

**Understanding Black Women's Experiences with Law Enforcement: A Qualitative,
Intersectional Approach**

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Abstract

In a world where Black women's experiences with law enforcement are often overlooked, their stories remain largely untold—until now. Drawing on Kimberlé Crenshaw's framework of intersectionality and Moya Bailey's concept of misogynoir, this study explores the experiences of Black women with law enforcement in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia. This is done through a series of 8 semi-structured, qualitative interviews with Black women, specifically examining how the intersection between race and gender shapes these encounters. The complicated relationship between race and gender significantly shapes individuals' experiences with law enforcement, and within these factors, the experiences of Black women stand out as a particularly critical area of study.

Key findings include the persistence of stereotypes portraying Black women as “aggressive”, “angry”, or “loud”, participants' efforts to define themselves beyond those labels, occasional positive encounters with police, and shifts in perception before and after the death of George Floyd. The study also includes recommendations on how police can better engage with Black women through cultural sensitivity, accountability, and community engagement.

Introduction

While the discourse surrounding law enforcement encounters often emphasizes the experiences of Black men, Black women face unique forms of discrimination within the criminal justice system. This paper will present the findings from 8 semi-structured interviews with Black women in the Lower Mainland of B.C who have had direct interactions with law enforcement.

The interviews will examine how the intersection of race and gender influence their experiences and perceptions of law enforcement, while also considering the role of stereotypes in shaping public attitudes towards Black women. Ultimately, the goal of this research is to amplify Black women's voices, address the impacts of their encounters with police, and offer recommendations for improving policy and practice within the criminal justice system that ensures equality and better protection for Black women and other marginalized communities.

In both Canada and the United States, movements such as Black Lives Matter have predominantly featured the narratives of Black men like George Floyd (2020), and although crucial, it has also led to neglect of the unique challenges faced by Black women such as their encounters with police, their experiences with racial profiling, and their struggles with intersectional discrimination less explored (Crenshaw et al., 2015). The "Say Her Name" campaign, founded by Kimberle Crenshaw and Luke Harris in 2014, highlights Black women's experiences with police violence and raises awareness about the realities of their experiences. Given that Black women are at a higher risk for police violence, racial profiling, and criminalization, race and gender are explored to explain how their intersection influences police violence against Black women (Judson et al., 2024)

This study is central to criminology as it addresses issues of systemic racism, criminalization, and victimization, which fail to protect Black women from violence or mistreatment. Intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989) is used to reveal how race and gender intersect to shape these experiences, showing that Black women are often criminalized based on both their race and gender together (Collins, 2004).

This research is situated in ongoing issues of racial injustice, gender inequality, and discrimination. While there is now a growing support for racialized justice, the experiences of Black women are still ignored and misunderstood in law enforcement contexts (Simpson, 2018). This research works to address the gap in understanding the challenges Black women face within law enforcement agencies in the Lower Mainland.

The primary research question for this study is: How does being both Black and female shape encounters with law enforcement agencies in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia? This question allows for a deep examination of the intersection of race and gender with law enforcement. By investigating how Black women experience law enforcement, this research provides valuable insights into how identity shapes their perceptions, how law enforcement practices can be improved, and how Black women navigate systemic challenges.

Key Concepts

To start, a Black woman will be defined in this study as: a cisgender individual who identifies as female, belongs to the Black racial or ethnic group, has at least one Black parent, and self-identifies as Black. The Black women included in this study may come from various cultural backgrounds, including African American, Afro-Caribbean, African, and other diasporic communities.

Additional key concepts used in this study include law enforcement, defined as an agency and personnel responsible for enforcing laws, investigating crimes, and maintaining public order within a community (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2024). This includes roles such as police officers, peace officers, border security, sheriffs, and other criminal justice system

actors (Criminal Code of Canada, RSC 1985, c. C-46, s. 2). While *law enforcement* is used throughout this study, the focus is specifically on police encounters. This decision was guided by the participants themselves, as all participants referred to their experiences with police officers when discussing their interactions with law enforcement and the broader criminal justice system. This narrowing of focus is further elaborated upon in the methodology chapter.

Systemic racism refers to the idea that institutional policies and societal norms contribute to ongoing discrimination against marginalized communities, particularly in their interactions with school, health care, and law enforcement (APA Dictionary of Psychology, 2023). Gendered racism is a specific form of racism that is influenced by one's gender, in this case, women (APA Dictionary of Psychology, 2023). Stereotypes are misconceptions or beliefs about a group of people that often lead to generalizations and misunderstandings (e.g., the "angry Black woman") (Ashley, 2013). Misogynoir, as defined by Bailey (2008), is prejudice that targets Black women through the intersection of both their race and gender.

The terms racism, discrimination, and stereotypes can overlap in ways that make them complex and sometimes confusing. Racism typically refers to a system of belief that one race is superior to others, leading to discrimination, prejudice, and lack of opportunities that disadvantage marginalized communities (APA Dictionary of Psychology, 2023). However, discrimination refers more specifically to actions or behaviors that treat people unfairly based on their race, gender, age or other characteristics (APA Dictionary of Psychology, 2023). Discrimination can manifest in individual actions (e.g., a biased police

officer targeting a Black woman) or in institutional practices (e.g., laws that disproportionately affect Black women).

Stereotypes, on the other hand, are closely tied to both racism and discrimination, as they shape the misconceptions that lead to discriminatory actions. For example, the stereotype of Black women as aggressive or irrational often fuels discriminatory treatment (Ashley, 2013). While each term has distinct meanings, they are deeply interconnected and can often be seen operating together. In this research, these terms will be used interchangeably to describe the overlapping ways in which racism and sexism contribute to the marginalization and mistreatment of Black women, especially in law enforcement contexts.

Research Objectives

The aim of this study is to understand Black women's experiences with law enforcement, specifically police, with a focus on the impact of both racial and gender discrimination. This research examines how these dual layers of discrimination contribute to different forms of mistreatment by police officers, including racial profiling, gender-based violence, and stereotyping. Another key objective is to assess how these experiences affect Black women's trust in law enforcement.

Finally, this research aims to provide recommendations for improving policy for law enforcement agencies within the Lower Mainland. The perspectives of Black women who have had direct encounters with law enforcement helped provide policy recommendations, such as enhanced training on interactions with Black women. This would involve de-escalation strategies, culturally sensitive training, and efforts to dispel myths and

stereotypes. Also, accountability measures for criminal justice professionals such as civilian oversight and lastly, educational initiatives that include mandatory anti-racism and anti-bias training for staff and faculty.

Research Paradigm & Theoretical Framework

The theories and approaches that will inform and guide my study are the critical paradigm and interpretivism. The critical paradigm offers a valuable lens for examining the power dynamics between Black women and law enforcement, emphasizing how systemic structures of race and gender influence police interactions with Black women (Reid et al., 2017). The critical paradigm, along with the concept of intersectionality, shows how Black women's experiences are shaped by the overlap of race and gender, leading to complex vulnerabilities such as heightened police scrutiny, violence, and discrimination.

In contrast, the interpretivist paradigm, through frameworks like Social Construction Theory (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) and Critical Race Theory, offers a more subjective understanding of Black women's experiences with law enforcement (Pervin & Mokhtar, 2022). Social construction theory highlights how societal norms and beliefs, including negative stereotypes about Black women, influence perceptions and treatment by police. Critical Race Theory critiques how legal systems perpetuate racial inequalities. Both frameworks will be used to provide insight into how race and gender shape Black women's interactions with law enforcement.

The nature of this research aligns with the goal of understanding the overlap of race and gender in law enforcement encounters. These theoretical frameworks focus on the specific experiences of Black women with law enforcement and connect those experiences

to a broader context of societal inequality. Intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989) can be used to examine how various social identities, such as race and gender overlap and create unique experiences of oppression or privilege, acknowledging that race and gender cannot be viewed in isolation. Critical Race Theory focuses on the ways in which racism is embedded in societal structures and institutions, which disproportionately affect Black women (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017).

Lastly, *The Social Construction of Reality* (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) explores how societal beliefs and norms shape our understanding of reality. In the context of law enforcement, it can help analyze how perceptions of race and gender influence both the actions of law enforcement officers and the experiences of individuals they interact with.

Literature Review

Although conversations about police violence are often centered on the experiences of Black men, Black women's experiences uniquely shape their interactions with law enforcement. Building on Kimberlé Crenshaw's theory of intersectionality and Moya Bailey's concept of misogynoir, this literature review explores how systems of oppression impact Black women's treatment by police, while also examining the historical, systemic, and psychological factors that contribute to these outcomes. In doing so, it provides the foundation for understanding the perspectives shared by participants in this study.

This literature review is organized into six main themes: (1) intersectionality of race and gender, (2) historical context and systemic racism, (3) Black perceptions of law enforcement, (4) over policing and overrepresentation, (5) stereotypes and misogynoir, and

(6) the effects on mental health. Together, these themes highlight the ongoing marginalization of Black women and the urgent need for institutional change.

Intersectionality of Race and Gender

Black women often encounter a dual layer of discrimination, rooted in both their race and gender, which can profoundly affect their experiences with law enforcement. The concept of “intersectionality” coined by Crenshaw (1989) explains how various forms of social identity, such as race, gender, and class, intersect and overlap to create complex forms of oppression. This concept emphasizes that individuals can experience overlapping forms of discrimination that cannot be fully understood by looking at each category separately. For instance, Black women face unique challenges that come from both racism and sexism together, which creates problems that are different from just experiencing each one separately. Intersectionality was developed in the context of feminist and anti-racist legal theory, arguing that legal frameworks failed to address how these identities overlap to create unique experiences for Black women (Crenshaw, 1989, p.141). For example, while white cisgender women may experience sexism and struggle under patriarchy, they are not subjected to racism in the same way that Black women or other women of colour are (Dickens et al., 2023).

