EVALUATION OF THE CULTURALLY AND LINGUISTICALLY DIVERSE RECRUIT PREPARATION PROGRAM WITHIN THE QUEENSLAND POLICE SERVICE

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ABSTRACT

The focus of this study is an evaluation of the Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Recruit Preparation Program (CALD RPP) which is a diversity initiative implemented by the Queensland Police Service (QPS). The CALD RPP was established to overcome barriers to recruitment for ethnic minority police recruit applicants and increase workforce diversity within the QPS with a view to building cultural capability and trust between QPS and the multicultural community of Queensland. Prior to this study it had not been subject to evaluation. The research design was drawn from Queensland Government Program Evaluation Guidelines with a focus on outcomes. A non-experimental design using qualitative data collection methods was used with semi-structured interviews undertaken with four QPS decision-makers to seek strategic objectives for the program. Semi-structured interviews with 10 ex-CALD RPP participants were conducted to elicit lived experiences and impacts of the program on participants.

The data gathered identified a lack of clear articulation and communication of program intent and objective from executive level decision-makers which ultimately led to broad eligibility criteria and unclear merit standards for the selection of program participants. This resulted in appointment of recruits to a diversity initiative that was not specifically targeted to them. Perceived quota-driven, tokenistic selection standards led to participants questioning the legitimacy of the program. Key theoretical concepts of Representational Bureaucracy, Affirmative Action and Kanter's Theory of Tokenism are drawn upon to explain the findings and provide recommendations for improvements to the CALD RPP and future diversity initiatives for the QPS and other law enforcement agencies.

CERTIFICATION OF THESIS

The work contained in this thesis has not been previously submitted to meet requirements for an award at this or any other higher education institution. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made.

Principal Supervisor: Associate Professor Marcus Harmes

Associate Supervisor: Dr Naomi Ryan

Student and supervisors' signatures of endorsement are held at the University.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHRC – Australian Human Rights Commission

C01 – Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Recruit Preparation Program Intake number 1. The same format is used for other intakes e.g. C02 for CALD RPP intake 2

CALD – Culturally and Linguistically Diverse

CALD RPP – Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Recruit Preparation Program

CCC – Crime and Corruption Commission

DLGRMA – Department of Local Government, Racing and Multicultural Affairs

FTO – Field Training Officer

LEA – Law enforcement agency

NESB – Non-English speaking background

NESB1 – Participants within the CALD RPP who were born in a country where English is not the primary language

NESB2 – Participants within the CALD RPP who have one or both parents who were born in a country where English is not the primary language

QPS – Queensland Police Service

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1 provides an overview and rationale for the thesis and research as well as provides an outline of the content of the following chapters. This chapter begins by outlining key terms and definitions used throughout the thesis. The chapter will next provide context for the research as well as outline the research questions. Policing principles and government policies will also be introduced within this chapter to provide relevant historical context for the reader and draw attention to the contemporary impetus for the research. The research design will be also be introduced as well as the researcher's interest in the topic.

1.1 Terminology

This section will outline the terminology and definitions used throughout the thesis to orientate the reader.

Diversity is a term used throughout the thesis and refers to differences between individuals across a range of demographics including (but not limited to) gender, race, sexuality, culture and other demographic factors. Whilst the focus of this research is specifically on *cultural* diversity, some of the research and literature drawn upon refers to other forms of diversity including gender.

The term *Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CALD)* will be used interchangeably with terms of *multicultural diversity* and *ethnic diversity* throughout the thesis. These terms refer to individuals and groups who were born in a country where English is not the main language. In the context of the CALD RPP, the term also includes a person who has one or both parents who were born in a country where English is not the main language, however a differentiation exists between first generation and second generation Australian migrants. Refer to the *NESB* term.

The term *cultural capability* as used throughout this thesis refers to the knowledge, skills, behaviours and attitudes required to interact, support and deliver services in a culturally respectful, responsive and appropriate manner. Organisational cultural capability refers to the policies, systems and processes in place to deliver culturally respectful, responsive services.

The term *diversity initiative* is used throughout the thesis and encompasses a range of activities implemented to influence and impact inclusion and diversity within an organisation. Activities might include recruitment programs, training, events, mentoring and career development (Kulik & Roberson, 2008). Within the context of this research, the term will be used to describe actions taken by law enforcement agencies to increase workforce diversity and/or increase inclusion and support of diverse employees.

Law Enforcement Agencies (LEAs) is a term used to refer to policing organisations, police agencies or policing jurisdictions. For example, the Queensland Police Service is a law enforcement agency engaged to maintain safety and enforce laws within the state of Queensland, Australia.

Non-English Speaking Background (NESB) is referred to in the context of the research participants as well as participants of the CALD RPP. *NESB1* refers to 1st generation migrants from a country where English is not the main language. *NESB2* refers to second generation Australian migrants who have one or both parents who were born in a country where English is not the main language.

Recruit Training Program is a six-month training program for police recruits to become sworn, operational police officers. Participants who successfully completed the CALD RPP are also required to complete the Recruit Training Program prior to becoming a sworn police officer within the QPS.

1.2 Focus of the study and introduction to the CALD RPP

The focus of the study was an evaluation of a diversity initiative, the Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Recruit Preparation Program (CALD RPP) implemented by the Queensland Police Service (QPS) from 2016. The CALD RPP was an employment training pathway for police recruit applicants from ethnically diverse backgrounds. Facilitated as a 10-week introductory training program and pathway, the program was delivered separately from, and prior to, the mainstream Recruit Training Program proper.

Selection for the CALD RPP was based on applicants undertaking a range of police recruiting assessments as well as meeting program eligibility criteria of being from a culturally and/or linguistically diverse background. It is noted that at the time

of this research, the QPS offered a separate recruiting pathway for First Nations Australians via the Indigenous Recruit Preparation Program.

The focus of the research was to evaluate the CALD RPP as a program as well as within the context of the program being delivered as a diversity initiative for the Queensland Police Service. As the first program of its kind within Queensland and as noted at the time, within Australia, evaluation of the initiative was an important original research contribution to determine the impact of the program for the individual program participants and the QPS. This project provides an evidence base upon which decisions about the initiative effectiveness and future scope and direction can be made.

Between 2016 and 2020, 149 recruits from CALD backgrounds completed the CALD RPP with 98% successfully completing the program and continuing into the QPS Recruit Training Program. In 2017, the program received a Queensland Multicultural Award (Queensland Government, 2017) and the program was positively promoted in local media as well as by QPS media for its contribution to diversity within the QPS [examples: (Mayman, 2021; QPS, 2019a; QPS Media, 2016, 2017, 2018)].

1.3 Historical context of diversity in policing

Police services within Australia and globally strive to generate a diverse workforce reflective of the community being served. This is not a new concept and is reflected in the 'policing by consent' model (Government Digital Service, 2012) introduced in the early 1800s by Sir Robert Peel within the United Kingdom (UK). During and following Sir Robert Peel's leadership, the 'Peelian Principles' were developed, upon which modern policing within the UK and other countries, including Australia, is based. One principle provides relevance to this research –

> Police, at all times, should maintain a relationship with the public that gives
> the reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and the public
> are the police; the police being only members of the public who are paid to
> give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the
> interest of community welfare and existence.

The core ideas behind each of the Peelian Principles, particularly reflected in the abovementioned principle is that the key to preventing crime and creating a legitimate police service is through earning public trust and support as well as through ensuring the officers who make up the service understand, and are representative of the community. These principles and core ideas are just as relevant today as they were in the 1800s and highlight the belief that an effective police service should be as diverse as the community it serves.

Whilst the core ideas underpinning these principles are still contemporary, actually *recruiting and maintaining* a police service that is as diverse as the community it serves continues to present some challenges. There are a range of reasons for these challenges, however general mistrust between ethnic minority communities and law enforcement agencies (LEAs) makes attempts to increase diversity through police recruitment increasingly important yet complex and difficult (Rigaux & Cunningham, 2020).

Despite these challenges, government policies resulting from investigations such as the Macpherson report following the murder of Stephen Lawrence in 1993, that draw attention to institutional racism in the British Police continue to generate the drive, and in some cases mandate for increased workforce diversity across many European countries (Macpherson, 1999; Wieslander, 2018).

Within Queensland, the investigation of systemic organisational and political corruption through the Fitzgerald Inquiry in the 1980s resulted in a range of recommendations including the recruitment of staff with language abilities and cultural skills in order to "gain acceptance and co-operation of ethnic and aboriginal communities" (Fitzgerald, 1989, p. 381). Both the historical Fitzgerald and Macpherson inquiries highlighted monocultures within the UK and Australia characterised by prejudicial and racist behaviour which precluded recruitment of diverse cohorts (Fitzgerald, 1989; Macpherson, 1999; Shepherd, 2014). Even more recently, social movements including #BlackLivesMatter and #MeToo have contemporaneously challenged the stereotype of a white male dominated workforce and validated the necessity and urgency for change (Dunn, 2020).

As watershed moments for the affected policing jurisdictions, both the Macpherson Report and Fitzgerald Inquiry provided important recommendations for diversity. However neither provided a roadmap for *how* to achieve this change. Since this time, LEAs across the globe have implemented a range of diversity initiatives, which have included Affirmative Action and targeted recruitment processes in response to government policies and historical inquiries, with mixed results (Mossman et al., 2008; Rigaux & Cunningham, 2020; Rowe & Ross, 2015).

In some instances, Affirmative Action and measures undertaken by LEAs to achieve diversity targets has been an exercise in tunnel-vision and quotas resulting in organisations facing civil disputes and human rights complaints with subsequent organisational reputational damage. An example is demonstrated through action of the National Police Board within Sweden which invested in a range of policies which were operationalised through Affirmative Action practices to increase the number of women and ethnic minorities within the Swedish police in the early 2000s. Whilst the action achieved an increase in the targeted groups, the *methods* involved to achieve these increases amounted to discriminatory action against men. This resulted in 130 reports of discrimination from male applicants, of which four cases resulted in arbitration with compensation granted (Landes, 2011; Wieslander, 2020).

More recently in Australia, an investigation by the Crime and Corruption Commission (CCC) into QPS recruitment strategies identified that the QPS also engaged in discriminatory recruitment practices in order to achieve a 50% female quota target (MacSporran, 2021). The aforementioned examples highlight that despite a clear organisational drive to increase diversity (gender and *ethnic minority* diversity within Swedish police and *gender diversity* within QPS example), the methods by which to do so (lawfully and successfully) continues to elude.

Another example of government drivers for diversity is the 2016 implementation of the Multicultural Policy and Plan for Action by the Queensland Government (DLGRMA, 2018). The Multicultural Policy and Plan for Action drove accountability for government agencies to create a 'culturally responsive government' as well as to improve social and economic outcomes for people from culturally diverse backgrounds (DLGRMA, 2018).

During that same year, the Queensland Government Leadership Board of Directors-General developed and committed to sector-wide diversity targets across

the public service. These targets provided direction for public sector agencies to reach and maintain a workforce which closely represents the community being served. This included a target of 10% representation of people from non-English speaking backgrounds (Queensland Government, 2019).

In 2015, the QPS Police Ethnic Advisory Group (PEAG), a long-standing group made up of multicultural and community leaders as well as government and non-government partner agencies emphasised the importance of targeted recruitment practices to improve recruitment of police from CALD backgrounds. In a letter to the then Commissioner of QPS, the PEAG Chair requested the QPS Senior Executive work with members of the QPS Recruitment to ensure the QPS better reflect the community of Queensland (Forday, 2015).

This drive from community coupled with the Multicultural Policy and Plan for Action and subsequent Queensland Public Sector diversity targets provided contemporary impetus for the implementation of diversity initiatives for the QPS and as such the diversity initiative of the CALD RPP was instigated.

The CALD RPP was subsequently embedded into key organisational strategic documentation (QPS, 2018a) and mapped as part of the QPS response to the Queensland Government Multicultural Action Plan. Reporting for this focused on the delivery of the program and the numbers of ethnically diverse individuals recruited (QPS, 2018b, 2019b).

A clear and public demonstration by the QPS to attract, engage and recruit culturally diverse police officers, coupled with public recognition of the program, the CALD RPP achieved symbolic rewards for this diversity initiative implemented by a law enforcement agency. Kulik and Roberson (2008, p. 268) argue that organisations that reap symbolic rewards from demonstrating they are "doing something" (p. 268) can impact the motivation to appropriately evaluate diversity initiatives, particularly if the outcome of the evaluation is potentially negative.

The CALD RPP represented an important diversity initiative for both the QPS and the Queensland Government with potential benefits for employees, the organisation and ultimately the community. However, if executed poorly, a program of this nature also has potential to be perceived and experienced as an exercise in window dressing (Cashmore, 2002). This point leads to the research problem and

importance of evaluating the CALD RPP to determine whether the program delivers more than tokenistic reward.

1.4 Research problem and research questions

The design for this research project was based on a program evaluation design with an outcome focus. Outcomes are identified as results or impacts generated as a result of implementation of a program (Queensland Treasury and Trade, 2014). The Queensland Government Program Evaluation Guidelines outlines that evaluation of government programs plays a critical role in their development and implementation as well as providing a systemic process of collecting valuable data and evidence for use in informed decision making about the program (Queensland Treasury and Trade, 2014).

Methods used were centred around a non-experimental qualitative design with data drawn from human resource data of program participants as well as through semi-structured interviews with both executive level decision-makers for the CALD RPP (group 1) and previous program participants (group 2). The key questions this research explores are:

- What are the strategic objectives of the CALD Recruit Preparation Program?

- What are the impacts of the CALD Recruit Preparation Program for the participants?

- What key factors are required to improve the program outcomes for CALD Recruit Preparation Program for recruits who complete the program?

This research will contribute to informed decision making around the future of the CALD RPP for the QPS. This study considers a range of concepts in relation to the implementation of diversity initiatives with specific focus on recruitment, perceptions of diversity initiatives, and impacts of diversity initiatives on the individuals. As such, it is anticipated the research will contribute to existing knowledge on diversity initiatives within LEAs as well as generate further consideration of the potential impact of these initiatives on those they are intending to assist.

1.5 Researcher's interest in the topic

Whilst I was the researcher for this project, I am also a senior sergeant within the QPS with over 23 years service. I have worked in a range of areas within the QPS including general duties, Criminal Investigation Branch, Watchhouse, District Education and Training, Training Quality Section, First Year Constable Program, Recruit Training Program, Police Recruiting and most recently as an Acting Inspector within the First Nations and Multicultural Affairs Unit.

I initially joined the QPS in 1997 as an enthusiastic 21-year-old knowing little about policing except that I just 'wanted to make a difference'. At the time of being appointed into the QPS, I had started my psychology degree, but deferred my study as I had limited life experience and none of the concepts being learnt throughout the course really had any relevance for me as a very young person. I later finished my psychology degree after working as an operational police officer for a couple of years.

Quite early in my policing service, I found a passion for education and training. I became a District Education and Training Officer, a Firearms Training Officer and a Police Operational Skills and Tactics Officer. I had an uncanny way of breaking topics down and making them relatable, regardless of whether it was theory or practical skills. I was able to relate to almost anyone and enjoyed the challenge of 'winning over' even the least enthusiastic learner. I suspect my psychology degree played a part in that skill.

Over the years I built my skills-base further, becoming a mentor, peer support officer as well as a leadership coach. Each of these roles I completed in a voluntary capacity within the QPS and each provided me opportunity to support others in reaching their potential or overcoming challenges. I find myself naturally 'leaning in' to helping others with particular focus on inclusion opportunities and strategies within the QPS both informally as well as part of my substantive role(s). This proclivity made me a natural fit to lead the CALD RPP within the QPS. When the program first commenced in 2016, I was working within Recruit Training as an Intake Coordinator for mainstream recruits and this new program piqued my interest.

After making a few inquiries, it was clear that the senior sergeant assigned to lead the program was disinterested and just 'going through the motions'. In 2018 an

opportunity presented and I took on the coordination and leadership for the CALD RPP. At the time of commencement in this role, I noted the confusion around the objectives and limited direction for the program among key stakeholders including participants, facilitators and other educators within the QPS. This led me to undertake this body of research in order to produce positive outcomes for the recruits, the organisation and ultimately the community we serve.

1.6 Structure of thesis

The thesis comprises six chapters. Chapter 1 provides the research problem, the researcher's interest in the topic as well as historical and contemporary motivators for diversity initiatives. Chapter 2 presents literature and research relevant to this study including key theories and concepts outlining intent, application and impact of diversity initiatives within law enforcement agencies.

Chapter 3, the methodology, explains and justifies the research design, methods of data collection and data sources. Data analysis and ethical considerations are also provided.

Chapter 4, results, provides key themes which emerged from the data sources.

Chapter 5 presents discussion of the findings and the outcomes of the research with consideration of theoretical concepts introduced in the literature review. Recommendations for program improvements are proposed in this chapter.

Chapter 6, conclusion, provides closing remarks for the thesis including considerations for future research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will draw on key theoretical concepts and research to describe and interpret key areas of diversity within law enforcement agencies (LEAs) and the impact of diversity initiatives and practices on individuals and organisations. Chapter 1 introduced historical context and drivers for diversity in policing through introduction of the Peelian Principles and Macpherson and Fitzgerald Inquiries. This allows the literature review to focus on key theoretical concepts to provide a contextual framework around which the research is based.

In developing the conceptual framework, three key areas of *drivers*, *actions* and *impacts* of diversity initiatives were explored around which to centre the research. The topic of 'drivers' centres on the theory of Representative Bureaucracy as one of the key concepts for substantiating the intention of driving workforce diversity within LEAs and public service agencies. The topic of 'actions' draws on the concept of Affirmative Action (AA) in policy and practice and the impact of this on the individual and the organisation. The topic of 'impacts' will introduce the impact of diversity initiatives, drawing on Kanter's Theory of Tokenism to explore experiences of culturally diverse employees as tokens within LEAs. This topic will also briefly explore police culture and racism. The literature review will conclude with discussion on the importance of evaluating diversity programs and the anticipated outcomes of evaluations. Before delving into these topics, diversity initiatives and their application and intent within law enforcement agencies will be discussed. The conceptual framework is presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1

Conceptual Framework for Research
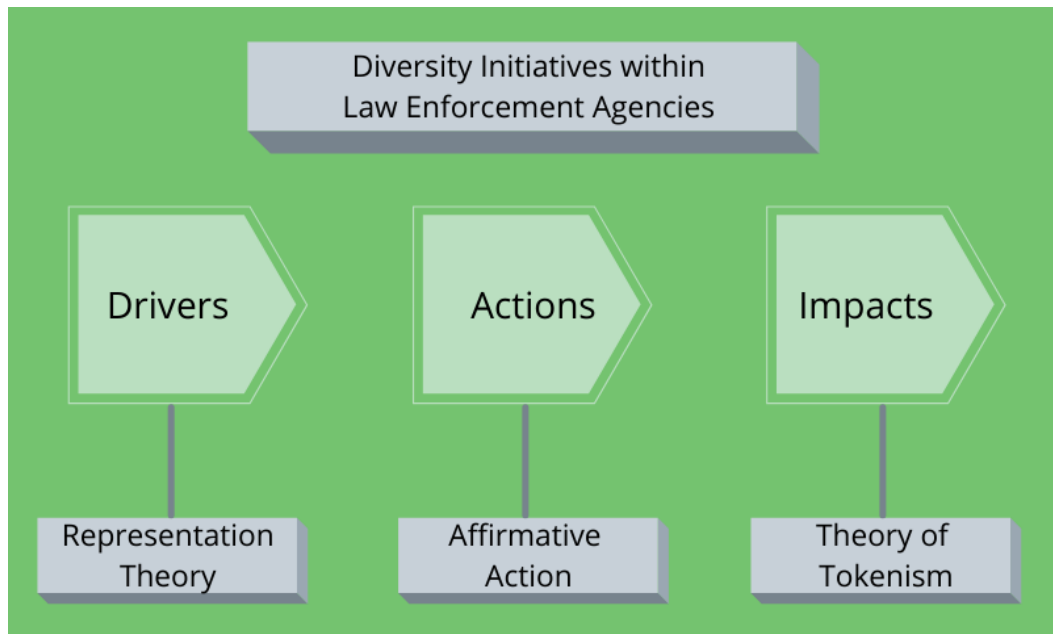
2.1 Diversity Initiatives within Law Enforcement Agencies

For decades, law enforcement agencies have battled with the challenge of creating a diverse workforce that represents the community it serves (Cashmore, 2001; MacSporran, 2021; Waters et al., 2007). Often the work to increase diversity is spurred by government mandates or 'top down' approaches encouraging (or forcing) agencies to work harder to increase diversity (Allen, 2003; Bjørkelo et al., 2015; Mossman et al., 2008; Peterson & Uhnoo, 2012). The intent of increasing workforce diversity often focuses on resolving historical police-community conflict, improving police-community relations (Shjarback et al., 2017), reducing racism or bias with the organisation or simply making the organisation more representative of the community it serves (Waters et al., 2007).

