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Article abstract

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Recruitment of Racial Minorities in Canadian Police Forces

Harish C. Jain

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Police are frequently the only front line public officials with whom most citizens are likely to interact¹. This is especially so in the case of non-whites, including recent third-world immigrants. Most of their contact with police is in crisis-oriented situations. All too often, they perceive police as insensitive and vested with far reaching and oppressive powers. Police, on the other hand, proclaim their commitment to non-discriminatory law enforcement, contending that their efforts are unappreciated and their motives misunderstood (Hill, 1984, p. 60). Irrespective of where the truth lies, it is important to realize that police attitudes and behaviour are crucial to better community relations. Therefore, in an increasingly multicultural and multiracial society, police have a very special role. Their role is sufficiently special to require that they have a workforce of police officers which reflects the ethno-cultural make-up of the communities they serve in all its diversity².

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1 It is estimated that 80 percent of calls for police service are for non-crime related activities. Police officers deal with the effects of family upheaval, racial discord, youth unemployment and general states of isolation and alienation, HILL, 1984, p. 59). Police, therefore, are both service and enforcement organizations.

2 In the report *Policing in Ontario for the Eighties* (GERSTEIN, 1980) the following statement stresses this point.

«We are all committed to the recruitment of high quality individuals into the police forces of Ontario. We should also be equally committed to ensuring the participation of various racial and ethnic minority groups who, because of history and tradition, have not participated meaningfully in police work in the Province. We do not see these two objectives as being at all incompatible and it is towards these objectives we must direct our concerted efforts.»

The primary objective of this study was to review existing police recruitment and selection policies across Canada and to make recommendations with a view to increasing the representation of visible minorities³ in Canadian police departments as well as to assist the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police (CACP) to improve race relations within their police departments and with the visible minority communities in Canada⁴.

This paper first describes the methodology, then reviews the importance of the recruitment and selection process as outlined in the literature, outlines the findings of the study on police agencies' policies and practices, and analyzes and evaluates these findings.

METHODOLOGY

Fourteen police departments, representing all regions of Canada⁵ and selected by the CACP, all participated in the study. The agencies completed a comprehensive questionnaire; their designated representatives were also

³ The term visible minorities is ambiguous and euphemistic. Essentially, visible minorities are «non-whites» whose origins are in Africa, Middle East, China, India, Pakistan, South East Asia, Japan, West Indies, Korea, Philippines, Latin America and the Pacific Islands. Some of the racial minorities such as Canadians of Chinese, East Indian and Japanese origin and Blacks have been in Canada for several generations. It is relatively recently (since the late 1970's), however, that a majority of new immigrants to Canada have come from third world rather than European countries. Approximately 7 percent of the population (Daudlin, 1984) and more than 4 percent of the labour force (1981 Census) is comprised of visible minorities. In the 14 police departments in this study, visible minority police officers range from 0 to less than 3 percent of the relevant police force. For instance, one police agency had 2.8 percent visible minority police officers, 2 forces had 1.8 and 1.4 percent respectively, 4 departments had less than 1 percent, five had close to zero or none, and the remaining two did not keep any records.

Both recent «non-write immigrants and other non-whites have few role models in key public positions, and in key decision-making positions. Many groups are unjustifiably excluded from the opportunity to compete as equals based on their racial origin or colour, (ABELLA, Oct. 1984). Several studies have reported that the third-world immigrants (relative to other immigrants) experienced higher rates of unemployment, earned less money, and were more frequently unable to find work in their chosen fields, (SAUNDERS, 1975; MARR, 1976; REITZ, 1981; GINZBERG and HENRY, 1985; BILLINGSLEY and MUSZYNSKI, 1985).

⁴ The study was conducted in response to a recommendation that there was a need for increased visible minority representation in Canadian police departments. This recommendation was agreed upon by police and minority participants at the National Symposium on Policing in Multicultural/Multiracial Urban Communities in October 1984 in Vancouver. The symposium was organized and sponsored by the federal Multiculturalism Directorate and co-sponsored by the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police (CACP).

