Opportunities for Redress: Re-imagining Relations, Restoration, and Leisure for Uniformed Bodies serving as First Responders

by

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

ABSTRACT

In times of distress, uniformed first responders (UFRs) are the first formal line of care on scene and are responsible for providing care. Due to the obligations required of UFRs, they are considered to be at higher risk for experiencing traumatic stressors that may lead to concerns with their mental well-being (such as depression, alcoholism, post-traumatic stress, major depression, generalized anxiety, and sleep disorders) (Benedek et al., 2007; Bennett et al., 2004; Carey et al., 2011; Fullerton et al., 2004; Jacobson et al., 2008; Meyer et al., 2012). In the current climate of social activist movements (Black Lives Matter (BLM) and #Defundthepolice, in particular), the purpose of this research is to unpack and address the complex issue of care provision for first responders alongside these long overdue movements.

Drawing from critical theories of disability, this research project was methodologically inspired by critical participatory action research (PAR) and narrative inquiry (Clandinin, 2016). I partnered with a local organization (FF) – a community-based holistic wellness centre built for and by UFRs to offer wellness-based services in Southern Ontario. The PAR team (three individuals) recruited 11 participants (six police officers, four paramedics, and one corrections officer) to participate in a series of audio-recorded focus groups and semi-structured interviews (September to December, 2021). This work was guided by concepts of power, privilege, and culture to unpack what it means to identify as a UFR (i.e., the militant ideologies, power-laden relations and performances, and symbolic representations) By un-learning and re-learning how emergent care is provided in these situations, and how restorative justice and care can be re-centered, this work aims to resist systemic oppressions (i.e., capitalism, government-sanctioned power, and ableism), restore caring bodies, and reconcile power relations with the public.

This work employs the concept of *redress* – the idea of resisting, restoring, repairing, or reconciling – (similar to Amighetti & Nuti, 2015; Henderson & Wakeham, 2013; Spiga, 2012) to address: (1) parts of institutional culture that UFRs that perpetuate toxic resilience, (2) the lack of mental health care relations and support that exist within UFR cultures, and (3) the need for leisure spaces of care, compassion, and healing. Through a reflexive, interpretive analysis (Smith et al.,1999), three main threads are described as making up the material and symbolic constructs of the UFR uniform (relations of power, cultural habitus and performing the expectations and symbolic representation) (Bourdieu, 1990; Butler, 1990; Foucault, 1977; Holt, 2008). Interrupted by necessary reflections on ableism, capitalism, white supremacy, and power in relation to UFRs, the findings of this research provide conceptual and practical implications on how government-sanctioned power is strategically used to maintain toxic relations within institutions that govern UFRs. I also offer reflections on how UFRs and the public experience parallel tensions and systemic harms as a result of government-sanctioned institutions of power. Leisure as a space for coping with stresses and trauma(s) (Heintzman, 2008; Iwasaki & Mannell, 2000; Kleiber et al., 2002; Weissinger & Iso-Ahola, 1984) is then used to better understand how UFRs take up leisure to navigate the nuances of stepping into laborious caring roles. This research makes a case for how leisure as care, healing, and restoration can be used to begin to mend the broken systemic relations for UFRs and the public. The findings of this research are represented through a narrative (documentary inspired) script as a means to share the stories and lived experiences told by UFRs. Future research can build on this work by interrupting government-sanctioned institutions of power that continue to privilege processes of ableism, capitalism, and colonialism and enact systemic harms and violences on UFRs and the public. All persons are in need of care in our badly fractured systems. I believe spaces of leisure can be used to cope and

heal from systemic oppressions by offering opportunities for care, healing, and restoration to better meet the communal needs of all members of the public, including UFRs.

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I owe a lot of debt to a lot of people, so bear with me here.

First and foremost, I want to start by deeply thanking my supervisor, colleague, and friend, Dr. Kimberly Lopez. Your guidance and support over the past six years have not only offered me space to grow as a scholar and researcher, but as a person. You challenged me in the best way possible throughout the entirety of this work and I truly would not be where I am today without your unwavering and relational guidance. I cannot express enough how grateful to have had, and continue to have, a mentor like you in my life. I appreciate all the time and effort you put towards me, and this work. I look forward to years and years of collaboration and friendship yet to come. Thank you from the bottom of my heart.

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To my family. You are a part of me, and I believe this work is a representation of who I am and who hope to become. I am the person I am today because of what each of you have taught me. To my mom, you have taught me what it means to be kind and generous. Your unwavering support and interest in my work has been invaluable to me. I appreciate all of the time you have spent with me as I have travelled this journey. To my dad, you are a walking example of what it means to be dedicated, loyal, and hard-working. As you always say, “good things happen to those that work hard.” Thank you for working hard on my behalf. To my sister Breanna, I have looked up to you my entire life. Thank you for teaching me what it means to be selfless, humble, and compassionate. I am so blessed to have a big sister like you to walk beside in life. To my sister Shawna, thank you for being supportive of me as I pursued graduate school and taking an interest in my work. To Petey, thank you for being the brother I never had but always wanted. To Savy, you have brought me so much joy through the final stages of this work. You are a light in this world, so keep shining bright little one.

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To everyone else who was a part of my journey along the way, staff and faculty members and graduate students in the department of RLS, thank you for sharing this journey with me.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to individuals who step into labourous care work as first responders with the intention of *truly* caring for, protecting, and serving their communities. The same UFRs who are underserved and under protected by government-sanctioned institutions of power that breed capitalistic and corporeal harms.

In the same breath, this work is also dedicated to equity-deserving folx who have been disenfranchised by systemic oppressions, harms, and violences at the hands of mis-appropriated government-sanctioned power and who deserve to be *truly* cared for, served, and protected.

This work is put out into the world as a dream for a future world that is centered around love, compassion, and safety for *all* members of the public so that future generations won't need to take up this work. It is my hope that this work can aid in prioritising holistic, care-centered community safety approaches for uniformed first responders and the communities they serve to help advance what *true* public safety can look like.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXAMINING COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP ii

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION iii

ABSTRACT iv

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS vi

DEDICATION viii

LIST OF FIGURES xii

LIST OF TABLES xiii

PREFACE 1

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION 3

CHAPTER TWO: OPPORTUNITIES FOR REDRESS 10

ORIENTATIONS TO OPPRESSION AND INJUSTICES 11
Ontological and Epistemological Range 11
Seeing Critically 12
Critical theories of disability. 14
Power 17
Deepening theoretical, critical reflections on systemic harms and oppressions 18
INSTITUTIONS OF POWER AND UNIFORMED BODIES 21
Institutions that 'uniform' bodies 22
Deeping Reflections on Uniformed Bodies as Subjects. 23
Bourdieu: Capitals, Cultural Field, and Habitus. 24
Butler: Performances of power. 25
Individual and Collective Performativity. 26
Foucault: Relations as Power. 27
Holt: Embodied Social Capital as Power. 27
Power as Resistance: Opportunities for redress 28
LABOURS OF CARE BY/FOR UNIFORMED BODIES 29
Conceptualizing the experiences of UFRs in Canada 29
The 2018/2019 Mental Health Commission of Canada (MHCC) Annual Report. 36
The 2016 Healthy Minds, Safe Communities Strategic Report 36
The 2016 Peer-support and Crisis-focused Psychological Intervention Program 37
Models/Approaches to Care 38
LEISURE AS RESISTANCE FOR COPING AND RESTORATION 40
Leisure as a Space to Cope from Stresses and Trauma(s) 42