Diversity is argued to lead to improved performance and increased legitimacy for law enforcement agencies, but only when implemented, maintained and managed effectively (Kulik & Roberson, 2008; Hur, 2013;). Diversity initiatives are specific programs, policies, strategies and activities implemented with the intention to promote organisational cultural change related to diversity (Kulik & Roberson,

2008). This may include setting targets in recruitment and promotion practices or the facilitation of programs designed to overcome barriers for minority groups including programs such as the CALD RPP.

2.2 Drivers of Diversity Initiatives within Law Enforcement Agencies

Across many global English-speaking police LEAs, there has been determined effort through targeted diversity initiatives to increase the recruitment of ethnic minority (and other minority) officers to better represent the communities being policed (Cashmore, 2002; Souhami et al., 2005; Peterson & Uhnoo, 2012). Diversity within public service agencies is known to contribute to improved learning, innovation, operational performance as well as drive market growth (Public-Service-Commission, 2015). Diversity is argued to increase legitimacy (Ely & Thomas, 2001), improve decision making capabilities, and create opportunity for greater creativity (Ashikali & Groeneveld, 2013), as well as increase public confidence in police and policing (Wieslander, 2018).

Additionally, increasing workforce diversity is argued to result in policing organisations being less insular and more receptive to change (U.S. Department of Justice, 2015). More specifically, *cultural* diversity within law enforcement agencies has, in some cases been implemented with a specific objective of combatting racism (Cashmore, 2002). Furthermore, a *lack* of diversity within law enforcement agencies has been linked with poor community relations and in some cases, police misconduct (White & Escobar, 2008).

As mentioned within Chapter 1, across the globe, outcomes from significant investigations such as the Fitzgerald Inquiry (Fitzgerald, 1989) and Stephen Lawrence Report (Macpherson, 1999) have resulted in mandated drivers for increased cultural diversity within LEAs. Public service agencies including LEAs are often tasked with achieving aspirational workforce diversity targets (Public Service Commission, 2015). The approach of setting targets is supported by the Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC) as it sends a clear message of the importance and urgency of workforce diversity (AHRC, 2016). It is argued that external pressure such as political drivers and targets not only highlights the importance of diversity, but also provides pressure for the implementation of specific activities such as Affirmative Action in order to meet diversity goals (Allen, 2003).

Despite these political pressures, the 'why' or the importance of increasing workforce diversity is sometimes unclear in the application of responding action strategies. Knowing and articulating the why (apart from 'because we have to') is particularly important to gain a deeper understanding as to the underlying intention of increasing workforce diversity beyond simple metrics and statistics gathering. This also assists in determining whether the intended objectives are being met through applied initiatives (Kulik & Roberson, 2008) as well as promotes increased understanding and acceptance by the workforce (Allen, 2003). This leads to the concept of Representative Bureaucracy and its influence on the drive for diversity within LEAs.

2.2.1 Representative Bureaucracy - The 'Why' of diversity in law enforcement

One of the drivers for and the 'why' for developing and maintaining a diversified workforce within public service agencies including LEAs is conceptualised through the theory of Representational Bureaucracy. This poses the theory of fair representation of minority groups (race, ethnicity, sex, and other factors) within bureaucratic agencies ensures that the interests of those minority groups are reflected in decision making and organisational behaviour (Bradbury & Kellough, 2011; Hong, 2017; Theobald & Haider-Markel, 2009).

Representative Bureaucracy differentiates between *active* and *passive* representation of minority decision-makers in organisations. Active representation is posited to occur when employees are able to use their role and status within the organisation to benefit the interests of their representative group (Hong, 2017; Shjarback et al., 2017). Passive representation provides a focus on recruitment of employees from minority backgrounds in an effort to match community representation only (Todak et al., 2018).

Whilst much of the literature concerning Representative Bureaucracy discusses the theory in context of active and passive representation (Hong, 2017; Shjarback et al., 2017), other theorists discuss the symbolic effect of representative bureaucracy and how these can influence community perceptions. Theobald and Haider-Markel (2009) considered the theory based on symbolic representation whereby attitudes and outcomes can change merely by minorities holding workforce positions without taking any purposeful actions. They also found that during police-community

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interactions, the perceptions of citizens varied depending on the race of the citizen and the race of the officer. Additionally, there is more likely to be perceived legitimacy in the actions of the police officer if they were of the same race as the citizen (Theobald & Haider-Markel, 2009).

Other theorists have implied an increased trust within the community and perceived legitimacy of the organisation based on the assumption that representatives share the same values and experiences as the groups being represented (Hong, 2017; Riccucci et al., 2016; Rojek & Decker, 2009). In a study undertaken by Hong (2017) using evidence from English and Welsh police forces between 2000-2010, it was identified that an increased proportion of ethnic minority officers was significantly associated with a decrease in police misconduct complaints.

Significantly, Hong's research also identified benefits from bureaucratic representativeness that resulted from improvement in organisational integrity. Increased ethnic representation promoted discussion of organisational integrity surrounding the treatment of minority communities. Additionally, the assumption that minorities may be more attuned to racial prejudice exists, which influences those officers' actions toward minority groups (Rojek & Decker, 2009; Theobald & Haider-Markel, 2009). A representative and diverse public organisation is expected to be more sensitive to the needs of the community due to the common values and experiences (Hong, 2017; Rojek & Decker, 2009). The aforementioned assertions and assumptions are regardless of tangible outcomes and actions made by bureaucrats (Riccucci et al., 2016).

Despite the aforementioned benefits that may possibly result from representation of minority groups within law enforcement agencies, some studies have provided little evidence supporting expected positive outcomes associated with increased minority representation. For example, research conducted by Shjarback et al. (2017) found that greater representation of ethnic minority officers in law enforcement did not appear to influence race-based disparity in traffic stops. Nor did the benefit translate to fewer assaults on police officers or lower rates of formal citizen complaints of improper use of force. This is explained through possibly ethnic minorities choosing a career in law enforcement bringing with them a similar set of beliefs and values to the job as their white majority colleagues. Police culture and organisational socialisation at various stages of employment through peer-to-peer as

well as organisational interactions are argued to strip away individual characteristics so they blend more closely with the organisation (Wilkins & Williams, 2008).

Whilst the theory of Representative Bureaucracy arguably underpins the motivation for LEAs like the QPS to actively use various initiatives to diversify its workforce, there should be organisational clarity as to the expected (and realistic) outcomes likely to result from increased minority representation. Identification of these key priorities allows metrics for success to be drawn, identified and measured. Additionally, clear articulation of the intent of diversity initiatives provides context for those expected to benefit from the initiative as well as for the rest of the organisation (Kulik & Roberson, 2008).

Whilst it is generally accepted that a diverse workforce is good for business, the actual strategies, practices, initiatives and programs involved to attract, engage, support and sustain a diverse workforce are as diverse as the workforce itself. Many organisations implement a range of targeted recruitment campaigns, Affirmative Action strategies and internal policies to drive the growth of diversity within the workforce. Despite many of these processes, programs and strategies being initially successful in growing the diversity of the workforce, there is also evidence to suggest that certain actions and activities can bring about unintended outcomes. In some cases, the actions themselves inadvertently negatively impact the attitudes of the majority resulting in a backlash effect (Ely & Thomas, 2001). The following section will discuss diversity initiatives with focus on Affirmative Action and the potential impact on organisations and employees.

2.3 Implementation of diversity initiatives and Affirmative Action

Diversity initiatives are specific programs, policies, strategies and activities implemented with the intention to promote organisational cultural change related to diversity (Kulik & Roberson, 2008). Australian policing jurisdictions continue to implement a range of diversity initiatives intended to increase their diversity. Some of these practices outwardly appear to be limited to policies and statements, whereas others indicate more targeted strategies including Affirmative Action recruitment. A desktop review of recruiting websites of Australian policing jurisdictions revealed positive affirmation, support and encouragement of diverse police recruit applicants. However, only two jurisdictions apart from Queensland (Victoria Police and South

Australia Police) offered specific programs supporting the recruitment application process for people from ethnic minorities[1].

The methods of implementation of diversity initiatives within organisations are as diverse as the groups and individuals being targeted. One of the practices implemented specifically designed to target increased workforce diversity is Affirmative Action. Affirmative Action can take on many forms including the removal of barriers in the recruitment process, disproportionately hiring applicants from minority backgrounds as well as positive discrimination practices whereby minority applicants are given preference over other groups in the recruitment process (Shepherd, 2014).

Affirmative Action may be implemented in varying degrees between 'identity-blind' through to 'identity-conscious' practices. 'Identity-blind' practices are implemented through attraction of diverse applicant pools through processes which may include offering specific assistance to target groups prior to recruitment decisions being made (Harrison et al., 2006; Kulik & Roberson, 2008). This practice is designed to increase the target individuals within a pool of applicants thus increasing the alternatives for recruiters. Selection of candidates using this process aligns with principles of merit.

Conversely, 'identity-conscious' (Harrison et al., 2006; Kulik & Roberson, 2008) or multiculturalist (Gündemir et al., 2017) approaches are implemented in instances where preferential treatment is given based on minority status of the individual. This might include tiebreak practices or strong preferential treatment including quotas, given to target groups. Identity-conscious practices assigns a positive weight to target demographics and is a far more prescriptive practice when compared to identity-blind practices (Harrison et al., 2006).

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[1] Australian police jurisdictions
Victoria police: http://police.vic.gov.au/diversity
South Australia Police: https://www.police.sa.gov.au/join-us/achievemore/police-officer-careers/people-from-diverse-backgrounds
NSW: Nil for CALD
WA: Nil for CALD
NT: Nil for CALD
Australian Federal Police: https://jobs.afp.gov.au/work-with-us/culture-and-diversity

Both processes are possibly effective in recruiting increased numbers of the intended target group(s), however *perceptions* of the practices differ significantly and in some cases negatively (Harrison et al., 2006). Identity-blind practices are generally perceived as more legitimate than identity-conscious practices purely due to the former process being perceived as more meritocratic (Kulik & Roberson, 2008). However, in applying a purely meritorious approach to workforce selection, factors such as bias and barriers impacting minority groups may not be considered or negated, thus resulting in a lower number of successful target applicants.

Conversely, identity-conscious practices may succeed in increasing minorities in the workforce, however, in practice may also have inadvertent consequences for the intended beneficiaries. The latter practices sometimes result in negative perception of the level of competence of targeted individuals as well as stigmatisation in the workplace for those recruited under these practices (Gündemir et al., 2017; Kulik & Roberson, 2008; Wieslander, 2018). Identity-conscious practices also tend to violate the principles of merit-based selection as well as procedural fairness and as such may meet organisational resistance (Harrison et al., 2006).

The CALD RPP presents a hybrid diversity strategy applying both identity-blind and identity-conscious practices to increase cultural diversity for the organisation. Recruiting for the CALD RPP specifically targeted candidates based on their cultural and/or linguistic diversity (identity-conscious), however it was initially believed that candidates also met the standard for a Queensland police recruit based on merit (identity-blind). Some research suggests that hybrid diversity strategies blending merit-based selection and identity-conscious practices reduced the negative perceptions of majority groups and increased the feelings of inclusion and engagement of both minority and majority groups (Gündemir et al., 2017).

2.3.1 Perceptions of Affirmative Action

Whilst Affirmative Action may be effective in increasing workforce diversity, there is evidence to suggest these approaches may be received negatively by the organisation (Harrison et al., 2006; Waters et al., 2007). With this possibility in mind, it is important to understand and anticipate psychological reactions to Affirmative Action within organisations as it is these reactions and attitudes which

may ultimately impact the success of policies and practices being implemented. This again emphasises the importance for organisations to provide clarity around the *rationale* for implementing diversity initiatives, particularly Affirmative Action as it is this discourse which influences attitudes of those within the organisation (Harrison et al., 2006; Kidder et al., 2004).

Kidder et al,. (2004) propose that if the belief exists that Affirmative Action is based on quotas or preferential treatment, then backlash from the majority within the workforce is likely. Backlash is described as negative reactions experienced by majority group members when they believe minority group members have received undeserved benefits (Kidder et al., 2004). This is supported by research undertaken by Harrison et al. (2006). There is evidence to suggest that majority backlash to Affirmative Action may result from the perception that the majority group stand to lose as a result of implemented strategies (Allen, 2003; Harrison et al., 2006; Kidder et al., 2004).

Negative perception of Affirmative Action is just not restricted to majority groups. Intended beneficiaries may negatively perceive Affirmative Action if the associated activities targeting has potential to contravene principles of merit (Harrison et al., 2006; Waters et al., 2007) or appears tokenistic (Cashmore, 2002). In some instances, ethnic minorities may perceive Affirmative Action practices and policies as organisational 'window dressing' without affecting any actual change in reducing institutional racism or discrimination as purported (Cashmore, 2001, 2002).

Whilst Affirmative Action is important to drive accountability for increased workforce diversity, these activities also create the risk of defining groups being targeted as 'others'. Officers recruited via these practices can be positioned as being employed as a demographic 'quota' which derogates their inherent skills and qualities (Rigaux & Cunningham, 2020; Wieslander, 2018). This may create unintended segregation in an organisation (Wieslander, 2018, 2020). Organisational discourse surrounding implementation of Affirmative Action which prioritises a 'pro business' justification (Harrison et al., 2006; Kidder et al., 2004) coupled with merit selection (Harrison et al., 2006) is likely to result in more favourable support for Affirmative Action in the recruitment, retention and promotion of ethnic minorities. This leads to the discussion of organisational communication of diversity initiatives internally and externally.

2.3.2 Promotion and marketing of diversity initiatives

Diversity initiatives, programs and Affirmative Action practices are a solid means of influencing the demographic of a workforce. However, it is also acknowledged that to bring about authentic, positive organisational and cultural change, Affirmative Action programs are not the panacea, but rather just the beginning. As previously mentioned, success of Affirmative Action hinges on the justification of the activities but there is also argument that Affirmative Action must also be complimented by inclusive policies and practices that reduce harmful behaviours and discrimination (Downey et al., 2015; Shepherd, 2014), as well as communicated and marketed strategically, internally as well as external to the organisation.

Adequate external promotion and marketing of diversity initiatives is a factor in their success. Kim and Gelfand (cited in Brief & Bradley, 2008), outline that people with strong ethnic identities are more attracted to organisations that present diversity initiatives as part of the recruitment marketing as compared to those that did not. However, for some minority groups seeking employment within policing, there is a lack of clarity in the recruitment processes as to whether people from ethnic minorities or with varying language skills are eligible to apply (Bjørkelo et al., 2015). This emphasises the value of ensuring adequate attention is given to the external promotion and marketing of these programs to target, engage and attract the right individuals.

So far, the literature in general has discussed diversity initiatives with focus on Affirmative Action in the attraction and recruitment of diversity within law enforcement. However, it is equally important to consider the impact of these initiatives by exploring the experiences and perceptions of the individuals being targeted. This leads to the discussion of the Theory of Tokenism and the experience of ethnic minorities within law enforcement agencies.

2.4 Tokenism and the impact on the individual

Kanter's Theory of Tokenism proposes that members of a minority (token) group are likely to experience negativity within the workplace because of their low representation, as the negative connotations of the terminology of token and tokenism suggest. Being more visible than the dominant group, the theory postulates

that 'tokens'' differences are exaggerated and their qualities distorted to align with pre-existing opinions of them. These pre-existing opinions and biases are often negative and, according to Kanter, this creates a high level of visibility for those in the token group (Archbold & Schulz, 2008). Kanter first espoused her Theory of Tokenism in 1977 with reference to women in the male-dominated field of sales, referring to those who numerically represented less than 15% of a total group as 'tokens'(Stroshine & Brandl, 2011). Since its initial publication, Kanter's theory has been applied to a broader range of minority groups including race and ethnic minorities as well as within policing literature (Stroshine & Brandl, 2011).

The Theory of Tokenism provides that minority groups are likely to experience three perceptual tendencies, being that of *assimilation*, *visibility* and *contrast* (Stichman et al., 2010). *Assimilation* describes the perception experienced whereby a person's characteristics are distorted to fit into a stereotypical role as defined by the majority group (Stichman et al., 2010). An example of this might result in the allocation of an Asian police officer to a community with a high Asian population despite the officer having limited connection with that community or their ethnic heritage. This perception and resulting action could limit the opportunities available for minorities in the workplace. Conversely, in some circumstances, ethnic minority officers may be isolated from their cultural group, being seen as a 'traitor' and as such heighten the affect of assimilation (Suboch et al., 2017). In the study by McMurray et al. (2010) on perspectives on recruitment and retention of CALD police within Victoria, participants believed CALD police were used as undercover agents within communities which had a negative effect on policing relationships and trust within community.

The *Visibility* perception provides that the typically visible differences of minority individuals within a workforce may result in a higher level of scrutiny and a feeling of needing to work harder to prove themselves to the majority group members (Stichman et al., 2010; Stroshine & Brandl, 2011). Tokens who experience a higher degree of visibility may be formally and informally isolated within the organisation (Wieslander, 2018) as well as experience greater levels of stress and discrimination (Stroshine & Brandl, 2011; Wieslander, 2018).

Lastly, the *Contrast* perception provides that the majority group members exaggerate differences between themselves and minority individuals. This may also

result in feelings of isolation and exclusion from the majority group (Stichman et al., 2010; Stroshine & Brandl, 2011). An outsider status experienced by tokens, may result in a range of hardships being experienced in their roles including discrimination, harassment and greater levels of stress (Haarr, 1999; Stroshine & Brandl, 2011).

Kanter's theory has demonstrated racial tokens tend to feel more stressed, more isolated and experience more barriers to their career progression than non-tokens (Stroshine & Brandl, 2011). The bulk of research on tokenism in policing has been focused in terms of gender, however a small amount of research has included ethnic minorities as tokens (Gustafson, 2008; Stroshine & Brandl, 2011; Suboch et al., 2017). Much of this research confirms the theory demonstrating negative behaviours and perceptions experienced by ethnic minorities in the workplace.

Being more visible or being a token with any organisation presents a range of challenges, however when that organisation is a law enforcement agency, the challenges are increased. Often met with suspicion and subtle forms of exclusion, ethnically diverse officers sometimes find their loyalty to their cultural or ethnic group and the police organisation being under continual scrutiny (Peterson & Uhnoo, 2012; Suboch et al., 2017). Sometimes described as a 'greedy institution', policing culture requires total commitment and exclusive loyalty of its members (Peterson & Uhnoo, 2012). The volatility of the role and circumstances front line police officers find themselves in as part of 'the job' requires members to be able to implicitly trust their operational partners, often with their lives. This trust does not come easily. With the additional burden of high visibility, accents and/or cultural differences, ethnic minority token police officers often find themselves having to work harder than their majority colleagues to prove themselves. This may mean having to tolerate uncivil behaviour or turn away from their own cultural preferences in order to earn acceptance.

The nature of policing lends itself to its own innate culture, difficult to infiltrate as an 'outsider' or token and with a high expectation to conform and blend once a person becomes part of a 'police family'. This means that transitioning a law enforcement agency from a traditionally monolithic organisation to one that is diverse and representative of the community presents multifaceted complexities to explain Kanter's Theory of Tokenism identified what is referred to as 'perceptions',

however for some of these tokens, these perceptions are actually experiences of racism and micro-aggressions within the workplace. Whist the research is not focused on racism within law enforcement agencies as such, it would be remiss to not address the 'elephant in the room'. In a study by Zempi (2020), despite increasing the number of minority officers and the improvement of police working conditions for minority officers, they still remain the minority within a white majority and these officers are still experiencing instances of racism and intolerance in British policing.

2.5 Racism and Micro-Aggression within Law Enforcement Agencies

Sue et al. (2007) refers to the difficulty in defining and describing racism that occurs implicitly or through aversive behaviour. They argue that without adequate labelling, classification or understanding, these subtle, but damaging forms of racism are likely to remain invisible (Sue et al.,2007). The invisible nature of these behaviours often prevents perpetrators from being 'called out' or even realising their impact on racial minorities within a workforce.

Sue et al. (2007) reference these common behavioural, verbal or environmental indignities that communicate derogatory, hostile or negative slights to ethnic minorities through the terminology 'micro-aggression'. Micro-aggressions may be intentional or unintentional and perpetrators of these behaviours may in some instances be unaware of these behaviours. The cumulative effect of racial micro-aggressions can result in emotions of self-doubt, frustration and isolation on the part of the victims (Sue et al., 2007). Loftus (2010) identified that within police cultures, organisational solidarity is regarded as a positive and encouraged as it produces a high degree of teamwork. However, with this solidarity comes the encouragement of protection and masking of procedural infringements.

