

## Ethnicization of the Police in Canada\*

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**Abstract** — *In this article, the authors carry out a documentary analysis of the stakes and debates surrounding the policies and practices of the recruitment of ethnicized and racialized groups within the Canadian police services. The analysis of the justifications set forth by the proponents of affirmative action in the police services as well as the identification of the questions which have prompted the debates, criticisms and hesitations regarding this policy bring the authors to conclude that the integration of minorized groups in the police services is less concerned with the redressing of inequities than with the development of a new process of racialization.*

**Résumé** — *À partir d'une recension documentaire, les auteures analysent les enjeux et les débats entourant les politiques et les pratiques de recrutement de groupes ethnicisés et racisés dans les services de police au Canada. Les justifications ainsi que les questions soulevées et débattues autour des politiques d'action positive dans les forces de l'ordre amènent les auteures à soutenir que l'intégration des groupes minorisés dans les services de police relève davantage d'un processus de racialisation que d'une politique de redressement des iniquités.*

### **Ethnicization and Policing: Theoretical, Political and Practical Issues**

The political will to recruit ethnicized and racialized groups into the police emerged publicly in 1974 in a report by a task force charged with assessing the policing situation in Ontario. How should we interpret the fact that this concern

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surfaced very shortly after the announcement of the multiculturalism policy, in advance of the implementation of any affirmative action programs in Canada? What are the real issues underlying the recommendations encouraging police departments to become more welcoming to minority groups?

While recognizing that the role or function of the police in a state system is complex, we can say that the police, as an institution, is closely associated with managing social order (maintenance and control), although, as emphasized by Reiner, police activity cannot be reduced to a simple role of guardian of social order, taken in a broad sense.<sup>1</sup> We have already noted elsewhere that the police also contributes significantly to the formation and maintenance of the nation state simply by applying the state's laws. The imposition of a single law is intended to reduce normative and identity-based pluralisms and constitutes an important aspect of political centralization.<sup>2</sup> As an example, we can cite the expanded role of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in the Canadian North. Originally intended to protect Canadian sovereignty against Norwegian and American territorial claims, the RCMP presence also served to integrate the Native people into the nation state. In this way, the forces of law and order were also invested with a national identity.<sup>3</sup>

This parallel with the incorporation of Natives into the nation state leads us to postulate that the rapidity with which the integration of minorities into the police was advocated shortly after the announcement of the multiculturalism policy suggests a similar political project.

The late 1960s were marked by an increased fragility of the nation state's borders under the pressure of emerging Native and Quebec nationalisms and a growing diversification of the immigrant population.<sup>4</sup> In this context, the multiculturalism policy represented an attempt by the state to maintain social cohesion (a nation state) by offering symbolically and structurally to rebuild and reconfigure social relations.<sup>5</sup> Thus, it is plausible to think that the police is being

1. R. Reiner, (1994) "Policing and the Police" in Mike Maguire, Rod Morgan & Robert Reiner, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994) 705.
2. M. Jaccoud, "Le Droit, l'exclusion et les autochtones" (1996) 11:2 R.C.D.S. 217; M. Jaccoud, "Processus pénal et identitaire: Le Cas des Inuit au Nouveau-Québec" (1992) 14:2 Sociologie et sociétés 25.
3. M. Jaccoud, *Justice blanche au Nunavik* (Montreal: Méridien, 1995).
4. Starting in the 1970s, European immigration tended to decrease and give way to immigration from Third World countries.
5. Some interpret multiculturalism as an element of reconstruction of the symbolic system and redistribution of status among the ethnocultural and linguistic groups. See R. Breton, quoted in G. Paquet, "Multiculturalism as National Policy", 5th International Conference on Cultural Economics, Studio of the National Arts Center, Ottawa (1988) [unpublished]. Others see it as a regulation of the collective goals and interests of minority groups. See Daiva Stasiulis, quoted in Paquet, *ibid*.

invited not so much to reflect diversity as to take part in the process of redefining the new ideological parameters of the nation state.<sup>6</sup> To lend legitimacy to this redefinition, the state has chosen to use a political lever, the police, which is asked to reflect that which the state is supposed to redefine. An equation rapidly emerges: managing diversity means integrating it into one's institutions.

Further, the issues underlying the policy of integrating minorities into law enforcement services are not just a matter of political allegiance to multiculturalism ideology: we see also, and perhaps primarily, an attempt to find ways of reducing racial tensions and increasing the effectiveness of police work in a society whose multicultural character is beginning to be recognized. Consequently, not only must the nation state be redefined, but some control must be maintained over the sociostructural consequences (in terms of social conflicts) of the presence of a "third national force,"<sup>7</sup> that is, the immigrant populations, in the national mosaic. Thus, the inclusion of minority groups may correspond to the pacification practices used by Anglo-Saxon colonizers in their colonies to establish and maintain the power of the metropolis. Haveman believes that the indigenization of social control in Canada constitutes the contemporary form of pacification used to "support the new pattern of domination";<sup>8</sup> further, he maintains that this policy contributes to the widening of the penal net and promotes the overcriminalization of Natives.<sup>9</sup> The parallel between the consequences and underlying issues of indigenization and those of the ethnicization of policing is very telling. We will see that the inclusion of minorities in police forces is recommended, among other reasons, because of the belief that police officers coming from the community which they serve, that is, which they control, will be, owing to their "attributes," better able to infiltrate "their" community and thus help improve the performance and effectiveness of the organization for which they work. This idea merits further study and should be tested against analyses of empirical data.