Applying intersectionality within broader social movements often use “single-axis representation” and fail to address power dynamics (Tungohan, 2014). Single-axis representation, in the context of social movements, focuses on one aspect of marginalization without addressing the other. To be truly representative, social movements must apply intersectionality to advocate for their most marginalized members and challenge

the societal structures that create injustice (Weldon, 2006). When looking at Black women's experiences with law enforcement, the issue of race should not overlook the issue of gender but should include both racial and gender injustice to fully understand the unique position Black women are in. Rachel E. Luft and Jane Ward (2009) argue that intersectionality should be viewed as an evolving and visionary concept that is not easily fixed or fully attainable.

While the discourse surrounding law enforcement encounters often emphasizes the experiences of Black men, highlighting issues such as racial profiling and police brutality, it is critical to explore the unique challenges faced by Black women. Because Black women face a different set of challenges that stem from the intersection of their race and gender, this can shape their interactions with law enforcement in unique and profound ways. Black women and girls are at a higher risk of being killed by police, but there has been little research on the specific factors that increase their chances of these fatal encounters (Judson et al., 2024).

Race and gender are explored as intersecting factors that shape police violence against Black women, revealing that their experiences and deaths are often overlooked in public discourse (Joseph, 2022; Judson et al., 2024). By emphasizing their absence in discussions surrounding law enforcement issues, the "Say Her Name" campaign, founded in 2014 by Kimberlé Crenshaw and Luke Harris, aims to honor Black women and highlight their experiences with police violence. The campaign draws attention to Black American women's stories that have been overlooked when discussing police brutality. Despite these efforts, the media's focus on Black men further complicates efforts to gather information on Black women, and instead, many cases remain undocumented or have received minimal

attention (Crenshaw et al., 2015). This denies Black women's legitimacy as victims and contributes to their invisibility and increased vulnerability to police violence (Allen et al., 2024).

This was evident in the case of Breonna Taylor (2020) whose death gained significant media attention. Media coverage of her death revealed that her gender and race portrayed her as an ideal victim through a patriarchal lens and shifted blame onto her by focusing on her relationships with men (Cecil, 2022). These media portrayals contribute to the erasure of Black women's experiences with police violence and reinforces the need for a more inclusive discussion around law enforcement and its impact on Black women.

Historical Context & Systemic Racism

The relationship between Black communities and law enforcement in the United States is characterized by discrimination, systemic bias, oppression, and resistance. This troubled history dates to the mid-1800s, rooted in systemic issues including slavery, discriminatory laws, and ongoing instances of police violence (Peck and Elligson, 2021). Furthermore, Black individuals in Canada are significantly overrepresented in the criminal justice system in comparison to their percentage in the general population (Government of Canada, 2022). Between 2020 and 2021, Black individuals represented 9% of offenders in custody, despite only representing 4% of the adult population (Government of Canada, 2022). Despite evidence of this discrimination, police organizations have often denied engaging in racial profiling, which the Ontario Human Rights Commission (2024) defines as "any action undertaken for reasons of safety, security or public protection, that relies on stereotypes about race, colour, ethnicity, ancestry, religion, place of origin, or a combination

of these, rather than on a reasonable suspicion, to single out an individual for greater scrutiny or different treatment.” This lack of accountability and acknowledgment of racism within police institutions continues to strain their relationships with Black communities.

Furthermore, the history of Black people in Canada encompasses a range of experiences that reflect both resilience and struggle. The first recorded arrival of Black individuals in Canada can be traced back to the 17th century with the existence of slavery, particularly in places like Nova Scotia (Frost, 2022). Both enslaved and free Black individuals faced significant discrimination and limited rights. Further, one of the most significant events in Black Canadian history is the role of Canada as a destination for migration in the 19th century, where enslaved Black individuals from the United States sought refuge in the Eastern parts of Canada (Bonner, 2022).

Following the abolishment of slavery, many Black individuals faced ongoing challenges, including systemic racism and marginalization. Today, Black Canadians continue to navigate society through systemic racism and issues related to police violence, economic disparities, and social justice. Dominant white narratives often overshadow the realities of Black Canadians, specifically in relation to the challenges faced by Black women (Johnson and Aladejebi, 2023). These white narratives highlight that the discrimination and violence Black women experience are part of a broader pattern of institutional bias in policing, leading to mistrust between Black communities and law enforcement. Understanding the history of anti-Black racism in Canada is crucial for addressing the current challenges faced by Black communities, such as racial profiling, police violence, and

systemic poverty (Maynard, 2017) and emphasizes the need for a thorough examination of institutionalized violence against Black lives.

Black Perceptions of Law Enforcement

This troubled history contributes to negative perceptions of law enforcement among Black individuals, often resulting in a deep mistrust. Insights into the perceptions of law enforcement across different racial groups reveal that Black individuals tend to hold the most negative views of the police, followed by Hispanic and White individuals (Peck and Elligson, 2021). This disparity in perceptions is influenced by personal experiences with law enforcement, which are often shaped by historical and ongoing discrimination.

Similarly, Wortley (2021) examined perceptions of police among youth and racialized communities in the United States and Britain, pointing out a significant gap in understanding these perceptions within Canada's multicultural context. His findings highlight the experiences of Black and Indigenous youth with law enforcement, explaining how criminal justice systems contribute to their marginalization and criminalization. This is particularly relevant to the experiences of Black women in Canada, as it reveals commonalities in the negative experiences reported by Black women when interacting with police.

For Black women, their experiences with law enforcement are complex. Peck and Elligson (2021) highlight that their mistrust is informed by the specific ways in which systemic racism intersects with gender. This intersectionality leads to unique challenges and heightened vulnerability when navigating law enforcement encounters. Research examining the factors that influence battered immigrant women's decisions to contact the police in intimate partner violence situations found that fear of racism and cultural

misunderstandings were key reasons why some women chose not to seek help from law enforcement (Couture-Carron et al., 2022). We also see this play out in Duhaney (2022) during Black women's interactions with police also involving intimate partner violence. The study, conducted in the Greater Toronto Area, highlights how these interactions shape Black women's perceptions of law enforcement. The women indicated that prejudiced perceptions held by officers often influenced how they were treated, which fostered a lack of trust and fear towards law enforcement, making some women hesitant to seek help in future situations (Duhaney, 2022).

In Digby, Nova Scotia, African Nova Scotian women expressed negative views of the police, fueled by fear that was influenced by the treatment of Black men in their lives (Bundy, 2019). These indirect experiences, which are categorized as "vicarious experiences", shaped their mistrust of law enforcement and informed how they taught their children, particularly Black boys, to handle police interactions through education on compliance. Among the women interviewed, they discussed the "collateral damage" caused by negative police interactions, which extends beyond direct encounters and influences individual families and the entire Black community (Bundy, 2019).

Interestingly, the majority of women who had interactions with the police in the context of intimate partner violence (Couture-Carron, 2022) reported positive and supportive experiences. These results differ from the results of Duhaney (2022) which revealed negative experiences of women being dismissed or even treated as aggressors themselves. These contrasting findings shed light on the complex dynamics surrounding police involvement in intimate partner violence cases. The findings are significant for

understanding how Black women navigate their relationships with law enforcement, illustrating how a single experience, whether positive or negative, can shape Black women's perceptions and willingness to engage with police. While some Black women may face barriers such as fear of racial profiling, prejudice or cultural misunderstanding, other women may experience supportive police responses. This reflects both the potential for positive law enforcement interactions and the systemic barriers that contribute to Black women's reluctance to seek help from police.

Over Policing and Overrepresentation

In British Columbia, the BC Civil Liberties Association (BCCLA) and the Union of BC Indian Chiefs (UBCIC) filed a complaint with the Office of the Police Complaint Commissioner (OPCC) regarding street checks in Vancouver (2018). They found that there was a disproportionate number of Indigenous and Black individuals subjected to street checks, based on data from 2008–2017 obtained through a Freedom of Information request. In 2017, Indigenous peoples accounted for over 16% of street checks, while only making up 2% of the population, and Black people, who make up 1% of the population, accounted for 5% of street checks. The conclusion was that these street checks were discriminatory, being that both groups were over-represented in data in comparison to their percentage in the population.

The systemic overrepresentation of both Black and Indigenous peoples in street check data also reflects broader patterns of racialized surveillance and criminalization in Canada. While the primary focus of this research focuses on Black women's experiences, it's important to recognize similar trends among Indigenous women, who are also

disproportionately targeted by the criminal justice system. Indigenous women represent 42% of all federally incarcerated women in Canada, despite being a small percentage of the overall population (Statistics Canada, 2024). Scholars like Monchalin (2016) highlight how colonial structures and stereotypes have shaped how Indigenous women are treated in Western institutions, including police and prisons. While Indigenous women are deeply respected in their own communities as cultural and spiritual caretakers, they are frequently misrepresented in mainstream narratives and subjected to state violence. Like Black women, Indigenous women are often perceived through harmful stereotypes rooted in colonial and racial ideologies, which contribute to their criminalization, over-policing, and mistreatment within carceral spaces (Razack, 2011; McGuire & Murdoch, 2022; Monchalin, 2016).