Whilst the research and literature explored so far focus primarily on Affirmative Action, it is acknowledged that recruitment for diversity through these strategies is only a small component of what should be a multi-faceted strategy striving for diversity, capability and inclusion within law enforcement agencies. As such, literature suggests that initiatives like Affirmative Action need to be complemented by diversity management practices (Ashikali & Groeneveld, 2013; Hur, 2013; Soldan & Nankervis, 2014). Diversity management incorporates aspects

of diversity recruitment, valuing cultural diversity and implementation of inclusive policies and processes as part of daily practice (Ashikali & Groeneveld, 2013) to ensure the diverse workforce recruited are supported, valued, included and have the equal access to training, promotion and other successes.

The many ways in which diversity initiatives within organisations are implemented can have a significant impact on attitude, behaviour and perceptions of the workforce. This highlights the importance of evaluating diversity programs (and in this instance, the CALD RPP) beyond workforce metrics to determine the impact it has on the individuals intended to benefit from the program. This leads to the discussion on evaluation of programs and the expected outcomes of this process.

2.6 The importance of evaluating diversity initiatives

Earlier in the literature review as well as within chapter 1, it was identified that law enforcement agencies must respond to government policies to increase the diversity of its workforce. Hur (2008) asserts that law enforcement agencies driven by political mandates such as those aforementioned, may be compelled to report on superficial and easy metrics which render quick and visible results and statistics. This has potential to create a range of complexities if the subsequent and necessary organisational cultural change is not considered, strategised or planned as part of the drive for increasing workforce diversity.

Setting a direction for workforce diversity is important for any organisation, however the operationalisation of that intent as well as the end result for the organisation and its workforce can vary widely (Soldan & Nankervis, 2014). As previously mentioned, diversity within an organisation can lead to a range of positive outcomes if implemented and managed effectively. The importance of understanding which diversity initiatives and efforts are effective and which are not, cannot be understated. There is little published research evaluating the effectiveness of diversity programs and their outcomes (Kulik & Roberson, 2008) which supports the importance and relevance of evaluating the CALD RPP.

Evaluations conducted on diversity programs often consider collection of a set of narrow qualitative metrics centred around recruitment and retention numbers. These metrics, whilst important, do not tell the full story nor recognise how impactful a program or intervention is for an organisation. The existence of the

CALD RPP providing specific recruit places for people from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds has effectively met organisation and government target diversity recruiting priorities. From the outset, this is positive, however the true efficacy of the program will remain unknown without conducting an evaluation to identify broader metrics.

Evaluations should work towards determining the difference between the outcomes of a program and what might have occurred if the program was not initiated or initiated differently (Soldan & Nankervis, 2014; Wanna, 2007). Prior to conducting an evaluation there must be clarity around the motivation for the diversity initiative. Gentile (cited inKulik & Roberson, 2008) suggests there are eight possible motivators for diversity initiatives within organisations. These include legal pressures, demographic of the workforce and workforce market, globalisation, diversity of customer base, external pressures, internal employee pressures and the personal commitment of leaders to diversity. It is only upon understanding which of these motivators drives the diversity initiative, can the impacts of a program be determined.

There is a reasonable amount of information available on strategies organisations use to address and counter diversity challenges, however it is becoming increasingly important to understand the 'how' organisations operationalise their commitment to diversity management. It is equally important to substantiate whether programs and initiatives are effective (Soldan & Nankervis, 2014). Programs such as the CALD RPP are often developed and implemented in response to government policies and identified issues. Evaluation plays a critical role in providing understanding of the program impact, assessing whether the program is on track and identifying whether the program is appropriate or offers value for money (Queensland Treasury and Trade, 2014). Importantly, an evaluation can provide clear data to support decision making to support the continuation or improvement of a program to ensure public funding is used efficiently and responsibly to meet intended objectives.

2.7 Chapter Summary

Chapter 2 has provided the literature and conceptual framework which underpins this research project. The concept of Representational Bureaucracy

provided context around the 'why' and theoretical driver for workforce diversity within law enforcement agencies. This topic introduced passive, active and symbolic representation and the conflicting views and research within this subject. The literature review also discussed diversity initiatives with focus on Affirmative Action as well as the perceptions of both minority and majority groups of these actions. Appropriate promotion, communication and marketing was also considered to ensure organisational actions and intents were authentically and transparently conveyed internally and externally. The Theory of Tokenism was discussed to demonstrate literature surrounding experiences of minorities as tokens within law enforcement agencies. Lastly, evaluation of diversity initiatives was discussed to demonstrate the importance of defining impacts or outcomes with the view of informing decision making for future improvements for diversity initiatives such as the CALD RPP.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 Chapter introduction

Chapter 2 presented the literature surrounding the importance of workforce diversity, the justification for implementing diversity programs and the impact diversity strategies have on individuals and organisations. This chapter provides detail on research design, conceptual foundations, methodology, participants and researcher positionality.

3.2 Research Design

The purpose of this investigation was to understand and describe the impact of the QPS CALD RPP on program participants. The impact is generally defined as physical, psychosocial and perceptual experiences of the participants. Participants were defined as those who have completed the CALD RPP and the Recruit Training Program and have gone on to become sworn police officers, this will be explained more deeply in the 'Participants' sub-section.

With a focus on problem-solving and the project being work-based, the research design suited a pragmatist worldview approach (Creswell, 2009). Research design for this project was drawn from the Queensland Government Program Evaluation Guidelines (Queensland Treasury and Trade, 2014) with an outcomes focus. Outcomes are identified as results (or impacts) generated as a result of implementation of a program. Some of these impacts may include changes in knowledge, behaviour, skills and social influences (Queensland Treasury and Trade, 2014). The methods used centred on a non-experimental design using qualitative data collection methods seeking to determine the impact of the CALD RPP for program participants. Qualitative research is beneficial for understanding the meanings people make of their experiences (Morrow, 2007) therefore this was an appropriate approach to gain an understanding of the participants lived experiences.

Outcomes evaluations seek to identify the benefits or value a program brings to learners participating in the program, which could be presented in terms of knowledge, skills, attitude, behaviour (Queensland Treasury and Trade, 2014). Whilst ordinarily an evaluation may be considered a straightforward research design,

the nature of the evaluated program (contributing to a broader diversity strategy) added a layer of complexity. The answer to the overall impact of this program on the participants was sought as part of the research question. This required looking beyond basic curriculum content of the program. As such, qualitative methods were used to thoroughly explore specific facets of the program as well as to give voice to participants' lived experiences. These methods also provide a depth of information that may contribute to improving program quality (Vaterlaus, 2011).

Within some evaluations, researchers may not have access to specific criteria for evaluation and in turn, may need to seek guidance from stakeholders, professional standards, or other evaluation studies to help make judgements (Newcomer et al., 2015). From the outset, objectives for the CALD RPP were not clearly articulated or were often contradictory. Therefore it was determined that high level organisational stakeholders and program decision-makers were best placed to provide insight into foundation and ongoing program objectives. These stakeholders formed Participant Group 1. Data resulting from engagement with this participant group provided clearer perspective on program intent as well as clearer direction for lines of inquiry with program participants who formed Participant Group 2.

Due to the investigation being work-based research, prior to outlining research methodologies and participant group descriptions, a brief overview of my position, experience and interest as a researcher will be shared with the intent of providing insight and context for the reader (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

3.3 Positionality

As previously mentioned, at the time of data collection I was the Senior Sergeant Intake Coordinator for the CALD RPP.

As part of my role, I spent countless hours speaking with participants, CALD RPP facilitators, Recruit Training facilitators, and other QPS educators, trainers and stakeholders informally gathering information and an understanding of the program impacts, objectives and perceptions around the program. Conversations involving the program often led to divergent responses ranging from extremely positive and complimentary, to negative, biased and sometimes misinformed perceptions of participants or the intent of the program. It is these conversations, interactions, experiences and interests which have led me to undertake this body of work with a

view to provide an evidence-base for the program as well as to provide informed and evidence-based advice for future directions of the program within the QPS.

Conducting insider research within a bureaucratic and hierarchical organisation presents complexities, challenges and opportunities. Insider research is that which is conducted within an organisation, group or culture within which the researcher belongs or is also a member (Greene, 2014). Discussion around positionality of the researcher should be conducted in order to explore potential influences and biases within and throughout the research. Greene (2014) outlines that positionality is determined by one's role in relation to another and this position may be fluid throughout the research process. This latter statement is evident in my experience interacting with individuals across both participant groups.

In conducting the research, I faced potential personal and professional ethical dilemmas through interactions with individuals from Participant Group 1, all of whom were of a higher rank and in some cases had positional authority and influence over me and my position and role within the QPS. To overcome this, I approached every interaction with Participant Group 1 members as a researcher and not as an employee of the QPS. Potential subjectivity or bias was addressed through interviews being electronically recorded, transcribed and participants being offered the opportunity to check and adjust any inaccuracies. Participants were also afforded the opportunity to add any relevant experiences or comments they felt were necessary. I also maintained regular contact with my research supervisor with emphasis on debriefing following interviews with individuals within Group 1 to maintain objectivity.

It is also important to note the relationship that existed between myself and group 2 participants. Conscious of the potential power relationship of my position with this group, these participants were recruited through use of secondary sources including QPS administrative officers. I was also conscious that potential volunteers may have concern around the legitimacy of the research due to me being the coordinator for the CALD RPP at the time. Messaging around the genuineness of the research and the opportunity to contribute to improving the program for future colleagues was distributed through employee networks via a Learning Support Officer who maintained contact with many of the ex-CALD RPP recruits once they had graduated from the academy. Requests for candid feedback was sought and the

assurance of confidentiality was included in correspondence requesting volunteers to participate in the research. Another potential conflict noted within the study is the potential for participants engaging in impression management due to my position and rank. This was addressed through ensuring the participants were aware of the genuine intent of the research as provided through informed consent protocols and discussions.

For both participant groups, subjectivity was addressed through recording and transcribing participant interviews. All participants were provided the opportunity to confirm the accuracy of their interview transcript as well as adjust or add to their interview transcript as they chose. The participants were reminded and reassured verbally and in written correspondence that their lived experiences were their own and they needed to be happy with the end version (transcript) being used as data for the research. Subjectivity was also addressed through maintaining fortnightly contact with my research supervisor and debriefing on interview processes and data.

3.4 Recruitment of Participants

Two separate groups of participants were required to undertake the research. Group 1 participants were recruited based on their high-level knowledge and decision-making influence over the CALD RPP. It was expected that these participants would be able to discuss and describe the objectives of the CALD RPP. This information was required to inform the direction for interviews with program participants. Group 2 included ex-program participants who had fully completed the Recruit Training Program and were operational police officers. The reasoning behind this was to allow for participants to have deeper organisational insight through experience and to capture any influence or impact of the CALD RPP on their policing career to date.

Recruitment for both groups of participants for the study was through purposive selection which is the selection of a sample from which the most can be learned (Suzuki et al., 2007). Six individuals were invited via email and phone to participate in Participant Group 1 for the research project. Four participants formed this group (n=4) all of whom were (or were previously) of commissioned officer rank within the QPS and had (or previously had) decision making influence over the CALD RPP. Due to the small size of potential numbers for this group, sampling was

conducted via convenience method. Convenience sampling is the use of a sample that is readily available (Suzuki et al., 2007).

Participant Group 2 comprised individuals who were sworn operational police officers within the QPS who had completed the CALD RPP. 94 potential candidates were invited to participate in the research.. Fourteen individuals responded however four participants were unable to be interviewed for varying reasons including inconvenience, operational policing demands and personal reasons. The remaining 10 participants made up this group (n=10). Sampling for this group was also a sample of convenience with all those willing and able to participate being offered an opportunity to do so.

Ideally, group sizes for qualitative research may be found through a number of processes including the processes of interviewing to redundancy or alternatively interviewing to saturation (Trotter, 2012). Interviewing to redundancy is the process of conducting interviews sequentially until all themes are repeated on multiple occasions and no further themes are identified. Interviewing to saturation is described as the point at which all possible questions have been thoroughly explored and no further themes emerge in subsequent interviews (Trotter, 2012). The former interviewing to redundancy approach was used with the participant group of ex-program participants. It should however be noted that true redundancy cannot be achieved due to the unique experience and perspective of each individual (Morrow, 2007).

3.4.1 Participant Group 1

Four participants made up Participant Group 1 and as such, due to the small number within this group, limited demographic details were obtained to minimise identifiability of participants. Participants within this group completed a semi-structured interview with the researcher. Of the four participants, three consented to the interview being electronically recorded. At the commencement of the interview, the fourth participant (PG1.4) indicated discomfort at having the interview electronically recorded. This participant opted for a less formal conversation with the researcher and hand-written notes were taken contemporaneously. The structure of this interview was changed to accommodate the needs of this participant and only a small amount of data obtained as a result.

Within this group, three of the participants were able to provide unique insights into their understanding, influence and beliefs about the CALD RPP. The themes from group 1 data helped to direct the semi-structured interviews with group 2.

3.4.2   Participant Group 2

Participant Group 2 was made up of 10 ex-CALD RPP participants. The demographic of the participants was broken down based on identification as NESB1 (born in a country where English is not the main language) or NESB2 (one or both of their parents were born in a country where English is not the main language). These descriptors became important due to the nature of themes that emerged around the eligibility criteria for the CALD RPP. Within this group, two participants identified as NESB2 and eight participants identified as NESB1. Three of the 10 participants (including the two NESB2 participants) spoke no language other than English.

Of the eight CALD RPP intakes facilitated by the QPS, participants from the first six intakes (C01 - C06) were eligible to participate in the research due to having completed the CALD RPP, the Recruit Training Program and had commenced as operational police officers. Whilst included in some of the demographic data, participants from the last two CALD RPP intakes (C07 and C08) were not eligible to be interviewed as part of the research project as they had not completed both CALD RPP and Recruit Training Programs at the time of the research being conducted.

Ideally, I had hoped to gain representation of participants across C01 through to C06 CALD intake groups to gain insight into the lived experiences across these groups however no volunteers presented from CALD RPP intake C05. Figure 2 demonstrates the representation of participants from each CALD RPP intake eligible to participate in the research. Due to the small numbers of participants, participant codes will not be linked to their CALD RPP intakes due to the risk of identifying those participants.

Figure 2

Participant Representation Across Eligible CALD RPP Intakes
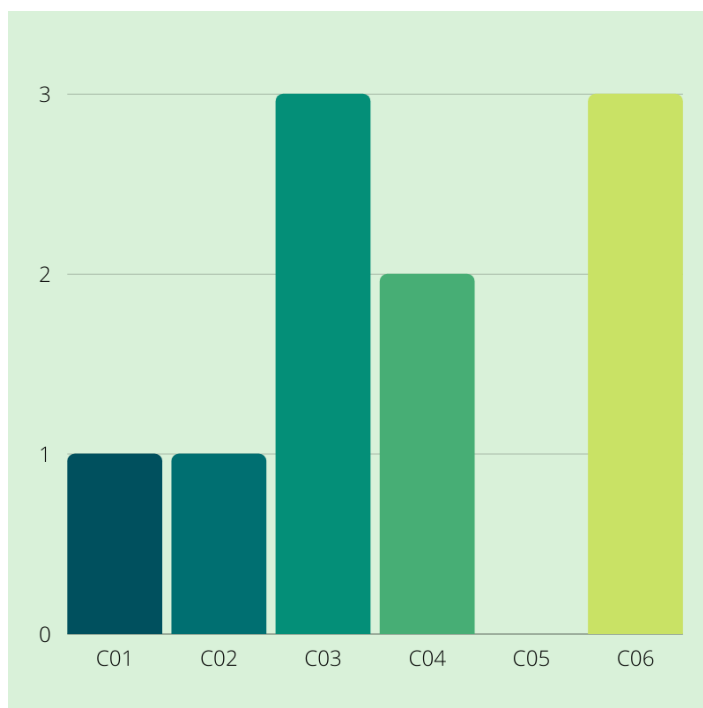
3.5 Data collection

Sources of data used in this study consisted of qualitative measures including administrative data and semi-structured interviews. Administrative data including NESB status and languages other than English was used concerning all program participants. This data was initially collected for human resource purposes and not specifically for research and as such is used with caution. A small amount of de-identified demographic data was also gathered for all CALD RPP participants where available. The following describes the process of implementation of the semi-structured interviews.

3.5.1 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interview methods were used to gather data and lived experiences from both participant groups. Interviews with Participant Group 1 were intended to identify objectives of the CALD RPP as well as set the direction for interviews with Participant Group 2. Interviews with Participant Group 2 were used with the intent to gain a deep understanding of the lived experiences of the participants and the meaning they made of those experiences.

An interview protocol was developed to provide consistency of process between each interview participant. Interview protocol provides the rules that guide the facilitation and implementation of interviews to ensure consistency between interviews and increase the reliability of findings (Boyce & Neale, 2006). The interview protocol served as a reminder for the researcher of specific topics to cover including demographic and background information, broad questions and possible follow up questions. Questions included in semi-structured interviews were aligned with research questions with slight differences between Participant Group 1 and Participant Group 2 questions.

Interviews with participants ranged in time between 30 minutes to 70 minutes in duration. Interviews were conducted either via face to face setting, MS Teams or mobile phone. Prior to the commencement of the interview recording, I spent anywhere up to 15 minutes building rapport, answering any questions and reassuring the participant about the research as well as reinforcing informed consent provisions. The interviewee was advised when the recording commenced.

Phase 1 of the research included interviews with Participant Group 1 participants. Review and analysis of interviews from this group of participants then influenced questions within semi-structured interviews with Group 2 participants. Phase 2 of the research was only able to be commenced after the completion of phase 1 interviews, transcription and thematic analysis of data. Table 1 provides an outline of the semi-structured interview schedule.

Table 1

Semi-Structured Interview Schedule

Group	Code	Interview date	Method of interview
Decision-maker	PG1.1	January 2020	Face to face
Decision-maker	PG1.2	February 2020	Face to face
Decision-maker	PG1.3	February 2020	Phone interview
Decision-maker	PG1.4	February 2020	Face to face Not comfortable during interview so nil electronic recording.
Program Participant	PG2.1	March 2020	Phone interview
Program Participant	PG2.2	March 2020	Face to face
Program Participant	PG2.3	March 2020	Face to face
Program Participant	PG2.4	March 2020	MS Teams
Program Participant	PG2.5	April 2020	MS Teams
Program Participant	PG2.7	February 2020	Face to face
Program Participant	PG2.8	February 2020	Face to face
Program Participant	PG2.10	April 2020	MS Teams
Program Participant	PG2.11	April 2020	MS Teams
Program Participant	PG2.12	May 2020	Phone

3.5.2 Transcription of Interviews

Interviews with participants were recorded using a digital recorder. Notes were also typed onto the interview plan and retained electronically. Interviews were transcribed using an automatic transcription program, Sonix Ai, which transcribed interviews verbatim. The program transcribed interviews with approximately 80% accuracy. I listened to and reviewed all interviews and subsequent transcripts to ensure accuracy. Any identifiable data was also removed during this process to ensure confidentiality of the participants. Upon completion of the transcription and de-identification of interviews, transcripts were returned to participants for review to ensure their meanings had been recorded accurately. Many participants were bilingual and I was conscious that literal transcription of participants' interviews may have caused embarrassment when reading their words once transcribed. With this in mind, when transcripts were returned to participants for review, I included a personal message to reassure them they were able to adjust their transcript as they chose. Figure 3 provides an example of the message provided to participants

Figure 3

Example of Message to Participants Following Completion of Interview Transcript

As promised, here is a copy of the transcript from our interview. Please have a read and let me know if you are happy with it. If there is anything that you want to change, add or remove, just make the adjustments to the document in a different front (or better still, use track changes) and email it back. There is no limit to what you want to adjust, you need to be happy with the version as it's your story and your journey. Alternatively, if you are happy with it as is, that's fine too, just send me an email to let me know.

Thanks again for taking part in my research   , it was a pleasure to hear your 'lived experience'.

The majority of participants returned their transcripts with little to no adjustments. One transcript of a phone interview with a participant who had a particularly strong accent was returned to the participant with gaps or queries where words or comments were unable to be determined. The participant returned this transcript with clarity on those areas.

3.6 Data Storage and Management

NVivo 11 (QSR International) data management software was used to manage data in relation to the research. This software was used due to the ease of which all forms of data (interview plans, notes and transcripts) were able to be imported, coded and analysed.