In addition to these issues, disconcerting for those who believe in the power of affirmative action programs in correcting and reducing inequities, we must address the paradox inherent to the integration of diversity. The policy of integrating minorities is based on the desire to integrate diversity in order, we are told, to recognize it. But what diversity is referred to here? A representative

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6. See P. Fitzpatrick, *The Mythology of Modern Law* (London: Routledge, 1992) for his analysis of modern law as intrinsically tied to the idea of nation.
  7. M. Leman, "Le Multiculturalisme canadien" Bulletin d'actualité (Ottawa: Division des affaires publiques and sociales, 1994).
  8. P. Haveman, "The Indigenization of Social Control in Canada" in B. W. Morse & G. R. Noodman, eds., *Indigenous Law and the State* (Dordrecht: Foris, 1988) 71 at 83.
  9. The over-representation of natives in the correctional services has increased since the 1980s, at the time that the State was developing its indigenization policy.

diversity? Representative of what or of whom? Any practice of integration requires a designation, the designation of the Other. Now, designation is not only reproduction, but production, of otherness to the extent that one or several characteristics are selected out of a complex set of statuses and identities. As Eriksen points out, inherent in this process is a difficult empirical question: given that an individual has numerous statuses and identities, when and how do the “ethnic identities become the most relevant ones”?<sup>10</sup> Thus, any designation is necessarily construction of the Other. Similarly, the implementation of affirmative action programs in state institutions of control is based on a preconstruction of groups identified as target groups (women, Natives, visible minorities and ethnocultural groups). This designated (and thus redefined) otherness is then filtered by an organization traditionally recognized for its ethno- and androcentric monolithism. It is here that the real issues and debates regarding the question of integrating minorities are found. For some actors believe that to break up this monolithism, the selection procedure must be modified. For others, modifying the selection criteria means putting into place a less effective filter, one likely to bring less qualified elements into the institution. At the same time, this discourse establishes a racializing equation between incompetence and membership in a minority group.

Aside from the debates ensued by the idea of modifying selection criteria, questions also arise about the degree of police accommodation to cultural diversity, as we shall see. For some, it is clear that the inclusion of minorities meets ideological, political and pragmatic goals which benefit the police organization. In this strategy, the policy of inclusion aims at an image of diversity and gives the minority police officer an instrumental role. Minority officers thus become carriers, not vectors of diversity. They are designated (reconstructed) for and by characteristics such as physical appearance or linguistic skill. On the other hand, the selection principles and practices applied to candidates before their entry into the organization are ideally designed to neutralize characteristics considered incompatible or conflicting with the organizational culture. These two tendencies contradict each other because, for some, the interest in integrating minority members into the police derives specifically from the fact that they are carriers of attributes which can be beneficial for the organization. Integrating persons from ethnicized and racialized groups by expunging certain characteristics would eliminate the effects sought by the integration policy. This debate shows that, whatever the degree of openness to diversity to which the actor aspires, integration of diversity always constitutes integration of a diversity that is recomposed, either by selecting or reinforcing certain attributes (for example, wearing of the

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10. T. H. Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives* (London: Pluto, 1993) at 31.

turban), or by neutralizing them (for example, disallowing the wearing of the turban).

These statements lead us to conceive the policy of integration of minority groups in law enforcement services more as a process of racialization, understood as defined by Miles,<sup>11</sup> than one of reducing social inequality. This means that this policy contributes to the maintenance, production and reproduction, directly and indirectly, of the structuration of the social relations in a way that attributes biological or cultural characteristics to individuals. This attribution produces a community of persons which is supposed to reproduce itself. In the context of policing, this process implies a designation of otherness, that is, the production of a differentiation and a recomposition of the difference through a selection, reinforcement or neutralization of culturalized characteristics.<sup>12</sup>

### **The Inclusion of Racialised Groups in Police Forces: Discursive Stakes and Justifications**

How has the discourse on the presence of ethnicized and racialized<sup>13</sup> groups in police forces been expressed? What are its terms? Has it taken the form of debates? What are the chief rationales used to support the points of view favouring recruitment? Are there conflicting viewpoints in regards to the policy of recruiting these groups? If so, on what are they based? And what are the issues underlying the recruitment policy? By means of a documentary research,<sup>14</sup> we will attempt to give an answer to these impelling questions.

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11. R. Miles, *Racism*. (London: Routledge, 1989) at 11.

12. It should be added that racialization practices consist not only of transforming difference, but also simplifying it. See V. Dominguez, "A Taste for 'the Other': Intellectual Complicity in Racializing Practices" (1994) 35:4 *Current Anthropology* 333.

