crew that I was on was that they were just kind of like that feeling of like the scum of society who are just kind of helpless, and let's go use pepper spray on their tents and rip down their tents, and not focus on getting them the resources and the help. And it's just, that was not happening. And I that's what I think I feel I was exposed to and went with for the first six years of my career, until I started to gain some more awareness.”

My findings reveal how police culture affects the way police officers treat Indigenous peoples experiencing homelessness (Friestadt 2014, 2016). The problematic assumptions police officers have about homelessness contributes to the racialized policing of Indigenous peoples in public spaces (Comack 2012; Freistadt 2014, 2016; Monchalin 2016; Palmater 2016). Police organizations and by-laws maintain racial hierarchies in urban, suburban, and rural communities by over-policing and displacing Indigenous peoples experiencing homelessness into vulnerable,

socio-economically disadvantaged spaces (Freistadt 2014). As a result, Indigenous peoples experiencing homelessness get targeted by the police and subjected to physical violence, Anti-Indigenous racism, and harassment (Kauppi and Pallard 2016).

Amelia (Black) recalled a time when she met a 40-year-old Indigenous man who is a residential school survivor. As the Indigenous man started talking about his experiences of residential schooling, her officer colleagues immediately denied his experiences, claiming he was “*too young*” to be in the residential school system:

“I definitely have come across. Sometimes it's like, certain times are worse than others. I don't know why? But I always do say that, unfortunately, it's the Indigenous community. I feel like that gets a lot of the bias in the police force. Because that's the majority. That's the biggest group that we deal with. Like, oh, like, they'll just kind of play. I think one time, it's a common emphasis. Some guy was like, "when I was residential schooling", and whatnot. And then some people were just like, oh as if, he's only like, 40 something years old. And he was just, like, be you know, like, the last residential schooling like closed in 96. You can just like, you know, dismiss people. I don't think it's a reason for us to you know, to discredit anyone's experience or struggles that they went through because it just makes them feel shitty.”

Canadian police organizations have a tendency of denying the role they played in establishing the residential school system (Chung 2011). The residential school system operated from the 1880s until 1996 (Hanson, Gamez and Manuel 2020). The system forcibly removed Indigenous children from their families and prohibited them from practicing their Indigenous language and culture (Hanson, Gamez, and Manuel 2020). Children were subjected to physical and sexual violence for speaking their Indigenous language (Hanson, Gamez, and Manuel 2020).

Residential school survivors remember “being beaten and strapped; some students were shackled to their beds, some had needles shoved in their tongue for speaking their native languages” (Hanson, Gamez, and Manuel 2020: 3). The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) forcibly removed Indigenous children from their home and threatened to arrest Indigenous parents who refuse to send their children to residential schools (LeBeuf 2011). The RCMP helped Indian Agents and churches in searching and returning Indigenous children who attempted to escape and when there was evidence of physical and sexual abuse in the residential school system, the RCMP never investigated the incidents (LeBeuf 2011). Canadian police organizations played an important role in protecting the interests of the white settler colonial state (Comack 2012; Monchalin 2016; Nettlebeck and Smandych 2010).

When I asked how police culture affects the way officers interact with members of the public, Sarah (white) talked about a time when one of her trainers racially profiled five Indigenous people in a vehicle: *“I was with one of my trainers and he saw a car of five Indigenous people in the car, and he said, “we should pull them over.” I said, why? And he's like because there's five Indigenous people in the car. So again, that's not a reason to pull someone over.”* One of the passengers ended up being charged with impaired driving, but Sarah (white) believes that officers have no right for pulling over a passenger because of their race: *“In conclusion, it actually turned out that one of them was drinking and driving and you know, he got an impair charge. Did the end justify the means? I don't know. Technically, like, that's not a reason to pull them over just because they're Indigenous.”* The example Sarah provides about the suspicion her trainer had about Indigenous passengers in the vehicle illustrates that police culture is embedded in settler colonial and racialized policing practices such as stop and search and use of force (Monchalin 2016; Palmater 2016; Owusu-Bempah and Gabbidon 2021). Police culture socializes officers to be

suspicious about the Indigenous community (Skolnick 1966), an approach that leads them to develop racist stereotypes about Indigenous peoples' behaviours and appearances as indicators of committing crime (Bell 2018; Wortley et.al 2020).