3.7 Thematic Analysis

Analysis of data collected from both sets of semi-structured interviews involved a range of processes with the intention of making sense of the textual data obtained. Creswell (2009) provides a clearly structured and staged approach to qualitative data analysis (shown in Figure 4). This approach was used to code, understand and interpret the raw data drawn from the data gathering processes.

Figure 4

*Process for Analysis of Qualitative Data From Semi-Structured Interviews
(Creswell, 2009)*
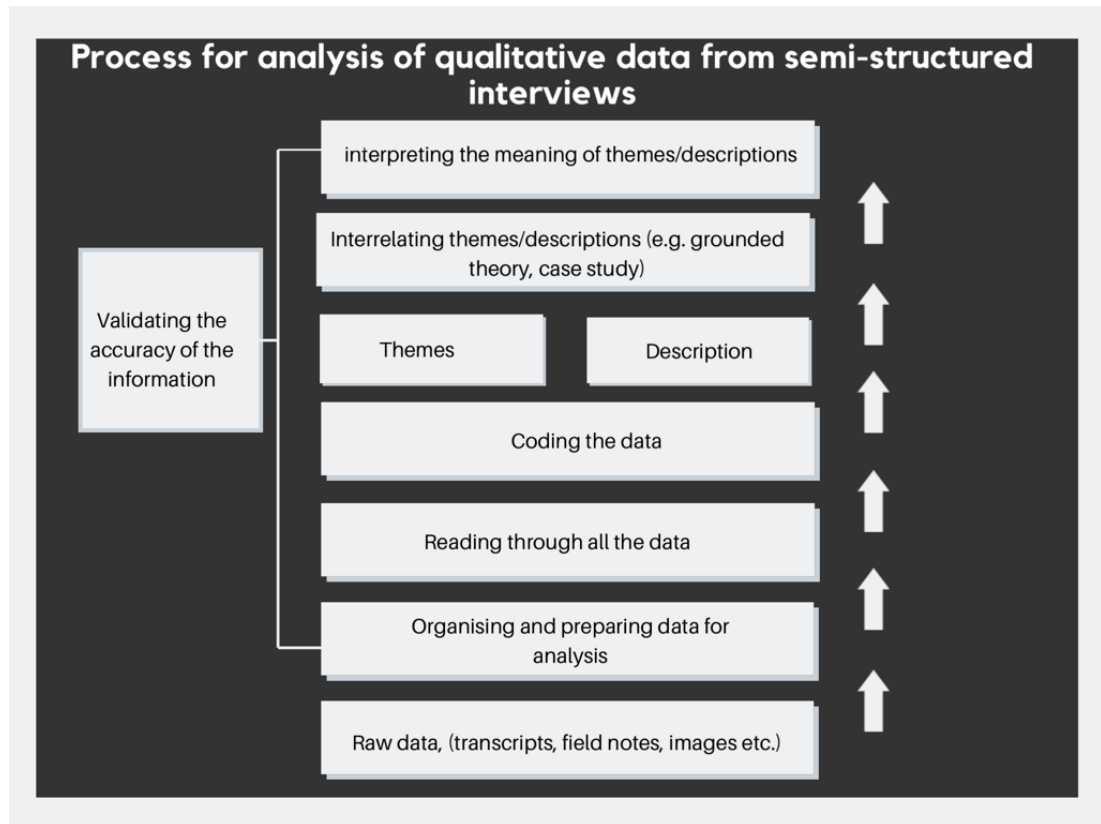
To ensure complete immersion in the data, I conducted interviews with all participants across both groups. Additionally, every interview recording was reviewed and transcripts were personally reviewed. This allowed me the opportunity to listen, reflect, understand and then check the data.

Bazeley (2009) describes a three-step formula of 'Describe-Compare-Relate' when undertaking qualitative analysis. The first step of 'Describe' provides context for the study including sources of data and relevant demographic features. This step was relevant in the analysis of data across both participant groups. For the decision-maker group, providing context around the position of those individuals without compromising confidentiality was important. This demonstrated the seniority of the participants which also demonstrated the degree of separation between the intent of the program and the implementation. It would have been even more useful to disclose the differences between responses of individuals who were involved in the initial implementation (and likely to have had more buy-in) to those who became

involved in the program after implementation. However, revealing this information would likely have compromised participants' identities so the decision was to explore in further depth.

Providing context for the program Participant Group 2 was a relevant step to ensure clarity was provided around the different demographics within this one group. For example, providing a description of participants who were born in Australia (NESB2) and those who were born in non-English speaking countries (NESB1). This information was particularly relevant for the 'Compare' step in the analysis process. According to Bazeley (2009) the 'Compare' step identifies differences in characteristics and boundaries for nodes or broader themes between the different demographic groups. Within Participant Group 2, this step became particularly relevant across themes that were experienced or described differently between NESB1 and NESB2 participants.

The 'Relate' step allows the research to link data with established literature. In initially developing the conceptual framework for the research, the broad literature which related to the expected outcomes for the research was established. However, during analysis, additional themes emerged and as such I returned to the literature to establish further connections between my data and established literature. Whilst Bazeley's steps appear linear, in practice, I found myself bouncing between each step as I immersed myself more deeply in the data. For example, once I had completed the first analysis of the data from Participant Group 2, I identified a clear differentiation between perceptions of participants from NESB 1 and NESB 2 backgrounds within some topics. This resulted in having to create different contexts for these groups as it was clear in some instances that their experiences differed. This also led me to explore more broadly the demographics of participants who had completed the CALD RPP to determine the number of participants who were from NESB1 or NESB2 backgrounds. At this time, languages other than English was also explored as a result of this topic emerging consistently in the data. Figure 5 provides a demonstration of how Bazeley's 3 step formula was applied in practice to this data analysis.

Figure 5

Practical Application of Bazeley's 3 Step Formula in the Analysis of Data
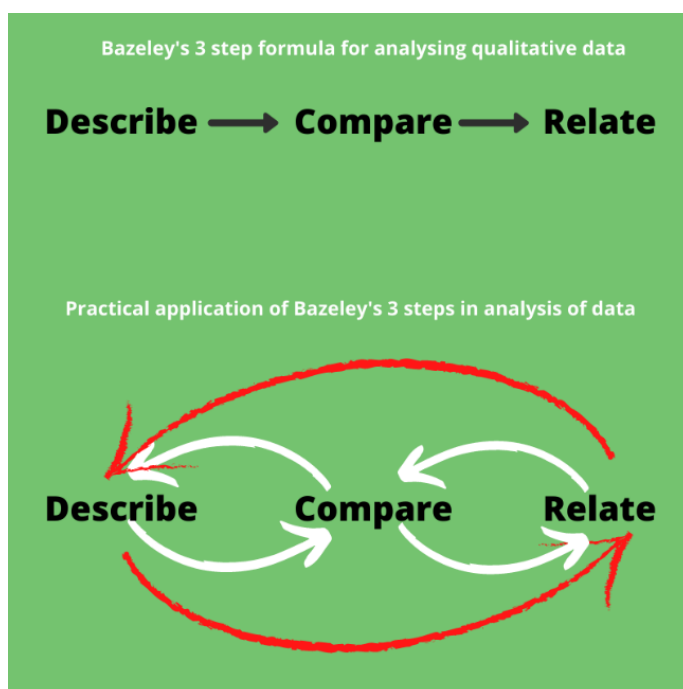
3.8 Trustworthiness and Rigour

Unlike traditionally quantitative terms of validity, reliability and generalisability, qualitative research relies on other standards of trustworthiness or rigour (Morrow, 2007). Morrow (2007) describes the importance of factors of adequacy of data (in type and amount), quality of analysis and researcher reflexivity. The importance of rich descriptions of data supported by quotes as well as including the addition of context from which the data was elicited is also highlighted by Morrow (2007).

Trustworthiness for the data within the research was increased through participants representing five of the six possible CALD RPP intake groups eligible to participate in the research project. Diversity in gender and NESB backgrounds was also noted. Researcher reflexivity was managed through the maintenance of fortnightly meetings with my research supervisor. Researcher bias and positionality formed a focus of these meetings particularly whilst gathering and analysing data. I was extremely conscious of many of the participants being bilingual and the potential for context to be lost in the transcription process. This was addressed through

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providing participants opportunity to review and adjust transcripts to ensure it was reflective of their lived experiences.

3.9 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations for the research were considered in terms of the potential risks (physical, social, legal, psychological and ethical) as well as measures to maintain and ensure confidentiality of information and identifying particulars of candidates. These details were covered in a University of Southern Queensland (USQ) Human Research Ethics Application (H19REA246). This application was approved by the USQ Human Research Ethics Committee on the 25/11/21. In addition, approval for the study was sought and granted from the Queensland Police Service Research Committee (QPSRC-1219-3.04) on 18/12/19.

To ensure data was collected in a way that does not put the respondents at risk, informed consent forms which outlined the rights of participants, information surrounding the study and publication of outcomes, assurance of confidentiality and storage of data. Participants were also assured they were able to withdraw their consent at any time. Participants were informed the study may be published, and any direct quotes used from participants in any presentations or publications would be de-identified. Information was also provided in relation to the researcher's role and the participants' involvement (or not) with the research having no impact on their employment within the organisation.

Another ethical consideration was performing work-based research in my current organisation. Maintenance of confidentiality of information, particularly of participants also working for the organisation needed to be maintained. To do this, I ensured that any conversations about the research or participants were conducted with high consideration of confidentiality of participants including any identifying data such as cultural background, gender or CALD RPP intake.

In addition to the above measures, I was careful to remove any potentially identifying particulars for all participants. This included gender or reference to cultural background. During interviews, some participants referred to other individuals within their CALD RPP intake and this information was also redacted to ensure confidentiality of the identity of the participant was maintained. In addition to the above measures, I created a unique coding system to identify and differentiate

participants. I was able to differentiate between NESB1 and NESB 2 status for participant 2 individuals. Also, the coding differentiated between group 1 and group 2 participants, however, no further identifiers were applied to coding.

Richards (cited in Bazeley, 2009) provides five indicators of sufficiency for analysing data. These indicators are simplicity, coherence, completeness, robustness and the data needs to make sense to the relevant audience. As a workplace researcher, it was possible to consider all aspects of data to be important, however, upon reflection, this was not always the case. As per Richard's advice, a 'small polished gem of a theory' is far greater than a 'mere pebble of truism'.

To initially make sense of the data, each transcript was read and relevant sections coded into 'nodes' in the search for meaningful topics. Each section of the interview transcripts was initially aligned with a node which resulted in more than 50 nodes. Following this first analysis, a review of the nodes was conducted to identify similarities between nodes. Key categories were identified within which nodes were grouped. This assisted in identifying repeated data.

3.10   Chapter summary

This chapter outlined the research design, researcher positionality, participants, data collection methods, data storage, management and analysis. The chapter also provided trustworthiness and rigour and ethical considerations. The following chapter provides results and themes following analysis of the data.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

4.1 Chapter Introduction

This chapter provides analysis of the themes identified following thematic analysis of data generated from two groups of participant interviews as well as organisational statistical data made available to the researcher. As outlined within the previous chapter, two distinct participant groups were interviewed for this research. Group 1 was made up of current and previous senior decision-makers for the CALD RPP within the QPS. The purpose of interviewing this group was to gain insight and direction for interview questions aimed at group 2 which was made up of ex CALD RPP participants. Data from group 2 were analysed in-depth with themes and sub-themes elicited from the data.

Analysis of data gained from group 1 was relevant and insightful and generated clear themes for focus for interviews with group 2. The results of the data from Participant Group 1 will be provided briefly however data from Participant Group 2 will form the bulk of this chapter. Direct quotes from individual participants are presented and are indented, italicised and referenced to the participant's allocated code. Due to the size of each of the participant groups, reference to gender has not been made. As such participants will be referred to as 'they' or 'the participant' rather than 'he' or 'she'. Any other reference to information that may compromise confidentiality has been removed. For example, within Participant Group 2, any reference to intake number, other recruit names or ethnicity has been removed to ensure confidentiality of participants.

The chapter will be separated into themes elicited from Participant Group 1 and Participant Group 2. Themes emerging from both groups will be discussed separately.

4.2 Participant Group 1 - Decision-Maker Group

Of the four participants within Participant Group 1, two were involved in the initial implementation of the CALD RPP and the other two were involved in more recent developments and decision making for the program within the QPS. Whilst it would have been meaningful to identify the position and influence of the participant

on the CALD RPP, this information was not included due to the small number of participants and to maintain their confidentiality.

Analysis of the Group 1 interviews revealed they held a range of different insights and beliefs around the implementation and intent of the CALD RPP. Two participants provided insight into the initial implementation as well as the intent and objectives (PG1.1 and PG1.3). The remaining two participants (PG1.2 and PG1.4) were not involved in the implementation of the CALD RPP and commenced their positions after the program had begun and was operational. PG1.4 provided very little insight into the objectives of the program. Following analysis of the data, two broad themes emerged as outlined in Figure 6.

Figure 6

Participant Group 1 (Decision-maker) Themes

The following provides an outline of key observations within these themes as well as quoted content from Group 1 participants to provide validation of the observations.

4.2.1   Participant Group 1: Theme 1 Recruitment

Systematic bias against people from minority groups and barriers to minority recruitment were reflected in interviews with PG1.1 and PG1.3. Both identified one objective of the CALD RPP was to mitigate identified barriers through creating a targeted employment pathway.

> So we actually started to dig down and I started to ask some more, I guess, questions around what were the barriers to people from CALD backgrounds that join the police. And looking at some case studies and when we actually did some analysis, we found that there was quite a few applicants, but very few of them were getting in. (PG1.3)

Participant PG1.3 highlighted the importance of adjusting recruiting processes to overcome barriers for applicants from ethnic minorities.

> So it was clear to us that if we continue to recruit that way we were recruiting without particular consideration to the unique problems that CALD, or challenges that CALD applicants have, we were never going to increase our representation, our diversity in the organization. (PG1.3)

Recruitment standards and selection processes were discussed by three participants (PG1.1, PG1.2, and PG1.3). All three participants emphasised the importance of ensuring recruits met recruiting standards. Participant PG1.3 highlighted the potential dangers to the individual and the organisational reputation in failing to adequately achieve this. Contrary to this and importantly, nuances within PG1.2 and PG1.3 discussions demonstrated the belief that an objective of the CALD RPP was to bring CALD RPP recruits up to a standard to be competitive with their peers within the Recruit Training Program. PG 1.2 specifically stated the program was intended to raise the skill level of CALD RPP participants in order to undertake the Recruit Training Program:

The purpose of the bridging course theoretically was for those individuals that perhaps just fell short of the requisite entry standard, could undergo a course that built their skills and knowledge to up to the requisite standard and then they could join the mainstream. The theory being that without the bridging course, these people would never have met the QPS entry standard. Hence, we've missed capturing people that would otherwise have just missed out. (PG1.2)

Participant PG1.2 also shared observations of inadequate selection of recruits into the CALD RPP based on CALD eligibility criteria rather than suitability (or merit) which impacted on the legitimacy of the program:

The problem is that ... it became very political ... if they were up to speed, they were put in this program to keep the program alive and tick the political box, which I think is discriminatory. If they were up to speed, they should have just gone straight into the mainstream program. To keep them away from the mainstream program and make them do a bridging course just because it's politically attractive is a horrible treatment of them and sets us back in an area that we're supposed to be achieving in. (PG1.2)

This was echoed in discussion from participant PG1.1 who questioned parameters for targeting potential CALD applicants in recruitment:

I think it can improve the cultural diversity of the QPS. But I think we've got to be careful with the CALD program that we don't target, quote unquote, easy groups and that we actually look at what is reflective of the community in Queensland. So it's very easy for us to target children of immigrants who were perhaps born in Australia, but speak the language of their parents' country. And in my view, whilst they are culturally diverse from the general population, they're not coming from an external country with completely different cultures

and parameters. So we've got to be careful that we target the right people, if we want to improve the wider cultural sensitivity and performance of the QPS. (PG1.1)

4.2.2   Participant Group 1: Theme 2 Cultural Capability

Cultural diversity leading to cultural capability and subsequent trust-building within communities was referenced by participants PG1.1, PG1.3 and PG1.4. Increasing workforce diversity was highlighted by two participants (PG1.1 and PG 1.3) as an important objective of the CALD RPP. PG1.1 discussed the importance of diversity and representation across all levels within the organisation:

> from a strategic HR point of view if you look 10 or 15 years down the track, some of these successful CALD recruits will be in positions of influence within our organization, which will also which is also a really important way of making sure our decisions on how we police into the future take into account a broader view of the communities that we're policing, because people from those communities are now in decision making or decision influencing parts of the QPS. (PG1.1)

Participants PG1.1, PG1.3 and PG1.4 identified the necessity to generate greater cultural capability within the QPS workforce and acknowledged the CALD RPP was intended to contribute to this. Increased cultural capability was also believed to be linked with increased trust within the CALD communities:

> Why is that important within an organisation? It creates internal harmony. It creates respect. It gives us a greater understanding of the community we police. It helps us initiate conversations with victims of crime. It gives us a network where we can help victims of crime and support them. It starts to build that trust so that people do support each other. And I think what was remarkable, both with the indigenous pathway and the CALD pathway is that police officers that they worked with would take a great interest in their backgrounds and

would start to sort of informally mentor them, because they really wanted to

make it. (PG1.3)

PG1.3 also noted increased diversity was intended to increase cultural awareness and capability within the organisation: "We learn from each other. We learn about different cultures that helps us be better police officers, but also helps us be better people because we start to understand the various idiosyncrasies that all cultures have". (PG1.3)

Perceptual and political value of the program for the QPS was mentioned by participants PG1.1, PG1.2 and PG1.3:

when it happened, the support for policing and the respect for policing went

through the roof. Because this was ground-breaking. I'm not aware of any other

police department who had done it or even today. So Queensland Police led the

way in this regard. And I think we already had very good relationships with

CALD communities, but this went one further step. This was demonstrating, a

very overt demonstration that the police were serious about, not just diversity,

but their relationship with different communities. (PG1.3)

Additionally, this participant described the importance of the program in providing an avenue of engagement with CALD communities leading to greater recruitment opportunities for CALD people:

This was just a fantastic opportunity to engage with them and say 'hey we'd

love your sons and daughters, your brothers and sisters to join with us. And I

know it's been tough, and you've probably heard stories about people who

wanted to join and couldn't; but look, this is a new pathway that will help them

get there'. (PG1.3)

Participant PG1.1 emphasised the importance of the QPS workforce understanding and interacting with other cultures with respect and the impact of failing to do so has the potential to create organisational reputational harm.

Insights and themes identified throughout the interviews with decision-makers formed the basis and foundation for semi-structured interviews with participants within group two. The following section provides themes and subthemes identified following interviews with the CALD RPP participant group (Participant Group 2). This section begins with an overview of the key themes identified.

4.3 Participant Group 2 CALD RPP Participant Themes

Four distinct themes emerged through the thematic analysis of the interview transcripts from Participant Group 2 interviews. These themes are identified as Recruitment, Cultural Connection, Racism and Micro-Aggression and Support Networks. Within each of these main themes, several subthemes also emerged. Figure 7 depicts these main themes and subthemes.