13. See note 5 for a definition of these terms.

14. The identified documents (66) can be divided into two sub-groups which are more or less equal in terms of numbers: those dealing directly with the question of recruitment of racialized and ethnicized groups into police departments and those dealing indirectly with this question by including it in a more general examination of relations between the police and ethnic minorities. This finding is interesting in itself because it shows that, for at least half of the document production surveyed, the question of recruitment is closely associated with the broader question of relations between ethnicized minorities and the police, in fact becoming one of its components. The authors of the documents vary in terms of status: they include police forces, commissions of inquiry (federal, provincial or municipal) and social scientists. In spite of this diversity of status, the discourse is directed towards two main themes: improvement of relations between the police and the different

The first discursive opening to concerns about the presence of “visible and ethnocultural minorities”<sup>15</sup> in the police force occurred with the inclusion of a recommendation in a report of a task force on policing in Ontario in 1974.<sup>16</sup> This recommendation was made three years after the official launching by the federal government of its policy recognizing the nation's cultural diversity, more commonly known as multiculturalism. Citing the need to transform policing in a societal context described as a “cultural mosaic,” the members of the task force, chaired by E. B. Hale, expressed the desire that the “ethnocultural composition of the police” reflect that of the community. They recommended that “[e]ach police force adopt a deliberate recruiting strategy to bring the ethno-cultural composition of the force roughly in line with that of the community.”<sup>17</sup> More than 25 years have passed since that recommendation was made and we may well ask what has happened since then.

The answer is: not much and a great deal. Not much if we look at statistics showing the composition of police personnel by ethnicized origin. The “representatives” of the groups targeted by the Employment Equity Act, notably “women,” “Natives,” “visible minorities” and “ethnocultural groups” still remain under-represented in the police forces.<sup>18</sup> Not much either if we consider

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minority communities and the practices of recruiting these communities into the police.

15. In the rest of this presentation, we will use the terms “minority,” “racialized” and “ethnicized” to mean that persons from groups called ethnocultural and minorities called visible are subject to an attribution and designation by the majority group and that this categorization, produced in a relationship of power, has the effect of constituting groups which become carriers of differences. See F. Barth, ed., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organisation of Cultural Difference* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969); D. Juteau-Lee, D. “La Production de l’ethnicité ou la part réelle de l’idéal” (1983) 15:2 *Sociologie et Sociétés* 39.
16. Task Force Report on Policing in Ontario, *The Police are the Public and the Public are the Police* by E. B. Hale (Toronto: Department of the Solicitor General, 1974).
17. *Ibid.*, Recommendation 4.2 at 33.
18. The number of police officers identified as members of visible minorities in the police forces in Canada ranges from 0 and 3%. See H. C. Jain, “Recruitment and Selection of Visible Minorities by Selected Canadian Police Forces” (1986) 3:4 *Courants* 13. In 1997, in the Montreal Urban Community Police Department (SPCUM), two percent of officers were members of visible minorities, 7.4% were members of ethnocultural groups and 0.22% were Natives. In the Sûreté du Québec (SQ), in 1988, there were no officers from “minority communities.” See *Comité d’enquête sur les relations entre les corps policiers et les minorités visibles et ethniques* by P. Bellemare (Québec: Publications du Québec, 1988) [hereinafter *Bellemare Report*]. In 1991, the SQ had not yet implemented an affirmative action program. See P. Potvin, “Agent de police et agent de recrutement” (March-April 1991) *Sûreté* 2.

the career path of minority police officers in terms of promotions won.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, since 1974, we have witnessed a steady stream of reports, commentaries, recommendations, inquiries and statements of policy, asserting almost in unison the need to recruit minority “representatives” into the police force.<sup>20</sup>

Respectively three and five years after the tabling of the Hale Report, two other reports, the Pitman Report<sup>21</sup> and the Carter Report,<sup>22</sup> recommended that the Toronto police department recruit individuals from minority groups. In 1980, a task force was established specifically to study the recruitment, training and promotion of police officers from groups termed ethnocultural and visible minorities in Ontario police departments.<sup>23</sup> Four years later, a special committee on “visible minorities,” chaired by Member of Parliament Bob Daudlin,<sup>24</sup> was established on the heels of the Abella Commission.<sup>25</sup> The Daudlin Committee believed that to encourage and facilitate the inclusion of minority communities

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19. Minority police officers were given 1.5% of all promotions between 1984 and 1989. In Toronto, they obtained 2.8% of promotions, while elsewhere in Ontario, they obtained only 1.1% of promotions. The real promotional ceiling is the staff sergeant rank. See Ontario, Task Force on Race Relations and Policing, *The Report of the Race Relations and Policing Task Force* by C. E. Lewis (Toronto: Department of the Solicitor General, 1989) [hereinafter *Lewis Report*]; C. H. S. Jaywardene & C. K. Talbot, *Police Recruitment of Ethnic Minorities* (Ottawa: Canadian Police College, 1990). A survey by Gascon of 24 Canadian police forces showed that visible minorities represent 3.3% of constables, 0.7% of corporals, 0.9% of sergeants, 0.6% of staff sergeants and 0.5% of officers. Canadian Centre for Police Race Relations, *Police Services Survey on Employment of Designated Groups through Employment Equity* by C. Gascon (Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Police Race Relations, 1995) [hereinafter *Gascon*].
  20. However, during the inquiry conducted by Carl Lewis on race relations and police in Ontario, some representatives of cultural communities refused to participate on the grounds that numerous inquiries had been conducted without any real change occurring. See *Lewis Report, ibid.*
  21. Task Force on Human Relations, *Now is Not Too Late*, vols. 1, 2 by W. Pitman (Toronto: Council of Metropolitan Toronto, 1977).
  22. Canadian Centre for Police Race Relations, *Report to the Civic Authorities of Metropolitan Toronto and its Citizens* by G. E. Carter (1979) [unpublished].
  23. Task Force on the Racial and Ethnic Implications of Police Hiring, Training, Promotion and Career Development, *Policing in Ontario for the Eighties: Perceptions and Reflections* by R. Gerstein (Toronto: Solicitor General of Ontario, 1980) [hereinafter *Policing in Ontario for the Eighties*].
  24. Canada, Special Committee on the Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society, *L'Égalité ça presse!* Minutes and evidence, no. 4 (Ottawa: House of Commons, 1984) (chair: Bob Daudlin) [hereinafter *Daudlin Committee*].
  25. Canada, Commission of Inquiry on Equality in Employment, *Report of the Commission on Equality in Employment* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1984) (chair: Rosalie Abella) [hereinafter *Abella Report*].