Anti-Black Racism

Similar to the police killings of Black people in the United States and United Kingdom, Black communities in Canada have for many years expressed concerns about anti-Black racism in Canadian policing and its racialized policing practices, such as carding and use of force (Wortley and Owusu-Bempah 2022). Black-led social movements, from the Black Power movement, the Black women's movement to the Black Lives Matter movement, continue to spread more awareness about the dehumanizing treatment of Black people by the police (Cobbina-Dungy and Jones-Brown 2021). Participants discussed the racial tensions between the police service and the Black community. Chloe (white, LBGTQ2SIA+) said the Black community and the local Black Lives Matter organization don't have a good relationship with the police. The racial tensions between the police and the Black community, especially the Black Lives Matter movement, Chloe claims, has affected the way officers police the communities: *"It's just there's been I feel this double-sided pushback from the membership against the communities just feeling like all these communities. These underrepresented groups are the black community they are Black Lives Matter group they hate police and that kind of throws barriers up with the members."*

Amelia (Black) talked about how anti-blackness in policing negatively affects the relationship between the police and the Somali community. She said the Somali community don't have a good relationship with the police, especially when it comes to addressing the prevalence of gun violence amongst young Somali youth: *"I don't know how much you know about the Somali community and the police force here; they don't have great relations. And in our community,*

unfortunately, we have a lot of gun violence. And it's the young youth males. And so, there's a lot of stress between the police as well as the community.”

Participants also discussed the Somali community’s relationship with the police regarding homicide investigation. Brooklyn (white) recalled having a meeting with a member of the Somali community to address certain issues members of the community have with the police and the way police officers investigate homicide victims. To show racial representation at the meeting, Brooklyn invited two racial minority detectives to the zoom meeting *“a member from the Somali community was on the call. And after that, I reached out to him and I said, you know, if there's anything that we can do better in homicide, and I brought both my bipoc members to the zoom meeting, too, because I want him to know, like, we're not all like white cops in homicide, right.”*

Brooklyn informed the Somali community member during the meeting that families of homicide victims, irrespective of race, do not cooperate with the police during the investigative process:

“And so they both spoke about it. And I think it was a really good learning day for all of us to say that some of the things we said in this meeting were like, well, we find that sometimes when we're investigating, like, for instance, a Somali member, community member who is dying, we find that the family members are uncooperative with us because they don't trust us. And then what he said was, “well, how do you find the white people? We would like to know that.” Like, how do you find the white families who are like, oh, well, we find them uncooperative as well sometimes. And he's like, exactly.”

Brooklyn goes on to argue that families of homicide victims, including those from the Somali community don’t cooperate with the police because of their criminal behaviour. She claims that race and racism is not factor in tensions between the Somali community and homicide

detectives. She further states that the witnesses of the victims don't cooperative with the police, regardless of race and ethnicity:

“So, it's not that the Somali community is being uncooperative a lot of people that are involved in criminal lifestyle. Right, so the actual intersection is not the race the intersectionality there is the criminal lifestyle. So, there's a lot of people in a criminal lifestyle that end up getting murdered because of their lifestyle, not because they're Somali or east African right there being murdered because they're involved in, and their families are as equally uncooperative with us. And the witnesses are equally as uncooperative with us as a lot of other ethnicities.”

My findings reveal that white women police officers often dismiss the role of race and racism in police work and reinforce racialized stereotypes about people colour and crime (Foster 2008; Welsh, Chanin, and Henry 2021). The perception that Somali, East Africans, and other Black ethnicities are involved in “*criminal lifestyles*” (Brooklyn, white) asserts the idea that certain Black communities, such as the Somali community, are more prone to getting involved in criminal activities than others (Maynard 2017). The *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry* in the United Kingdom found that police organizations often used racist stereotypes about Black people when investigating Black homicide victims (Macpherson 1999). Police culture reinforces racist stereotypes about Black communities, linking Blackness to criminality (Duhaney 2021a; Maynard 2017; Macpherson 1999).