Figure 7

Participant Group 2 (CALD RPP Participant) Themes

PARTICIPANT GROUP 2 THEMES

THEME 1: RECRUITMENT

- Marketing and communication
- Prior/no prior knowledge of the CALD RPP
- Perceptions of program eligibility and entry standards

THEME 2: CULTURAL CONNECTION

THEME 3: RACISM AND MICRO-AGGRESSION

- Experiences with other recruits
- Experiences with facilitators and other QPS members
- Impacts of accents on experiences

THEME 4: PEER SUPPORT NETWORKS
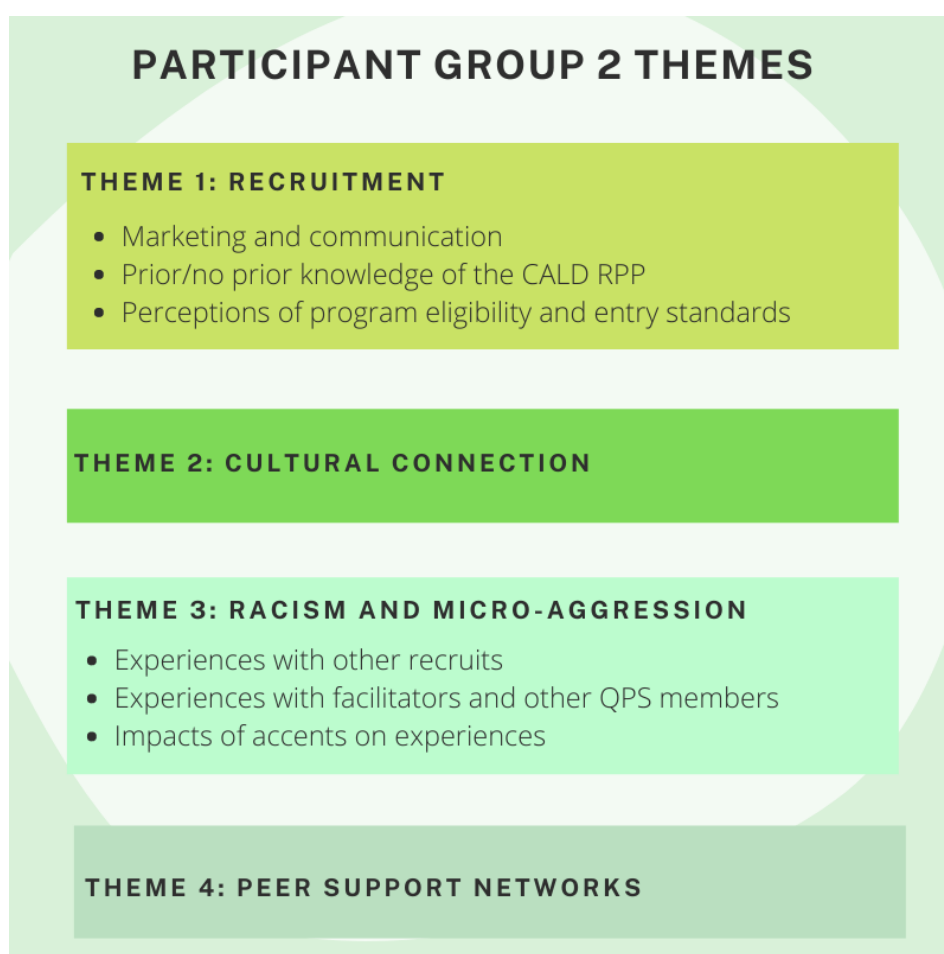
The next sections present findings from thematic analysis of semi-structured interviews with participants from Group 2. For this group, references are made to the codes of participants as well as whether the participant was born in a non-English speaking country (NESB1) or whether they were born in Australia but had one or more parents born in a non-English speaking country (NESB2). These distinctions are important as it was noted from the qualitative data that each of these groups of participants experienced and perceived the CALD RPP differently.

4.3.1   Participant Group 2: Theme 1 Recruitment

The theme of recruitment was one of the strongest themes identified through the analysis. This theme captured areas of recruitment marketing, communication and engagement as well as the recruitment process itself. This theme also incorporated perceptions of participants around eligibility criteria and selection standards for CALD applicants.

4.3.1.1 Marketing and Communication

This sub-theme points to the availability and clarity of information about the CALD RPP for interested applicants. External and internal marketing and communication of the CALD RPP, objectives and eligibility criteria was noted to be minimal or at best, conflicting. This was reflected in the confusion of six participants (PG2.2, PG2.3, PG2.4, PG2.5, PG2.10, PG2.11) who were unsure of recruitment processes into the CALD RPP, despite many of these participants forming the intention of gaining entry via this pathway. PG2.3 described uncertainty around the recruitment process:

> It was a little bit confusing because ... the only information that referring to the CALD was only this little tick box that if you are eligible or not for CALD program. And it was a little bit confusing for me. I was like, do I like apply, do I compete with other CALD program applicants? Or do I just like go through like pretty much everything and then just eligible for CALD program? So it was a bit confusing. (PG2.3, NESB1)

Participant PG2.14 believed the CALD RPP was a full Recruit Training Program and not a pathway program:

I wouldn't say it was exactly what I had expected, because my understanding was, the whole CALD Program itself was to become a police officer. I did not know that it was initially three months of like a warming up process, or like fine tuning recruits to fit into the mainstream ... I thought the whole CALD program is designed for people with cultural background to go through and become a police officer. (PG2.14, NESB1)

Of the ten participants interviewed, there was a clear delineation between those who were aware of the CALD RPP and/or intended to gain entry via that pathway compared with others who were not. Of those who were not previously aware of the CALD RPP, some became aware as a result of discussions, interviews or interactions with QPS Recruiting.

4.3.1.2 Prior knowledge of the CALD RPP

Table 2 depicts the number of participants who were aware of the CALD RPP prior to receiving an offer of appointment to the program. The table differentiates between NESB1 and NESB2 status of participants.

Table 2

Knowledge of CALD RPP Prior to Application

CALD Status	Aware of CALD RPP		
	Yes	No	Unknown
NESB 1	6	0	2
NESB 2	0	2	0

Of the 10 participants, 6 participants indicated being aware of the CALD RPP prior to making an application to join the QPS (PG2.1, PG2.3, PG2.5, PG2.7, PG2.8, PG2.14). Notably, all of the six participants were identified as being from NESB 1 backgrounds. Neither of the NESB2 background participants were aware of CALD RPP and as such were not able to formulate an intention of applying for entry via that pathway. Of the six (NESB1) participants aware of the CALD RPP, four (PG2.3, PG2.7, PG2.8, PG2.14) indicated a clear intention of trying (or hoping) to gain entry into the QPS via the CALD RPP pathway. The following was offered in relation to the impact of the CALD RPP being on offer as a pathway into the QPS:

> At first I searched on Google to see what the recruitment procedure is. And while doing a lot of research I came across an article somewhere, that I cannot remember, about this CALD recruitment where it's a different or parallel pathway where people with diverse backgrounds have an opportunity to become a police officer in Queensland. So I was like … OK I think I might fit

the bill and I may give it a go … I knew that if I did get in, there is a pretty

good chance that I may be going through the CALD recruitment process to

become a police officer. Even though initially I didn't know what it actually

meant, I knew that this is not going to be the same for like for any other

mainstream applicant. (PG2.14, NESB1)

Another described experiencing self-doubt in their ability to apply to be a
police officer, however, gained confidence in believing the program was suited for
them:

So just before I applied, since I had doubt in myself, I actually talked to [QPS

contact] and he kind of like gave me all the information I needed. And that kind

of made me like maybe like really like I have a chance. So yeah, that's when I

first heard the CALD program … and then pretty much the day after I applied

for it, I actually had to go through some information sheet on the website and

there is was like, I was like, this just perfectly fit for me. So and straight after

that, I just applied for it. (PG2.3, NESB1)

Two participants noted receiving encouragement from QPS Police Liaison
Officers to apply for the program:

One day I went out for shopping and met two liaison officers and one cultural

unit sergeant… Then I talk to them about how to join the police. Then I was

referred to the CALD program. So it's especially designed for the English is

their second language. Then I looked at the website. I put my application in.

oh I think it's perfect design for especially like me … but all I needed to

improve my language skill. I think that the program would be perfect design

for me. (PG2.7, NESB1)

PG2.8 shared that they felt encouraged to apply via the CALD RPP, believing
they would have a greater chance of entry: "yeah so I wasn't sure whether I'd get

into it, get accepted or not. But for me like with a CALD program I think probably think I will have more chance than normal, like mainstream". (PG2.8, NESB1)

Participants PG2.3, PG2.7 and PG2.8 indicated knowledge of the CALD RPP as an option gave them encouragement and/or confidence to apply to join the QPS. Participant PG2.8 believed the CALD RPP appeared to reduce barriers for ethnic minority applicants:

> made me feel like it's possible for people who were not born in Australia still want to join this job. Like I know most of us, trying to be a police officer, before I just think I'm not Australian, I wouldn't be able to do this … but because the CALD program make us think there's hope we can do our dream job. (PG2.8, NESB1)

Participants PG2.1 and PG2.5 (both NESB1) were aware of the pathway but were not clear as to whether they had intended to gain entry to the QPS via the CALD RPP. Participant PG2.1 outlined being provided information about the CALD RPP upon making a phone call to QPS Recruiting. At this time the participant requested information about the QPS recruitment pathways and upon hearing the participant's accent, the QPS Recruiting call taker provided the participant with information about the CALD RPP. This participant did not specifically articulate having applied with the intention of gaining entry via the CALD RPP, however, provided positive feedback in relation to their experience of gaining entry via this pathway and completing the CALD RPP:

> In all my experience with the CALD was very great. It's a very good program for anyone from different backgrounds wanting to join the QPS. Participating in the CALD program does give pace ahead others that will be starting as a Mainstream applicant. So I really enjoyed it and it was a great experience for me. (PG2.1, NESB1)

Despite PG2.5 (NESB1) outlining they were aware of the CALD RPP, it is also unclear as to whether they had the intention of gaining entry via the CALD RPP. This is reflected in the following comment: "I heard there is a CALD program, but I

didn't know too much about it. So, I've checked the website and read about it. And there was no application for that. You know, you apply like everybody else". (PG2.5, NESB1)

4.3.1.3 No prior knowledge of the CALD RPP

Four out of the ten participants interviewed indicated they were unaware of the CALD RPP prior to applying to join the QPS (PG2.2, PG2.4, PG2.10, PG2.11). Notably, two of these participants were born and educated in Australia (NESB2), and another participant was born in a non main-English speaking country and whilst they technically met the criteria for NESB1, the participant spoke only English. Participant PG2.2 (NESB1), despite being born in a country where English is not the first language and spoke other languages, initially did not consider themselves to being culturally diverse. When asked, this participant provided the following on their experience of being recruited via a CALD RPP pathway:

> I was a bit surprised by the experience. I never thought of myself as being part of a diverse culture … I initially felt like, I can speak English well, I didn't need much of a transition. But later on, I saw that it actually helped to have that extra 10 weeks. There are variances in culture, in the Australian Culture, that I wouldn't have understood properly if it hadn't been discussed during the program. (PG2.2, NESB1)

It is noted that whilst this participant did not intend on entering via a CALD RPP pathway, their experience in the program was positive and provided an indication of gaining benefit at having completed the program.

Participant PG2.10 (NESB2) shared the experience of being offered an appointment to a CALD RPP after being advised of receiving a low score in a QPS Recruiting interview panel. Given the option of having to complete an additional panel interview and compete with mainstream or enter via CALD RPP, the participant opted for the latter. The participant was unaware of the CALD RPP pathway before being offered a position in the program:

Recruiting, they called me and they said, hey, we have a couple of options for you in terms of progressing your application … the first option was, we do a panel interview because we felt that you weren't as confident as you might have thought you were in the interview and we feel like, there's this program that the QPS is going to be trialling and we feel like you might be a good candidate for that. And then they told me the second option was the CALD program … They kind of sold it to me like, hey, this program might help you build confidence. Is that something you'd be interested in? And I said, yeah, sure. I didn't really want to redo my panel interview. And I thought, if I can get into the QPS through this alternate entry, then so be it, I will give it a go. (PG2.10, NESB2)

Two participants initially confused at being offered appointment to the CALD RPP, believed they were being recruited as a Police Liaison Officer not a police recruit (PG2.4, NESB1, and PG 2.11, NESB2). One of these participants described the following conversation with a QPS Recruiting officer after being offered a position in the CALD RPP:

my first words were, 'would I still be able to do general duties?' … and we both had a laugh and he said, yeah, he said it's just another I guess, pathway into policing. So it was a three month program before actual Mainstream. Yeah. Kind of eased me, I thought I was going to be a PLO or something. (PG2.4, NESB1)

It is noted that neither of the participants who met the NESB2 criteria as well as another participant who met the NESB1 criteria but spoke no languages other than English, had knowledge of the CALD RPP nor formed any intention of gaining entry via this pathway. This leads into the next sub-theme within the theme of Recruitment being perceptions of program eligibility and entry standards.

4.3.1.4 Perceptions of Program Eligibility and Entry Standards

This sub-theme within the Recruitment theme provides perceptions, descriptions and experiences of participants around eligibility criteria for the CALD RPP as well as selection into the program. The results and discussions around eligibility for participants often led to the question of entry and merit standards, hence the two topics will be presented concurrently. Within this theme, participants expressed consistent confusion and questioned eligibility criteria and recruitment entry standards.

Seven participants (PG2.3, PG2.5, PG2.7, PG2.8, PG2.10, PG2.11, PG2.14) believed eligibility criteria for the program was (or should have been) the requirement to speak multiple languages. However, in the experience of these participants, this was not the case with many of their program colleagues having been born and educated in Australia. It was also observed that many recruits in the program had limited or no cultural connection nor spoke any languages other than English. This observation was noted across both NESB1 and NESB 2 participants.

Participant PG2.5 (NESB1) differentiated between those born in Australia (or with no other language skills) and others. The participant referred to those with language skills other than English or who were first-generation migrants as 'true CALDies'. Participant PG2.10 (NESB2), being one of the program recruits born and educated within Australia believed the program was not for someone like her, but rather participants who were bi-lingual: "Maybe a review on the pre-requisites for the program. I feel like someone who is actually from a non-English speaking background. Someone who can actually speak a second language. They would benefit from the program". (PG 2.10, NESB2)

The inclusion of participants with such a diverse grasp of the English language and understanding of Australian culture created a distinct flow-on effect to the classroom environment as this created diverse learning requirements. This effect was noted by participants PG2.10 and PG2.11 (both NESB2) as well as participants PG2.5, PG2.8 and PG2.14 (all NESB1):

> So in my intake … there was a distinct difference between persons that got into
>
> the program purely based on the pre-requisite that one of their parents was from
>
> a non-English speaking background. However, there were also some

participants who were recruited into the program where English was their second language. They had not done education in Australia. And so there was a marked difference between their grasp with the concepts and persons like myself, that have been raised in Australia, have been to school and university in Australia and had no issues in comprehending the content. (PG 2.10, NESB2)

Participant PG2.11 noted similar thoughts:

Yeah I think we had maybe 18 people and think maybe about five were born overseas and didn't have English as their first language. And I think of all they benefitted, probably the most from the CALD program. And I think I guess that's probably the demographic that probably needed to be targeted by the CALD program. (PG2.11, NESB2)

This differentiation was also noted by participants who were within the NESB1 group, leading some to question as to the legitimacy of the program: "or even some people they were born here, so they speak perfect Australian English with Australian accents, which means they have no issue with English at all. Then I feel like, oh well, why are they here?" (PG2.8, NESB1)

Variances in the application of eligibility criteria impacted on participants in a range of ways including some questioning the legitimacy of the entry (merit) standard. Participants believed others' perceptions of the entry standard for the CALD RPP was set lower than those who gained entry directly into the mainstream Recruit Training Program. This perception was articulated in various ways. Participant PG2.14 (NESB1) believed the CALD RPP was intended to increase the success rate of recruits from ethnic minorities due to not attaining the standard of mainstream recruits.

So then it came to my mind, okay probably the mainstream applicants are of a higher standard, and QPS just don't want to waste their money or time or whatever spent on recruits in CALD and when then they're going to

mainstream they should not fail. So maybe that's maybe why these things are in process? To reduce the failure rate? (PG2.14, NESB1)

Despite enjoying completing the program, Participant PG2.5 made it clear they had not personally elected to enter via that pathway. This participant believed they had met the required entry standard for mainstream Recruit Training and despite this, was still required to complete a further 10 weeks of training on the basis of being from a CALD background.

> This CALD program was new to me, so when I first received the offer, I was very excited. I was also thinking, oh, that means 10 extra weeks of assessments and exams before the mainstream (recruit training) even though we all passed the same exams. (PG 2.5, NESB 1)

This participant was conflicted in their views of the CALD RPP. To one extent, the participant indicated they believed the perception of others was that the completion of CALD RPP put them at an advantage due to receiving extra training. Conversely, the participant also indicated the perception of others was that completion of the CALD RPP meant participants had not met entry standards, hence requiring additional training.

Significantly, despite feeling a sense of disadvantage and disparity between the participant and others who went directly into the mainstream Recruit Training program, PG2.5 outlined that if given an opportunity to choose, they would have elected to complete the CALD RPP.

PG2.3 referred to 'the elephant in the room' indicating some recruits gained entry into the CALD RPP based on meeting eligibility criteria of cultural diversity but had not met entry standards. The participant indicated some recruits should not have progressed past the CALD RPP and questioned the validity of recruitment methods for the program.

> personally … the program itself was just so good. It worked for me. But I'm just going to talk about this elephant in the room. I, like personally, I thought not everyone was eligible for being a police officer … it could be some people wasn't ready I guess. Some people just not, I don't see them as a police officer.

I wouldn't feel comfortable working with them. And I'm not sure how the recruiting process works for the CALD program, but I guess…I don't know what they actually looking at when they recruit the CALDies, but maybe they put the bar a little higher. (PG2.3, NESB1)

The indication from this officer was that some program participants may have been set up for failure as they did not have the necessary attributes (including necessary English language skills) for policing. Being recruited via a CALD RPP pathway for two NESB 2 participants as well as for one NESB1 participant who spoke only English, impacted the experience of these members to a negative extent. Whilst grateful to be offered a position within the QPS, entry via this pathway left these participants confused as to why they did not commence directly into a mainstream recruit intake.

Perception of inconsistencies applied to entry standards and merit also appeared to have been discussed *between* CALD RPP participants. Participant PG2.3 described conversations with other participants from NESB2 backgrounds who described believing they had only been selected for the CALD RPP due to failing to meet the entry standard for mainstream recruit training:

> What I heard from them, they kinda feel, I guess like they thought they only made it to CALD because they didn't meet the merit standard, I guess. So they kind of like little bit self-conscious about it. And most of them say they didn't really get benefit ... from the CALD program. (PG2.3, NESB1)

This was echoed in comments from PG2.11 (NESB2):

> I was a little taken aback, to be honest, because at that stage I had 10 years in (employment) and I had two university degrees and I sort of thought, oh well I could have just not had those things and still got in. I mean I was still happy to get a position, but I still thought I wish I sort of got it on different merits. (PG2.11, NESB 2)

Participant PG2.4 shared experiences of hearing casual jokes regarding the lower selection standard for the CALD RPP. The participant provided the following comment when asked how these jokes and comments affected them: "I guess inferior … I felt that I could have gone through the normal recruiting process, but I was just happy to get in any way that I could have." (PG 2.4, NESB1)

Despite the participant's experience, they believed the program was valuable however also believed applicants should be more strenuously vetted and they should not be provided with a guaranteed entry into the Recruit Training Program following completion of the CALD RPP.

PG2.11 (NESB2) found themselves waiting in what they referred to as the 'merit pool' for an extended period. More than two years after applying for the QPS (mainstream Recruit Training Program), the participant received contact from QPS Recruiting, being offered a position within the CALD RPP. Somewhat confused at the offer, the participant believed they had been selected based on their prior ability to speak a second language (not connected to their family ethnic background). Contrary to that belief, they were advised by Police Recruiting they had been selected due to a parent being born in a NESB country. The participant described initially feeling wary as they did not align with their parents' cultural upbringing or speak the associated language. The participant described the feeling of not wanting to come across like a fraud:

> So I was sitting down with her [QPS psychologist] and she said something like, you know, it's ten extra weeks but at least you're finally in. And I said, what you mean it's 10 extra weeks? Why have I gotta do 10 extra weeks? And she's like, oh, has no one told you, you're down to participate in the CALD program. And I was like, oh, Ok, well what's that? She goes, oh, the Culturally and Linguistically Diverse. And that's when I said, oh, is it because … because I speak (a language other than English)? And she goes, no, it's because your Dad was born in (a non-English speaking country). And I was like, oh, okay. I was a bit wary because I don't speak (Father's native language) and I'm not (associated faith). I don't want to come across as a fraud. And she said, no, no,

you fit the criteria because I was from a non-English speaking background.

(PG 2.11, NESB2)

This same participant described having two university degrees and extended experience in the Australian military and as such was confused as to the selection process and eligibility criteria. The participant indicated the belief of being recruited via the CALD RPP resulting from family lineage to which the participant did not feel culturally aligned (the topic of Cultural Connection will be introduced later in this chapter).

Upon commencement in the CALD RPP, this participant identified there were other participants who had similar recruitment situations (i.e. Australian born but parent(s) from a NESB) which further created questions of the legitimacy of the program. The participant indicated receiving a sense of comfort knowing there were other program participants from similar situations and who didn't feel a sense of cultural connection to their family heritage:

> So when I first got to the academy it was sort of alleviated because I lived in and the first bloke I met was a guy called [X]. And he goes, I'm here in the CALD program, he's like, my Dad's from [a NESB country], but I don't speak [that language]. The next guy he's like, oh my Dad's from [NESB country] but I don't speak [that language]. Like it was sort of we're all in the same boat. So I was like, OK. (PG 2.11, NESB2)

This point leads to the topic of Cultural Connection and how this theme emerged within participant interviews.