in police departments, there was a need to adopt an active recruitment strategy, as well as to modify selection criteria, particularly those relating to the dress code and height and weight requirements for recruits.<sup>26</sup> In 1986, the question of recruitment of minorities in urban centers was studied on a national scale.<sup>27</sup> In the late 1980s, the important Lewis Report on race relations and the police in Ontario devoted an entire chapter to the recruitment and promotion of minorities in the police forces.<sup>28</sup> In Québec, it was only with the publication of the report of the Bellemare commission of inquiry on relations between the police and visible and ethnic minorities in the late 1980s, that recommendations were made regarding recruitment of ethnicized and racialized groups.<sup>29</sup> Thus, we see a gap of about 10 years between Québec and Ontario with respect to publication of formal recommendations advocating the recruitment of minority groups.

In a parallel development, the first affirmative action programs were implemented in Canada in 1975;<sup>30</sup> however, it was only during the 1980s that a body of legislation was formed and provided the legal framework of the multiculturalism policy. Since that time, the obligation to recognize diversity has been entrenched in the following laws and policies: the *Constitution Act*,<sup>31</sup> which contains the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*<sup>32</sup> and the *Canadian Bill of Rights*,<sup>33</sup> the *Employment Equity Act*<sup>34</sup> and the *Multiculturalism Act*.<sup>35</sup>

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26. Daudlin Committee, *supra* note 24.

27. Working Group on Policing in Multicultural, Multiracial Urban Communities, *Proposed Guidelines for Recruitment and Selection of Visible Minority Police Officers in Canada*. (Greater Toronto Region) (Toronto: 1986).

28. *Lewis Report*, *supra* note 19.

29. *Bellemare Report*, *supra* note 18.

30. In Québec, affirmative action programs in the Montreal Urban Community Police Department began in 1991.

31. *Constitution Act, 1982*, being Schedule B to the *Canada Act 1982* (U.K.), 1982, c. 11.

32. *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, Part I of the *Constitution Act, 1982*, *ibid.*

33. *Canadian Bill of Rights*, S.C. 1960, c. 44, reprinted in R.S.C. 1985, App. III.

34. In the United States, where the *Federal Equal Employment Act* was adopted in 1972, the integration of minorities into the police began much earlier than in Canada. See P. S. Sullivan, ed., *Minority Officers: Current Issues* (Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland, 1989). The first black police officer was hired in the 19th century and by the 1940s, there were already a certain number of black police officers. See J. Alexander, *Blue Coats: Black Skin: The Black Experience in the New York City Police Department since 1891* (Hicksville, NY: Exposition, 1978); J. L. Kuykendall & D. E. Burns, "The Black Police Officer: A Historical Perspective" (1980) 1:4 *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 4. Moreover, police departments in the United States appear to be reaching a percentage of minority police officers proportional to their representation in the population. See

In general, our analysis of the texts revealed the following: during the last quarter-century, the political will to recruit members of ethnicized and racialized groups has been constantly affirmed and reaffirmed. The idea that these groups should be present and their numbers increased has, as we will see, hardly been put into question or debated. But how do the different actors rationalize the need to encourage the presence of minority groups in law enforcement services? A scrutiny of the arguments is very instructive. We find a multiplicity of reasonings which are very revealing of the issues underlying the policy of recruitment of minority groups into police forces, issues which we will discuss later. In general, the arguments cited to support active recruitment of ethnicized and racialized groups fall under two broad types of thinking, which can be termed intra-organizational logic and extra-organizational logic.

By *intra-organizational* logic we mean that the inclusion of persons from ethnicized and racialized groups is regarded, by certain actors, as a policy and practice from which the police organization itself is likely to benefit. By analyzing the discourse, we have identified several arguments forming part of this type of logic:

1. The *efficiency argument*: Some actors believe that an increased presence of representatives of “ethnic and visible groups” helps improve the effectiveness of the police organization.<sup>36</sup> This argument emphasizes the advantage to be gained by police departments from recruiting persons able to communicate in

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D. L. Carter & A. D. Sapp, *Police Education and Minority Recruitment: The Impact of a College Requirement* (Washington, D.C.: Police Executive Research Forum /Ford Foundation, 1991). In addition, unlike in Canada, studies on the experience of minority police officers have been conducted there since the 1960s. See N. Alex, *Black in Blue: A Study of Negro Policemen* (New York: Century Crofts, 1969); Alexander, *ibid*. This information would lead us to believe that the United States represents the *avant-garde* in terms of integration of minority police officers. However, the integration of minorities does not imply equality in employment. This is precisely what the studies on the experience of these police officers show. For example, at least up to the late 1960s, in certain cities, black police officers were assigned only to black neighbourhoods; they were required to call white police officers when arresting a white person; they “were not allowed access to police headquarters and, at times, were not permitted to attend training programs.” See Kuykendall & Burns, *ibid*. at 8.