⁵ In Canada, there are three main types of police agencies — the federal police (The RCMP), the provincial police and the municipal police forces. The municipal and the provincial police forces enforce municipal by-laws and provincial laws respectively. The RCMP enforces federal laws in all ten provinces and the two territories. Ontario and Québec are the only

interviewed and provided feedback on the study as well as verified the information contained in the study, both orally and in writing. The study was undertaken between June and October of 1985. The participating police forces were: The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), Vancouver Police Department, Edmonton Police Department, Calgary Police Department, Regina Police Service, City of Winnipeg Police, Metropolitan Toronto Police, Ottawa Police Force, Ontario Provincial Police, Service de police de la Communauté urbaine de Montréal, Québec Police Force, St. Hubert Police, Moncton Police Force, and the Halifax Police Department.

JOB ANALYSIS

A formal, written job analysis is a vital and a necessary element in all recruiting and staffing processes. Job analysis provides information about job behaviours, working conditions, performance standards and knowledge and abilities needed for successful job performance (Schuler, 1981, pp. 113-114).

Job analysis needs to be updated either on an ongoing basis or annually due to time determined changes (such as new technology) and situation determined changes (such as changes in supervision, organization climate, etc.), (Dunnette, 1966).

It is important to use several methods to collect information on jobs. These include observation of present employees' job; interviews with the job incumbents, supervisors and peers; questionnaires, etc. use of several methods helps in checking the consistency and reliability of the information obtained (McCormick, 1976).

Objective, documented job descriptions serve several purposes. They enhance job effectiveness; the employer knows what skills and job behaviours to look for. They contribute to an atmosphere of fairness; all

two provinces that have provincial police forces. In all other provinces, the RCMP acts as the provincial police under federal-provincial contracts, and also as the police of some urban areas under federal-provincial and federal-provincial-municipal contracts, (JULIANI *et al.*, 1984, 1). A survey in 1980 revealed that more than 60 percent of police officers in the public police services were employed by municipalities, 28,725 out of 47,449. In addition, more than 25 percent of police officers employed by the RCMP were engaged in municipal policing, 2,609 out of 10,283; and 401 municipal police forces were autonomous while 195 were RCMP contracted. Thus, the RCMP provided almost half (48.6%) of the municipal policing in Canada. There were no RCMP contracted municipal forces in Ontario and Québec. The Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) with its 4,052 members (GERSTEIN, 1980) polices those areas of Ontario which are not covered by municipal police forces. There were 128 police forces in Ontario including the OPP in 1980 (GERSTEIN, 1980).

candidates and potential candidates know what attributes are being sought. Finally, objective, documented job descriptions satisfy the requirements of law. Job descriptions play a crucial role in the employer's legal compliance with human rights, health and safety and other relevant legislation (Dessler & Duffy, 1984, p. 70).

In our study of the 14 police forces, we found that 8 had job descriptions for the entry-level constable's position. Of the 8 agencies providing job descriptions, 3 undertake the re-analysis of jobs either at least once a year or on an ongoing basis. Seven agencies — half — conduct their job analysis by interviewing the constable's supervisors and the presently employed constables as well as by personal observation.

The fact that close to half (43%) of the agencies do not conduct job analysis is not very encouraging. Even the eight agencies that do have some form of job analysis, only 3 keep it updated. Given the importance of job analysis in hiring and staffing processes, lack of objective knowledge of skills and performance standards could have adverse impact on visible minorities.

RECRUITMENT

Recruitment is designed to locate, identify, and attract individuals who have the basis skills, personal characteristics and motivation to become successful employees. Effective recruitment programs ensure a pool of potential employees in order to meet an organization's requirements. In recent years, societal pressures and human rights legislation have affected the recruitment process. They have resulted in employers having to go out and actively seek job applicants from groups of people, such as racial minorities, who might not otherwise apply for employment because they have been denied such employment in the past. For instance, organizations cannot fill their recruiting needs solely through walk-in candidates or word-of-mouth referrals by friends or relatives on payroll. This can result in systemic discrimination. Even if the employers do not intend to discriminate in recruiting and hiring, their personnel practices (recruiting by word-of-mouth) can result in an adverse effect on visible minorities and others — because all-white or all-male work groups tend to perpetuate themselves.