Criminal justice institutions (police, courts, prisons) tend to adapt colourblind strategies for addressing racism in the Canadian and American criminal justice system (Alexander 2012; Samuels-Wortley 2021; Van Cleve 2016). After her meeting with the Somali community member, Brooklyn (white) believes that the best way to improve the relationship between the police and

Somali community is to adapt a colourblind approach (Bonilla-Silva 2022), to homicide investigation, arguing that police detectives should not consider the race of homicide victims, their families, witnesses nor perpetrators when assessing each case:

“So, it was like, so, it seems like a liberal thing, but just like a mindset, check like that, can change so much in how we approach files. So, when I say we treat everyone the same period, everyone's saying I sound like it's like letter. But it's we disagree. Of course, or we know the same morning, however, little things like that make a difference, because it's our mindset, right? It's educating us. And so if we had more connectivity, with people, who could help us do better? And if people instead of criticizing us could say, why don't you try this? I think we could do much better. And I think we're open to that all of us are open to doing better.”

Brooklyn believes that all individuals should be treated the same regardless of race. By ignoring race in homicide investigations, Brooklyn argues that Somali homicide victims, alongside their families and witnesses will be treated the same as everyone else. However, scholars argue that adapting a colourblind approach (Bonilla-Silva 2022) to investigating crimes worsens the culture of racism in policing, which has resulted in the overrepresentation of Black, Indigenous, Latina/o/x, and other people of colour in the American and Canadian criminal justice system (Alexander 2012; Samuels-Wortley 2021; Van Cleve 2016). Policing practices and policies that appear to be race-neutral (e.g., carding, surveillance, zero-tolerance policing) disproportionately target people of colour (Alexander 2012; Welsh, Chanin, and Henry 2021; Wortley and Owusu-Bempah 2011).

Mackenzie (white), like Brooklyn (white) also denied racism in homicide investigation, claiming that the general public don't understand systemic racism in Canadian policing. When she worked as a homicide detective, she argues that race was never a factor in solving homicide cases:

“I think there's definitely a misunderstanding from the public of what systemic racism is. And it's taking a real mental toll on our membership. Because having been in homicide where I've investigated murders of black women, black men, indigenous males, females, at no point and I so I know what it's like to be in a homicide investigation. At no point was it ever a factor, and a lot of families have no idea that I've been in, I've been involved in investigation for 18 hours, and I'm exhausted. And then I see a picture of the person and I had no idea that they were black, or I had no idea they're indigenous, because I'm just doing my job, right? So that can be really frustrating that there's this huge perception that we find out someone's boss. We're just like, going to go home, right? It doesn't even weigh into that.”

Police officers, especially white officers, often deny racial disparities in policing practices (Gordon 2022; Welsh, Chanin, and Henry 2021), arguing that they “don't see color, just people” (Bonilla Silva 2022:1). White women were consistent in their beliefs about police work, arguing that homicide investigation is a “race-neutral practice” (Maynard 2017:86), and therefore believe that racism in police culture has no effect on police investigative practices (Foster 2008; Welsh, Chanin, and Henry 2021).

Xenophobia and Racism

Only a few participants discussed about xenophobia and racism in policing. Amelia (Black) recalled a time when she was responding to a call from a community that has many refugees and

newcomers. She witnessed one of her colleagues shout racist and xenophobic slurs to a group of refugees:

“So, like, I've definitely experienced some things that I've called them out of like, there's one time we were dealing with an incident. It was from a certain community, and a member tried to blame Trudeau for allowing that community into the [country] like refugees, like, blaming refugees. I looked at him and like, excuse me, I was like, that's not why he did what he did is because he's from a certain community, like, that's not how that works. And unfortunately, he just made it, you know what I mean? clearly, it's him as an individual, not for his whole community, that's why it's part of it made no sense. Like, how many people do I deal with? Like, if I dealt with a white person from a white community, like me, do I now blame the whole white community for their actions?”