By drawing attention to these similarities, we see how colonialism and racism intersect to criminalize and marginalize both Indigenous and Black women in different but connected ways. Both groups face the intersection of race and gendered discrimination, though shaped by different historical and cultural contexts. While Black women often encounter misogynoir, a form of discrimination where racism and sexism are uniquely combined, Indigenous women face systemic erasure and colonization that continues to impact their relationship with state institutions, including police and prisons. In both cases, their identities are shaped by narratives imposed by colonialism, patriarchy, and white supremacy (Monchalin, 2016).

This comparison underscores the need for more intersectional and culturally informed approaches to justice that recognize and respond to the lived realities of

marginalized and racialized women, rather than treating them as secondary to broader and often male-centered narratives of policing and criminalization.

Stereotypes and Misogynoir

Media portrayals and public discourse also perpetuate harmful stereotypes that shape how Black women are perceived and treated, leading to increased vulnerability in encounters with police. Ashley (2013) discusses the negative stereotypes associated with Black women, such as the term "angry Black woman". Negative stereotypes like these can influence how police perceive and interact with Black women and can often lead to misunderstandings. Likewise, misogynoir, a term coined by Moya Bailey in 2008, refers to the unique form of prejudice that target Black women through the intersection of racism and sexism. Unlike general misogyny, which affects all women, misogynoir specifically highlights how Black women face dehumanization, sexualization, stereotyping, and marginalization due to both their race and gender.

Such stereotypes, which portray Black women as aggressive or irrational, invalidates their genuine concerns and reactions. Rather than being viewed as a legitimate response to mistreatment or discrimination, Black women's expressions of frustration and anger are reduced to a stereotype, disregarding the context of their experiences. These portrayals reinforce negative biases that shape law enforcement officers' perceptions of Black women and increase the likelihood of hostile or dismissive responses when Black women express their frustration. It also manifests in the erasure of Black women's intellectual and cultural contributions, which are often ignored or plagiarized (Bailey & Trudy, 2018). Misogynoir is not

just an individual issue but a systemic one that perpetuates harmful stereotypes that exacerbate the challenges Black women face, heightening their vulnerability.

Furthermore, Nelson et al. (2016) interviewed 30 Black women to see how they perceive the "strong Black woman" (SBW) or "superwoman" role. The participants in this study expressed mixed feelings about this role, with some women embracing the SBW role, while others rejected it and criticized its rigid and problematic conception of strength. Some women noted that the SBW role contrasts with the typical view of women in American culture, who are seen as emotional and illogical. For example, one participant emphasized that SBW do not express their emotions, but instead keep stress hidden from others, something that is more aligned with masculine qualities. This role sets Black women apart from how women in general are portrayed in American culture and can be isolating, as it leads Black women to neglect their own well-being while caring for others (Bundy, 2019).

The "strong Black woman" stereotype can impact Black women's interactions with law enforcement as Black women are expected to suppress their emotions during encounters to avoid being labeled as "angry" or "irrational". This highlights the gendered and racialized expectations placed on Black women, as they may feel obligated to endure mistreatment with the fear that it may contradict with the expectations of strength placed upon them. The SBW stereotype can also result in law enforcement failing to recognize Black women's vulnerability or need for support during interactions, and thus Black women's experiences with law enforcement highlight the tension between societal expectations and their lived experiences.

The Effects on Mental Health

Additionally, the recognition of police violence should be viewed as a public health concern because it highlights the unique impacts of such violence on mental health, particularly for marginalized groups (DeVylder et al., 2020). This is especially significant for Black women, who face unique vulnerabilities related to police violence and its mental health implications. The concept of “collective trauma” suggests that the impact of police violence extends far beyond the immediate victims but influences the mental and emotional well-being of the entire Black community (Waldron, 202, p. 5).

In conclusion, this literature review illustrates the critical need for further research into Black women's experiences with law enforcement in the lower mainland. While significant attention has been paid to the experiences of Black men, Black women face distinct challenges that warrant equal attention. The lack of visibility surrounding Black women's experiences is especially concerning given their heightened vulnerability which is often ignored or erased in public discourse. Additionally, there is a significant gap in Canadian literature regarding the specific experiences of Black women with law enforcement. To address this gap, this study seeks to answer the research question: How does being both Black and female shape encounters with law enforcement agencies in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia? This research highlights the significance of Black women's experiences and aims to fill the gap in academic literature in relation to how Black women experience law enforcement in Canada. By centering the voices of Black women and their experiences, this research aims to contribute to the development of more inclusive policies and practices that promote justice and equality for all.

Methodology

Research Questions and Research Design

In this study, "Black women" refers to cisgender individuals who identify as female, belong to the Black racial or ethnic group, have at least one Black parent, and self-identify as Black, including African American, Afro-Caribbean, African, and other diasporic communities. Only cisgender women were interviewed for this study due to the focus on addressing the gap in research regarding the experiences of Black women with law enforcement. Given that literature on cis Black women is already limited, the inclusion of transgender Black women would have introduced an even greater gap in the research. Additionally, there were concerns around being able to find and successfully recruit transgender Black women to participate, which is why the study chose to concentrate on one group at a time. Although this definition of Black women was provided earlier in the introduction, it's important to reiterate that the experiences of Black women in this study are shaped by both race and gender, which significantly influence their interactions with law enforcement.

The primary research question for this study is: How does being both Black and female shape encounters with law enforcement in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia? This question seeks to understand the intersection between race and gender that Black women experience when interacting with law enforcement. Initially, the study focused on examining all forms of law enforcement, including police officers, peace officers, border security, lawyers, and judges, but as the study progressed, the focus shifted only to police officers. Based on the responses from most, if not all participants, police officers were the

main law enforcement agency that they have had experiences with. As a result, the study primarily examines police officers, rather than the broader law enforcement.

The types of questions asked during the interviews were aimed at encouraging open dialogue and allowed participants to share their experiences and insights in meaningful ways (Seidman, 2012). In framing the interview questions, two main theoretical approaches were used: phenomenology and feminist theory. Phenomenological approaches, as outlined by Van Manen (1990), focus on understanding the lived experiences of individuals and how they make sense of their world. By using phenomenology, the study explored how Black women perceive and interpret their encounters with law enforcement, considering the impact of their race and gender in these encounters.

Feminism, in particular the concept of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989), was central in understanding how multiple forms of social identity, such as race and gender, overlap to create unique forms of oppression for Black women. These approaches helped examine the power dynamics that shape Black women's encounters with law enforcement, as well as how societal expectations and structural inequalities influence individuals' interactions with law enforcement (DeVault & Gross, 2007).

One-on-one qualitative interviews were conducted with participants, exclusively online via Zoom, although both in-person and online options were initially offered. The decision to conduct all interviews via Zoom was made due to participants' preference, to offer convenience, and because some participants were located outside of the Lower Mainland of British Columbia. These interviews explored participants personal

experiences, insights, and perceptions on law enforcement. The questions asked during interviews pertained to participants' demographic background, personal experiences with law enforcement, perceptions and feelings during encounters, challenges faced, and suggestions for change. These semi-structured interviews allowed for the collection of information about Black women's experiences and perspectives, offering insights that might not be captured through quantitative methods, such as surveys. Through participants' responses, recurring themes and patterns were identified that related to the impact of race and gender interactions with police officers.

The research questions not only investigated the specific experiences of Black women in their interactions with police, but also analyzed how systemic factors, such as racial profiling, stereotypes, and institutional biases interact to create unique challenges. By centering the voices of Black women, the research provides a deeper understanding of the complexities of identity in relation to policing, and contributes to broader conversations about race, gender, and justice within the Lower Mainland and Canada in general.

Reflexivity

The interview questions developed for this study were intended to foster open, honest, and in-depth dialogue with participants. As a Black woman, it was important to provide a safe space for individuals to share their lived experiences and reflect on encounters with law enforcement. Before conducting interviews, awareness of the researcher's social identities such as age, level of education, and socio-economic status were recognized as potential advantages (Jacobson & Mustafa, 2019). Due to the

vulnerability of the research participants, it was understood that every woman's experiences would not be the same, and that their reaction to researcher might be different. By recognizing the social identity of the researcher and the privileges held despite belonging to the same demographic, this helped the researcher be mindful and sensitive, resulting in more comfortable dialogues with participants.

Additionally, matching the demographic background of the participants likely increased the authenticity of their responses. Shared similarities between the researcher and participants helped establish a level of comfort and trust that may not have been possible with a researcher of a different background, particularly a white male researcher. The similarity of social identities helped foster a sense of shared understanding and in turn, enabled participants to feel more comfortable sharing their stories. Therefore, the researcher's background, along with a deep commitment to social justice, created a strong foundation in conducting this study.

Recruitment and Sampling

For this study, the goal was to recruit 10-12 cisgender Black women aged 18 to 40, who have had direct encounters with law enforcement within the Lower Mainland of British Columbia, and who currently reside in BC. The age range was initially set at 18-35, however, it was adjusted to 40, based on the personal understanding that older women were likely to have more extensive experiences with law enforcement that were shaped by social and community influences (e.g., cultural expectations, media portrayals, neighborhood dynamics, and community attitudes towards police). Participants who had meaningful, personal encounters with law enforcement, whether those encounters were

positive or negative, were invited to share their experiences in a 30–60-minute interview format.