35. *Canadian Multiculturalism Act*, 1988.

36. *Bellemare Report*, *supra* note 18; P. Blais, *Address* “Policing for a Pluralistic Society: Building a Network” (RCMP Conference, Ottawa, 28–31 March 1989) [unpublished]

the language of minority groups<sup>37</sup> and to know and understand the religion and culture of the communities served.<sup>38</sup> Some actors also suggest that police performance will be enhanced by the integration of immigrants who, as shown by certain studies, are frequently better educated.<sup>39</sup>

2. The *Control Argument*: In advocating the integration of ethnicized and racialized groups, the proponents of this argument emphasize effectiveness in terms of control. The Bellemare Report foresees that the presence of police officers from minority groups will increase “the effectiveness of police action in neighbourhoods where large ethnic minorities live”.<sup>40</sup> According to this argument, minority police officers will be able to infiltrate criminal circles in minority communities or at least will have easier access to the communities and thus be able to provide information useful for maintaining order and combating crime.<sup>41</sup>

3. The *Prevention Argument*: According to some, segregation on an ethnic or racial basis is a source of conflict in society.<sup>42</sup> Thus, the integration of representatives of ethnicized and racialized groups into police departments would contribute to preventing conflicts.<sup>43</sup> According to Jaywardene and Talbot, the imbalance between the ethnic composition of the police and that of the population it serves leads to a lack of trust between the police and the ethnicized and racialized groups; as a result, ethnic groups “may accept criminal activities as justified reaction to police oppression”.<sup>44</sup> Other actors believe that the knowledge which police officers from minority groups have of their community

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37. Touche Ross & Partners, *A Review of the Recruitment and Selection Systems of the Metropolitan Toronto Police* (report presented to the Metropolitan Toronto Police, 1984) [unpublished]; Blais, *ibid.*

38. Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police (C.A.C.P.), *Police Race Relations: Training Within a Diverse Society* (Ottawa: C.A.C.P., 1993).

39. S. K. Suriya, *The Representation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Police: Employment Equity Beyond Rhetoric* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1992); Gascon \*\*, *supra* note 19.

40. *Bellemare Report*, *supra* note 18 at 149.

41. D. Forcese, “Canada 2000: Race Relations and Public Policy” in O. P. Dwivedi *et al.*, eds., *Conference on Canada's Race Relations Options*. (Ottawa: Canadian College of Police, 1989).

42. Conseil des communautés culturelles et de l'immigration du Québec (C.C.C.I.Q.), *Mémoire sur les relations entre la police et les minorités ethniques et visibles* présenté au Comité d'enquête sur les relations entre les corps de policiers et les minorités ethniques et visibles (Chair: P. Bellemare) [unpublished] [hereinafter Bellemare Commission].

43. F. Niemi, *Address “Policing for a Pluralistic Society: Building a Network”* (RCMP Conference, Ottawa, 28–31 March 1989) [unpublished].

44. Jaywardene & Talbot, *supra* note 19 at 10.

could help them prevent crime and enforce the law among members of their own community.<sup>45</sup>

4. The *Political Argument*: In the view of proponents of this argument, the objective of recruitment is that ethnicized and racialized groups “need to have a feeling of participating in the exercise of power and being part of the police force and, conversely, the police need to have the feeling of being integrated into the community”.<sup>46</sup> According to this argument, the integration of minority groups into the police would:

a) serve as a tool to convince the public that the police has really adopted the multicultural and community police model.<sup>47</sup> “Indeed, community policing cannot achieve its manifest benefits if a police force does not generally reflect the workforce from which it is drawn. For community policing to succeed, the police force must be viewed as a welcoming institution by all racial groups.”<sup>48</sup> According to Gascon,<sup>49</sup> the presence of police officers from minority groups could also increase the credibility of police work with the communities.

b) improve relations between the police and ethnic minorities and help maintain the community's trust in the organization, given that a multicultural police will be better accepted by the public and better able to meet their needs.<sup>50</sup>

c) help counter the assumption that the police is racist by changing the image of the predominantly “white” organization.<sup>51</sup>

5. The *Pedagogical Argument*: According to some actors, the policy of integration of ethnicized and racialized groups can have an educational effect both on minority groups and on police officers belonging to the majority group. The proponents of this argument believe that this policy will help change the image of the police among youth and candidates from ethnicized and racialized

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45. Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police, *supra* note 38; L. Katsuya & D. Goup, *The Royal Canadian Mounted Police: Organizational Culture and Issues: Diversity in Ethnic Representation: Public Image* (Ottawa: Canadian College of Police, 1994).

46. Blais, *supra* note 36.

47. A. Fleras *et al.*, Bridging the Gap: Towards a Multicultural Policing in Canada (1989) 13:3 Canadian Police College Journal 153; *Lewis Report*, *supra* note 19.

48. Lewis, *ibid.* at 68.

49. Gascon, *supra* note 19.

50. *Bellemare Report*, *supra* note 18; Lewis, *supra* note 19; Jaywardene & Talbot, *supra* note 19; Katsuya & Goup, *supra* note 45.