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK 45

FF (PSEUDONYM) 46
A METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK INFORMED BY CRITICAL PAR 46
Guiding Tenets of PAR 48
Critical Tenets of PAR 50
Relational Tensions of Power, Voice, and Identity 51
Challenges of Critical PAR 52
MAPPING OUT THE RESEARCH 52
Phase One: The Initial Reflections 59
Phase Two: Mapping out a Plan 59
Phase Three: Facilitation of Plan 60

Interruption ... 67
Phase Four: Reflection and Data Analysis ... 68
Ethical Considerations ... 70
Study Context in Uncertain Times ... 71
Researcher Positionality/Care ... 71
Phase Five: Representation ... 72
CHAPTER FOUR: UNRAVELLING THE UNIFORM -- A NARRATIVE SCRIPT ... 75
THE CAST ... 77
ACT I: UNRAVELLING THE UNIFORM: THREADS OF POWER, CULTURAL HABITUS, SYMBOLISM, AND PERFORMATIVITY ... 78
ACT I, SCENE I: WHAT DO UFRS HAVE TO SAY ABOUT THE POWER RELATIONS THAT ARE A PART OF THEIR EMPLOYMENT? ... 78
ACT I, SCENE II: WHAT DOES THE UNIFORM SYMBOLIZE TO THE PUBLIC AND WHAT IMPACT DOES THAT HAVE FOR UFRS? ... 81
ACT I, SCENE III: HOW ARE UFRS TRAINED AND EXPECTED TO PERFORM? ... 83
ACT I, SCENE IV: HOW ARE CONVERSATIONS ON MENTAL/EMOTIONAL WELL-BEING TAKEN UP BY UFRS/INSTITUTIONS THAT GOVERN UFRS? ... 86
ACT I, SCENE V: HOW ARE UFRS IMPACTED BY THE TRAUMA THEY ENDURE/EMBODY? ... 88
ACT I, SCENE VI: IN WHAT WAYS DO UFRS COME TO IDENTIFY AS THE UNIFORM? ... 90
ACT I: RESEARCHER'S REFLECTION ... 91
ACT II: INTERRUPTING PREDOMINANTLY WHITE INSTITUTIONS (PWIS), CAPITALISM, ABLEISM, AND POWER ... 92
ACT II, SCENE I: WHAT HARMS, VIOLENCES, AND SYSTEMIC OPPRESSIONS HAVE BEEN PERPETUATED BY GOVERNMENT-SANCTIONED POWER, ORDER, AND CONTROL THROUGH THE INSTITUTION THAT GOVERNS UFRS? ... 92
ACT II, SCENE II: WHAT DOES IT FEEL LIKE TO NAVIGATE THE INTERSECTION BETWEEN IDENTIFYING AS RACIALIZED PERSON AND A UFR? ... 94
ACT II, SCENE III: IN WHAT WAYS DO PWIS (SUCH AS THE INSTITUTION THAT GOVERNS UFRS) IMPACT THE ABILITY OF UFRS TO SERVE AND PROTECT THE PUBLIC? ... 96
ACT II, SCENE IV: IN WHAT WAYS, IF ANY, DO THE INSTITUTIONS THAT GOVERN UFRS FORWARD AGENDAS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE AND EQUITY? ... 98
ACT II, SCENE V: WHAT WOULD IT MEAN FOR UFRS TO HELP IN FACILITATING COMMUNITY-BASED HEALING WITH THE PUBLIC? ... 100
ACT II, INTERRUPTION: RESEARCHER'S REFLECTION ... 102
ACT III: RESTORING THE BODY: LEISURE AS RESISTANCE, CARE, HEALING, AND RESTORATION ... 104
ACT III, SCENE I: WHAT DOES IT MEAN FOR UFRS TO FEEL RESTORED? ... 104
ACT III, SCENE II: WHAT SUPPORTS DO UFRS NEED TO FEEL RESTORED? ... 106
ACT III, SCENE III: HOW IS LEISURE TAKEN UP BY UFRS? HOW CAN LEISURE BECOME A PRACTICE OF CARE, A MEANS FOR HEALING, AND A SITE OF RESTORATION? ... 108
ACT III: RESEARCHER'S REFLECTION ... 110
ACT IV: RE-DRESSING THE UNIFORM: NEEDED SUPPORTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ... 112
ACT IV, SCENE I: WHAT RECOMMENDATIONS/SUPPORTS DO UFRS NEED TO HAPPEN INTERNALLY WITHIN THE INSTITUTION? ... 112
ACT IV, SCENE II: WHAT RECOMMENDATIONS/SUPPORTS DO UFRS NEED TO HAPPEN EXTERNALLY, BEYOND THE INSTITUTION? ... 115
ACT IV: RESEARCHER'S REFLECTION ... 117
CHAPTER FIVE: UN-RAVELLING THE UNIFROM ... 118
THREAD ONE: RELATIONS OF POWER: UPHOLDING HIERARCHIES OF INSTITUTIONAL RANK ... 120
THREAD TWO: UNIFORMED CULTURAL HABITUS ... 122
THREAD THREE: PERFORMING EXPECTATIONS AND SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATIONS OF THE UNIFORM ... 127
INTERRUPTION: INTERRUPT(ING) CAPITALISM, ABLEISM, AND GOVERNMENT-SANCTIONED POWER ... 134
Grappling with toll of capitalism on the labouring body ... 134
Uniformed Discourse: Histories of power, violence, and trauma ... 138
Parallel tensions and reckoning with systemic harms ... 141
CHAPTER SIX: RE-DRESSING THE UNIFORM: FROM RESISTANCE TO RESTORATION ... 149

EMBODYING THE UNIFORM: THE IMPACT OF TRAUMA ON THE BODY 150
LEISURE AS A SPACE OF COPING: RESTORING THE BODY BENEATH THE UNIFORM 153
Body Restoration beyond Physicality: Mental, Emotional, and Spiritual realms 155
Leisure as care, healing, and restoration 160
UPSTREAM, JUSTICE-ORIENTED MOVEMENTS ADVOCATING FOR REDRESS 164
RE-DRESSING THE UNIFORM: NEEDED SUPPORTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS 168
An Offering of Collective/Communal Recommendations and Supports 169
NON-CONCLUSION: WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE? 172
REFERENCES 177
APPENDIX A. RELEVANT LITERATURE ON UFRS AND MENTAL WELL-BEING 205
APPENDIX B. HEALTHY MINDS, SAFE COMMUNITIES REPORT (2016) 211
APPENDIX C. RESEARCH INFORMATION LETTER, CONSENT FORM, AND DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION 212
APPENDIX D. RACE-FOCUSED RESEARCH INFORMATION LETTER, CONSENT FORM, AND DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION 218
APPENDIX E. THE INITIAL STATEMENT 224
APPENDIX F. MAPPING OUT A PLAN 225
APPENDIX G. WEEKLY FOCUS GROUP OUTLINES/PLANS 227
APPENDIX H. NARRATIVE STORYTELLING SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE 234
APPENDIX I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS 236
APPENDIX J. RACE-FOCUSED NARRATIVE STORYTELLING SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE 245
APPENDIX K. REFLECTION PHASE PROMPTS 247
APPENDIX L. LETTER OF APPRECIATION 249
APPENDIX M. INFORMATION ON COVID-19 IN-PERSON RESEARCH PROTOCOLS 250
APPENDIX N. CONCEPTUAL DICTIONARY OF TERMS. 254
APPENDIX O. INTERRUPT(ING) AND GRAPPLING WITH RACE, PREDOMINANTLY WHITE INSTITUTIONS (PWIS), AND WHITE SUPREMACY 255
APPENDIX P. USEFUL JUSTICE-ORIENTED RESOURCES. 265