As Table 1 indicates, 13 of the 14 police forces in our study recruit through high schools, 11 through walk-ins and personal contact with police forces and 10 and 9 respectively through newspapers and employee referrals. High schools, walk-ins, newspapers and employee referral («old boy network, etc.) are traditional channels of recruitment that tend to

perpetuate the existing make-up of police forces which is exclusively or predominantly white (Jain, 1985; *AFT* vs. *CN*, 1984). This employee referral and walk-in applicants approach which is usually spread by word of mouth relies on employees or police officers' contacts with family and friends. Naturally, employees are going to tell members of their own race of job openings. This approach to recruitment tends to exclude members of visible minorities since they are not represented on most police forces in Canada.

Table 1

Recruitment Practices of Selected Canadian Police Forces (N = 14)

<i>Recruitment Sources</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Ranking of Source Utilized</i>
High Schools	13	93	1
Walk-Ins and Personal Contact with Police Forces	11	79	2
Newspapers, Recruitment Brochures, etc.	10	71	2
Employee Referrals	9	64	4

Walk-Ins was cited most frequently (by 10 or 72% agencies) as being successful in generating candidates.

Visible minorities may not apply to police forces because of artificial barriers as noted above, prejudice and the chill factor (*Equality Now!* 1984). The chill factor is the lack of visible minorities as police officers. There is therefore a lack of role models and such persons may not wish to be isolated, and a victim of racial discrimination or harassment.

The other side of the story is that visible minorities may not apply to police forces because of inadequate understanding of the police role, the perception that the police is a repressive force of the State and the White Status quo, and personal knowledge and/or experience of police-minority conflicts.

Whatever the reasons for lack of applications from visible minority candidates, the walk-ins approach should be made supplementary to a more open and out-reach process of recruitment to attract visible minority candidates. There are indications that several police forces in the survey are currently in the process of adopting the out-reach approach. For instance, 10 of the 14 agencies in our survey are attempting to recruit visible

minorities primarily through the visible minority media. Several agencies contact visible minority organizations and five produce brochures containing pictures of visible minorities as uniformed police officers. However, most of these efforts are recent and ad-hoc in nature.

It is clear that recruiting visible minorities is generally (in most cases) not a proactive and systematic strategy among police forces in this survey. There is heavy reliance on traditional (walk-ins, word of mouth) sources of recruitment. The use of visible minority media, etc. is recent and un-systematic. Very few innovative recruitment techniques, such as the use of visible minority constables in the recruitment process, have been initiated by the agencies in the survey. This is borne out by the fact that there is very little budget allocation for these outreach recruitment techniques. There is almost virtual absence of record keeping by recruitment sources; the police agencies that recruit visible minorities could not provide data on specific recruitment methods that have been successful in attracting such candidates. Most police forces seem to operate general recruitment programs aimed at the entire population.

The personnel staff is in a difficult situation, however. A lack of recruitment strategy or effective recruiting of visible minorities may be due to limited budget, as noted earlier, and staff resources and lack of top management support.

SELECTION

Human Rights statutes in all jurisdictions across Canada prohibit discrimination on the basis of race, religion, colour, national or ethnic origin, marital status and age. Age groups protected vary among jurisdictions, with the most common being between the ages of 18 and 65 and 45 to 65. Other prohibited grounds are also included depending on the jurisdiction.

These statutes put the burden on the employer to prove that, in case of a valid complaint, hiring standards such as height, weight, cut-off scores on tests, age, etc. are reliable and valid or job related. Human Rights tribunals and courts have ruled that any requirement that has a disproportionate effect on minority group applicants is illegal unless it is related to job success or business necessity (*Ann Colfer vs. Ottawa Police Commission*, 1979; *Griggs vs. Duke Power Co.*, 1971).

The selection process among the fourteen police forces in this survey consists of basic minimum mandatory requirements and a multiple hurdles approach. As Table 2 indicates, the most common minimum standards

relate to age, educational level, citizenship status, physical and medical fitness, a valid driver's license, visual acuity, and height and weight standards (in most police forces).

Table 2
Minimum Mandatory Qualifications for a Constable's Job
In Selected Canadian Police Forces (N = 14)

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Age	14 (18-21 years, to less than 30 or 35 years, in some forces).	100
Education	14 (Grade 12 or equivalent in most cases).	100
Citizenship Status	12	86
Physical and Medical Fitness	14	100
A Valid Driver's Licence	10	71
Visual Acuity	10	71
*Height and Weight Standards	8	57

*Most police forces require weight commensurate to height. Only 2 police agencies specify male and female standards, and one specifies 5' - 7'' as a minimum.