51. Jaywardene & Talbot, *ibid.*; Suriya, *supra* note 39; Katsuya & Goup, *ibid.*

officers from the majority group by diminishing their stereotypes and prejudices. According to Blais,<sup>54</sup> the presence of minority groups in the police would make possible greater understanding and respect between the police and citizens belonging to different cultural communities. Thus, integration is a measure for preventing racism and discrimination.

6) The *Psychosociological Argument*: The policy of integrating minority groups into the police is seen as a factor for reducing the tensions experienced by minority ethnic police officers already in place and for countering or decreasing alienation by creating a positive psychological attitude among visible minority members, given that these tensions can harm the career development of minority police officers.<sup>55</sup>

In parallel with these arguments citing the benefits for the police organization of the policy of minority group integration, other arguments are put forward, based on sociopolitical, economic and legal considerations which we can categorize as *extra-organizational logic*. Among these extra-organizational rationales, we can cite the argument, predominant in the discourse, which states that police departments must reflect the diversity, that is, the “multicultural and multiracial reality” of Canadian society,<sup>56</sup> by “harmoniously integrating the new cultures”, “respecting differences” and “fostering mutual respect and understanding.”<sup>57</sup> Some authors state that integration is justified simply by the need to “correct injustices” and “respect democracy” and we should “eliminate systemic barriers” to encourage recruitment.<sup>58</sup> Others point out that police departments must adopt a policy of integration of minority groups to comply with legislative requirements, in particular, the *Employment Equity Act*.<sup>59</sup> Lastly, some authors are impelled by economic considerations, emphasizing the

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54. Blais, *supra* note 36.

55. Bellemare Report, *supra* note 18; C.C.I.Q., *supra* note 42; Jaywardene & Talbot, *supra* note 19; Normandeau, *supra* note 52.

56. D. Winterton *et al.*, *Symposium in Multicultural /Multiracial Urban Communities* (Ottawa: Multiculturalism Directorate, Secretary of State, 1985); M. Alcindor, *Address* “Policing for a Pluralistic Society: Building a Network” (RCMP Conference, Ottawa, 28–31 March 1989) [unpublished].

57. C.C.I.Q., *supra* note 42.

58. Touche, Ross & Partners, *supra* note 37; Bellemare, *supra* note 18; C.C.C.I.Q., *ibid.*; Jaywardene & Talbot, *supra* note 19; J.-P. Brodeur, *Access to Justice and Equality of Treatment* (Montréal: Centre international de criminologie comparée, 1991); Suriya, *supra* note 18.

59. Niemi, *supra* note 43; Lewis, *supra* note 19; C.A.C.P., *supra* note 38. Canadian legislation obliges corporations benefiting from contracts valued at \$200,000 or more and having at least 100 employees to implement affirmative action programs in employment. These programs are also mandatory in the federal and Quebec public service. See C. McAll, “Discrimination et action positive: de l'irrationalité culturelle à la rationalité collective” in J. Simon-Barouh & P. J. Simon, eds., *L'Étranger dans la ville* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1990) 266.

potential negative effects on productivity if the talents of certain minority groups are not used.<sup>60</sup>

These, then, are the arguments cited to support and recommend the adoption of four main affirmative action strategies in police departments: 1) revising internal selection and promotion criteria and procedures in order to eliminate systemic barriers; 2) modifying information and promotional strategies and campaigns; 3) training and educating the public and police officers already in place and, lastly 4) ensuring the presence and increase in numbers of the groups targeted by the *Employment Equity Act*.

### **The Inclusion of Racialised Groups in Police Forces: Resistances and Sources of Debates**

Although, in the surveyed documents, the need to recruit and to alter the image of a traditionally “male” and “white” organization is shared by a large number of actors, some discordant voices can be heard; at the least, a discourse is discreetly put forward which is less enthusiastic towards the adoption by the police of affirmative action policy. We say discreetly, because no position is stated openly and directly opposing the integration of minority groups into police departments. However, resistance, hesitation and debates are expressed with respect to four specific subjects: selection criteria, expected effects of the redress policy, assignment of ethnicized/racialized police officers and adaptation of the police organization to diversity.

#### ***Selection Criteria***

In most cases, the actors postulate that the policy of recruitment of racialized and ethnicized groups requires (and has required) a modification of conventional selection criteria. This modification takes place at two levels: the level of identity, where the policy relates to selection based on criteria of belonging to a gender or “race,” and at the morphological and physical level, where police departments have abolished weight and height requirements and adapted physical aptitude tests for women. The modification of selection criteria in relation to belonging to a gender or “race” elicits strong reactions. The views expressed by Graham<sup>61</sup> clearly illustrate the position of those who oppose this type of selection. In his report, Graham calls affirmative action a policy of reverse discrimination. Some authors state that what is most important is to

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60. C.A.C.P., *ibid*.