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Sample Focus Group Outline/Plan 63

Figure 2. Narrative Storytelling Method... 64

Figure 3. Benefits of Leisure as Care, Healing, and Restoration for UFRs............................... 162

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Occupational and Salary Breakdown of UFRs as Relative to Population (Statistics Canada, 2016) 30

Table 2. Demographic Breakdown and Percentage of PSP in Canada Screened Positive for Mental Health (retrieved from Carleton et al., 2018) 33

Table 3. Demographic Breakdown of Research Participants 54

Table 4. Demographic Breakdown of Racialized Participants 55

Table 5. Overview of Research Phases and Role/Responsibilities of all Stakeholders 57

Table 6. Focus Groups Topics/Schedule 61

Table 7. Schedule of Individual Interviews with Participants 65

Table 8. Race-focused Conversations for Analysis 66

Table 9. Narrative Script Act/Scene Guide 76

Table 10. Analytic Framework for Narrative Script 119

Table 11. The Threading and Felt Embodiments Experienced by UFRs 132

Table 12. Parallel Tensions Experienced by UFRs and the Public 143

Table 13. Redressing the Uniform (from and to) 150

Table 14. Physical, Mental/Emotional, and Spiritual Restoration for UFRs 157

Table 15. Practices of Leisure Taken up by UFRs 161

Table 16. Needed Recommendations and Supports: Where do we go from here? 170

Table 17. Needed Methodological/Theoretical Tools and Considerations 172

PREFACE

On matters of race and policing.

Kim: *The murders of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor (among many others[1]) in 2020 reinvigorated the Black lives matter (BLM) movement and sharply called attention to discriminatory racial mistreatment by all sectors of society; most notably, law enforcement officers. In places where individuals are supposed to feel safe -- both in shared public spaces and in their homes – Black, Indigenous, and racialized people are systemically being hurt and killed by people who communities were promised to 'serve and protect'. Instead, because of systemic failings that continue to exacerbate prejudice, privileged public figure positions, and power over, people in need of care in our communities continue to be underserved – or worse -- by first responders. Jaylyn, you can't have these conversations about first responders without talking about race.*

Jaylyn: *As a White, heterosexual, cisgender, able-bodied women, who grew up in a predominately white rural area, these conversations will require time and deep reflection. As a graduate student, I have been granted privilege within the academy and afforded access and opportunity to engage in conversations on care and justice. Taking up these conversations forced me to pay attention to my intersectional identities, and how they have and continue to inform my ways of knowing and being.*

Kim: *Rather than talking about a 'flip side,' I see that on the same side of that coin first responders are also underserved and impacted by the traumas they encounter and they themselves have come to embody. This discussion does not intend to minimize the very important racial justice movement. This dissertation is not an argument for #bluelivesmatter over #Blacklivesmatter. Rather, by critiquing the very institutions that fail to respond with care appropriately, it aims to resist the inequities that create the power differences between uniformed and ununiformed members of the public. The term 'first responder' is far more encompassing than the atrocities committed by police and an outdated institutional legacy of discipline and punish that ineffectually stands in for 'justice'. The individuals who wear uniforms to care in our communities including (including fire, police and paramedics), search and rescue personnel, correctional services officers, border services officers, operational intelligence personnel, and Indigenous emergency managers) suffer too. Oppression acts on individuals who take up these roles as well.*

Jaylyn: *Through my graduate studies I have learned the importance of being critical of built institutions of power that have caused trauma, harm, violence, and oppressions for equity-deserving groups. I also learned the necessity of acknowledging my own complacency in maintaining oppressive systems. Through my conversations Kim, I have begun the work of reckoning with the hegemonic cultural narratives of which I am deeply a part. My passion in exploring mental wellness, specifically for individuals in caring roles serving as first responders, is what guided me to the topic of this dissertation. Yet, I cannot hold these conversations without acknowledging of the histories of oppression, violence, trauma, and harm that are perpetuated*

[1] https://sayevery.name/

by government-sanctioned power to govern the public through acts of "serving" and "protecting." I do not take these conversations lightly, rather I have reflexive and thoughtfully engaged with this complex topic in the hopes of holding space to resist power inequities in the very institutions I am a part of. I believe that through conversations on restorative care, equity, and justice, we, as a community, can continue to expose hidden oppressions and recentre care, healing, and restoration for all members of the public, including UFRs.

Kim: *To resist systemic acts of discrimination, restore caring bodies, and reconcile power relations with the public, all persons are in need of care in our badly fractured system. We should acknowledge that this dissertation only takes up part of this discussion by addressing what is needed for caring persons in formal care roles as first responders, but together we dare to have this discussion while recognizing* ***the whole system is in need of redress*** *-- shared and collective justice through acts of resisting, restoring, repairing, or reconciling (similar to Amighetti & Nuti, 2015; Henderson & Wakeham, 2013; Spiga, 2012).*

Post-defense addendum: Continuing the conversation, writing to my knowing.

Kim The thing that kind of stands out to me from your defense was the victimhood piece. I think there's a good spot for it where you talk about the kind of alignments, parallel tensions, between the experiences of oppression. Attention should also be placed on, communities who are also deeply impacted by first responder relations and violence.

Jaylyn: I hold a lot of tension here as from listening to the stories and lived experienced shared by UFRs, they are real and traumatic and deeply impactful on their overall mental and emotional well-being. And I want to acknowledge this while also doing something about the harms caused by institutions of power. In some ways, I think the hurt is relative.

Kim: I think putting that in perspective for your readers would be really meaningful for racialized folks who read this.

Jaylyn: While this work highlights the stressful, often traumatic, experiences and impacts on UFRs, I know it is also must also acknowledge that at the same time UFRs are pretty fairly compensated, often have a strong social support system, and are backed by government- and community-support.

Kim: In future productions of this work, I think you can acknowledge that this is a way of you doing research that could affect marginalized groups in a positive way without continually extracting from them. It's looking at systemic reform in a different way.

Jaylyn: Because with the ethos and the ethic that I bring to this research the participants of this work, UFRs, are affected by these things in day-to-day life.