The recruitment process involved a combination of purposive sampling and snowball sampling methods. Purposive sampling was used to target participants based on specific characteristic relevant to the research, such as cisgender Black women that had direct encounters with law enforcement agencies. Informational flyers and posters were posted at the KPU Surrey campus, which contained information about the purpose of the study, eligibility requirements, and instructions on how to get involved. These flyers were displayed in common areas to maximize visibility. Assistance was also received from friends who attended other universities across the Lower Mainland, to share information about the study through posting on social media platforms associated with their own universities.

Additionally, social media platforms such as public and private Facebook groups that were focused on the Black community in Vancouver were used. This approach allowed the recruitment to go beyond the university community and potentially reach a more diverse group of Black women who might not have been aware of the study. Two organizations, Black Women Connect and Hogan's Alley Society, both of which support and engage Black communities in Vancouver were also contacted, to reach a broader range of Black women that was representative of the local community in the Lower Mainland.

Furthermore, snowball sampling was used, which allowed initial participants to refer others who might also be interested in participating (Reid et al., 2017). Snowball

sampling provided access to a wider range of potential participants who may have otherwise been hesitant to participate in the study. By being referred to by initial participants, this method encouraged individuals from within the local community to engage with ease.

To thank participants for their time, \$35 amazon gift cards were provided to each participant at the end of their interview. The \$35 Amazon gift cards were intended as a token of appreciation for participants' time and contributions, however, it's important to consider that they may have influenced some individuals' decisions to participate. A few participants mentioned that they only decided to join after learning about the gift card, suggesting that the incentive played a role in their decision. While the gift cards were meant solely to acknowledge the emotional labor involved in sharing personal experiences, it's worth noting that they may have unintentionally impacted the voluntariness of some participants' choices to engage in the research. All participants were reassured that the gift card was provided regardless of their responses or if they chose to withdraw from the study.

Data Collection

Data for this research were collected through one-on-one qualitative interviews, conducted online via Zoom, as this was the preference of all participants. The interviews were audio-recorded with the consent of the participants and then transcribed and coded for analysis. KPU'S secure, password-protected OneDrive was used to store the consent forms, audio files and transcripts, which was only accessible to the researcher and supervisor. All personal identifying information was removed from the transcripts to

protect participants' identities, and to ensure confidentiality, pseudonyms were used instead of the real names of participants. All audio recordings, transcripts, and notes were stored securely and will be deleted within one year after the completion of the study.

In the data analysis phase, coding techniques were used to identify key themes and patterns that were presented across all interviews. This method involved carefully reviewing the data, categorizing recurring topics, and interpreting the relationships between themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Challenges in Participant Recruitment

Some of the challenges encountered during the recruitment process for this study was the difficulty in finding participants who were willing to participate. The Black female population in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia is relatively small, which limited the ability in reaching a diverse sample of women with relevant experiences. Although the initial aim was to recruit participants from the local area, this limitation became apparent early in the recruitment phase, as fewer women than anticipated were available or willing to participate in the study.

As Duhaney (2022) notes, Black women may face barriers such as racial profiling and prejudice when it comes to police interactions, factors that may also contribute to hesitancy in participating in research on their experiences with law enforcement. Because of this, the scope of the research was expanded to include experiences of Black women outside of British Columbia and included other provinces within Canada. The targeted sample size of 10-12 Black women were also hard to come across, resulting in a total of 8 Black women with experiences in and outside of British Columbia, but all within Canada.

Additionally, some women who initially expressed interest in participating ultimately backed out at the last minute or expressed discomfort with the nature of the study. It became clear that discussing personal encounters with law enforcement brought up negative emotions due to concerns about privacy and reliving past trauma. This was especially present among women who had negative encounters with police, and in one particular case, the participant expressed hesitancy and caution about being involved in a study that would require her to revisit her experiences in detail.

As a result of these challenges, the research was expanded to include Black women from across Canada, rather than limiting the study to the Lower Mainland. This decision allowed for the inclusion of women who had experiences with law enforcement in other provinces and cities, such as Ontario and Alberta, and offered a bigger range of perspectives on the issue. This expansion also added depth to the study's findings, and in some cases, participants from outside of British Columbia expressed a greater willingness to share their experiences as the study allowed them to reflect on broader issues that may not only apply to their local contexts.

Ethical Considerations

There is emphasis on ensuring minimal risk throughout the entire research process. According to the Tri-Council Policy Statement (TCPS 2, 2022), minimal risk is defined as research where the likelihood of potential harms to participants is no greater than those experienced in their everyday lives. Prior to participating in the study, each participant was provided with an informed consent form that clearly explains the purpose of the research, the nature of their involvement, and their right to withdraw at any time, without penalty.

The consent form also outlines the measures taken to protect the confidentiality of participants, like using pseudonyms, securely storing data, and ensuring that only the researcher and supervisor have access to the data provided.

Throughout the research process the core principles of research with human participants were incorporated, which are outlined in the (TCPS 2, 2022) as Respect for Persons, Justice, and Concern for Welfare. These principles guided my interactions with participants and the design of the study to ensure ethical practices were maintained and any potential harm was minimized.

Respect for Persons emphasizes the importance of informed consent in research, ensuring that participants fully understand their rights throughout the process. In this research, several measures were taken to ensure clarity and comprehension of the consent form. Studies show that many participants do not thoroughly read consent forms, focussing more on initial sections, and recalling details poorly (Douglas et al., 2020). To address this, consent forms were sent out prior to conducting the interview, and there was a verbal review of the key sections of the consent form with each participant prior to starting the interviews. This ensured that participants understood their right to withdraw without penalty, and the purpose of the research. Participants were also encouraged to ask questions or request clarification on any aspect of the consent form to ensure they were fully informed before agreeing to participate. Finally, after the verbal review, participants were asked to confirm that they had understood the consent form before proceeding with the interview.

Justice ensures that no group is unfairly burdened or excluded, and that the knowledge gained from the research benefits those it aims to represent. In this study, the principle of justice was applied by ensuring that the participant selection process was inclusive of different backgrounds and experiences, while specifically focusing on cisgender Black women. This focus was due to the limited existing research on this group, with the aim of addressing that gap before expanding to include broader identities such as transgender Black women in future work.

Lastly, the principle of Concern for Welfare emphasizes minimizing any harm or discomfort to participants and maximizing their well-being. This principle is particularly important in sensitive research areas, such as the experiences of Black women. Due to the sensitivity of this research, there are potential risks that may arise, such as emotional distress from discussing topics like racial profiling or police violence, and the fear of stigmatization. As mentioned earlier, this was a real concern as there were prospective participants who declined to participate due to the potential of being triggered by what appears to have been traumatic past experiences with police. To address this, a list of counseling services and mental health support were provided to all participants during the interviews. Participants were also informed that they can skip any question they do not feel comfortable answering. These measures were designed to provide emotional support and ensure participants felt safe and cared for throughout the research process.

Findings and Analysis

To address the research question: How does being both black and female shape encounters with law enforcement in the lower mainland, data were gathered from eight

semi-structured interviews with Black women. While some participants recalled occasional moments of support, most interactions were shaped by a lack of cultural sensitivity, racial profiling, and systemic bias. These experiences point to the urgent need for better representation, accountability, and structural change within law enforcement agencies.

Using a thematic analysis approach, five key themes were identified across all interviews. These themes are: (1) stereotypes of black women, (2) black women defining themselves, (3) positive encounters with police, (4) perceptions before and after George Floyd, and (5) what police can do differently. These themes are discussed in this order to reflect the complexity of participants' experiences.

Overall, the findings highlighted a range of different experiences of Black women regarding their interactions with police officers. From the findings, participants reported being subjected to racial and gendered stereotypes, experiencing differential treatment, and feeling unheard or disrespected during interactions with police. Despite these challenges, participants emphasized their agency by defining their identity as Black women on their own terms, regardless of those stereotypes. Some participants shared some positive interactions with police, while others reflected on how their perceptions of policing changed, especially in light of George Floyd's death in the United States in 2020. Lastly, participants offered suggestions on how police officers can better engage respectfully with Black women.

Stereotypes of Black Women

A dominant theme that was expressed throughout all interviews was the stereotypes surrounding Black women, particularly the ones where Black women were seen as “angry,” “aggressive,” “loud,” or “ghetto”. These stereotypes not only impacted how

police officers approached and responded to them but also led participants to change their own behavior to avoid reinforcing these negative misconceptions. The stereotypes emerged in two key contexts that will be explored in the following subsections: *Stereotypes in Police Interactions and Stereotypes in Intimate Partner Violence*.

Participants connected these stereotypes to things like the history of racism, beliefs passed down through generations, and how Black women are portrayed in the media. Participant 1 suggested that the media was a major source of these harmful narratives, especially how Black women are often portrayed as loud, aggressive, or hypersexualized in TV shows, movies, and news coverage. Others mentioned that these stereotypes are passed down through generations, especially among white communities, where ignorance and a lack of exposure to Black people reinforced harmful beliefs. As Participant 7 explained,

“I feel like a lot of white people have certain viewpoints about how black people are, and it's usually based on the home environment. Just looking at certain things from back in the day, like slavery wasn't abolished that long ago and racism is still super high up in the air.”

Stereotypes in Police Interactions

Several participants described how negative stereotypes shaped their treatment by police during calls for help. One participant described an early encounter with police when she reported a racially motivated incident at work. Instead of receiving support, she felt the officer's response was dismissive and racially biased. “He kept on telling me that I should reduce my voice... But I'm speaking my natural tone. It didn't make sense to me.” (Participant 2).