Once the minimum standards are satisfied, a multiple hurdles procedure is followed. As indicated in Table 3, this consists of completed application forms, interviews, physical fitness and medical examinations, character reference checks, background investigation, fingerprint check, performance during recruit's training and probationary period. Several agencies use police officers selection tests, English/French language test, (spelling, grammar, essays), personality and polygraph tests. Only 3 agencies use the assessment center method⁶.

These selection standards are affected by provincial legislation in a majority of cases, but are set by individual police forces in a number of cases. In the case of two agencies, the standards are established by city by-laws⁷.

⁶ Assessment centres are selection tools established and operated by the hiring organization. They make use of several selection techniques to examine job applicants over two or three days. In particular, they use in-depth interviews, paper-and-pencil tests, and performance tests with several raters observing and scoring applicants' performance. They have been good selection tools for jobs involving people contact such as management, sales, and police work (DUNNETTE and BORMAN, 1979).

⁷ In several cases such as Québec and Ontario, the provincial legislation (*Police Act*) sets the minimum standards. However, the municipal police forces can and do set higher standards as in the case of educational qualifications, etc.

Table 3
Selection Methods Used by Selected Canadian Police Forces (N = 4)

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Application Forms	14	100
Interviews	14	100
Psychological Tests:		
a. Intelligence and Aptitude Tests	9	64
b. Personality Tests	9	64
Reference Checks	14	100
Background Investigation	14	100
Fingerprint Check	14	100
Officer Selection Test	11	79
English/French Tests	9	64
Polygraph Tests	6	43

The Job Interview

The interview is the most widely used of all selection techniques (Glueck, 1982; Jain, 1974). Several studies have reported that interviews were the most important aspect of the selection process (Glueck, 1982), and that 90% of all organizations surveyed had more confidence in interviews than any other sources of selection information (BNA, 1976; Glueck, 1982). Interviews popularity stems from their flexibility and adaptability to managerial, professional and other types of employees. They can disclose information that other techniques cannot, such as the candidates' ability to express themselves verbally, their social assurance and adeptness, their manner of self-presentation and enthusiasm. Thus, interviews provide useful information on several observable interpersonal dimensions of behaviour (such as sociability, verbal fluency, etc.). Interviews also allow the organization to expose job candidates to accurate information about the job, which might help create realistic job expectations for job candidates. Interviews are also perhaps the only way that a personal contact can be made prior to the selection decision and can be used for accomplishing objectives unrelated to the selection decision such as selling the candidate on the job and for public relations purposes (Jain, 1985).

Interviews have serious shortcomings, however. Several reviews of the literature have revealed that the interview has relatively low reliability (that

is, different interviewers come to quite disparate conclusions) and low validity (that is, interview ratings and job performance scores are not closely related).

In a review of a series of studies regarding decision-making in the employment interview conducted at McGill University, Webster (1964) concludes that the «interview contributes little to the interviewer's decision to hire or to reject» in the case of all applicants (non-minorities and minorities). This is because the interview process is vulnerable to the interviewer's personal biases, prejudices and belief in stereotypes. It can be inferred that interviewers may form unfair evaluations of minority group members even when the candidates are substantially similar to non-minority applicants with regard to their job qualifications. Arvey's (1979) extensive review of the literature relating to unfair discrimination in the employment interview revealed that females are generally given lower evaluations than males with identical qualifications.

In addition, evidence supports the notion that females are given lower ratings for jobs typically «masculine» in nature, whereas males are given lower ratings for typically «female» jobs, as noted earlier (Arvey, 1979).

Several studies have found that job applicants are more likely to be hired if they look straight ahead rather than down. People who look the interviewer straight in the eye are rated as being confident, responsible and having more initiative (Amalfitano and Kalt, 1977). As well, applicants who demonstrate greater amounts of eye contact, head moving, smiling and other non-verbal behaviours are rated higher than applicants who do not (Young and Beier, 1977).

Each of these factors in non-verbal communication such as facial expression, body gesture, eye contact, gesture, and such things as hesitations in speech and the tone and volume of our voice is culturally determined. Therefore, these findings have severe implications for visible minority men and women, especially recent immigrants from third World countries.

Performance in interviews is considered to be the «make or break point» for applicants. One police force assigns the interview the highest number of points in the entire selection procedure. Another police department allows discretionary authority to the interviewer to recommend rejection of an applicant who has scored enough points to be considered acceptable. This may also be true of other police forces since one interview or several interviews are an essential part of the selection procedure in all police forces.