Kim: And while doing this work, you wanted to do it with sensitivity and acknowledgement of race and that in itself is something that is an extension of your current learning that you hadn't dabbled with before. At the same time, it was a way you could engage with critical theory to support a potential positive impact to community without going outside your wheelhouse, so to speak. When taking up critical race theory, or intersectionality, black theories need to be taken up very delicately by you [a white body] without encroaching black space.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

We will not go back to normal. Normal never was. Our pre-corona existence was not normal other than we normalized greed, inequity, exhaustion, depletion, extraction, disconnection, confusion, rage, hoarding, hate, and lack. We should not long to return, my friends. We are being given the opportunity to stitch a new garment. One that fits all of humanity and nature (Sonya Renee Taylor).

Uniformed first responders (UFRs) are members of the public who step into labourous care roles including the tri-services (fire, police, and paramedics), search and rescue personnel, correctional services officers, border services officers, operational intelligence personnel, and Indigenous emergency managers (Carleton et al., 2018)[2]. They are the first persons on scene to respond to often distressing and/or traumatic situations that require acute support (e.g., the 2022 mass killings in Saskatchewan, the 2020 COVID-19 Pandemic, the 2020 Nova Scotia RCMP Shootings, among many others). UFRs are also responsible for providing emergent care during critical events (e.g., fatal motor vehicle car accidents, gang violence, shootings, child/domestic violence, suicide, etc.) (Jones, 2017; Kleim & Westphal, 2011). At times, responding to such critical events poses personal safety risks to the individual UFR resulting in physical/moral injury and sadly at times, loss of life. Due to the nature of their work, UFRs are at higher risk for experiencing stressors and challenges to their mental and emotional well-being such as (major) depression, alcoholism, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), generalized anxiety, and sleep disorders (Berger et al., 2012; Benedek et al., 2007; Carey et al., 2011; Fullerton et al., 2004; Harenberg et al., 2018; Haugen et al., 2012; Jacobson et al., 2008; Jones, 2017; Meyer et al., 2012).

According to the Centre for Addiction and Mental Health (CAMH) (2018), one in five individuals will experience challenges to their mental and emotional well-being in their lifetime. Furthermore, the Mental Health Commission of Canada (MHCC) (2015) reports that in the next 30 years (22 years from the present time) this number is expected to increase to 31% of the population (i.e., more than 8.9 million Canadians). These statistics do not account for the

[2]For the purposes of this research, I was interested in better understanding the lived experiences of UFRs broadly, inclusive of individuals who choose to step into government-sanctioned public safety roles. However, it is important to recognize that each symbolic uniform is assigned a unique responsibility in tending to public care and safety, and therefore has differing personal/professional impacts, political negotiations, and lived experiences on the bodies beneath.

growing number of people who have experienced challenges to their mental and emotional well-being (specifically, anxiety, depression, loneliness, and binge drinking/drug-use) as a result of the on-going COVID-19 global pandemic (CAMH, 2021). In 2018, Carleton and colleagues found that approximately 44.5% of UFRs screened positive for mental health challenges as a result of the burdens and stresses endured on the job. Most commonly, UFRs experience post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), so much so that approximately 10% of responders in Canada (i.e., approximately 150, 310 UFRs) are struggling with symptoms of PTSD (Berger et al., 2012). Mainstream media sources have also taken an interest in needed mental health awareness efforts for UFRs who encounter trauma in their service (Szeto et al., 2019). To highlight this, the following list includes calls for needed mental health supports for UFRs in the two past years:

- *Symptoms of psychological disorders four times higher in responders* (The Northern View, March 19, 2021)
- *Supporting first responders' mental health through COVID-19 pandemic* (The Vancouver Sun, February 26, 2021)
- *'It's OK not to be OK': Online mental health tool helps Saskatchewan first responders (CJME News, February 22, 2021)*
- *Province takes steps to improve mental health supports for first responders (Durham Radio News, February 1, 2021)*
- *First responders launch education site on trauma amid year of COVID, violence* (The Canadian Press, December 2, 2020)
- *New mental health program helps first responders across Canada (Global News, June 4, 2020)*

This, in addition to greater demands placed on UFRs because of the global pandemic and necessary justice-oriented movements holding persons and institutions accountable for acts of violence and harm, supports a growing claim for immediate attention and action.

This research was guided by critical theories of disability to inform the way bodies of UFRs are literally and symbolically uniformed by governing institutions of power, becoming uniformed bodies[3]. Institutions of power that govern UFRs uphold and preserve strategic ideologies that make up the cultural habitus (i.e., norms, practices, performances, and symbols) that are steeped in ableist ideals (Bourdieu, 1990). The cultural habitus (Bourdieu, 1990) is then

[3]In this dissertation, I use the term "uniformed bodies" to reflect the conceptualizations of UFRs as being governed by institutions of power who then influence their performances as individual subjects (i.e., body as subjects). It is a way to identify the objectification that systems of oppression have on bodies who are institutionally uniformed to work as UFRs. That said, I use both UFRs and uniformed bodies at different moments throughout this dissertation to refer to individuals who take up work as UFRs to signal these conceptualizations.

perpetuated through relations of power and operates to maintain order through a privileging of acts of "serving" and "protecting." As uniformed bodies take up UFR roles, they become actors of the governing institution through their performances. Hierarchies of rank are preserved within the institution that governs UFRs and function to socialize, normalize, and assimilate standards of what is normal and desirable, and who is superior and inferior (Foucault, 1977; Sylvester, 2015). As a result, some uniformed bodies (i.e., upper management) are afforded more power and privilege than other uniformed bodies within the governing institution.

UFRs (un)consciously agree to uphold the expectations of the uniform by engaging in and perpetuating practices that "fit" within the organizational structure (Bradford, 2014). For example, UFRs are required to adhere to and perform directive organizational duties, operational expectations (e.g., emergent care, resolving challenging situations), and be personally competent through performances of self-reliance, strength, and resiliency (Andersen et al., 2015a,b; Crowe et al., 2017; Regehr & Millar, 2007). Legacies of violence, displacement, and criminalization are symbolized by first responder uniforms becoming a representation of what the institution that governs UFRs has been afforded to be/do through government-sanctioned power. As a result, when bodies become institutionally uniformed by the governing institutions, they themselves become a symbol of government-sanctioned power. Uniformed bodies serving as UFRs must then negotiate intersecting political tensions of what the uniform represents to the public (e.g., governance, control, order, violence) and the ways they have been trained to perform certain expectations (e.g., maintaining order and/or control and acts of serving and protecting). For members of the public, particularly Black, Indigenous, and racialized people, the symbolic representation of the uniform is an immediate reflection of past, present, and future violences and harms that are enacted by state-sanctioned power and performed by UFRs (Maynard, 2017).

For this research project, I was interested in learning about what UFRs say about the power relations that exist within their respective governing institutions. I was also interested in better understanding how dominant ideologies (i.e., belief and value systems) and performances are instilled into UFRs to create and maintain an embodied, collective UFR identity that privilege productive power over care. I believe an examination of the institution that governs UFRs, made up of toxic relations, language, and a lack of care for UFRs and the public is needed. I also believe it is at this intersection that the parallel systemic harms felt by UFRs and the public can be identified and healing can begin. To understand the role of leisure for

emotional and spiritual coping (Heintzman, 2008; Iwasaki & Mannell, 2000; Weissinger & Iso-Ahola, 1984) and to care, heal, and restore uniformed bodies, I took up Foucault's (1977) relations of power, Bourdieu's (1990) cultural habitus, Butler's (1990) performativity, and Holt's (2008) embodied social capital to think through and re-imagine what sustainable care practices can look like for UFRs.