Amelia's colleague immediately blamed the Canadian government for allowing refugees into the country and not on the individuals criminal offense. Amelia then argued that similar accusations wouldn't had been said about a predominant white community. Racism and xenophobia in police culture is justified by the notion that crime is a result of race, ethnicity, and migration (Bowling et.al 2001).

Discussion

This chapter provides insight on women police officers perceptions about racism and police culture in Canada. Despite decades of intersectionality scholarship on addressing intersectional racism in social institutions, few scholars use the theory to critique whiteness and racial colourblindness (Carbado 2019; Levine-Rasky 2011; Ferber 2007). Intersectionality provides an important framework for analyzing the relationship between gender, whiteness, racial colourblindness and other social structures (Carbado 2019; Ferber 2007). Although most white

women (including LGBTQ2SIA+ white women) in the study compared to women of colour were more likely to acknowledge systemic racism in Canadian policing and police culture, they often used colourblind ideologies (Bonilla-Silva 2022), to justify or minimize the existence of racism in police culture. White women often reinforced the myth that racism in Canadian policing is more subtle than the United States (Etoroma 2020). Such assumptions reinforce the notion that racist police violence is only an American problem (Glasbeek, Alam, and Roots 2020; Maynard 2017; Samuels-Wortley 2021). White women consistently denied racism in homicide investigation, arguing that policing is a “race-neutral practice” (Maynard 2017:86). Examining the intersections of whiteness, gender, sexuality, racial colourblindness and other social structures further unravels the ongoing problem of racism in Canadian policing institutions (Carbado 2019; Levine-Rasky 2011; Ferber 2007). In chapter five, I provide a summary of the study’s limitations, and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

Intersectionality was historically established by women of colour activists and academics who advocated for liberation from oppressive social structures such as racism, coloniality, patriarchy, queerphobia, among others (Collins and Blige 2020). Intersectional feminists argue that rather than seeing various social justice issues such as incarceration as separate from social categories such as race, gender, and class, intersectionality asserts that racial inequalities in prisons, for example reveal how intersectional systems of power marginalize women of colour, men of colour, LGBTQ2S1A+, immigrants, etc (Collins and Blige 2020; Collins 2019; Crenshaw 2017). In addition, intersectionality also provides an important framework for understanding whiteness, white racial power, and race privilege (Carbado 2019; Ferber 2007; Levine-Rasky 2011). Whiteness allows white people, including white men, white women, and other gender identities to gain access to more power and privileges in various social institutions that wouldn't otherwise be given to people of colour (Ferber 2007). Critical race and Intersectionality scholars argue that many race scholars often fail to analyze the relationship between whiteness and intersectionality, resulting in treating whiteness as an invisible, taken-for-granted source of power that oppresses people of colour (Carbado 2019; Ferber 2007).

This research study provides insight into how race, gender, class, sexuality, and other structural inequalities (Crenshaw 2017; Collins 2019), affect women police officers perceptions and experiences of police culture. Although I conducted an intersectional analysis on police culture, this study has limitations. A limitation of the study is the small sample size (16 women officers) and lack of racial diversity among the participants. Although women of colour only represented 25% of the sample (4 out of 16), they provided important insight on police culture.

LGBTQ2SIA+ officers only comprised of 25% of my sample and all of them were racially white. I focused on the experiences of women officers from only one police organization in Alberta. My findings on police culture from this organization may or may not reflect the culture of other policing organizations in Canada. My study did not include white men, men of colour, persons with disabilities, LGBTQ2SIA+ men, and non-binary police officers. Future research on intersectionality and police culture should build upon this study and include white men, men of colour, LGBTQ2SIA+ men, non-binary, and persons with disabilities. By doing so, researchers can employ the intersection of race, gender, masculinity, whiteness, disability, sexuality, and other social structures that don't receive as much attention in intersectionality research (Carbado 2019).

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APPENDIX A

Interview Guide

Interview Questions

History and Biography

1. Can you tell me a bit about yourself? As much or as little as you like.
2. What is your racial background? (Prompt for Indigenous background: what group do they belong to?)
3. How long have you been a police officer?
4. Have you worked for any other police agencies?
5. What inspired you to become a police officer?
 - Who encouraged/discouraged you?
 - What did you do prior to becoming a police officer?
6. What was your training and hiring experience like?
 - How did you prepare for the training and hiring process?