The officer failed to confront the white individual who was racist towards her and instead questioned her on why she decided to report the incident in the first place. To her, this implied that her call was not important enough. “I felt like the police also was racist, kind of... he didn’t even approach the person who was so racist to me. He just left the person scot-free.” she said. This interaction left her feeling like the officer’s behavior was influenced by stereotypes about Black women being overly emotional.

Likewise, her observation of the racial bias she experienced was further confirmed when she witnessed an Indigenous woman being physically restrained and ignored by police. The woman, who had pneumonia, screamed “I can’t breathe” yet the police ignored her, even when staff tried to intervene. “We even tried to tell the police what happened, but they wouldn’t listen.” she explained. The participant’s reflection on both experiences emphasizes how racial bias shapes personal encounters with police and extends to the mistreatment of others based on their race.

Other participants expressed that they felt judged based on preconceived notions about their identity as Black women. This was specifically discussed in how participants were spoken to by police officers, with some describing a “condescending” or “dismissive” tone. One example of this was shared by Participant 3, who recalled an encounter with transit police in Calgary while attempting to use public transportation. She and her friend were stopped and questioned to see if they had valid tickets, though they noticed that no one else around them was being checked. She explained to the officers that while she hadn’t validated her ticket yet, she had just purchased a booklet of tickets moments before boarding and didn’t want to miss the train. She even showed them her receipt, saying she

planned to validate the ticket at the next stop. Despite this, she explained, “He was just not willing to hear us out. He was just treating us like the worst of the worst... talking down and condescending.” When she and her friend tried to explain themselves, she said “he would just speak to us aggressively and just had no understanding at all.” Participant 3 further described that her treatment by the white male officer was directly related to her race and gender.

Another participant shared her experience with police officers that escalated unnecessarily because of a noise complaint. Although their music was not violating any legal noise laws, the three male officers approached her and her female friends with aggression being “rude and disrespectful” as she stated. “Rather than asking us to politely turn down the music, they were pretty aggressive with their tone, and I felt a little bit discriminated against.” (Participant 6).

Participant 6’s encounter escalated further when the officers insisted on entering her suite without cause and threatened her with arrest when she declined to provide her ID. “I don’t understand why that would need to be necessary at all considering we were complying... why does there have to be three officers knocking so aggressively too?” she asked, reflecting on the officer’s excessive response to a minor complaint. This encounter and the officers’ unwillingness to let her explain her side of the story left her in an emotional state.

“Honestly, after they left, it made me feel very defeated, left me crying... they wouldn’t even let me have my two cents or say anything.” When asked whether the officers acknowledged her feelings, she replied, “No, not at all. They would just kind of brush me off

and just kind of cut me off and not let me finish what I was trying to say at that moment.”, making her feel unseen and unheard as she stated.

Stereotypes in Intimate Partner Violence

The “angry Black woman” stereotype significantly shaped how Participant 1 experienced justice in the context of intimate partner violence. Instead of being recognized as a victim, she described how officers misinterpreted her emotional distress as aggression, asking, “Why are you being so defensive? Why are you being so aggressive?” despite her being visibly upset and non-violent.

Her experience reflects what Ashley (2013) discusses, the stereotype that portrays Black women as aggressive or overly emotional. Such stereotypes shape how police perceive and interact with Black women, leading to misinterpretations of natural emotional responses.

She explained that the abuse she endured, including emotional, physical, and financial abuse escalated over time, and despite her repeatedly calling the police for help, officers spoke only to her partner and left without checking in with her directly. She noted that, as a Black woman, her experiences were dismissed and minimized in contrast to her white male partner, adding an extra layer of invisibility to her identity as a Black woman.

In an attempt to collect her belongings, Participant 1’s her ex-partner called the police and falsely claimed that she was being aggressive. “He started screaming... told them I was acting crazy, I’m aggressive, I’m this, I’m that.” Even though he displayed aggressive behavior, including “lunging at cops” and “yelling at cops”, the officers still handcuffed Participant 1 on the lawn of her own home and accused her of trespassing.

This encounter left her feeling completely failed by the justice system. “All they saw was a Black woman that a white man said was being aggressive.” Instead of being seen as a victim, she was treated as a threat. “Now you have me on the lawn in handcuffs... not even caring about the abuse, re-traumatizing me.” she said.

She also spoke about how “He [her ex-partner] would rile me up then say, ‘Why are you being so aggressive?’ even if he had a hammer in his hand.” She shared that the officers acted in a similar way by ignoring her calm explanations and siding with her abuser. This is consistent with what has been documented in the literature. As discussed by Ashley (2013), Black women’s feelings of distress are seen as aggression, and rather than being protected, they are often criminalized. These harmful stereotypes shape how officers interact with Black women and contributes to them being overlooked in public discourse. As Allen et al. (2024) mention, Black women are denied legitimacy as victims, which further contributes to their invisibility and vulnerability to police violence.

Participant 1 also reflected on the moment that solidified her complete loss of trust in the justice system, when she was handcuffed on her own lawn while officers stood over her. “I’m on the ground... and you’re above as a place of power, as a white cop, as a cop, as a white man... If I cannot trust cops to protect me in one of the worst times of my life, I cannot be here.” she said. While she doesn’t believe all officers are bad, this experience left her with no faith in the justice system as a whole. “That’s not a cop thing. That’s a human thing. But I just had to be as far away from Ontario as I could... I didn’t trust any systems. I didn’t trust anybody at all.”

Participant 1's story reflects what Couture-Carron et al. (2022) describe in their study of battered immigrant women, where fear of racism and cultural misunderstandings led women to feel abandoned by the systems meant to protect them. These dynamics help explain why some Black women, like this participant, may feel they have no choice but to turn away from law enforcement completely.

The experiences shared by participants highlight how harmful stereotypes about Black women continue to shape how they are treated by police. Participants constantly described being dismissed, talked down to, or treated as threats rather than people in need of support in their interactions with police. These patterns reflect how stereotypes continue to define who is seen as believable or deserving of help.

Black Women Defining Themselves

In the next theme, *Black Women Defining Themselves*, participants reflected on their own identities in contrast to how they are perceived by society and by law enforcement. Since many of the participants' experiences explored how police view and treat Black women, creating space for their own voices and self-perceptions was crucial in allowing participants to reclaim their identities on their own terms.

While many participants spoke about the damaging stereotypes they face, being labeled as "angry," "aggressive," or "too loud", they also shared how those views did not define who they were. When asked what it means to them to be a Black woman, participants described strength, pride, and resilience. Despite the assumptions projected onto them by police, every participant described being a Black woman in a positive light.

Participant 1 stated, “It’s my whole identity. It’s how I frame my life... how things are perceived, how I handle challenges, and how I uplift those identities.” Her response reflected an awareness of how her race and gender come with challenges but also shape how she views herself and gives her strength at the same time.

“I’m content with my origin. I don’t regret it. I love it. I love my culture.” said Participant 2. Another shared, “Just means... me. I come from a background of rich history and culture.” (Participant 3). The simplicity in her statement reflected her ability to be herself, regardless of society’s negative perceptions of her.

Participants shared that being a Black woman meant surviving, adapting, and supporting others, despite facing unique challenges. “We are strong. We are bold. We are hardworking. We persevere. We are resilient.” (Participant 5). Another added, “It means having to face a lot... nothing’s handed easy. You just have to always be part of that working hard frame.” (Participant 6).

For others, a Black woman meant leadership and community care. “We’re the leaders within our own communities. We’re unique. We’re successful. We’re organized.” Participant 7 noted. Another described Black women as “hospitable, hardworking,” and central to holding families and communities together (Participant 4). Though these are positive qualities of Black women, these same qualities can place pressure on Black women to suppress emotions during police encounters and lead Black women to neglect their own well-being while caring for others (Bundy, 2019).

These self-perceptions of Black women reveal how deeply participants valued their identities, despite the unique challenges they are met with, like being misunderstood and

judged based on their identities. Still, many admitted to changing their behavior in public or during police encounters to avoid reinforcing negative stereotypes. Participant 1 explained that even when she's done nothing wrong, being near police makes her overanalyze everything.

"Do I have my ID on me? Do I look like I did something? ... A cold sweat comes over you." She reflected on how stories like Sandra Bland shaped her fears, adding, "You just know things can happen with cops... for something that is so innocent." (Participant 1).

Sandra Bland was a Black woman who died in police custody after a traffic stop in Texas in 2015. This participant's reflection shows how such incidents shape the way Black women carry themselves with fear during interactions with police, even when they've done nothing wrong. Bland's story serves as a powerful reminder of how quickly these encounters can escalate and end in tragedy, especially for Black women.

Participant 2 shared how casual racism affected her behavior in public. After being told by a stranger on the bus, "You Africans are so rowdy" her and her friends became self-conscious of how they spoke in public. "Sometimes it has made us just not even talk in the transit... we talk like whispering." She reflected on how this is different to her vibrant and social life back home in Kenya and that her new life in Canada made her feel "so prisoned."

Furthermore, other participants expressed the emotional burden of having to constantly be aware of how they present themselves in different spaces. "I feel like I have to code switch... especially because we're constantly looked at as the aggressor." one participant explained. "The way that I act with women of my own demographics is completely different than when I'm in the office. It sucks." (Participant 7).