In 1980, Foucault stated, "where there is power, there is resistance" (p. 95). As scholars and social science researchers, it is important to be attentive to the relations of power that exist within the current socio-political landscape and recognize opportunities for resistance. Current activist movements (i.e., Black Lives Matter (BLM), #defundthepolice) are becoming increasingly critical of powerful institutions, specifically police services, to be held accountable for acts of force and violence that marginalize, oppress, and cause harm to members of the public. At the helm of those social justice efforts is a demand for accountability and questioning of "well-to-do" public "services" that enable systemic racism (among other injustices and oppressions). This dissertation points to a need for a more nuanced dialogue of these tenuous relations as they are woven with intersectional issues (i.e., racism, sexism, capitalism, colonialism, ableism, ageism etc.). By engaging in this dialogue, I intentionally connected with my own vulnerabilities through processes of (un)learning and relearning alongside necessary movements for justice and equity. In acknowledging the privilege, I am imbued with as a white, heterosexual, cisgender, able-bodied, educated, woman, I wanted to use the platform I have been afforded within Academica to hold these critical conversations. Taking up the inextricably linked issues -- of justice, care, and oppression -- in the current moment (when public service is held in tension with racial profiling and excessive force) has taken time and much deep reflection[4].

I believe there must be an (eventual) coming together-- a space to sit in collective vulnerability -- to resist systemic injustices while rehumanizing caring relations. I write in solidarity with several social justice movements that venture to find a more just, accessible, equitable, and compassionate way forward for *all* members of the public. I believe it is our human connections, struggles, collective vulnerability, and openness that can be used to reimagine a more just future by advocating for crucial connection points of change. Here, it is

[4]I understand deep reflection as being an act of reflexivity. That is, a space to address the conflicts, tensions, responsibilities, and assumptions that I face in this work (Louis & Barton, 2002)

important to highlight the commitments I made to this dissertation work, and to myself, to ensure I was engaging in necessary conversations around diversity, inclusion, and belonging.

1. I committed to advocating for scholarship that questions oppressive structures which have led/lead to trauma, violence, and injustice.
2. I committed to engaging in conversations that build communities rooted in care, dignity, and accountability.
3. I committed to acknowledging intersectional identities (race, gender, sexuality, ability) of all individuals I engage with.
4. I committed to continuing these justice-oriented conversations beyond the walls of the academy.

As referenced earlier, the current research project took up the concept of redress to unpack how institutions that govern UFRs: (1) promote toxic resilience and violence to and by uniformed bodies, (2) require more compassionate, holistic care and support, (3) may benefit from storytelling to advocate for needed care, and (4) may benefit from leisure as form of preventative care, healing, and restoration. The intention of this work was to identify opportunities to re-dress the uniform by investigating how institutions that govern UFRs manage mobility through symbols, language, and performances. The dissemination of this work will be directly shared with scholars taking up this work in the academy, community/institutional policy makers, advocates for well-being, and UFRs who exist in labourous caring roles.

For this work, I took an interest in the use of critical, qualitative, and community-engaged methodologies to employ action-based research that can be shared broadly. I feel such approaches were useful to forward social justice, collective action, and individual change. Informed by critical theory (CT), this works with concepts of power, culture, and transformation to think through what it means to exist, identify, and perform as a UFR. These understandings are best informed by individuals who wear the uniform and live the realities and expectations daily. I was interested in connecting with UFRs to gather their lived experiences and generate education and awareness (Faust & Ven, 2014; Jones et al., 2019). A critical participatory action research (PAR) (Kemmis et al., 2014) and narrative inquiry (Clandinin, 2016) approach was most useful for this work as it was designed to collaborate with UFRs, the benefactors of this research. This improvised methodological approach was used to respond to the following three guiding questions:

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

1. What do UFRs stories say about power relations that are a part of their employment? How does Holt's embodied social capital help to frame an understanding of this culture (language, symbols, norms, and performances)?
2. How do uniformed bodies practice care for the body?
    a. What needs to happen for the body to feel restored?
    b. How are leisure practices taken up by uniformed bodies?
    c. How might leisure be a form of care for UFRs (if at all)?
3. What recommendations or supports do uniformed bodies need (individually and/or collectively) to support holistic wellness in light of their duties/experiences?
    a. How can caring for the body be made sustainable?
    b. To whom and how can this information be disseminated?

I developed a relationship with a local community partner, FF (*pseudonym*), a wellness centre that provides services for holistic mind, body, and soul healing through physical activity, counselling, and other rehabilitation programs. To facilitate this project, a PAR team was formed with the founder/owner of FF (Roger), manager (Rebecca), and myself as lead researcher. Over the course of six-weeks (October to November 2021), eight participants engaged in five audio-recorded focus group sessions and one individual audio-recorded interview (November 30th to December 7th, 2021) at FF. Data was generated through narrative storytelling methods (Bochner, 2001 and analyzed through an interpretive analysis (Smith et al., 1999). A race-focused data generation and analysis lead to an interruption (Dawney, 2013) of the research process. This interruption was used as analytic tool to enact a necessary race-focused[5] analysis that gathered the reflections of UFRs who identify as Black, Indigenous, or a racialized person as they engaged with the data collected. Three racialized UFRs were recruited through snowball sampling measures to participate in one to two individual interviews (March 11th to April 28th, 2022).

By listening to the lived experiences told by UFRs and exposing taken-for-granted understandings of wearing a uniform, we – the PAR team, UFRs, and my supervisor, Kimberly – aimed to be critical of institutions of power that cause systemic harms and collaboratively build understandings of what sustainable, leisure-based care practices for restoration can do for UFRs. We hoped to deepen the findings of this research by engaging with a number of creative media

[5]For this work, I chose to engage with a race-focused data generation and analysis process to deepen the focus of this work based on the predominantly white participant pool. After reflective conversations in my dissertation presentation, I use the language race-focused (rather than BIPOC-focused) to move away from a clumping on intersectional identities (c.f., https://rabble.ca/anti-racism/canadians-are-using-term-racialized-incorrectly/; https://the-peak.ca/2021/03/opinions-in-dialogue-bipoc-progressive-or-problematic/; https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/calgary/road-ahead-why-bipoc-doesn-t-do-it-for-me-tomi-ajele-1.6067753).

outlets and representing the data through a narrative (documentary inspired) script. It is our hope that the script and corresponding interpretive analysis can be used to impactfully share the narratives of UFRs through online platforms and future community events. I believe this conversation needs to exist in communities, in our homes, with our families, and in organizations that service people's well-being.