In fact, it is primarily through interviews that almost all police agencies measure a variety of personal traits such as integrity, motivation, dependability and reliability.

As suggested earlier, while interviews provide useful information on some behavioural dimensions, they have relatively low reliability and validity, and do not contribute significantly to the interviewer's decision to hire or to reject. They are subjective and therefore susceptible to the covert prejudices of individual interviewers.

In our view, interviews should be used by police officers as one of several selection techniques. However, the number of points allocated to interviews should be reduced considerably. Interviewers should not be allowed to make hiring or rejection decisions⁸. Every effort should be made to collect reliability and validity data on interviews. For instance, in case of several interviews, data on inter-rater reliability should be collected. In order to reduce the possibly discriminatory effects of oral interviews upon visible minorities and others, police agencies should carefully structure the interviews. The structured interview questions should be based on formal job analytic information. Every attempt should be made to maximize the reliability of the structured interview. Structured interviews have more face validity and might be more acceptable to courts and human rights policy makers. Interviewers should be trained and their hiring recommendations should be monitored to determine whether individual interviewers are rejecting a disproportionate number of minorities.

Psychological Tests

Approximately 25 percent of organizations in Canada use tests to obtain information on the abilities, aptitudes, and motivations of job candidates (Malkin, 1982; Dewey, 1981; Jain, 1974). The reliability and validity of paper-and-pencil tests is important in determining the job performance of an applicant. This process also helps the candidate in providing a sense of fairness and the organization the assurance of employee productivity and the legality of the selection procedure.

Prior to the recent (1984) *Action Travail des femmes vs. CN* decision, human rights tribunals and Canadian courts relative to jurisprudence in the U.S. had not dealt with complex testing issues such as reliability, validity, test bias, etc., in employment discrimination cases. In the U.S., however, these issues, as well as test fairness or cultural bias in tests, have generated a great deal of controversy since the early 1960's, resulting in a decline in the use of tests by employers (Zedeck and Tenopyr, 1977). In the CN case cited

⁸ Interview should be used as one of the selection techniques. A final hiring decision should not be made on the basis of one or even several interviews but by combining all the information received from the other selection tools in addition to the interviews.

above, the tribunal ordered discontinuance of the Bennett Mechanical Comprehension test for entry-level positions other than apprentice jobs because CN had not validated the test for these positions. The tribunal, drawing upon the American jurisprudence, indicated that the Bennett test had adverse impact on women and that when a test has adverse impact, it must be established as a *bona fide* occupational requirement through appropriate validation procedures. The CN decision has important implications for Canadian employers. A major problem for the employers is that many of the tests used in Canada were developed in the U.S., and validated with different groups of workers. Very little systematic research exists to determine the transportability of U.S. tests to Canada (Cronshaw, in press).

Test transportation requires careful assessment of reliability, validity, job analysis and test fairness or cultural bias. Research in the U.S. indicates that (a) professionally developed and standardized ability, achievement and work sample tests can be valid predictors of performance on the job for both minority and non-minority applicants; (b) that such tests are not biased against minorities. Test bias refers to members of a minority group having lower probabilities of being selected for a job when, in actual fact, their probabilities of successfully performing the job are equal to majority group members (Arvey, 1979); and (c) that test validities generalize across situations or employers for similar jobs (Hunter, Schmidt and Hunter, 1979; Schmidt, Pearlman and Hunter, 1980). Are validities transportable across situations for a particular job or similar jobs from U.S. to Canada? This question cannot be answered with any assurance. Considerable research is needed in Canada to determine the transportability and cultural bias issues in the case of racial minorities, women, natives and francophones (Cronshaw, in press).

As Table 3 indicates, police forces in the study use intelligence and aptitude tests in selecting police officers. They also use personality tests. The police forces have not validated any of these tests. The validity generalization evidence in the U.S. does not extend to personality tests. The police agencies' use of personality tests includes the MMPI (Minnesota Multi-Phasic Personality Inventory), California Psychological Inventory and the 16 Personality Factor Test.

Personality tests were not originally designed for use in employment. There is very little research that supports the use of these tests in the selection process as valid predictors of successful job performance (Milkovich, 1985, p. 310). Hence, the validity of these tests is in considerable doubt.