Division of Tasks

7. What is your current rank and position?
8. What are your roles and responsibilities assigned in your current position?
9. How are the tasks and responsibilities divided amongst you and your colleagues?
10. What do you like most about working as a police officer?
11. What do you like least about working as a police officer?
12. What unique skills and qualities do women police officers offer to the police service?
 - What unique skills and qualities do women police officers from diverse backgrounds offer to the police service?

Occupational Culture

13. What are your perceptions about the women in the police service? Is there a close solidarity between women, or is it divided?
14. How does the work environment affect women police officers like yourself?

15. What barriers do women face in policing?
-What barriers do women of colour face in policing?
16. In wake of the Black Lives Matter/Defunding the police movement, how does the current political climate affect officers like yourself?
17. What are your perceptions about racism in the police service?
18. Can you describe to me any experiences you've had where you felt uncomfortable or unsafe around your colleagues?
-How often would this happen in a week/month/year?
-Did you ever report the incident to your supervisor?
19. Have you been treated unfairly or discriminated against in the police service? If so, can you give me some examples?
20. Have you ever been harassed (emotionally/physically/sexually) in the police service? If so, can you give me some examples?
21. Have you ever witnessed your women colleagues face discrimination in the police service? If so, can you give me some examples?
22. Can you describe to me any challenges or opportunities you've had when it comes to job promotion?

Police-Citizen Encounters

23. How does police culture affect the way officers interact with members of the public?
24. Have you ever witnessed an officer treat a member of the public unfairly?
-Did you ever report the incident to your supervisor?

Transforming Police Culture

25. What strategies should police agencies create to help improve the representation and experiences of women in policing?
-How can police agencies better serve women of colour?
26. What aspects of police culture need to change for women to be more included in the police organization?
28. What roles do women have in transforming police culture?
-What roles do men have in transforming police culture?

Closing

Before ending the interview, is there anything else you would like to discuss about that we have not addressed in the interview? Do you have any questions or concerns regarding the research study?

Thank you for participating in my research study.

APPENDIX B

Recruitment Letter to Participants Intersectional Inequality: An Analysis of Police Culture in a Western Canadian City

Investigator

Manzah-Kyentoh Yankey
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Supervisor

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Hello, my name is Manzah-Kyentoh. I'm a graduate student in the Department of Sociology at the University of Alberta and I'm doing a study on police culture, with a particular focus on women in policing. The findings of this study will be used in support of my master's thesis. The purpose of my study is to provide an intersectional feminist analysis of police culture by examining the unique experiences and challenges faced by women police officers. The findings of this study will be of interest to your police service and other Canadian policing organizations. I hope that the information collected from this study will offer opportunities to examine the workplace climate in which women work and how police organizations may or may not be changing to meet the needs of such members.

More specifically, I would like to ask if you would be interested in participating in my study. I will be conducting in-depth semi-structured interviews (via phone, Zoom) to understand women's work experiences and the challenges they face working in a predominantly white, masculine, police environment. The interview may last up to 60 minutes. This study has been approved by the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Pro00099350.

You can withdraw from the study at any time without any explanation or consequence. To ensure confidentiality and anonymity, the disclosure of personal information and responses from the interview will be kept between myself and thesis supervisor, with your identity being protected, in both my documents, as well as in my MA thesis. Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions. I can be contacted by email at manzah@ualberta.ca or by phone at 204-801-0710.

Thank you in advance!
Sincerely,

Manzah-Kyentoh Yankey
MA Student
Department of Sociology
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APPENDIX C

Information Letter and Consent Form

Intersectional Inequality: An Analysis of Police Culture in a Western Canadian City

Researcher

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Dear Participant

You have been invited to participate in the graduate student research study “Intersectional Inequality: An Analysis of Police Culture in a Western Canadian City” Please read this form carefully and feel free to ask any questions you may have.