While feelings of social unrest in response to the on-going global COVID-19, mental health crisis, and needed racial reckonings continues to keep people apart and divided, forced isolation and polarization highlights the positive impact human relations, leisure, and unhindered mobility can have on holistic well-being. I stand in solidarity with fellow scholars who are stepping into difficult conversations about systemic oppressions and harms with the intention of advocating for a liberated society so that future generations can grow up in a world we can only dream of today (Mowatt, 2021). Not only does this work advocate for restoring uniformed bodies serving in labourous caring roles, but it advocates for members of the public who should be supported by UFRs care. This research addresses just one systemic barrier to responsive, sustainable care by unpacking what support can look like for uniformed bodies serving as UFRs amidst "supportive" structures that cause harm. I take inspiration from the opening quote by Sonia Rene Taylor by describing the work of this dissertation as one of the opportunities to 'stitch a new garment' that fits all of humanity and nature. Together with community stakeholders at FF, we dare to have this discussion while recognizing **the whole system is in need of redress**.

CHAPTER TWO: OPPORTUNITIES FOR REDRESS

This chapter highlights relevant literature to support opportunities for a redress of the government-sanctioned institution of power that governs the mobility, placement, and livelihood of UFRs and the public. Uniformed bodies taking up work as UFRs face negotiations between their individual identities and the assigned collective UFR identity. The static, collective identity of a UFR is maintained by neoliberal systemic ideologies to uphold the governmentality, expectations, and performances of the uniform (e.g., providing emergent care, upholding the law, maintaining social order, ensuring the safety of citizens) (Maguire, 2014; Martin, 2018; Wacquant, 2010). To meet the assigned expectations of the uniform, UFRs are trained to "produce" by conforming to the positions of power afforded to them (Maguire, 2014). In these positions, UFRs execute the obligatory performances of service and protection that can (re)produce simultaneous feelings of safety and harm onto themselves, as well as members of the public (Maguire, 2014).

To inform my understandings of systemic oppressions[6], and government-sanctioned power, I think through my ontological and epistemological range as influenced by CT (Marxism), and theories of disability (Devin & Pothier, 2006)). I carried this theoretical range of thinking with me as I investigated understandings of: institutions/relations of power that govern UFRs (Foucault, 1977), embodied social capital (capitals, cultural fields, habitus, performativity) (Bourdieu, 1990; Holt, 2008), the performances of UFRs broadly speaking (expectations, labours, beliefs, and behaviours) (Maguire, 2014; Martin, 2018; Wacquant, 2010), and leisure as resistance and restoration (Shaw, 2001). This chapter presents a synthesis of the literature I found useful to inform my thinking for this work. I draw from different fields/disciplines including: philosophy, human geography, social anthropology and linguistics, politics and social policy, psychology, sociology, and social work. This chapter is broken into three sections: orientations to oppressions and injustices, institutions of power and uniformed bodies, and labours of care for uniformed bodies.

[6]I appreciate Henderson-Espinoza (2022) definition of oppressions as being unprocessed trauma that is felt on a global scale, creating an "us" versus "them" mentality that is rooted in colonial logic.

Orientations to Oppression and Injustices

Thinking with theory compels researchers to question what they know and exposes the issues that are often excluded or overlooked (Coole & Frost, 2010; Naughton, 2014). As scholars and social researchers, it is important to acknowledge our systematic failures by uncovering how governing institutions (e.g., academia, political/economic systems etc.) function through government-sanctioned power. In acknowledging our failures, we can collectively poke holes in oppressive systems that maintain socio-political injustices (Arai et al., 2015; Halberstam & Halberstam, 2011). I start by discussing my ontological and epistemological range to showcase how it has informed my thinking for this work.

Ontological and Epistemological Range

Through my ontological[7] and epistemological[8] range[9], I question the ways I have come to know what I know and unpack my own assumptions as a researcher, scholar, student, care practitioner, and human being (Butler, 2010; Flyvbjerg, 2001; St. Pierre, 2000). I gravitate to critical and relational theories that are positioned within humanist ontologies[10] and social constructionist epistemologies[11]. I understand social constructionism as processes that assign meaning to individuals experiences through linguistic, symbolic, and material interactions that aid in constructing their social identities (Parton, 2003). Such processes are contingent on socio-spatial moments and are always evolving in alignment with societal shifts (e.g., science and technological advancements) (Haslanger & Haslanger, 2012). Humanist ontologies honour critical perspectives by unpacking language, power relations/structures, and identity (St. Pierre, 2000).

In this work I simultaneously take up and trouble my position within humanism to reflect on both what I am enabled to know and what I am kept from knowing. In 2017, Grimwood and Caton describe this practice as an intentional turn toward (re)negotiating foundational, common-sense assumptions. Similarly, St. Pierre (2017) describes this process as existing in spaces of

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[7]I understand ontology (i.e., humanistic templates that guide understandings) (St. Pierre, 2000)
[8]I understand epistemology (i.e., the ways in which knowledge/truth are constructed, produced, and disseminated) as rhizomatic knowledge (St. Pierre, 2000)
[9]I take up the idea of a range to acknowledge how my positionality is not static and reflects different paradigmatic thinking throughout this dissertation.
[10]Humanism is understood as a template -- the “air we breathe” and the “language we speak” (St. Pierre, 2000, p. 478) --that grounds our knowings’
[11]The assumption that meaning is made through interactions between subjects and objects within the larger culture) (Crotty, 1998)

difference by acknowledging the turns (i.e., cultural, material, linguistic, critical, reflexive, rhetorical, and postmodern) that transpire as we depart from conventional, structured, hegemonic, and reductionist ways of thinking. Through engagement with these turns throughout this work, I journeyed to question my complacency in forwarding hegemonic individualism by thinking through notions of truth and domination (Fay, 1987). To support me with this inquiry, I borrowed from post-structuralist thinking as a non-hierarchical extension of dialogue initiated by critical theorists (c.f., Marx, Habermas, Marcuse, Foucault).

New-materialist ontologies resist binary oppositions (A/Not a) and remain suspicious of the ways the world has been structured (Berbary, 2017; Coole & Frost, 2010; Fine, 2002; St. Pierre, 2000). Post-structural theorists do not differentiate between ontological and epistemological commitments, rather they describe the nature of knowing and being as interrelated, becoming onto-epistemological (Berbary, 2017; St. Pierre, 2000). The intricacy of post-structuralist thinking stems from radical theorists (c.f., Derrida, Deleuze, Barad, Foucault, Spivak, and Butler) who acknowledge how subjects and objects are never apart from discourse, rather are constituted within discourse through relations of power (Gannon & Davies, 2007; St. Pierre, 2000)[12]. In borrowing from post-structural thinkers, I have come to position my own ontological and epistemological range as taking up space in and beyond humanistic boundaries. This way of thinking offered me space to consider how bodies are constructed as subjects through and within discourse. In subsequent sections I unpack Merleau-Ponty's (1996) idea of 'body as subject' as a framing of how I have come to position uniformed bodies working as UFRs as subjects/actors of governing institutions of power.