4.3.2 Participant Group 2: Theme 2 Cultural Connection

A flow-on effect from the variations in eligibility and selection criteria resulted in diversity in the extent of cultural connection, capability and language skills of participants. Neither NESB2 participants and one NESB1 participant spoke any language other than English. Participant PG 2.11 noted having no cultural connection and confusion as to how they fit into the required demographic for the CALD RPP:

Because I hadn't really researched it, my first thought was that it might be, I guess, similar to a PLO standing and that maybe I'd be, I guess, utilised in that sort of community capacity. Which is where I was a bit wary because I don't really identify with any sort of community like that. So I was thinking I'll have to start studying I guess. (PG 2.11, NESB2)

An underlying expectation existed between participants that those completing the CALD RPP would speak languages other than English, however, as can be seen from Figure 8, this was not always the case.

Figure 8

Research Participants Who Spoke Languages Other Than English
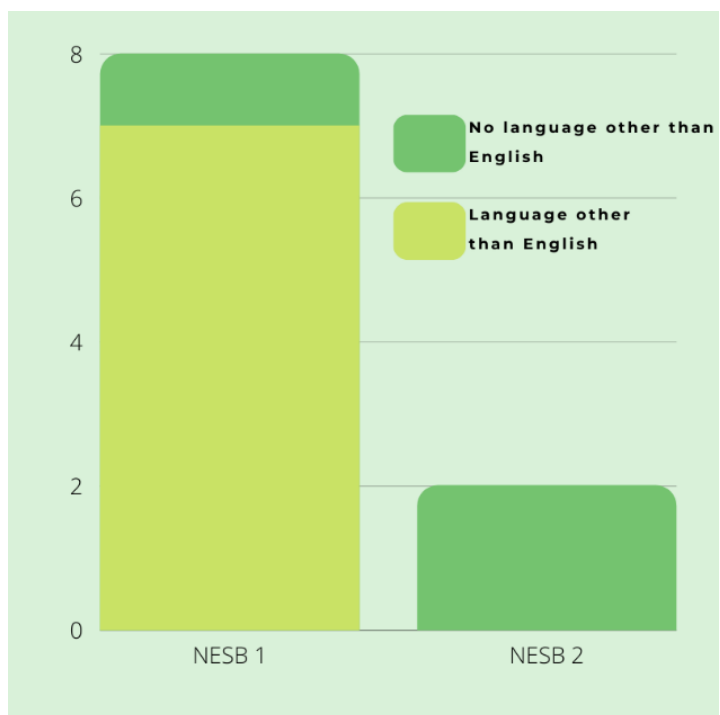
To provide perspective, demographic data from seven CALD RPP intakes was reviewed to determine ratio of participants born in primarily English-speaking countries (NESB2) compared with those who were born in countries where English is not the primary language (NESB1). From seven intakes and a total of 135 CALD RPP participants, it was identified that 41 participants (30%) were born in a NESB2 country. The percentages of NESB1 and NESB2 participants for each intake is shown in Figure 9:

Figure 9

Ratio of NESB1 and NESB2 Participants Within CALD RPP Intakes
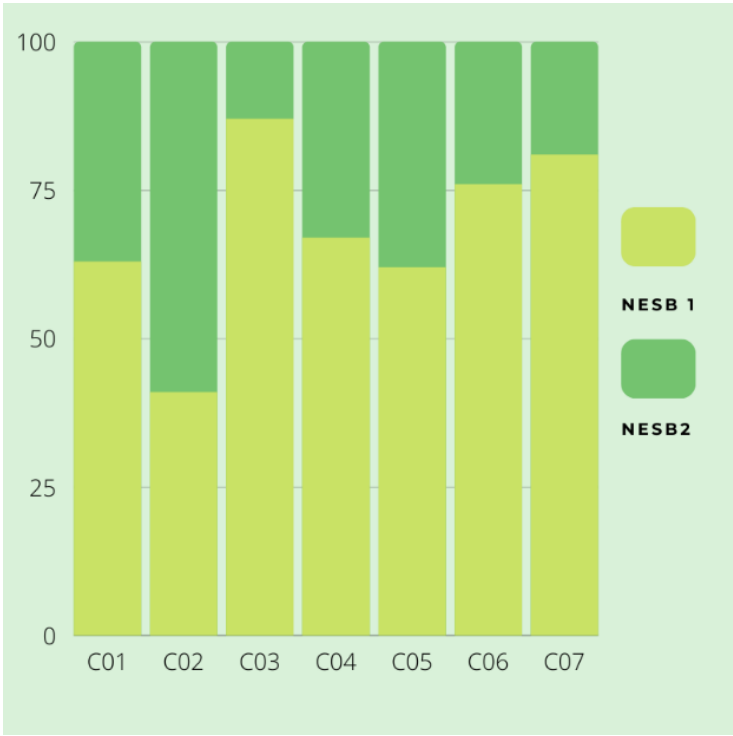
It was also noted that 28 participants (21%) of participants across the 135 CALD RPP recruits spoke no language other than English. Percentages of those who did and did not speak languages other than English are depicted in Figure 10:

Figure 10

Total Participants Who Spoke Languages Other Than English

Concern around language competence of some of their CALD RPP colleagues was expressed by PG2.14. This participant believed that all recruits should have a good grasp of the English language prior to entry into any recruit training program and not expect to l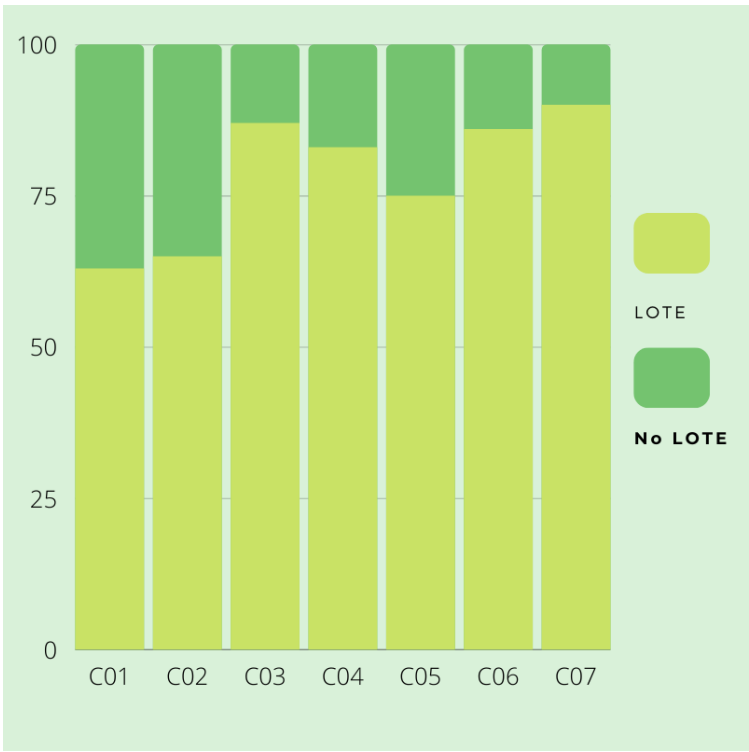earn or improve English skills via the program. This participant emphasised the importance of having well-developed English language skills prior to joining the QPS.

> learning English should not be there. Because that should be a standard skill a recruit should have to come to this job … If whoever is doing the recruitment, if they think that this applicant might need help with speaking, I don't think he should be a recruit. I think that's the level it should be otherwise there's going to be a lot of problems. (PG 2.14, NESB1)

Conversely, Participant PG2.7 (NESB1), noted the program increased their grasp of the English language.

> What we call Australian born Chinese or Australian born whatever, English is their native language. But they got a little bit of a cultural background. So I think CALD is more designed for the people like me where English is like second language. Yeah. As the police require higher level communication skills, writing skills, the course tried to help us lift our language skills. Which works for me. Yeah, yeah. I really appreciate that. (PG2.7, NESB1)

The differences between NESB1 and NESB2 participants as well as participants who spoke no language other than English meant there was a disparity in English language skills between participants. This impacted on the speed at which participants were able to learn the curriculum and the overall pace of the training program. The learning requirements and support necessary for a participant who has English as a second language and who was raised in a cultural environment different to Australia is distinct from a participant who was born and raised in Australia regardless of their cultural background. Both NESB1 and NESB2 participants noted the impact of differences in language competence on the curriculum and program delivery. One NESB 2 and native English speaker, noted program facilitators

attempted to adapt to the different levels within the program but this was met with difficulty.

> they didn't know what where everyone was at in terms of their grasp of maybe the English language. Because there were a lot of people that were from non-English speaking backgrounds. So they didn't know where everyone was at in terms of that. So they were kind of trying to teach a mixed class. It wasn't targeted at my sort of level of understanding. (PG 2.10, NESB2)

A participant from a NESB1 background who spoke multiple languages also reflected this view:

> In the CALD program there are people coming from overseas with different levels of English. This will slow down the class because they are not as fast as someone who speaks only one language and who was born here and went to school in this country. However, that is not an excuse to believe they are dumb or slow learners. (PG2.5, NESB1)

It is noted that the abovementioned participant appeared to feel compelled to defend their intelligence and/or the intelligence of other NESB1 participants.

The differences in language skills had varying impacts on the perspectives and experiences of participants. Some participants specifically noted surprise or confusion around other recruits completing the program who had *no* language skills other than English. PG2.5 expressed this confusion around this point: "At first, I was very surprised to have so many Australians in my CALD squad and most of them were only speaking English, so they were only culturally diverse and not linguistically diverse". (PG 2.5, NESB1)

This participant's responses demonstrated their experience was affected by the inconsistency in the selection criteria for program participants. They also noted they were impacted by not being able to choose to participate in the CALD RPP. Participant PG2.8 very clearly questioned the legitimacy of the selection criteria: "so they speak perfect Australian English with Australian accents, which means they

have no issue with English at all. Then I feel like, oh well why are they here?" (PG 2.8, NESB1).

The differences in learning requirements for participants from NESB1 and NESB 2 backgrounds led to mixed views around why the less culturally or linguistically diverse participants gained entry via this pathway. One perception focussed on meeting numerical (government) targets:

I had one facilitator, so once we joined mainstream, we had interviews to see how we were going … adapting to mainstream. And then when I sat down for my interview, the facilitator said 'we don't really need to speak to you, you're just here to make up the numbers'. That was sort of the perception, that we got sort of chucked into fill up the CALD program. (PG2.11, NESB2)

Another indicated the perception of being placed in the program to assist those who were NESB1:

I guess we would give them more assistance. Like in our study groups and stuff like that, it was sort of unspoken that they were part of the reason that we were there to help. So especially like stuff like communication, to us it was just second nature. That was something we used as a benefit I guess. But there was never like an 'us and them' mentality. (PG2.11, NESB2)

Another NESB2 participant noted their ability to support other participants due to their high-level language skills:

I know personally for me, because I was able to grasp a lot of the content, I found I was able to help some of the participants in the program where English wasn't their first language. And those were the people that I tended to become really good friends with as well. (PG2.10, NESB2)

Receipt of support from native English-speaking participants was reflected in comments from PG2.3 (NESB1):

I guess like having them kinda helped me, like some stuff that I can't understand about, like it could be just English or likes Australian culture, I can just easily reach them and then ask about it. There was no judgement because we were kind of like all on the same level. And then they kinda understood, oh ok, these peoples are fresh in Australia. (PG2.3, NESB1)

4.3.2.1 Use of cultural capability in policing role

Two participants (PG2.1 and PG2.2) described experiences of being able to use their cultural knowledge or language skills as part of their role in various policing incidents. This was portrayed positively in their discourse. Additionally, participants PG2.14 and PG2.2 expressed a degree of disappointment at not being able to use their cultural capabilities or language skills as operational police officers. These participants indicated the belief that it was these capabilities for which they were employed by the QPS. Participant PG2.14 expressed the belief that they were employed specifically for their cultural skills and should be allocated to locations which allow them to capitalise on those skills.

4.3.3 one thing that I was hoping was that, OK, you go through 10 weeks of CALD program. Why? Because you have certain skills which the mainstream recruits don't have. And what are those skills? Obviously speaking different languages and knowing different culture ... so my first year, I did not come across anyone who I could have helped which a mainstream person would not be able to. (PG2.14, NESB1)Participant Group 2: Theme 3 Racism and Micro-Aggression

Analysis of data identified an underlying theme of direct racism as well as micro-aggressions experienced by participants before, during and after completion of the CALD RPP. Experiences ranged from subtle behaviours to more overt and racist behaviour. Some participants recognised and labelled the behaviours and experiences as such whilst others only inferred the behaviours. It is difficult to determine whether some of the experiences and perceptions of participants are a direct result of participating in the CALD RPP, due to the minority status of the participant(s) or a mixture of both factors. Participants experienced a range of negative behaviours and micro-aggressions from other recruits, staff and supervisors and colleagues as well as operational police officers.

4.3.3.1 Experiences with other recruits

Participant PG2.1 perceived negativity and exclusion from other recruits after completing the CALD RPP and then commencing in the Recruit Training Program. The negativity was directed at the participant personally as well as at the CALD RPP:

> it takes a while for everybody to blend in, most of the mainstream applicants does not want to relate with us the CALDies … sometimes it's hard for some of them to understand your accent whilst communicating with each other. But before by the end of the first phase of mainstream program everybody gets to know who you are and they accept you to be part of the community. (PG2.1, NESB1)

Despite the participant presenting as visibly from an ethnic minority, the above comment indicates the participant experiencing a sense of exclusion from other recruits and was making effort to blend in rather than stand out as an individual. This participant went on to describe that acceptance from what they perceived as the mainstream recruits followed others' realisation the participant was able to assist them due to having a longer experience within the QPS and the academy. This raises the question as to whether the participant was accepted or tolerated owing to transactional value. Participant PG2.1 also experienced perceived negativity about the CALD RPP:

> Some were not happy about the CALD program, they felt everyone should be starting the mainstream program at the same time and there shouldn't be a CALD program. But along the way they found that it's actually a positive for them, because they can ask some things they didn't know or some things that we knew that they didn't have a clue about. (PG2.1, NESB1)

Participant PG2.5 echoed similar experiences in relation to interactions with recruits in the mainstream Recruit Training Program. The participant indicated their treatment by other recruits was dependant on whether the other recruits needed the participant's knowledge or skills: "When they need you, they treat you nice, when

they don't need you, you are ignored. But generally, I was treated okay" (PG2.5, NESB1).

Experiences of other participants' interaction with mainstream recruits were more subtle. Participant PG2.3 outlined that on the surface other recruits treated the participant and other CALD RPP participants well, however, there was uncertainty around the authenticity of those interactions:

> And maybe even we, like our squad had good time. Maybe they were, they had some kind of that thoughts. But like just underlying thought when they treated us. So it just made me really wonder like how they actually thought. Like what their feedback is. Even though the surface level was just like everything works and everything was good. But maybe something different thought were going on with them. Who knows? (PG2.3, NESB1)

The participant went on to express the feeling of being judged for being a CALD RPP participant and subsequently making every effort to prove themselves through performance:

> some of the mainstream recruit, kind of judging them kind of like cheat, cheated their way to get there. I mean, I kind of understand that they could feel that way. But what makes me feel if I hear something like that, I'll probably try to prove myself. like that, I'm not like, I didn't cheat my way. (PG2.3, NESB1)

It was noted that some participants believed that other mainstream recruits believed the CALD RPP participants were at a distinct advantage due to receiving 10 more weeks training than other recruits. Participants had mixed feelings about these perceptions as outlined in this statement from PG2.8 "But I can tell some recruits from the mainstream they don't really like us because they think we have 10 weeks more than them. Why we get extra help? Because they're also struggling with the mainstream stuff" (PG2.8, NESB1).

This participant also described experiencing directly racist comments from a mainstream recruit in relation to not being a native English speaker. Another

participant described a similar perception from other recruits, however, believed the requirement to complete an extra 10 weeks was perceived as an indication of lack of intelligence.

> It's interesting. People think you are advantaged if you were a CALDie but sometimes it's a disadvantage because they say "ah, you are from the CALD program". A kind of "ah you are different, or not intelligent enough, you needed more training to get in the mainstream." (PG2.5, NESB1)

Similarly, another participant experienced the feeling of being questioned as to why they received extra training when other recruits did not:

> and when the mainstream recruits they realised that, okay, there are certain people in here who have been through a 10 week course before us. And they know a bit more than we know. That's not good. That's like a threat to them. Are these CALDies being smart asses? How are they here? Why have they been given certain things before? Like, as if you've been given like a head start. (PG2.14, NESB1)

This participant further described being treated discriminatorily due to being from a CALD background. The participant described being treated and judged differently due to being classified as 'CALD' following completion of the CALD RPP.

> Now a few of the recruits from the mainstream obviously had issues with that. They felt threatened. And obviously they would show that in the way they communicate or their acts or whatever. If I did not go through a CALD program and if that was my first day of becoming a police officer, I don't think I would have come across anything like that. (PG2.14, NESB1)

Whilst the participant indicated that the behaviour of other recruits did not negatively affect them, through their narrative, it is clear the behaviour did in fact impact them and their experience. Participant PG2.14 shared the experience of what they referred to as discrimination within the organisation due to completing the

CALD RPP. The participant is arguably talking about racism, micro-aggressions and bias experienced by participants completing the CALD RPP pathway:

> All that I can think of straight off my head is that if any ways discrimination is happening because you come from a non-English background. If that discrimination is happening within the organisation where everyone's wearing the same uniform and everyone's trying to do the same thing; If there's any way, let's say, if we draw a line, we call that discrimination. Or a discriminatory line. Where this person is classified as a CALD recruit because of his or her diversity, let's not judge that person base on how he or she's going to perform. If there's any way we can take that line off I think that might be really good. That would work more and will make the recruits better fit, like mentally fit, if that makes any sense. (PG2.14, NESB1)

It was difficult to isolate whether the negative experiences of the participants were a result of the completion of the CALD RPP or whether the behaviour was directly related to their individual characteristics (i.e. direct racism). This theme continues into the next section.

4.3.3.2 Experiences with Recruit Training facilitators and other QPS members

The theme of bias and reputational impacts of the CALD RPP was noted by several participants. Some were uncertain as to whether their treatment resulted from them being from a CALD background (identified through visible or audible characteristics) or due to being a participant of the CALD RPP.

> One thing I really noticed is, the skills phase … the facilitators looked at CALD recruits as a weaker specimen than the mainstream recruit. So the way they interact might be different to how they interact with mainstream recruits. The difference in that interaction might be the difference of breaking someone or making someone. (PG2.14 NESB1)

Two participants specifically noted negative experiences with the Driver Training skills phase during the Recruit Training Program.

For me, driver skill was bad because for some reason there's a rumour that the CALDies cannot drive and they will all fail in driver training. And then when we went for driver training obviously the facilitators there did have a different view on us. I think there were three or four of us from CALDies in that batch and that sort of put us in a subgroup within the main group.

Now, is that a reason because you are a CALDie or is it because something cannot be done, or something cannot be changed for you? I don't know. But I went through that and it did affect me a bit. (PG2.14)

Participant PG2.8 also described negative experiences completing driver training within the CALD RPP as well as during the mainstream Recruit Training Program but was unable to differentiate whether the experience was based on their cultural background or whether that was the experience of the whole group.

Ah yeah. Probably the only thing I didn't enjoy the whole time. It's not because of driving. I didn't like the instructor, not just me. I mean, not because I'm (cultural background) or what it's not. I think that was their whole attitude in class … like they tend to yell at you. Yea, it's not nice. Like you are under stress and people keep yelling at you. (PG2.8, NESB1)

Impact of accents on experiences

Some participants described being treated differently from other recruits or being excluded by other QPS members due to their accents. Participant PG2.8 described regularly observing micro-aggressions in the form of visible reactions from QPS colleagues such as screwed up faces while they were speaking:

It's a funny thing. I've been in Australia for 10 years. Since the day when I came here, of course, my English wasn't this good when I first came here. But I never really had an issue for people can't understand me … So no one really have an issue with my accent or couldn't understand what I'm saying. Never.

But since I join the police, like in the academy, heaps people telling me they can't understand me. (PG2.8, NESB1)

The participant had not previously experienced the extent of others not understanding their accent and as such sought advice and feedback from trusted friends. This participant described being able to competently interact with members of the public as an operational officer and having experienced little to no concerns with people (other than QPS members) understanding them.