However, some participants rejected the pressure to conform to societal expectations placed on her. One woman simply said, “How somebody perceives me is not really up to me. I just go about my life the way I usually go.” (Participant 3). Another added, “Wherever I get to... I just like to be myself and do what I’m supposed to do.” (Participant 5).

Across all these reflections, it was made clear that Black women are not defined by the negative views placed on them. Despite the constant push to minimize and hide parts of themselves, many participants emphasized their commitment to staying true to who they are.

Positive Police Encounters

Despite the negative experiences reported by participants, some participants also reported experiencing positive interactions with police, mainly in the context of work. In one case, Participant 5 expressed that the police were “responsive” and “supportive” when being called for work related purposes. While she hasn’t had any one-on-one contact with police in Canada, her interactions through working at a care facility have mostly been positive, where she witnessed officers be supportive in instances involving women. “It was really supportive. It was a friendly one, and I give it up to them.” she said.

In addition, her view of police in Canada were shaped by how different her experiences back home in Nigeria were. There, she explained that police interactions often involved fear, corruption, and extortion. “They would want to put you into a corner... where they will ensure they extort money from you.” she said, after reflecting on a personal encounter involving her sister. In Canada, she felt there was more professionalism and a sense of safety in how police responded. Participant 5 also expressed that back home, she

felt her gender influenced how police treated her, whereas here in Canada, she felt that her race plays a bigger role in how police would respond to her.

Another participant recalled a moment where police responded to a mental health crisis involving her sibling. In this case, the officers handled the situation with care and professionalism. “The police officers didn’t harm him. No weapons were involved. They just took him away carefully... and he was safe throughout the whole ordeal.” (Participant 7). She emphasized that the interaction was respectful, and she never felt threatened. “There was no disrespect. We didn’t feel any sense of harm or trouble was going to happen at all.” The officers involved were both white men, and despite the stressful nature of the situation, they remained calm and were helpful throughout. This experience stood out to her as a rare example of a police response that was effective and non-violent, particularly in the context of mental health.

General Feelings Towards Police

When exploring Black women’s experiences with police, it became clear that their perceptions were shaped by a mix of personal encounters and broader social events. More specifically, the death of George Floyd came up across several interviews and influenced how many participants viewed policing in Canada. To reflect this shift in perspective, this section is divided into two parts: *General Feelings Towards Police Before and After George Floyd*. This helps highlight how a widely publicized case of police brutality shaped participants’ awareness, trust, and overall views towards law enforcement that goes beyond just their direct experiences.

Before George Floyd

Many participants expressed mixed or neutral perceptions of police in Canada, shaped by their own experiences, the experiences of friends, and comparisons with policing in their home countries. While some already had personal experiences, others hadn't interacted much with police at all. Still, there was an overall understanding that policing was complicated, and that some officers were good, and others were bad.

Participant 2, still adjusting to life in British Columbia, explained "It's different from where I come from... when you see police, you feel like your journey of life has come to an end." She noted that she was still learning how the legal system worked in Canada, stating "Where I think there is prosecution, you find that somebody is left free."

When asked about her general feelings about police, Participant 3 expressed "Personally, I think most police officers are on the good side, but I also have some negative views of them because of my own personal experiences and friends, and of course what's going on in the general public." Even among those who had negative encounters, many admitted they would still call the police for help even if participants no longer fully trusted them. "They are supposed to be your friends," Participant 5 explained, "but still... when something serious happens, who else do you call?"

Others highlighted quick responses as a positive trait of Canadian police officers. "Once you call them, they are there. And they respond rapidly to your call." (Participant 4). Still, several participants pointed out their awareness of broader systemic issues, even if their personal experiences were neutral or positive. "It's kind of like a 50/50... there were times where things worked out, and times I didn't feel supported." (Participant 6).

One participant explained her general feelings of police as neutral claiming, “It’s not the best and it’s not the worst. It’s just like right in the middle.” (Participant 7).

Further, some participants who were new to Canada also pointed out disparities and corruption back home when reflecting on policing. One woman, who defined law enforcement as “government” touched on political corruption, stating, “For them, it’s kind of normal... corrupt politicians go scot-free.” (Participant 8).

After George Floyd

For some participants, their general feelings toward police shifted significantly after high-profile incidents of police brutality, especially the death of George Floyd in the United States. Floyd’s death (2020) brought a new sense of awareness, caution, and fear that extended beyond the U.S. and shaped how participants viewed policing in Canada.

Participant 1 explained that before the death of George Floyd, police weren’t something she thought about much. “They were there... you called them in an emergency,” she said. But after George Floyd’s death, and the death of Trayvon Martin, she became much more conscious of police power and how racialized people are perceived. “You’d be more wary of your surroundings... of how you are being perceived... of people who claim they’re trying to help you.”

She expressed concern over the power police hold, especially in situations involving mental health, questioning, “What are cops doing coming to mental health situations with people if they’re going to be having one hand over their gun?” she asked. “Are they really trying to help the person, or are they trying to protect themselves?” Her perspective was also influenced by her work in First Nations communities, where she witnessed firsthand the

long-standing tensions between police and Indigenous people. These intersections of race and power left her questioning the role of police in society, and who they are truly meant to serve.

Others, like Participant 6, admitted they were previously unaware that racism even existed in Canadian policing. “It’s been brought to my attention... it’s actually very frightening. I was very oblivious to the fact of it happening in Canada. I thought it was more of an American thing.” The impact of these realizations changed her trust in law enforcement when she expressed “9-1-1 isn’t usually the number that I think of calling first nowadays.”

The George Floyd video revealed a deeper issue to Participant 2 when she stated, “Some police, they just have personal issues with the Blacks.” Participant 4 shared a more cautious observation. “As a Black [person], you just have to be careful not to fall in any serious issue with the police.” She expressed concern that in a crisis, police would likely side with white individuals over Black ones.

Participant 8 revealed that George Floyd’s death confirmed narratives she heard about police in North America, as a woman from Ghana. “I heard they treat Black people differently. The George Floyd story made me believe that. It is bad training of police officers.”

Participant 7 added that while she hadn’t had a bad experience with police in London, Ontario, the George Floyd situation made her more observant, especially while traveling to the United States. “It made me more like, I need to keep my eyes open... I’ve had conversations with people in America about their fear for the police.”

This complicated relationship of needing help while also fearing harm came up across multiple interviews. As reviewed in Bundy (2019) Black women expressed negative

views of the police through “vicarious experiences” fueled by fear that was influenced by the treatment of Black men in their lives. Similarly, participants in this study shared how incidents like the death of George Floyd shaped their perceptions and mistrust of law enforcement even though those events didn’t happen to them directly.

What Police Can Do Differently

When asked what police could do differently to better engage with Black women, participants shared a range of ideas grounded in their lived experiences. Four main themes came up across the interviews: (1) empathy and understanding, (2) representation and community interaction, (3) equality and fair treatment, and (4) action and follow-up. These suggestions reflect participants' hopes for a policing system that listens, understands, and treats Black women with the dignity and respect they deserve.

Empathy and Understanding

Many participants expressed that meaningful change in policing must begin with empathy, understanding, and a willingness to engage directly with the communities they serve, especially Black communities. "When I'm calling the police... just listen first before you interfere. If you think my call doesn't make sense, tell me why, and explain what should be done." (Participant 2). This participant expressed how communication versus immediate action from police officers would be helpful in navigating interactions with Black women.

Representation and Community Interaction

Another suggestion from participants was the need for increased representation within police forces. "They need more Black women on the force so they can understand us better." (Participant 3). Fostering positive relationships between police officers and Black

communities was seen as essential, as well as engaging with local Black women and participating in community policing.

Participant 7 argued that police officers often come from all white backgrounds and might not know how to engage with diverse communities, suggesting that officers need ongoing training in these areas. "Training needs to happen... it should be continuous, not just a one-time course." Participants also discussed the importance of teaching officers how to interact with individuals from different backgrounds, focusing on understanding them rather than stereotyping them as aggressive.

Equality and Fair Treatment

Participants highlighted the inequality Black people face, especially when interacting with law enforcement, stressing the importance of treating everyone equally. "They should treat us equally, whether Black or white." (Participant 4).

Similarly, Participant 5 emphasized the expectation for all women, regardless of color, to be treated the same way by law enforcement. "The right thing should be done right. Not giving preference based on race."

These statements were further touched on when Participant 8 emphasized, "Nobody should be above the law. Justice and fairness should be given to everybody, not white vs. Black." Her statement emphasizes the desire for a law enforcement system that protects and serves all citizens, regardless of their race or background.

Action and Follow-Up

Finally, participants also discussed the importance of police taking their concerns seriously. Participant 6 explained that reporting her concerns to police often felt like a dead

end. “They should always still try to make an effort to listen and do something about it... not just let it collect dust.” She emphasized the need for police to provide resources and guidance to people, especially when they are unable to solve the issue immediately. Her statement expressed the desire for police officers to take Black women’s concerns seriously and help them feel seen and heard.

Discussion & Interpretation

This research explored how being both Black and female shapes encounters with law enforcement in the Lower Mainland. Through the perspectives of 8 Black women, living in and out of BC, the study revealed that their encounters with police were influenced by the intersection of race and gender through negative stereotypes and unequal treatment. These findings align with previous literature, particularly around the impact of the “strong Black woman” and the “angry Black woman” stereotypes (Nelson et al., 2016; Ashley, 2013).