Seeing Critically

Inspired by the work of Karl Marx, the Frankfurt School (founded in 1923) brought together a number of predecessors of contemporary CT (theorists such as: Horkheimer, Adorno, Marcuse, among others). These thinkers were highly critical of political systems anchored in capitalism and attempted to re-center cultural industries and offer alternatives to social order (Bronner,

[12]Derrida understood post-structuralism as a productive way to think about what people are saying within silenced gaps. Deleuze extended this thinking by asserting that human desire is unconsciously rooted and formed by discursive forces. Barad introduced the notion of intra-action to explore processes of 'becoming' that theorize the relationship between the material and discursive (i.e., 'post humanist performativity'). Foucault offered understandings of power as being relational and productive. Spivak offered perspectives on privilege and marginalization that understand liberation as being strategically taken up by particular bodies to liberate the self from structure (i.e., 'strategic essentialism'). Butler describes Foucault's productive power as 'performative'.

2011). Further, they generated questions of the assaults on tradition, the violence of anti-intellectualism, and the utility of counterculture The rise of neo-liberalism also brought an increased focus on mass culture as a core concern of critical theorists (Horkheimer and Adorno, more specifically). To this day, critical theorists continue to attend to fast-changing technological developments that produce and disseminate cultural products (e.g., popular culture, music, film, art, etc.) for mass audiences. CT is commonly taken up to consider how truth(s) and knowledge are generated through and within systems, structures, and relations of power. CT also exposes how truth(s) (whether productive or harmful) are disseminated through linguistic practices and signs/symbols (Anderson, 1995; Althusser, 1971; Haslanger & Haslanger, 2012). When applied to research, CT investigates social issues with reflexivity and attentiveness with the intention of informing changes in policies, structures, and institutions (Collins, 2019).

CT is useful to reveal how human subjects live and exist within a pre-existing map that frames what it means/looks like to 'fit in' (Haslanger & Haslanger, 2012). The privileging of social practices occurs through continuous feedback loops between cultural norms/expectations and one's subjective experiences (Haslanger & Haslanger, 2012). For example, when an individual is labelled as having a mental health "illness," markers of identity (e.g., weak, incompetent, lazy) are assigned to them based on that label and often results in a modification of one's thoughts/behaviours to assume that identity (Haslanger & Haslanger, 2012). Similarly, uniformed bodies who take up work as UFRs are assigned a discursive identity of what it means to be a UFR. The collective UFR identity is privileged and held together by the dominant social matrices (i.e., social hierarchies, roles, expectations, obligations) made available within the governing institution. As a result, UFRs are expected to perform directive practices laid out by the governing institution (e.g., acts of control and governance). The directive practices of governance that are performed by UFRs become one part of the disempowerment and disenfranchisement experienced by equity-deserving groups in the public.

The vastness of CT takes up multiple sub-theories -- feminism(s), race, disability – that promote agendas of justice by exposing unjust and inequitable systemic discrimination and oppressions[13]. CT is therefore highly aligned to justice-oriented activism movements as it aims to investigate the intersectional systemic harms experienced by members of the public. CT was

[13]It is important to note here that critical race theory (CRT) was formed as an activist project CT because of its exclusion of race politics.

valuable for this project as it demanded that I pay attention to, and critically examine, powerful institutions that govern social mobility and placement (like the institution that governs UFRs). To broaden my use of CT for this work, I take up critical theories of disability and ableism as the central thread that brings people together in this work.

Critical theories of disability. The tenets of critical disability theory (CDT) are useful for this work to expose how bodies are disabled by systems of oppression (e.g., ableism, sexism, racism, heterosexism, etc.), rather than by their subjective minds, bodies, and abilities. CDT positions a 'disability' (inclusive of mental health diagnoses) as a cultural, political phenomenon by considering notions of power, structure, ideology, hegemony, privilege, and empowerment (Arai et al., 2015; Meekosha & Shuttleworth, 2009; Vehmas & Watson, 2014). As such, disability is "not something someone can *have*, rather disability is something that is *pre-scribed* onto a body due to social, environmental, political, and cultural insufficiencies and forces that work to produce difference" (Lopez, 2022, p. 30). CDT scholars often draw on Foucault's (1977) ethics to call to question what has been regarded as natural, inevitable, ethical, and liberating. As such, the concept 'disability' becomes a question of politics and of power and powerlessness (Devlin & Pothier, 2006). CDT, therefore, becomes a means for critically reflecting on macro systems – of capitalism, neoliberalism, and colonialism – that produce difference through the body and maintain systems of oppression through erasure and omission (Lopez, 2022).

Within a Canadian landscape, mad and disabled people navigate multiple systems of structural, economic, social, political, legal, and cultural inequity – a regime of dis-citizenship (Pothier & Devlin, 2006). The label 'disability' is marked onto the body relationally through interactions between ableist structures and systems of identity (i.e., disabling, racialization, queering, classing, gendering, etc.) (McGuire, 2012). Conventional definitions of disability privilege the "normal" over the "abnormal" and consequently society is organized by and for able-bodied and -minded norms (Pothier & Devlin, 2006). CDT therefore raises questions of citizenship/dis-citizenship, inclusion/exclusion and belonging/not-belonging to define what constitutes as an accepted, productive member of society (Devlin & Pothier, 2006). CDT also takes up considerations of governance, democracy, rights, marginalization, liberty, equality, distribution of resources, structure, agency, identity, and personhood through ableism (Devlin & Pothier, 2006).

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

In 2001, Campbell defined ableism as "a network of beliefs, processes and practices that produces a particular kind of self and body (the corporeal standard) that is projected as the perfect, species-typical and, therefore, essential, and fully human. Disability, then, is cast as a diminished state of being human" (Campbell, 2001, p. 44) . In 2019, TL Lewis, a social justice engineer, educator, organizer, attorney, and artist, offered another working definition of ableism as,

> A system that places value on people's bodies and minds based on societally constructed ideas of normalcy, intelligence and excellence. These constructed ideas of normalcy, intelligence and excellence are deeply rooted in anti-Blackness, eugenics and capitalism. This form of systemic oppression leads to people and society determining who is valuable and worthy based on people's appearance and/or their ability to satisfactorily produce, excel and 'behave.'[14]

These definitions of ableism highlight how (mental) disability is fluid in how it is perceived in different bodies by people in positions of power and authority (A.J. Withers et al., 2017). Ableist beliefs and attitudes – informed by negative attitudes, stereotypes, and stigma toward mad, crip, and disabled bodies – are deeply embedded within dominant institutions, systems, and broader cultural discourses (Ontario Human Rights commission, 2014). Ableist beliefs are also grounded within capitalistic ideals that assign value bodies based on their abilities to produce as a 'plug in the system' and emphasize output volume over the meaningfulness of one's contributions to society (Horgan, 2017). The impacts of ableism on bodies (e.g., internalized stigma, limited access/opportunities for care, to name a few) not only create harms and violence's for disabled people, but for all members of society (Pothier & Devlin, 2006).

In 2005, a group of disabled activists of colour (Patty Berne, Mia Mingus, and Stacy Milbern) brought forth a framework of disability justice that moves beyond the legislation-centric approach to disability rights movements (Xu & Baheerathan, n.d.). Disability justice frameworks are guided by intersectionality to recognize the wholeness and sustainability of a body through to co-building of interdependence, mutual aid, collective access, and collective liberation (Sins Invalid, 2015). A disability justice framework is useful for this work as it is embedded within an anti-capitalistic politic, a space to honour non-conforming bodies/minds in

[14] https://www.lib.sfu.ca/about/branches-depts/slc/writing/inclusive-antiracist-writing/ableism-disability-mental-health-neurodiversity

an economic system that only places values on land and humans as components of profit (Sins Invalid, 2015).