I don't know. That's my question as well, cause I went back to ask my friend, all of my friend. And then I say, when you first met me, could you understand me? And they all say, yeah no problem at all, we can understand you clearly. So I say, yeah, this is a problem I'm facing right now. I think I find people can't understand me. So then my friends are, no I don't know what they're talking about. I never had an issue. But I still don't just take it because they are my friend. So, I don't know. Is that they are serious they can't understand me or are they just … I don't know what. (PG2.8, NESB1)

The participants described other instances of being judged or treated differently by colleagues due to language. The experiences of this officer and their treatment during the first year of policing had a significant impact on their confidence. The participant described being continually treated poorly by supervising officers and being targeted for their English language skills and did not feel supported during their first year of operational policing.

You know, some people think it's easier to get into the CALD program than the mainstream. Not many people said that straight away, no. So I don't… I can't tell if it is because I was from CALD program or just because I'm (specific race mentioned). So in my first year, a lot of officer were very, very picky on my English. Like not just grammatical things in the paper work, but they were, like I said, they would say 'I can't understand you. You need to

practice your English more, like talking, because we can't understand you. Or

if I did something wrong, they yell at me. (PG2.8, NESB1)

The abovementioned participant disclosed several times being yelled at by two different supervising officers for perceived communication problems and as such losing confidence during the very early stages of the participant's first year in policing. The participant described confiding in other ex-CALD RPP participants of the experience and noting during some of those conversations that other CALD RPP colleagues had had similar experiences.

PG 2.14 also experienced being regularly assessed on language skills rather than the specific assessment task. The participant provided the example of being assessed on English skills when the assessment task was based on a practical application task:

A few things were a bit difficult during my first year and certain things which

the FTO [Field Training Officer] did in a different way did affect me. The way

things were looked at because I was CALD recruit also did affect me. Again,

for example, certain things were said saying that (the participant's) language

skills are better, but certain things are not good. Now why is that comment

being made, is that because I'm a CALD recruit? Like would you say the same

thing to a mainstream person? Like (they) can speak good English but (they)

cannot type faster? (PG2.14, NESB1)

Participant PG2.1 noted a similar struggle with colleagues indicating a lack of ability or willingness to understand them. The participant observed some colleagues went so far as to avoid conversation with them: "others struggled to understand my accent, and some don't want to talk to me. It's not only me, it's what I get from other CALDies as well" (PG2.1, NESB1)

Participant PG2.1 believed the behaviours of others was a reaction to the participant's distinct CALD background and strong accent rather than participation in the CALD RPP:

some people will accept you and people will not accept you. Some people see you as you are not are not perfect or something like that. You don't speak better English as they do. Or you don't know much about Australian culture even though you've been living here for a very long time. (PG 2.1, NESB1)

4.3.4   Participant Group 2: Theme 4 Peer Support networks

An unanticipated theme identified during analysis was that of organic peer-to-peer support networks which generated from participation in the CALD RPP. This support network and connection was noted regardless of whether the participant was from NESB 1 or NESB 2 background, however it was more notable in the NESB1 participants.

Seven out of the ten participants interviewed commented on the significance of the support networks and friendships that resulted from participating in the CALD RPP. Each described remaining in contact more so with ex CALD RPP participants (rather than recruits met during mainstream Recruit Training) and leaned on these networks for support.

Some participants experienced a range of hardships throughout Recruit Training as well as during their operational careers. Some of the hardships were personal, others were policing or organisationally related, others related specifically to experiences as a CALD officer within the QPS. Participants demonstrated the significance of the CALD peer network generated from participating in the CALD RPP. This network provided support and an outlet for members during difficult times and this was particularly noted with participants from NESB1 backgrounds. Several participants noted leaning on the network due to the collective understanding and a higher degree of relatability of experience between those from CALD backgrounds.

Participant PG2.8 indicated only occasionally having contact with friends from mainstream Recruit Training with most friendships and peer support being generated from ex CALD RPP participants. This participant emphasised the value gained from the strength of support networks generated through the CALD RPP. Having experienced a high degree of personal and professional stress during their first year, this participant leaned (and continues to lean) heavily on peers from the CALD RPP on an ongoing and regular basis for support and reassurance.

I think it's the same like, cause they understand the difficulty you are going

through. They probably all had the same problem as well … my first year

wasn't great, so I have to talk to them (CALD peers) because I have no one to

talk to … I didn't have people to talk to. Normal people won't understand what

we're facing … But they can understand. And we are all going through the

same thing in that first year. So we are trying to complete the same program

like the E Portfolio everything. So, we look after each other. (PG2.8, NESB1)

Participant PG2.3 also indicated the group was very close and had a strong sense of team identity. This participant highlighted the sense of belonging experienced as a direct result of connections made during the program:

our group was like so tight and then we're always trying to help each other …

Because like coming from another country, it's kind of hard to belong to

somewhere. As in … I've never been to high school or primary school here.

So, there's no extra friendship from previous workplace … So like feeling that,

like feeling of belonging was kind of amazing. (PG2.3, NESB1)

Participant PG2.2 described that despite the short length of the CALD RPP, strong bonds were established between participants due to the similarities between participants due to most of them being migrants to Australia:

I built bonds with people even though it was only 10 weeks, compared to the

six months in mainstream. I build a better bond with people from CALD,

because we had a lot of similarities. We were mostly migrants and everybody

had a different culture. So, everybody was a bit unusual in that way. (PG2.2,

NESB1)

This participant outlined the reasoning for better bonds generated through the CALD RPP was due to the group working as a team and having a shared sense of purpose:

I still get in contact with most of the members of our CALD, of our intake, than the ones I had from my mainstream intake. It's weird, but somehow it stayed that way. (PG2.2, NESB1)

Participant PG2.7 also described making solid friendships and connections through the CALD RPP. The participant described trying to reach out to establish friendships with other (non-CALD RPP) recruits and police through various forms of communication during and after Recruit Training but this was unsuccessful.

Participant PG2.14 indicated they only maintained friendships and contact with friends from the CALD RPP and not from the mainstream Recruit Training Program: "I don't know why it is like that. I think it's because we are similar because we are different" (PG 2.14, NESB 2)

Further to this, participant PG2.14 outlined some of the friendships were established as a result of other CALD RPP participants helping and supporting the participant through difficulties experienced both within and beyond Recruit Training. This participant indicated that upon commencing mainstream Recruit Training, there was less support and teamwork with other non-CALD recruits.

And when we went to mainstream, obviously, I felt like it's everyone for themselves. Even when I had difficulties, I was offered help mainly by my friends in my CALD group rather than the mainstream ones. I don't know why it is like that. For some reason … CALD recruits would like keep in touch with CALD recruits. (PG2.14, NESB1)

This participant emphasised the value of being able to relay experiences and stories from operational policing that are more relatable to CALD friends: "through your friends from CALD, you talk to them. You speak to them. And you know that they also have similar issues. You know, you see that it's not only you" (PG 2.14, NESB1).

The shared sense of purpose, teamwork and friendship was also noted by both NESB 2 participants with PG 2.10 noting the collective goal and team spirit within the intake:

I found that our group gelled real well because we all wanted to help each other

get through the program. I felt that as a group we probably did excel because

we had that team to succeed through the program. (PG 2.10, NESB 2)

Support networks generated with ex-program participants was noted not just through the data collected in the research, but also through my observations of program participants during the program, during the Recruit Training Program and then long after the participants left the Academy. I have noted ex CALD RPP participants reaching out not only to the colleagues within their intake, but also to other members who had completed the CALD RPP through other intakes. There appeared to be a sense of connectedness through having completed the program, regardless of whether they completed the program together.

4.4 Chapter summary

This chapter has provided detailed qualitative data following the thematic analysis of semi-structured interviews with participants across both groups. Data from the decision-maker group (Participant Group 1) provided direction for the data collection from the ex-program participant group (Participant Group 2) which then formed the focus of the research.

Four clear themes of recruitment, cultural capability, racism and micro-aggression and peer support networks emerged from the data. Two of these themes were also broken into relevant sub-themes. The following chapter will discuss these results in the context of the theory and previous research and provide relevant recommendations.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

5.1 Chapter introduction

Chapter 4 provided the data and analysis of qualitative findings from semi-structured interviews across two participant groups. The results were presented in themes for each of the participant groups. Themes were then broken down into subthemes that emerged during the thematic analysis of data. Four themes of recruitment, cultural capability, racism and micro-aggressions and peer support networks were identified as most prevalent following analysis.

This chapter begins by addressing individual research questions and discussing how the findings contribute to answering the questions. This is undertaken within the contextual framework identified within the literature review. The chapter is separated into perspectives offered by decision-makers and leaders within the QPS and the impact of those perspectives. Following this, the impact of the CALD RPP on participants as well as their experiences within the QPS will be discussed within the context of key theories presented within the literature review chapter. Recommendations will also be made in relation to the CALD RPP as well as for diversity initiative implementation for the QPS. Limitations to the research will be discussed as well as recommended opportunities for future research. The chapter will conclude with my experience as an insider researcher and some of my own personal reflections.

5.2 Research Questions and Intent

The research project was implemented as a program evaluation with the intent of answering the following research questions:

1. What are the strategic objectives of the CALD Recruit Preparation Program?

2. What are the impacts of the CALD Recruit Preparation Program for the participants?

3. What key factors are required to improve the program outcomes for the CALD Recruit Preparation Program for recruits who complete the program?

5.3 Motivators and objectives of the CALD RPP

From the outset, it was clear that the intent of the CALD RPP and its objectives were ambiguous at best. Motivations for the program were not stated and program objectives did not appear in any formal program documentation. As outlined in the Queensland Government Program Evaluation Guidelines, understanding the program objectives and intended outcomes is an important step in the initial establishment of a program as well as in the implementation of a program evaluation (Queensland Treasury and Trade, 2014). This ambiguity in the CALD RPP led to the necessity to interview executive level QPS (and ex-QPS) decision-makers as part of the research in order to identify strategic objectives for the CALD RPP before identifying the impacts of the program. This formed the basis of research question one.

It also became clear that identifying clear motivation for a diversity initiative should be established prior to conducting an evaluation (Kulik & Roberson, 2008; Queensland Treasury and Trade, 2014). As outlined in Chapter 1 Introduction, the CALD RPP was implemented in response to community expectation (Forday, 2015) as well as an organisational response to the Queensland Government Multicultural Action Plan (DLGRMA, 2018). Intended to contribute to 'Priority Area 1: Culturally responsive government', the program was the operationalisation of the QPS working towards 'a productive, culturally capable and diverse workforce' (DLGRMA, 2018). At a state government level, the motivation for the CALD RPP was loosely articulated through reporting on the Multicultural Action Plan (DLGRMA, 2018), however, the objective of the program was less than clear.

The data elicited from individual decision-makers provides significant insights into possible strategic motivations for the program. The two themes that emerged from this group highlighted Recruitment and Cultural Capability as key factors underpinning the drive for the CALD RPP as a diversity initiative. Across the decision-makers, specific motivations for the program were identified as:

- overcoming barriers to recruitment for CALD applicants,
- diversifying the QPS workforce,
- increasing organisational cultural capability; and
- building trust and relationships between multicultural communities and QPS.

Decision-makers interviewed represented perspectives of those involved in the initial drive and establishment of the CALD RPP as well as those who were presently involved in the ongoing continuance of the program. A clear delineation existed between the perspectives and opinions of the decision-makers involved in initially scoping, establishing and driving of the CALD RPP compared with those who took over these roles after the program was already established. Understandably, decision-makers involved in the initial establishment of the program demonstrated a 'buy-in' and confidence in the intent of the program that was not as apparent in the other two decision-makers.

Motivations for the CALD RPP as provided by the decision-makers aligned with the theory of Representative Bureaucracy with particular emphasis on the benefits of symbolic representation of ethnic minorities within the QPS. Decision-makers highlighted the necessity to generate greater cultural capability within the QPS workforce through recruitment of more ethnic minorities with the expectation this would increase trust between police and CALD communities within Queensland. The Decision-maker group identified the importance of symbolic gains from the CALD RPP as a diversity initiative. This statement from PG1.3 exemplifies this point:

> and I think we already had very good relationships with CALD communities, but this went one further step. This was demonstrating, a very overt demonstration that the police were serious about, not just diversity but their relationship with different communities. (PG1.3, NESB1)

This symbolism sends a clear message to multicultural communities of the organisations positive motivation for increasing ethnic diversity in the police service (McMurray et al., 2010).

Drivers for the diversity initiative were consistent between the decision-makers, however, identifying key objectives of the CALD RPP proved to be more difficult. Two distinct and somewhat opposing views were presented during interviews with the decision-maker group. One view indicated an objective of the CALD RPP was to provide recruits with an opportunity to build confidence and communication skills in preparation for the Recruit Training Program. The other

view indicated the objective of the program was to overcome barriers to recruitment and *elevate* recruits to a standard to compete with mainstream recruits. Actual barriers to recruitment were not clearly identified by decision-makers and this latter view indicated a discourse that recruits completing the CALD RPP had *not* met merit standards for recruit entry. Whilst semantically similar, the nuance within the latter objective indicated recruits appointed to the CALD RPP were given preferential treatment based on their cultural diversity.

The conflicting opinions of the intent of the program from some of the highest-level decision-makers within the QPS were concerning. However, it also provided context for the identified inconsistencies and variances in the recruitment for the program and subsequent impacts of those activities on the participants. It is difficult for staff on the ground (for example Recruiting staff) to operationalise an intent that is not clearly or consistently articulated from the organisational hierarchy. This leads to discussion around the themes emerging from data elicited from program participants beginning with the theme of Recruitment.

5.4 Theme 1 Recruitment

The strongest theme which emerged from the program participants was discussion around recruitment into the program. Marketing and communication, knowledge of the program and perceptions around eligibility criteria and merit selection all impacted participants' experiences.

5.4.1   Marketing and communication

The Decision-Maker group identified the importance of the symbolism of the CALD RPP which presented it as a strong marketing and promotional tool for recruitment of ethnic minorities within the QPS. Despite this, marketing and communication for the CALD RPP was mostly limited to a page on the QPS Recruiting website which provided limited information for potential applicants. This was noted in responses from most of the NESB1 participants and the view is also supported by studies of other Australian jurisdictions (McMurray et al., 2010). The existence of the CALD RPP as a diversity initiative appeared to have positive influence over some of the participants from NESB1 backgrounds in applying to join the QPS. NESB1 participants in particular expressed feeling that the CALD RPP was

specifically designed for them, feeling confident that they had a better chance of gaining entry to the QPS via this pathway.

However, despite being encouraged to apply because of the mere existence of the CALD RPP, participants expressed general confusion about the application and recruitment process as well as what the program entailed. Conflicting promotional material about the CALD RPP, objectives and eligibility criteria was noted to be minimalistic and confusing. Whilst people with strongly apparent ethnic identities are more attracted to organisations that present diversity initiatives such as the CALD RPP as part of recruitment marketing (Brief & Bradley, 2008), the lack of clear promotional material identifying application processes, program objectives and other information about opportunities within the organisation appeared to be an opportunity missed by the QPS.

Some participants were unaware of the CALD RPP prior to entry. These participants were largely the NESB2 participants as well as another NESB1 participant who spoken only English. These participants were surprised at being placed into a program they had no knowledge of. The majority of these participants who were not aware of the CALD RPP prior to being appointed did not strongly self-identify as being culturally or linguistically diverse and as such not specifically looking for a recruitment pathway that was not targeted for them. Understandably, these participants experienced a juxtaposition between wariness of the program and excitement of gaining entry into the QPS upon being appointed to the CALD RPP. This created a sense of personal conflict for each of these participants.

5.4.2 Program eligibility criteria, Representative Bureaucracy and what counts as 'representative'

A key driver for diversity initiatives within law enforcement agencies stems from Representative Bureaucracy and having an organisation that represents the diversity of the community it serves. Understanding the demographic and diversity is arguably the first step toward identifying what 'good' looks like when striving to achieve representation.

Within Queensland, approximately 11% of the population was born in a country where English is not the primary language (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2016). In keeping with the theory of Representative Bureaucracy, the workforce

diversity targets set by the Queensland Government aims for 10% of the public sector workforce (including QPS) to be represented by people from Non-English speaking backgrounds (Public Service Commission, 2021).

Importantly, eligibility criteria for entry into the CALD RPP required participants to be born in a country where English is not the first language (NESB1) or be a child of one or both parents who were born in a country where English is not the first language (NESB2). On the face of it, the eligibility criteria appeared sound, however, in practice, the QPS defined eligibility criteria which cast the net wide and captured a significantly larger proportion of the population than the 11.1% of Queenslanders being born in a non-main-English speaking country (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2016). Whilst it is difficult to identify the representative percentage of Queenslanders who fit into the defined CALD RPP eligibility criteria, however, logic recognises this creates a significantly larger 'suitable' applicant pool. Blurring the lines of eligibility for the CALD RPP may have initially appeared reasonable, but in practice resulted in a proportion of recruits who filled intake vacancies on the basis of meeting technical criteria, rather than those who would genuinely benefit from the diversity initiative.

Whilst the NESB2 participants recruited by this pathway still represented a level of diversity, many did not necessarily need to complete the CALD RPP. Annually, the QPS reported on the number of program participants which demonstrated the organisation's continual increase of ethnic minorities, however (in some instances), the numbers were based on a technicality.

5.4.3 Merit-based selection

For an organisation driven by legislation, processes and policies, clear eligibility criteria for recruitment within the QPS is important. Development and adherence to the defined criteria should create transparency, fairness and consistency in determining who is, and who is not eligible for this diversity program. However, eligibility criteria may be faulty and subsequently following that criteria to the letter result in intakes of recruits completing a course, not at all intended for them. This type of recruiting practice privileges quotas over merit and, as seen from the research data, compromises the legitimacy of the program and creates unforeseen ramifications for participants recruited via these processes.

Importantly, diversity initiatives such as the CALD RPP which are perceived as not being merit-based may result in a negative perception of the level of competence of program participants as well as the stigmatisation in the workplace for recruits appointed under these practices (Gündemir, Homan, Usova, & Galinsky, 2017; Kulik & Roberson, 2008). NESB1 program participants described the perception that other recruits believed they 'cheated' their way into the QPS, that the CALD RPP pathway was an easier option. Participants described the feeling of being judged, treated differently, or having to prove themselves. This is consistent with negative perceptions of Affirmative Action initiatives described by other researchers (Cashmore, 2001; Kidder et al., 2004; Harrison et al., 2006;). Some participants clearly believed they had not met merit to gain entry via the mainstream Recruit Training pathway and were completing the program to build their skills to be competitive in Recruit Training. Others expressed the belief they had met mainstream merit and questioned why they needed to complete an extra 10 weeks of training when their non-CALD colleagues did not.

For NESB2 participants, it appeared the broader criteria for the CALD RPP created a convenient loophole to employ tokenistic recruitment strategies through technical eligibility criteria. This was reflected in stories shared by both NESB2 participants who described being advised by the QPS Recruiting Section that they had not met merit or were not high on the recruiting merit list and as such were subsequently offered entry to the QPS via the CALD RPP due to meeting the technical eligibility criteria (i.e. one of their parents being born in a non-English speaking country). Further validating the perception of quota-based recruitment, as mentioned in Ch 4 PG2.11 experienced this directly when interviewed by a facilitator about their progression and advised they were only there to bolster recruit numbers.

This conversation also conveys negative perception of the CALD RPP beyond just that of program participants. Neither of the NESB2 participants, as well as one other participant who identified as NESB1 but whom only spoke English, believed the CALD RPP was targeted for them.

Initiatives based on quotas and which violate the principles of merit are likely to meet organisational resistance, not just by the majority, but sometimes by those that are intended to benefit from the initiatives (Gündemir et al., 2017; Kulik & Roberson, 2008; Wieslander, 2018). Data emerging from program participants

consistently questioned the merit standards for selection into the CALD RPP. Whilst the application of either of these objectives would still likely contribute to increasing workforce diversity, the perceptions around the application of each initiative is vastly different. Employing recruits under a shadow of stigma and deficit, negative perception and questions of merit into an already challenging workplace culture is not an ideal way to commence a career in law enforcement.

As identified in the literature review, acceptance and support for Affirmative Action initiatives such as the CALD RPP is dependant on adequate justification for the initiative and, more importantly whether the initiative is based on merit or merely quota driven.

5.5 Theme 2 Cultural Connection and Experiences of Tokens within the QPS

The flow-on effect of broad eligibility criteria resulted in extensive discrepancies in the extent of cultural connection and language skills of program participants. The necessity to generate higher levels of organisational cultural capability through diversity recruitment was emphasised in interviews with decision-makers. However, some of the participants recruited into the program identified having little to no specific connection to the culture or ethnicity(ies) that made them eligible for the CALD RPP. This resulted in some participants experiencing feelings of confusion, wariness, or concern due to their lack of cultural connectedness. Conversely, some participants described having other recruits in their intake that could barely speak English and keep up with the program.