Background and Purpose of Study

The purpose of my study is to provide an intersectional feminist analysis of police culture by examining the unique experiences and challenges faced by women police officers. The findings of this study will be used in support of my master’s thesis. The findings of this study will be of interest to your police service and other Canadian policing organizations. I hope that the information collected from this study will offer opportunities to examine the workplace climate in which women work and how police organizations may or may not be changing to meet the needs of such members.

Study Procedures:

I will be conducting in-depth semi-structured interviews (via phone, Zoom) to understand women’s work experiences and the challenges they face working in a predominantly white, masculine, police environment. The interview may last up to 60 minutes.

Benefits:

You will receive no direct benefits from participating.
You may find it enjoyable to discuss your experiences and share your knowledge.

Risks:

Interviewing can be mentally exhausting, and you might feel tired during the interview. We can take breaks whenever you wish. Also, I have ample time, so please do not feel rushed at any point. If you need a snack or a washroom break, please don’t hesitate to let me know. If you feel that you are experiencing undue stress, we can end the interview. I can also direct you to an appropriate

mental health help line if that is something that you might find helpful. There may be limits with using online platforms (via Zoom) in terms of potential breaches of security. To help minimize the risk, the computer used to conduct the interview will be up to date in terms of the security updates, antivirus protection, and firewall.

Voluntary Participation:

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You are free to decline from participating or to answer any question posed to you. You have the right to withdraw your consent to participate in this project at any time (including once the interview is underway) without any consequences. You may request your data be removed up to 14 days after the interview. You will have the opportunity to see the transcript before deciding upon whether to withdraw any of the data.

Confidentiality and Anonymity:

The information that you give me will be kept **completely confidential**. Only myself and my supervisor will have access to this information.

- This research will be used for research publications and conference presentations.
- Your name will not be put on any of the data that I collect. Instead, I will use a pseudonym name. This way, nobody from outside the study will ever be able to tell who you are.
- Your name will never appear in my master's thesis project.
- I will be asking you if I can record your interview. To protect your privacy, I will ask you not to say your name while you are being recorded. The online interviews will only be recorded by audio. No visual footage will be recorded.
- To prevent any unauthorized access to the Zoom meetings, I will create the meeting to only allow you to join. I will do this by securing a log-in meeting ID and password.
- All study documents (for example, consent forms) will be kept in locked filing cabinets in a research office. The transcriptions and audio-files of the interviews will be encrypted and kept on a study computer.

Questions:

Please feel free to ask me any questions concerning the research project at any point; you are also free to contact the researchers at the numbers provided if you have any other questions. The plan for this study has been approved by a Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta, Pro00099350. If you have concerns about this study, or questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, you may contact the Research Ethics Office at 780-492-2615. This office has no direct involvement with this project.

Consent to Participate: I have read and understood the description provided and have had an opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered. I consent to participate in this research project, understanding that I may withdraw my consent at any time. A copy of this consent form has been given to me for my records.

Consent

By signing below, I am indicating that I have read and understood the above information, and that I consent to participate in this research project. You can send a copy of the signed consent form to manzah@ualberta.ca

1	Do you agree to participate in the interview today?	Yes	No
2	May I tape-record the interview?	Yes	No

I, _____, have read the participant this form, offered her the opportunity to ask questions.

Date: _____ Signature: _____

APPENDIX D

Mental Health Resources

Mental Health Helpline

1-877-303-2642 (24/7)

Access 24/7

Call 780-424-2424 for adult addiction and mental health access 24/7

Canadian Mental Health Association

DISTRESS LINE: 780-482-HELP (4357)

Mental Health Counselling

Homewood Health Clinic

<https://homewoodhealth.com/clinics/ptsd-trauma-addiction-depression-treatment-edmonton>

Momentum Walk-In Counselling

<https://www.momentumcounselling.org/>

Edmonton Counselling Services

<https://edmontoncounsellingservices.ca/>

Community Counselling Centre

<https://www.communitycounsellingcentre.ca/>

LifeRoots Counselling Services

<https://liferoots.ca/>

The Centre for Cognitive Behavioural Therapy

<https://www.cfcbt.ca/>

Insight Psychological

<https://www.insightpsychological.ca/>

Resolutions Psychology

<https://www.resolutionspsychology.ca/>