61. C. D. Graham, *L'Action positive dans les services de police: Une volonté politique ou morale?* (Ottawa: Department of the Solicitor General of Canada, 1990).

recruit good candidates, regardless of their "race" and their "colour."<sup>62</sup> The modification of morphological and physical criteria also meets with resistance. Some actors are convinced that this is equivalent to lowering quality standards and would lead to problems inside the police organization. For the Fédération des policiers du Québec in particular, this modification would result in differentiation, because it would encourage the creation of two categories of police officers: one of qualified officers and another of unqualified or less qualified officers.<sup>63</sup> For Graham, such a modification would create tensions among colleagues, arousing hostility in some towards the officers who were selected on the basis of social and political considerations rather than of qualifications. Dunham and Alpert believe that hiring and promotion on the basis of affirmative action would lead to "increased confusion among the department's officers and deterioration of morale," which could result in "diminished feelings of loyalty and trust towards the public service."<sup>64</sup> Graham is convinced that affirmative action is just an ideological and political mechanism intended to win the favour of certain groups. In his view, it is wrong to think that the candidates hired would be spokespersons for their group. He believes that the danger of lowered quality standards is real and that those who dismiss this idea as a myth are doing a disservice to the police, society and the persons hired.<sup>65</sup> Those opposing this view believe that the equation between modification of selection criteria and lowering of standards is a "myth" used as "an excuse for resisting change."<sup>66</sup> According to Lewis, talking about lowering the quality of police officers means assuming that minorities or women are not good enough to be part of the institution. Adjustment of the ethnic composition of the work force requires a modification of selection criteria as part of a policy of eliminating discriminatory standards such as cultural standards. Gerstein and Lewis believe that it is also a myth to think that the inclusion of minority police officers would lead to internal conflicts that would weaken morale and feelings of loyalty to the organization. According to Lewis, "this argument is based on the assumption that most police officers are motivated by selfishness and that any attempt at fairness to others will automatically engender the disaffection of

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62. Fédération des policiers du Québec (F.P.Q.), *Mémoire sur les relations entre la police et les minorités ethniques et visibles* presented to the Bellemare Commission, *supra* note 42; Graham, *ibid*.

63. Fédération des policiers du Québec, *ibid*.

64. R. G. Dunham & G. P. Alpert, *Critical Issues in Policing: Contemporary Readings* (Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland, 1989) quoted in Graham, *supra* note 61 at 10.

65. We have seen that among the arguments used to support the active recruitment of persons from ethnicized and racialized groups is the idea that police performance is enhanced by the educational background of the immigrant population, which some studies have shown to be superior to non-immigrants.

66. *Policing in Ontario for the Eighties*, *supra* note 23; Winterton *et al.*, *supra* note 56; Lewis, *supra* note 19.

the white, male majority.”<sup>67</sup> The proposed policy would not be reverse discrimination, but, as stated by Suriya,<sup>68</sup> an accommodation of difference necessary for achieving equality.<sup>69</sup>

### ***Assignment of Ethnicized and Racialized Police Officers***

In tandem with the question of integration of ethnicized and racialized police officers, another question raised in the documents is whether or not the “ethnic status” of these police officers should be used by the department to assign them to neighbourhoods with high concentrations of ethnicized groups or by integrating them into squads combating the types of crimes for which persons from certain ethnicized groups are over-represented among those apprehended, for example, drug-related offences. Some actors believe that persons belonging to the target groups have characteristics or skills (language skills, for example) which better prepare them to work in certain positions, sections or squads.<sup>70</sup> But others consider the assignment of officers on the basis of their “ethnic status” unacceptable segregation.<sup>71</sup> Some ethnocultural communities also question this practice because they want police officers to be assigned to their neighbourhood on the basis of their qualifications and skill.<sup>72</sup> Andrews also states that some communities prefer to be policed by people who do not belong to their community in order to preserve anonymity, particularly in the case of small communities.

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67. Lewis, *ibid.* at 67.

68. Suriya, note 39.

69. A. Christidis, *Royal Canadian Mounted Police: Strategies in the Recruitment of Visible Minorities* (Ottawa: RCMP, 1992).

70. Alexander, *supra* note 34; Communauté hellénique de Montréal, *Mémoire sur les relations entre la police et les minorités ethniques et visibles* par H. Tsimberis & A. Mitsopoulos, presented to the Bellemare Commission, *supra* note 42; Katsuya, *supra* note 45.

71. Centre de recherche-action sur les relations raciales, *Mémoire sur les relations entre la police et les minorités ethniques et visible* presented to the Bellemare Commission, *supra* note 42; SOS Racisme, *Mémoire sur les relations entre la police et les minorités ethniques et visible*, presented to the Bellemare Commission, *ibid.*

72. A. G. Andrews, *Review of Race Relations Practices of the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force* (Toronto: Metropolitan Toronto Police Services Board, 1992).

### *Adaptation of the Police Organization to Diversity*

The third major subject of debate which we have noted in the literature concerns the question of whether or not police organizations should make efforts to adapt to diversity. Some actors oppose accommodation and adaptation by police organizations to cultural diversity. This is particularly true of the Fédération des policiers du Québec which, in its brief to the Bellemare Commission, declared unequivocally: "While some things may be mandatory as part of certain religions, joining the police force is not."<sup>73</sup> However, others believe that police departments must take account of their members' practices and commit themselves to accommodating these practices by allowing the wearing of external symbols (such as wearing of the turban by Sikhs, for example) or permitting absences from work for religious reasons.<sup>74</sup> According to Forcese: "The uniform dress code, thereby, serves as a basis for disqualification or disincentive, a cultural basis just as height qualifications have long served as a physical basis for disqualification."<sup>75</sup> Other authors, like Suriya,<sup>76</sup> point out that under the law, any restrictions imposed by an organization must be directly related to the duties performed. He wonders to what extent a Sikh's turban would be an obstacle to performing a police duty. And some minority groups believe that the integration of minority groups into the police force should visibly reflect the diversity: "*Composition* of the force for practical reasons, must reflect and *seem* to reflect, visibly, the composition of the larger community"<sup>77</sup> and "emphasis should be placed on not only the representation of minorities but also the presentation of them."<sup>78</sup>

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73. F.P.Q., *supra* note 62 at 28.