The high level of disparity in English language skills and comprehension between native English speakers and those participants who spoke multiple languages created large differences in the ways the curriculum was able to be delivered. This also again highlighted the inconsistencies in recruitment for the program and resulted in negative reactions from participants (both NESB1 and NESB2) who questioned the intent of the program. The data indicates the 70% of recruits appointed to the CALD RPP were from NESB1 backgrounds and 79% of recruits appointed to the program spoke languages other than English. This negative perception of the program is indicative of the tokenistic nature of the recruitment process, filling CALD RPP intakes with participants based on their ethnicity rather than their ability to eventually meet the demands of operational policing. The impact

of this resulted in NESB2 participants with little to no cultural connection feeling wary and imposter-like until such time they commenced in the program and realised others experienced the same.

For NESB1 participants, the impact of having participants with limited cultural connection left them confused and minimised the value of their own cultural connection. The recruitment of participants into the CALD RPP who were native English speakers and were born and educated in Australia spoke volumes with respect to the program being quota-based to some degree. As outlined in the literature review, Affirmative Action based on quotas or preferential treatment is a sure-fire way to instigate organisational backlash (Harrison et al., 2006; Kidder et al., 2004) making it a difficult beginning to a career already fraught with significant challenges for ethnic minorities. This leads to discussion on the experiences of program participants.

Kanter's Theory of Tokenism provides that tokens are likely to perceive or experience negativity in the workplace due to their low representation (Stichman et al., 2010). Most of the NESB1 participants identified experiencing tokenism perceptions to some degree. To some extent, these experiences appeared to result from the participants completing the CALD RPP, in other instances, the experiences were based on the participants being a visible ethnic minority or having accents (majority of NESB1 participants). One participant pointed out the experience of feeling judged and trying to prove themselves through performance (PG2.3). This particular experience resonates with the 'assimilation' perception within Kanter's Tokenism theory. NESB1 participants in particular noted experiencing exclusion and isolation upon commencement of the Recruit Training Program but found ways to 'prove' themselves through making themselves useful with other recruits thus winning acceptance.

The *Assimilation* process described within the theory of Tokenism identifies that token members are likely to be pigeonholed or forced into or limited by roles that align with their cultural characteristics. Significantly this was noted in data that emerged from some of the NESB1 participants however this was not portrayed in a negative sense as it is within Kanter's Tokenism Theory. Two participants talked positively about their ability to use their cultural knowledge and language skills in their policing role. Two participants also expressed disappointment at not being able

to use their cultural and language capabilities more within their role. Theseviews are contradictory to the Assimilation perception within the theory of Tokenism as the participants indicated actually *wanting* to use the strength of their cultural skills.

Some of the NESB1 participants clearly outlined they believed their cultural skills were the reason they had been employed. One participant believed they should have been allocated to a location with a higher density population of cultural diversity that aligned with their cultural background. This participant believed this would allow them to provide more valuable and culturally capable policing responses. Not all participants expressed this view explicitly. Data from participants reinforced the lack of clarity around the intent and objectives of the CALD RPP. Comments from some of the participants identified their culturally diverse skills and experiences were only considered to gain employment, but not valued as part of their ongoing employment.

Whilst some of the experiences of isolation and feeling like they were treated differently or even judged aligns with Tokenism theory, these experiences as well as other less subtle experiences described by participants were clear indicators of racism and micro-aggressions within the organisation.

5.6 Theme 3 Racism and Micro-Aggressions within the QPS

As introduced within the literature review, racial micro-aggressions can occur in the form of subtle intentional or unintentional behaviours that communicate derogatory, hostile or negative snubs or insults to ethnic minorities (Sue et al., 2007). The very nature of racial micro-aggression makes it difficult to identify and as such difficult to call out. Despite their inherent invisibility, racial micro-aggressions are no less damaging.

CALD RPP participants described varying experiences of both direct racism as well as more subtle forms of micro-aggressions from other recruits, facilitators and colleagues including other operational police officers once they had become sworn officers themselves. Some of the participants were able to identify and label the behaviour experienced, however, others (e.g. PG2.8) described experiences of protracted micro-aggressions from supervising officers which led to the participant experiencing significant difficulty during their first year as an operational officer. Despite being visibly affected by the behaviour, the participant did not describe it as

racist. Behaviours experienced ranged from screwed up facial expressions in response to the participant's accent to supervising officers yelling at the officer for their perceived communication difficulties.

Whilst they had experienced varying degrees of racism in their employment within the QPS, only some of the participants labelled the behaviour as such. Within the academy training (both during the CALD RPP and Recruit Training Program), participants described direct exclusion and isolation from other recruits, as well as chastisement from recruits and facilitators due to accents. Participants described feeling like they were looked down upon by facilitators and recruits and constantly felt the need to prove themselves during the Recruit Training Program, both to their (non-CALD RPP) peers and training facilitators.

Notably, CALD RPP participants were often referred to and also referred to themselves using the term 'CALDies'. Whilst participants may have viewed the term affectionately, the term could also be viewed as pejorative, drawing attention to and labelling individuals as 'others' and further excluding and isolating them from the majority.

Some participants had similar experiences after becoming operational police officers describing behaviours of other officers towards them as clearly racist and inappropriate. The experience of PG2.8 who described that despite being able to interact with non-QPS friends as well as members of the community with no apparent issue, they were regularly on the receiving end of supervising officers' criticism for their audible accent.

The experiences of participants who were mostly visible minorities and/or who had accented English is a concern for an organisation that is working toward being reflective of a multicultural community and be able to appropriately communicate and support members of the public. The cumulative effect of the racial micro-aggressions, whether identified as such or not, can result in self-doubt and isolation for the recipients (Sue et al., 2007). This was evident in the experiences of NESB1 participants, in particular, both during their academy training as well as operational police officers.

The experiences of these officers are evidence of the impact of implementing a diversity initiative without clear supporting diversity management practices. It

highlights the absence of a culture that respects and values diversity and lacks supportive policies to sustain a diverse workforce or develop a culturally competent organisation. It is concerning that the participants experienced some of these behaviours equally from other recruits as well as experienced officers. This implies a culture of intolerance, exclusion and racism even in newly indoctrinated recruits. This is indicative of a workforce being recruited with these traits, organisational socialisation that supports such a culture (Wilkins & Williams, 2008) or a mixture of both of these factors.

5.7 Theme 4 Peer support and support networks

An unanticipated theme that emerged from the data was the organic peer support networks resulting from participation in the CALD RPP. The majority of the participants commented on the significance of the peer support networks and friendships established during the CALD RPP. Participants noted a clear sense of teamwork, belonging and the collective support (academically, physically and emotionally) received and offered by other members within their program intake. The fast pace and competitiveness of the mainstream Recruit Training Program noted by program participants hindered the ability to develop networks during this subsequent training program and as such, these networks became invaluable for participants during training and beyond.

Given the experiences of some of the participants with other recruits noted the sense of belonging and cultural safety within the peer network established during the CALD RPP. Many participants described experiencing a range of hardships and difficulties both during their Recruit Training as well as at the commencement of their operational careers. During these difficulties, participants relied heavily on their CALD peer network due to the collective understanding and a higher degree of relatability of experience between CALD employees. The perceived increase in visibility based on ethnicity as highlighted in Tokenism Theory can contribute to the experience of exclusion (Stichman et al., 2010; Stroshine & Brandl, 2011). The aforementioned experiences of racism and micro-aggressions coupled with higher degrees of visibility and polarisation also identify the importance of peer support networks and the necessity for participants to stick together amid an unsupportive organisational culture. The affinity of CALD RPP participants to maintain connections with other program participants may be the result of a mixture of

participants feeling more visible as a token within the organisation, under a higher level of scrutiny due to their ethnicity or accent or general difficulty in infiltrating police culture as an 'outsider' (Haarr, 1999; Stroshine & Brandl, 2011).

5.8 Recommendations

The research project highlighted significant opportunities for improvement to the CALD RPP as well as for the implementation of future diversity initiatives for the QPS.

Although Affirmative Action programs can be effective in increasing workforce diversity, the risk of these being perceived negatively if implemented in the absence of merit is both likely and detrimental to the individuals being targeted using these practices (Kidder et al., 2004). Therefore, a clear rationale for the program coupled with merit-selection processes should be established and communicated internally and externally. Creating an organisational discourse that prioritises a 'pro business' justification coupled with public communications around merit selection processes for the diversity initiatives is likely to result in more favourable organisational and individual support of the initiatives (Harrison et al., 2006; Kidder et al., 2004). A clear rationale and objectives for the program will assist in establishing eligibility criteria for applicants who bring cultural and/or linguistic diversity and who will genuinely benefit from the program. It should be noted that whilst a purely meritocratic approach to selection for a program of this nature may improve the perception and acceptance of the initiative, it may not negate other barriers to recruitment and as such other pre-employment pathway opportunities (possibly with partner agencies) could be considered to overcome barriers and ensure CALD applicants are competitive with their non-CALD colleagues.

The success of diversity initiatives and Affirmative Action is also reliant on being complimented by inclusive practices and policies that negate and reduce harmful behaviours, racism and discrimination (Downey et al., 2015; Shepherd, 2014). The descriptions of many program participants identified cultural intolerance, lack of cultural capability, lack of value of cultural diversity and in some cases outward racism. What is concerning is that these experiences were not just from tired and jaded colleagues, but from recruits in the early stages of their career. This speaks of organisational culture and organisational socialisation which can sometimes strip

away the individual characteristics in order to fit into the organisational culture (Wilkins & Williams, 2008).

Four areas for identified improvements to the program and implementation of diversity initiatives for the QPS are recommended. These are Recruitment, Support, Training and Diversity Initiatives for consideration.

5.8.1 Recruitment

- A marketing strategy is developed for the CALD RPP to attract and engage a larger pool of suitable applicants as well as to provide transparency around eligibility and selection for the program;

- An internal organisational communication strategy for the CALD RPP is developed to positively promote the benefits of workforce diversity, program objectives and mitigate inaccurate and negative perceptions of the program;

- Clearly defined objectives for the program are developed and communicated across all stakeholders as well as published transparently;

- Appointment to the program occurs only following applicants having met clearly defined and transparent selection criteria;

- Eligibility for the CALD RPP is reviewed with consideration given to including the requirement to speak a language other than English before selection; and

- Consideration is given to selected applicants being offered the CALD RPP as an elective program rather than compulsory completion.

5.8.2 Support

- Program curriculum is refined to focus on and support bi-lingual learners;

- Opportunity for team-building within the program are maximised to develop and encourage strong peer-networks for participants; and

- Targeted mentoring is offered to program participants throughout the CALD RPP, Recruit Training and into policing careers.

5.8.3 Training

- Facilitators, trainers and supervisors including Field Training Officers responsible for training and supervising ethnic minority officers are to complete cultural awareness and inclusion training as a priority; and

- All members of the QPS including recruits to complete cultural awareness training.

5.8.4 Diversity Initiatives

- Clear strategies for attraction, engagement, recruitment, retention, promotion and support of minority groups including ethnic minorities are developed; and

- Strategy developed to overtly demonstrate organisational intolerance of racism and micro-aggressions including defining and describing what these behaviours look like.

5.9 Impact of the study on the organisation and stakeholders

Completion of this research was a complex and delicate undertaking involving a range of stakeholders with varying agendas. At the commencement of this research, I was not just an insider researcher, but also the intake coordinator for the CALD RPP, responsible for the coordination of and reporting on two CALD RPP intakes annually. During data collection, the CALD RPP was stood down until further notice. This complicated the research project and my position as insider researcher to some degree. The decision to suspend the program was made despite advice to the contrary and appeared to be made without any apparent consideration of the organisational, reputational and community impacts. The decision also left stakeholders like the QPS Police Ethnic Advisory Group reeling at the possibility of the efforts invested into initiating the program being undermined. The decision was also apparently made even in the absence of consideration of organisational government reporting obligations on actions toward the Multicultural Action Plan and the Inclusion and Diversity Strategy. Made without consultation or evidence base, the decision was also not accompanied by any strategic communication with the vested stakeholders within the organisation or community (such as PEAG). In

addition to lack of communication to key stakeholders, it became evident that formal advice had also not been provided to the QPS Executive Leadership Team. The CALD RPP was simply removed from the QPS Recruiting Website, seemingly disappearing from existence. In the course of the program dissolving, the Police Ethnic Advisory Group made it clear the group expressed concern around the suspension of the program held suspicions as to the 'temporary' nature of the suspension.

Throughout the research project, I was heavily invested in QPS Recruitment, Recruit Training and was also a QPS representative for the Police Ethnic Advisory Group. These are three of the key internal and external stakeholder groups with a vested interest in the CALD RPP. Having organisational insider knowledge and academic insight, I was in a compromising position of being torn between wanting to provide stakeholders with accurate and current advice on the status of the program and the research but not wanting to be disloyal or overstep my position with the QPS executive decision-maker – who ultimately had positional authority over my role within the QPS.

Informal communication from the executive decision-maker about the program suspension was based on a mixture of reasons including the existence of the COVID 19 pandemic impacting training continuity. In reality, the continuance of other Recruit Training Programs during this period made this justification questionable. I had also been advised informally that the decision to suspend the program was on the basis pending the outcome of this research evaluation, however as the primary researcher, I was not sought for advice or consultation as to the impact of suspension of the program. Despite the research being undertaken outside of my work role, the discontinuation of the CALD RPP created a sense of urgency to complete the research and provide evidence-based recommendations to the organisation as to the future of the program.

As mentioned in the literature review as well as identified in some of the responses from the decision-maker group research participants, implementation of diversity initiatives has a symbolic impact on the organisation through the overt demonstration of action. This being the case, the absence of clear communication as to the justification for the sudden discontinuation of the program to any of the key stakeholders had the potential to not only unravel the symbolic rewards gained from

the initiative (Queensland Government, 2017), destabilise trust gained within community stakeholder groups like PEAG as well as create organisational reputational harm through the failure to meet anticipated government priorities through reporting on the Multicultural Action Plan.

The unexpected suspension of the CALD RPP resulted in me expediting this research project, engaging in significant agitation through strategic communication within the QPS and reporting the interim findings and recommendations to the QPS Executive Leadership Team. This subsequently resulted in an agreement to reinstate the CALD RPP with all recommendations endorsed for program improvements as well as complimentary strategies and actions to support the initiative.

5.10   Action already taken by the QPS

In November 2020, (after the commencement of this research), the Queensland Police Service established the First Nations and Multicultural Affairs Unit (FNMAU) which is dedicated to overcoming some of the negative organisational culture largely identified within this research. The priorities of the unit are to drive cultural inclusion within the QPS, enhance engagement opportunities and increase organisational cultural capability. At the time of submission of this thesis, many of my recommendations for the CALD RPP and subsequent diversity initiatives have either been endorsed by QPS Executive Leadership and are in the process of being actioned or have already been implemented. This demonstrates the impact of the research as well as the organisational willingness to drive positive cultural change.

5.11   Research Limitations

Limitations for the study centred around the research being a work-based project within a hierarchical organisation. I conducted all interviews for the research myself which at times presented challenges due to me being a previous supervisor for some of the interview participants from Participant Group 2 and having the potential to impact the openness of responses from these participants . This was negated through clear informed consent processes and time spent developing rapport and trust. Additionally, some of the decision-makers interviewed as part of Participant Group 1 had some level of positional power over my role within the QPS. This at times created conflict between my role as a researcher and as a QPS employee.

This study did not include participants who did not go on to become sworn police officers within the QPS. Whilst the number of these potential participants is low, these individuals may have provided different perspectives and experiences of the CALD RPP.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to conduct an evaluation of the Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Recruit Preparation Program (CALD RPP) as a diversity initiative implemented by the QPS. As the first program of its kind in Queensland and, at the time, Australia, an understanding of the impacts of the program for participants was both necessary and comprised an important original contribution to research. Within Australia and across the globe law enforcement agencies continue to strive to achieve a workforce as diverse as the community being served, often using diversity initiatives such as Affirmative Action to meet diversity targets. However, Affirmative Action programs that appear quota-driven or have the capacity to compromise merit can be perceived negatively by the organisation including those they are meant to benefit (Gündemir et al., 2017; Kulik & Roberson, 2008).

The research demonstrated that the CALD RPP was implemented with good intentions and despite having some degree of political motivation, the drive to respond to community needs and expectations (i.e. PEAG) added a higher level of integrity to that intent. Despite good intentions, the lack of clarity from executive decision-makers and strategic guidance to those charged with recruiting for the program coupled with a lack of communication around the motivations for the program and program objectives resulted in the establishment of broad recruiting eligibility criteria and questionable merit selection processes.

The research demonstrated that broad eligibility criteria for the CALD RPP which engaged some participants with little to no cultural connection were perceived as lacking merit, quota-driven and tokenistic. Despite participants generally enjoying completing the program, their experience was shadowed by questions of program legitimacy on the grounds of inconsistencies in the recruitment selection process. Participants believed recruits who completed a program designed for Culturally and Linguistically Diverse people should, as a minimum be culturally *and* linguistically diverse however this was not observed to be the case. Many program participants were born in English speaking countries (30%) and/or spoke no languages other than English (21%). This resulted in recruits (both NESB1 and NESB2) questioning both the legitimacy of the program as well as whether merit standards were met to enter

the QPS via this pathway. Diversity initiatives that appear to compromise merit selection or appear tokenistic or quota driven are unlikely to be received favourably by organisations or those whom they are trying to help (Gündemir et al., 2017; Kulik & Roberson, 2008). This was apparent in this study and likely made the transition for these recruits into an already challenging organisational culture even more difficult.

Participants from NESB2 backgrounds described a program not designed for them and were somewhat confused as to why they had gained entry via this pathway. These participants were unaware the CALD RPP existed until being offered an appointment to the program. Appointment of recruits to a program not designed for them was perceived in some quarters as 'quota over merit' recruitment. This was further validated through the investigation by the Crime and Corruption Commission (CCC) investigation into QPS recruitment which identified merit benchmarks were lowered for applicants from CALD backgrounds (MacSporran, 2021).

Lived experiences shared by program participants described an organisational culture which at times did not appear to understand or value cultural diversity. This was evident even in the early stages of Recruit Training leaving NESB1 participants often feeling judged, excluded and isolated. Experiences of racism and micro-aggressions particularly from other recruits, facilitators, colleagues and supervisors were reflective of a diversity initiative implemented without infrastructure, policies and systems to support a diversified workforce. Despite some of the negative experiences and confusion around the program's intent, participants generally outlined they benefited from the CALD RPP and most highlighted the significant impact of peer support networks gained through participating in the program. Many providing the connections established remained well into their operational policing careers.

As the first of its kind within Queensland and (at the time) within any Australian jurisdiction, the CALD RPP was an overt demonstration by the QPS that it was genuinely committed to growing a diverse workforce. Winning an award and gaining community support, the program gained significant symbolic returns. There is evidence to suggest the mere presence and appropriate communication and promotion of a program of this nature have a positive impact on attracting a diverse applicant pool (Brief & Bradley, 2008). This was reflected in the research findings with applicants stating they gained the confidence to apply for the QPS once they

knew the CALD RPP existed; believing the program was designed for them. However questionable eligibility criteria and compromised merit selection impacted the experiences and perceptions of recruits who gained entry via this pathway.

The results of this study demonstrate the importance of evaluating diversity initiatives to ensure they achieve their intent. Recommendations for future improvements to the CALD RPP include ensuring the motivation for the diversity initiative and program objectives are clearly defined and promoted both internally and externally to ensure transparency. A review of current eligibility criteria and selection standards is recommended to ensure participants appointed to the program are selected based on suitability rather than quotas to mitigate backlash, ensure the program is more likely to be perceived favourably by the organisation and pave a positive transition into policing for diverse recruits. These recommendations have already been endorsed by the QPS and, at the time of finalising this research, the CALD RPP was in the process of being updated to embed recommendations for future intakes.

It should be noted that whilst a diversity initiative of this nature if promoted correctly, may contribute to attracting and recruiting a diverse workforce, it is not the panacea to achieving a utopia where all cultures are valued, included, respected and supported within an organisation. Whilst achieving a culturally responsive organisation that is reflective of its community has arguably been an objective of LEAs across the globe since the days of Sir Robert Peel in the nineteenth century, this cannot be achieved with one single diversity program. The experiences of participants within this research demonstrate a culture within the QPS that wasn't always culturally aware, culturally sensitive or culturally capable. Whilst a program like the CALD RPP may result in easily measured increased numbers of diverse police within the QPS, the real measure of success is creating an internal culture where our diverse employees are supported, included and valued.

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