The discussion of negative stereotypes was central to participants’ experiences, particularly the assumption that Black women are aggressive, loud, or overly emotionally. Many of the women described how these stereotypes shaped how police responded to them, and they also discussed how they felt pressured to watch how they acted to appear “calm” and “put together”. As highlighted by Ashley (2013), these stereotypes deny Black women the ability to express vulnerability without the fear of it being perceived as a threat.

Participants also emphasized the emotional labor of constantly having to tone themselves down to avoid reinforcing these negative stereotypes. These findings are consistent with Bundy (2019), who noted that the “strong Black woman” role can isolate

Black women by forcing them to suppress their emotions and prioritize resilience over their well-being.

While many participants described negative encounters with police based on preconceived notions about Black women, they also challenged these negative portrayals by redefining themselves on their own terms. They spoke proudly about being Black women, naming resilience, leadership, pride, and community care as key parts of their identities.

In addition to individual encounters, broader social events also shaped participants' perceptions of police. Several of the women discussed how their views of police changed after the death of George Floyd in 2020. While their own perceptions may have been neutral before, the police brutality against Black men made many women more cautious and fearful of police in Canada. For some, it confirmed what they had heard about policing in North America and for others, it introduced a new awareness of systemic racism in Canada.

The findings from this study reflect how Black women in the Lower Mainland navigate law enforcement, and how their experiences are shaped by direct encounters and by societal narratives. While positive interactions are possible and do occur, negative experiences were highlighted more often.

Recommendations

In response to all these findings, this research calls on law enforcement agencies to recognize intersectional discrimination and address the unique challenges Black women face. Ultimately, the goal is to amplify the voices of Black women who have too often been left out of both academic research and public discourse about social justice. For law

enforcement institutions to become truly just, they must first acknowledge how race and gender intersect to marginalize certain communities, specifically Black women.

This includes implementing cultural sensitivity training, including Black women's lived experiences in conversations about accountability, and investing in community-based alternatives to policing. By centering the narratives of Black women, this research contributes to a more inclusive vision of justice that is grounded in the lived realities of those who are most affected.

Culturally Sensitive Training

Police departments should implement mandatory anti-racism and anti-bias training with a focus on intersectionality, including how race and gender uniquely impact Black women. These programs should address harmful stereotypes like the "angry Black woman" which can lead to misinterpretation of emotions and further marginalize Black women. For example, police departments could offer mandatory training programs where officers engage in scenario-based workshops led by Black women in the community. The training should highlight how individual bias might lead officers to perceive Black women as threatening rather than vulnerable and offer strategies for responding with empathy and cultural awareness.

De-escalation and Trauma-Informed

Officers should be trained in trauma-informed approaches that recognize Black women's emotions behind police interactions. Training should emphasize empathy, listening, and validating emotional responses rather than criminalizing them. For example, if a Black woman is visibly upset while reporting an incident of intimate partner violence,

officers should be trained to recognize her emotions as a valid trauma response rather than labeling her as “irrational” or “aggressive.”

Accountability and Oversight Mechanisms

Implementing independent civilian oversight, such as British Columbia’s Office of the Police Complaint Commissioner (OPCC), can help build trust and hold police officers accountable. However, these measures should include representation from Black women in the community, such as educators, community organizers, and mental health advocates that sit on the review boards.

Community Collaboration

Law enforcement should engage directly with Black community organizations to develop a mutual understanding. In Vancouver, organizations like Hogan’s Alley Society already do work around advocating for Black communities, especially around housing and racial justice. Law enforcement agencies could collaborate with these types of groups through funding or inviting them into the process of shaping training practices aimed at supporting Black women and Black communities in the lower Mainland.

Study Limitations

While this study offered meaningful insights into the experiences of Black women with law enforcement in the Lower Mainland, it also had several limitations that should be addressed. To start, the sample size of 8 participants limited the broader population of Black women’s experiences. Although the participants had diverse backgrounds, their experiences do not represent Black women across different regions, age groups, or socioeconomic backgrounds. Likewise, since the research was originally focused on the Lower Mainland, it

was later expanded to include participants from other parts of Canada, which is explained earlier in the methods section. In the final sample, five participants were from B.C., 2 were from Ontario, and 1 was from Calgary. Still, police encounters may be different across other regions in Canada in ways that are not fully reflected in this study.

Additionally, the study used snowball sampling, where participants referred others from their own personal circles. While this approach was effective in accessing a hard-to-reach population, it may have also resulted in similar experiences and perspectives, which could have limited the diversity of experiences captured in this study.

The use of gift cards as compensation may also have posed as a limitation in participation. As mentioned in the methodology section, the gift cards could have influenced some individuals to participate only for the incentive, rather than because they had meaningful experiences to share, affecting the depth and authenticity of some responses.

This was evident in at least one case where a participant provided vague and limited responses to the interview questions. Despite the study's criteria specifying that participants must have had direct encounters with law enforcement in Canada, this individual had no direct encounters and as a result, some of the data gathered from her interview lacked depth and relevance found in other participants' interviews.

Suggestions for Future Research

While this study offers important insights into how Black women experience law enforcement in the Lower Mainland, the complex nature of intersectionality calls for continued research that builds on these findings. Future research should include a bigger

and more diverse sample from other provinces and territories in Canada that would provide a better understanding of Black women's experiences. Comparative studies involving other racialized groups, such as Indigenous women should also be explored, as it may reveal similarities in how intersection shapes encounters with police. Further, specific attention should be given to the experiences of Black women across diverse sexual and gender identities, including trans women, who also face multiple layers of marginalization.

In addition, including the perspectives of law enforcement officers, especially Black female officers, could offer valuable insights into how issues of race and gender are understood and addressed within law enforcement institutions. Lastly, evaluating the effectiveness of the recommendations provided, including cultural sensitivity training and community collaboration would help determine whether these strategies are an effective response to the concerns raised by Black women.

Conclusion

This research set out to explore how being both Black and female shapes encounters with law enforcement in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia. While the initial focus included various law enforcement agencies such as police officers, peace officers, sheriffs, and border security, participants described experiences involving only police officers, which resulted in a redefined focus on only police encounters.

This research does more than document experiences, it affirms that Black women's voices must be at the center of conversations about justice, safety, and systemic change in law enforcement contexts. In a society where Black women are often overlooked and ignored, this research creates space for their stories to be heard, felt, and taken seriously.

Drawing on Kimberlé Crenshaw's intersectionality and Moya Bailey's concept of misogynoir, the findings reveal that Black women's experiences with police are deeply connected to broader issues of systemic racism and gendered discrimination. These women's stories revealed consistent patterns of racial profiling, being dismissed, and navigating police encounters through the lens of harmful stereotypes like the "angry Black woman".

Participants mentioned the pressure to present themselves as calm because of the fear of just to be taken seriously or avoid escalation in police encounters. For instance, one woman recalled how her calm explanation during a domestic violence incident was disregarded, while officers sided with her abuser. This moment illustrates the broader theme that Black women are not seen as victims or deserving of protection.

Many referenced the murder of George Floyd, describing how it changed their perception of policing in Canada and caused them to be more aware of anti-Black racism that transcends national borders. The responses from participants confirmed what scholars like Crenshaw (1991), Collins (2004), and Simpson (2018) have addressed, that Black women are at the centre of multiple forms of discrimination yet are often left out of the public discussions aimed to address them.

This study is important because it addresses gaps in academic literature. Much of the literature on police violence centers Black men, while discussions on gendered discrimination often focus on white women. This leaves Black women largely invisible. As the literature review revealed, there is a lack of Canadian research that explores how racism and sexism intersect in Black women's experiences with law enforcement,

specifically police encounters. By sharing firsthand, local insights, this study helps fill the gaps and offer visibility to the unique challenges Black women face within police encounters that frequently overlook or misinterpret their lived realities.

Moreover, participants not only offered valuable insights based on their lived experiences, but they also offered meaningful suggestions for change. Many advocated for trauma-informed police training, better community engagement, increased representation of Black women in law enforcement, and independent civilian oversight bodies that include Black women's voices. These recommendations serve as a way for law enforcement agencies to better implement empathy, accountability, and care.

As a Black woman researcher, this work was not just academic, but it was personal. Lived experience shaped the research process and allowed participants to share the ways identity influenced the research. Their stories resonated deeply, not only because they mirrored familiar experiences, but because they reflected a shared and often silenced reality. The hope is that other Black women see themselves reflected in this research, and feel seen, validated, and heard.

Though this study had its limitations, including a small sample size, it offered the chance for Black women's voices to be centered around justice and safety. Future research must build on this work by amplifying more diverse Black women's experiences, particularly those of trans women, whose realities are shaped by multiple forms of oppression. Additionally, further research should include the experiences of Black women across other regions in Canada, as well as perspectives from Black female law enforcement officers themselves to better understand institutional dynamics.

Ultimately, the findings from this study highlight the need to move beyond surface-level reforms and redefine how criminal justice should be practiced. This means recognizing Black women as individuals with unique experiences and perspectives that deserve to be heard and respected, not through stereotypes or assumptions. For law enforcement agencies, centering the voices of those most impacted is a necessary step. The experiences shared in this study offer valuable insights for creating a justice system that is more inclusive and fairer.

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Appendices

Appendix A:

Social Media Script

Social Media Caption for Posting in Public & Private Facebook Groups

Hi everyone! My name is Elizabeth Renato, and I am a Criminology Honours student at Kwantlen Polytechnic University. I am currently conducting research on Black women's experiences with law enforcement, specifically focusing on how race and gender intersect to shape their experiences and perceptions.