Most police forces (8) in this study use height and weight standards. However, height and weight requirements used by police agencies as selection criteria can be discriminatory when they result in the exclusion of a

disproportionate number of visible minorities and other groups of applicants. A study was conducted in the United States by the Police Foundation to determine if there was a correlation between the height and performance of police officers in several police agencies. Findings indicate that height differences generally had no statistically significant effect on police performance (Sulton & Townsey, 1981).

In the case of *Ann Colfer vs. Ottawa Police Commission*, a board of inquiry decided that the Commission's minimum height and weight requirements had an adverse effect upon female gender relative to male gender were, and therefore, illegal since these requirements were not related to successful job performance. This was not the only case. Numerous other boards of inquiry and courts have rendered similar decisions (Jain 1985). The RCMP modified its height and weight requirements after an Oriental complained to the Canadian Human Rights Commission. Similarly, the Winnipeg Fire Department rescinded the height and weight requirements policy, which applied only to new recruits, at the intervention of the Manitoba Human Rights Commission.

The burden of showing job relatedness of an employment selection device such as height and weight cannot be carried by the assertion of an obvious but unmeasured relationship between a selection standard and job performance. It is essential that the selection devices be validated by professionally accepted methods. The fact that several police departments are able successfully to select police officers without specific height requirements makes it difficult for other departments that retain specific height requirements to justify their use as necessity (Sulton and Townsey, 1981).

Preference for various ages or award of differing numbers of points for various ages, without age being a bona fide occupational qualification, is contrary to both the human rights statutes and the equality clause in the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*.

CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

This study indicates that the police forces need to develop systematic staffing policies and practices. Each police agency needs to conduct job analysis for the constable's job and to review and update job descriptions on an annual basis. The police forces need to adopt a pro-active recruitment strategy to attract visible minority candidates. The strategy should include the use of visible minority police officers as recruiters; pictures of visible minority police officers on job posters and other recruitment literature; and advertisements in ethnic media describing the police agency's policy of hir-

ing visible minorities. The police forces should develop a reliable, valid and adverse-impact-free selection procedure so as to maximize the effectiveness of the total human resource system and to avoid costly legal challenges from minority groups. For instance, police agencies need to conduct validity studies of all selection instruments, including interviews and psychological tests. The police forces also need to review carefully their age, height and weight requirements in view of the potentially adverse impact of these requirements on minorities. This is because preference for various ages or award of differing number of points for various ages and heights and weights, without these being bona-fide-occupational qualifications may be contrary to the human rights statutes. Those police agencies not using the assessment centre method may wish to consider using this method to select police officers.

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Le recrutement des minorités raciales dans la police canadienne

L'objet de cette étude est d'effectuer une revue des politiques de recrutement et de sélection des policiers à travers le Canada; d'identifier les barrières, s'il en est, auxquelles les minorités se heurtent pour entrer dans la police et de recommander des moyens afin de permettre l'augmentation du nombre de personnes appartenant à des minorités raciales parmi les policiers canadiens.

Quatorze bureaux de police, représentant toutes les régions du Canada et incluant entre autres la Gendarmerie royale du Canada, la police provinciale de l'Ontario, la police provinciale du Québec, furent inclus dans cette étude. Les représentants de ces agences policières ont complété un questionnaire compréhensif, puis ont été interviewés, et ont également donné des informations de retour (*feedback*).

Les résultats de la recherche indiquent que presque la moitié des agences n'effectuent pas d'analyse de tâches et que le recrutement du personnel minoritaire visible ne fait généralement pas partie de leur stratégie d'embauche. L'étude révèle en effet que les corps policiers utilisent encore en grande partie les méthodes traditionnelles de recrutement, par exemple, le bouche à oreille ou la présentation sur place. Plusieurs agences policières considèrent que les interviews constituent le point final dans la méthode de sélection. La plupart d'entre elles utilisent des tests de personnalité et des tests de détecteur de mensonges bien que la validité et l'efficacité de ceux-ci soient mis en doute. De plus, la plupart des agences de police utilisent également des critères de taille et de poids et montrent une préférence pour différents âges.

Plusieurs recommandations sont présentées pour améliorer le recrutement de policiers, ainsi que les règles et les pratiques de sélection dans le choix des minorités visibles.

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