74. Daudlin Committee, *supra* note 24; Winterton *et al.*, note 56; H. C. Jain, "Recruitment of Racial Minorities in Canadian Police Forces" (1987) 42:4 *Industrial Relations* 790; Congress of Black Women of Canada, Montreal Chapter, *Mémoire sur les relations entre la police et les minorités ethniques et visibles* presented to the Bellemare Commission, *supra* note 42; Communauté Sikh de Montréal, *sur les relations entre la police et les minorités ethniques et visibles*; Lewis, *supra* note 19.

75. Forcese, *supra* note 41 at 262.

76. Suriya, *supra* note 39.

77. National Council of Jamaicans & Supportive Organizations in Canada, *Mémoire sur les relations entre la police et les minorités ethniques et visibles* by N. E. Alexander, presented to the Bellemare Commission, *supra* note 42 [emphasis in original].

78. National Association of Canadians of Origins in India, Montreal Chapter, *Mémoire sur les relations entre la police et les minorités ethniques et visibles* by S. V. Rao, presented to the Bellemare Commission, *supra* note 42.

***Effects of the Policy***

The consequences and effects of the integration of ethnicized and racialized groups in law enforcement services, particularly with respect to police practices, have been little analyzed or evaluated in Canada. Some authors express doubts or reservations with respect to the effects expected by the policy's proponents. In their view, recruitment would not improve relations between the police and ethnic minorities because the ethnicized/racialized police officers would change under the influence of the organizational culture and their police colleagues. They would become distanced from their community of origin and lose their "ethnic attribute."<sup>79</sup> This "loss of attribute" is perceived as an obstacle to the forging of links by minority officers with their community of origin, which reduces the force of the intra-organizational arguments presented earlier emphasizing the political and practical advantages to the police organization of integrating minority officers. Thus, in the view of some, the dilution of "ethnic attributes" could counteract the effects sought by the proponents of affirmative action policy.<sup>80</sup> For Graham, it is not only incorrect, but detrimental to think that members of minority groups become spokespersons for their group: "This argument amounts to creating a stereotype. It is prejudicial to claim that all individuals of the same colour, same religion or same sex represent their group in thought and action. This is doing exactly the same thing as that for which fanatics are reproached."<sup>81</sup> It should be added that minority groups themselves express certain reservations. They believe that recruitment will not change their perception of the police or help alter their relations with the police because of the organizational culture and internal discrimination, which reduce the chances of promotion for minority police officers.<sup>82</sup> Furthermore, Katsuya<sup>83</sup> reports that some minority police officers are ostracized by the members of their community, who believe that the officers have betrayed them because they serve the interests of the police, not the community's interests. Jaywardene and Talbot strongly criticize the idea that we must recruit minority police officers to improve relations with the public: "The call for the recruitment of members of visible minority groups rests on the assumption that understanding and empathy is possible only from members of one's own ethnic group. Even if it were so, the effect that such recruitment would have on policing would depend on the context in which the recruits from the visible minority groups would be required to

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79. Normandeau, *supra* note 52; Katsuya, *supra* note 45.

80. Forcese, *supra* note 41.

81. Graham, *supra* note 61 at 4.

82. Equal Opportunity Consultants, *A Strategy to Enhance the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force's Profile with Racial Minorities* (Toronto: Equal Opportunity Consultants, 1992)

83. Katsuya, *supra* note 45.

work.”<sup>84</sup> Other authors take a more neutral stance. According to Brodeur, it makes sense to believe that having more representatives of cultural communities in police forces may help reduce tensions between the police and the communities. But in countries where this has been done, relations between the police and minority communities cannot be shown to have improved. Nevertheless, the author believes that “increasing the representation of racial/ethnic minorities in the police forces is an efficient way to heighten their visibility in a positive way and to make them less alien to the larger community. In this way, this measure may become an instrument of integration of not just a few hundred individuals, but of the whole racial/ethnic community to which they belong.”<sup>85</sup>

### Conclusion

This article is not questioning the merits of policies meant to include representatives of ethnic minorities in the public and parapublic institutions. We recognize that our analysis focuses on a particular one, a law enforcement agency. Other studies involving institutions with functions and vocations different from the police's ones would be advisable and useful.

What we have seen in this study is that the police agencies, in their effort to integrate in their ranks people representing the Canadian cultural mosaic are not so much concerned with correcting systemic discrimination and social inequalities as with the service finalities and its mission and functions, which they define as the maintenance or restoration of social cohesion, the appeasement of racial conflicts, the organization's increased productivity, improved performance and image. Of course, there are voices that call for a change in the androcentric and ethnocentric character of the organization. Yet, on the whole, what the discursive analysis of our corpus has shown is that the insertion of minority people in the police does not modify the culture of the organization. The service ends up recomposing on the inside another diversity that causes tensions, breeds racialising relations within, while perpetuating on the outside the control of diversity, thus maintaining racialising social relations.

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84. Jaywardene & Talbot, *supra* note 19 at 18.

85. Brodeur, *supra* note 58 at 70.