I am seeking participants who are willing to spend 30-60 minutes answering questions in an interview format. The types of questions that will be asked will pertain to demographic background, personal experiences with law enforcement, perceptions and feelings during encounters, challenges faced, and suggestions for change. These interviews can be conducted either in-person or online, based on your preference.

If you are interested in participating in this study, please contact me at elizabeth.renato@student.kpu.ca. If you know of anyone else who might also be interested and fits the criteria, please share this poster with them!

If you have any questions or concerns, please don't hesitate to contact me directly at elizabeth.renato@student.kpu.ca, or you can also reach out to my Honours Supervisor, Stephanie Ashton, at stephanie.ashton@kpu.ca.

REB #2024-54

Thank you.

Appendix B:**Email Script for Snowball Sampling**

Dear [Recipient's Name],

Thank you for your interest in participating in my research study. My name is Elizabeth Renato, and I am a Criminology Honours student at Kwantlen Polytechnic University. I am currently conducting research on Black women's experiences with law enforcement, specifically examining how race and gender intersect to shape these experiences and perceptions.

To provide some details, I am seeking participants who are willing to spend 30-60 minutes answering questions in an interview format. The types of questions that will be asked will pertain to demographic background, personal experiences with law enforcement, perceptions and feelings during encounters, challenges faced, and suggestions for change. These interviews can be conducted either in-person or online, based on your preference. If you are interested, I have attached an informed consent form which provides further information about the study and your rights as a participant.

If you are interested in participating or would like more information, please feel free to respond to this email or contact me directly at elizabeth.renato@student.kpu.ca. You can also contact my supervisor with any questions you may have at stephanie.ashton@kpu.ca

Thank you for your time and consideration.

REB #2024-54

Kind regards,
Elizabeth Renato

Appendix C:

Informed Consent From

OVERVIEW

I am a Criminology Honours student at Kwantlen Polytechnic University. As part of my coursework, I am gaining experience in designing and conducting qualitative research. The purpose of this research project is to explore the intersection between race and gender and examine how these factors shape encounters with law enforcement for Black women in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia.

CONSENT FORM

[Understanding Black Women's Experiences with Law Enforcement]

Ethics ID KPU REB #2024-54

STUDY TEAM

Principal Investigator: Stephanie Ashton, Faculty of Arts, Criminology Department, stephanie.ashton@kpu.ca

Co-Investigator: Elizabeth Renato, Kwantlen Polytechnic University, elizabeth.renato@student.kpu.ca

CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

- The principal investigator is also an instructor at KPU, which may pose as a potential conflict of interest. To address this, the principal investigator will not be conducting any interviews or have any contact with participants.
- If as a participant you have any concerns or perceive any conflicts of interest as a result of any relationship with the principal investigator, you may choose to withdraw from the study without any penalty prior to March 15, 2025.

INVITATION & PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

- You are invited to participate in a research project which is a part of my Criminology Honours degree. The purpose of this research project is to explore how the intersection between race and gender shapes encounters with law enforcement for Black women in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia. Before

you decide whether to participate, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take your time to read this form and ask any questions you may have before making your decision.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

- Your participation in this research project is completely voluntary.
- You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without penalty prior to March 15, 2025.
- Whether or not you choose to participate in this study, it will have no effect on your academic standing or employment.

PROCEDURES

- If you choose to participate in this study, I will ask you to participate in an in-person interview or an online interview via Zoom.
- For in person interviews, with your permission, I will audio record the interview using a standalone digital audio recorder to ensure accuracy of my data. I will transcribe the interview to analyze it.
- For Zoom Interview, I will advise you and confirm your agreement with recording the interview prior to beginning. You will have the opportunity to confirm your willingness to participate. I will store the recordings in a secure platform accessible only to myself for transcription. The audio recordings will be securely stored on a password-protected OneDrive that only the project investigator and I will have access to.
- If you choose to participate in this study, the interview will take approximately 30 to 60 minutes. The interview questions will pertain to demographic background, personal experiences with law enforcement, perceptions and feelings during encounters, challenges faced, and suggestions for change.
- You are free to skip any questions that you are uncomfortable answering by saying, “I don’t want to answer that”, or something similar.

WITHDRAWING FROM THE STUDY

- You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time, without penalty prior to March 15, 2025; after this date, the data you provided will be merged and analyzed.
- If you choose to withdraw, any data collected up to that point will be destroyed unless you provide consent for its continued use.
- Whether or not you choose to participate in this study, it will have no effect on your academic standing or employment.
- I will give you any information that is relevant to your decision to continue participating in this study.

CONFIDENTIALITY

- Your confidentiality will be strictly maintained, such that only the principal investigator and I will have access to the information provided.

- Your name, age, and place of residence will be collected.
- I will use pseudonyms rather than your real name prior to conducting the interview to ensure that your identity is protected both during and after the study.
- Data will be collected through in-depth semi structured interviews both in person and online via Zoom.
- Interviews will be audio recorded using a standalone digital audio recorder.
- The recorded data will be securely deleted by May 2026, one year after the final deadline for the course in which this data is being collected.
- Zoom servers located in Canada will be used for online interviews to ensure compliance with data privacy regulations. The data will be securely stored on my supervisor's KPU OneDrive, which is encrypted and password protected.
- Data will be password-protected and will be stored on my supervisor's KPU's One Drive, which is a secure server located in Canada.

BENEFITS

- There may be benefits to future research and to inform policy on how law enforcement agencies interact with Black women in the Lower Mainland.

RISKS

- Participants in this study may feel emotional distress and fear of stigmatization during the interview.
- To mitigate these risks, support resources will be available, such as counseling services and other mental health support.
- These resources are provided by counselling services at Kwantlen Polytechnic University and other local counselling services for those who do not attend the university, such as Black Mental Health Canada <https://blackmentalhealth.ca> and Black Youth Helpline <https://blackyouth.ca>

PAYMENT

- You will be given a \$35 Amazon gift card after the interview to show appreciation for your time and participation.
- You will receive a gift card even if you choose to withdraw from the study after the interview.

STUDY RESULTS

- Research results will be included in a final thesis, which will outline the preliminary findings.
- Participants will not be directly identified in the thesis or any publications. Any identifying information will be kept confidential.

- You have until March 15, 2025, to withdraw your consent at which time your data will be removed from the study.

DISPOSAL OF DATA

- All data provided, including audio recordings, transcripts, and notes, will be securely deleted by May 2026, which is one year after May 2025, the final deadline for the course in which this data is being collected.

CONTACT FOR INFORMATION ABOUT THE STUDY

- elizabeth.renato@student.kpu.ca

CONTACT FOR COMPLAINTS/ETHICS CONCERNS

- *If you have any concerns or complaints about your rights as a research participant and/or your experiences while participating in this study, contact the KPU Research Ethics Board at reb@kpu.ca.*

CONSENT & SIGNATURE

- Taking part in this study is entirely up to you. You have the right to refuse to participate in this study. If you decide to take part, you may choose to pull out of the study at any time without giving a reason and without any penalty.
- Your signature below indicates that you consent to participate in this study.

Participant Signature

Date

Printed Name of the Participant signing above

Appendix D:

Interview Guide

1. Can you tell me a little about your background, including where you were born and raised?
 - a. How would you describe your ethnicity?
 - b. How would you describe your gender identity?
2. What does it mean to you to be a Black woman?
3. Who do you think of when you hear the words ‘law enforcement’?
 - a. What are your general feelings about law enforcement and the criminal justice system?
4. Can you describe any personal experiences or encounters you've had with law enforcement? (This could include police officers, border security, lawyers, judges, etc.)
 - a. Were any of those experiences negative? Positive?
5. Do you feel these experiences are related particularly to your identity as a Black woman?
 - a. How did that experience make you feel?
 - b. Do you think they understood or acknowledged your feelings during that encounter?
 - c. (If no) How do you think they could have responded differently?
 - d. Do these experiences impact your willingness to call on police for help when needed?
6. Have you heard any stereotypes about Black women? What were they? Where do you think these stereotypes come from?

- a. Do you think these stereotypes influence how Black women/Black people are treated by police or other law enforcement agencies?
 - b. Do you ever feel pressured to act a certain way because of these stereotypes?
 - c. How does that make you feel?
 - d. From your perspective, do you think stereotypes about Black women played a role in your personal encounters with law enforcement?
 - e. What strategies have you used to challenge or disprove these stereotypes?
 - f. How did that affect your view of police and law enforcement as a whole?
 - g. In light of these experiences, do you feel comfortable calling the police for help, given your position as a Black woman?
7. Other than your own personal encounters with police, have you witnessed aggressive police encounters?
- a. Have you witnessed positive police encounters?
8. How has that shaped your perception of law enforcement?
9. How do you think law enforcement agencies, such as police, can reduce the influence of stereotypes in their interactions with Black women?
10. Can you describe any specific strategies you use to navigate your interactions with law enforcement as a Black woman?
11. Has there been any world event that has changed your perception of law enforcement?
12. What advice would you give to other Black women who may have faced similar challenges or concerns when interacting with law enforcement?

13. Looking forward, what changes or improvements would you like to see in how law enforcement agencies engage with Black women in the Lower Mainland?

14. Is there anything we did not talk about today that you'd like to add?

15. Are there any other Black women you know who might be interested in sharing their experiences?

Appendix E:**TCPS Core 2 Certificate**