In relation to this work, whether or not UFRs are perceived as able-minded or sane determines how they are treated (medically and socially) and policed by the governing institution. For example, if UFRs are labelled as mentally 'incompetent' it can have harmful repercussions for their professional mobility (e.g., not being trusted by co-workers, not being offered opportunities to move up ranks, etc.), as well as on their personal livelihoods (e.g., not knowing how to cope and/or manage their emotions off duty) (Andersen et al., 2015b; Crowe et al., 2017; Maguire, 2014). Ableism is also threaded within the "cure" mentality towards care practices (i.e., the medical model) that views disabled people as "needing to be fixed" in order to join the superior group, the able-bodied and -minded. Care practices that fail to recognize personhood as a fundamental right for all (e.g., lack of access to necessities of "living well") are violations of basic and universal human rights (Lopez, 2022). For UFRs, "recovery" from a mental illness is more directed toward returning to productivity (as steeped in capitalistic ideals), rather than on caring for, healing, and offering space for restoration for the body that is exposed to multiple trauma(s). As a result, UFRs are either not provided with adequate resources and coping tools to be able to manage the stresses of the job, or the resources/coping tools provided are highly stigmatized, and therefore UFRs choose not to reach out for help in fear of negative repercussions (Bell & Eski, 2015; Karaffa & Koch, 2016).

CDT and disability justice frameworks were useful for this work to consider all areas of UFR social life (in this case, education, employment, culture and leisure activities, health and welfare services, civil and political rights, etc.) (Thomas, 2004). Specifically, I took up CDT to uncover the entanglements, and intersecting stressors and trauma(s) experienced in the daily life of bodies that are uniformed by the governing institution. CDT helped to expose the disabling conditions under which UFRs are trained to work (i.e., lack of adequate care/support resources), and expected to "show up" even if they are unwell to do so. As such, this work investigates: the obligations of UFRs, how policies/structures are created and sustained, the level of agency UFRs have, and the access they have to mental health related resources/services while simultaneously upholding the symbolic representations of the uniform.

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

Power

Informed by my ontological, epistemological, and theoretical range, this section thinks through the notion of power as a way to frame my thinking for this work. Within humanism, power is understood as being a tangible thing that exists outside human bodies, and something that can be deployed, given away, and taken back (Butler, 1990; Holt, 2008; St. Pierre, 2000). To trouble this idea, Foucault (1980) described power as being "never localized here or there, never in anybody's hands, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth" (p. 98). Foucault's notions of power demonstrate how power is relational and dynamic in nature and is constantly being (re)directed through social relationships, institutions, and systems (like the institution that governs UFRs) (Sylvester, 2015). As such, power operates at all levels of society and relations of power leave behind traces that make the presence of power felt in (in)direct ways (Allen, 2011; Gannon & Davies, 2007; Foucault, 1975/1977).

Foucault (1977) defines biopower as mechanisms of power that act on human bodies in relation to birth, death, reproduction, sexuality, health, illness, and disease to manage an entire population as a group (an essential aspect of capitalism) (Foucault, 1977). Biopolitics are understood as political rationality that administers and regulates human life and populations through biopower (Foucault, 1977). Biopower and biopolitics emphasize the interactions between bodies, biomedicine, and health for the production of socially ascribed meanings (e.g., sexual, medical, political, aesthetic, commercial, etc.) (Foucault, 1977; Takács, 2017). Biopower and biopolitics ask us to think about how bodies (in this case, UFRs) are governed through modes of subjectification and are put to work in oppressive systems of violence and domination (Foucault, 1977; Takács, 2017).

The concepts of bio-power and bio-politics also intersect with Foucault's (1977) concept of governmentality[15] that considers organized political power (i.e., government-sanctioned power) and expands it to include the active consent and willingness of bodies (in this case, UFRs) to participate in their own governance. For uniformed bodies, apparatuses of power are used by the governing institution (i.e., government) to normalize the collective identity and expectations of a UFR (i.e., the normalization principle). These ideologies are tailored by the state through acts of surveillance (i.e., the idea of "the gaze"[16]) that are enacted on and by UFRs

[15]Governmentality combines the terms government and rationality (a form of thinking that strives to be systematic and clear about how things are or ought to be).
[16]Foucault (1975/1977) describes that the gaze simultaneously operates to construct knowledge and the knower.

(Edwards & Imrie, 2003; Foucault, 1975/1977, Shakespeare & Watson, 2001; Sylvester, 2005). The mechanisms of management (i.e., the habitus -- work processes, procedures, and rules) conducted by the governing institution are enacted onto uniformed bodies to perform in a system manner (i.e., power is productive) (Bourdieu, 1990; Foucault, 1977). As uniformed bodies are strategically trained and managed through relations of power, they take on forms of self-governance as a guiding force toward achieving "success" on the job (Foucault, 1977).

The work of St. Pierre (2000) teaches us that knowledge is produced through truth(s) which are constructed for, by, and on human subjects. The idea of power-knowledge introduced by Foucault (1975/1977) understands the strategic uses of power as re-producing knowledge/truth(s). Put differently, the power-knowledge relationship demonstrates how specific knowledge is repressed and other knowledge is re-produced through power relations (Foucault 1975/1977). In 2015, Sylvester said, "we cannot remove ourselves from power-knowledge relations that constantly circulate throughout society" (p. 180). Therefore, there is a need to recognize *who* is being oppressed by relations of power (Foucault, 1977; St. Pierre, 2000). Foucault (1977) also described the interrelatedness of power and resistance that can be used to foster social change by modifying the thoughts/behaviours of human subjects broadly.

Power/relations of power is an influential concept for this work to question: who is afforded power and who is not, how is power is held, wielded, and performed by government-sanctioned institutions, and what are the lasting impacts of the traces that power leaves behind (Allen, 2011). Uniformed bodies working as UFRs are situated in positions of power as they enact performances of conformity on behalf of the governing institution (e.g., following orders, aligning with hegemonic belief systems, and taking on values of bravery etc. (Bell & Eski, 2015)). In the next section, I deepen my theoretical and critical reflections of systemic harms and oppressions experienced by UFRs and the public by offering needed dialogue on government-sanctioned power, oppression, and violence.

Deepening theoretical, critical reflections on systemic harms and oppressions

As I navigated this work over the past few years, I knew I could not take up research on UFRs, inclusive of police officers, without talking about the systemic harms and oppressions incurred through power, governance, and control. To gain a better perspective on the historical legacies of the institution of policing, I found Maynard's (2017) book, *Policing Black Lives*, informative. Maynard (2017) speaks to the enormous powers that are afforded to the institutions that make up

the criminal justice system such as police, prosecution, courts, legal aid, victim services, and correctional services, etc. The totality of these agencies has direct impacts on the mobility, placement, and livelihoods of the public (Maynard, 2017). Maynard (2017) highlights the genealogy of modern incarceration and policing as beginning in the era of slavery and colonialization to which racialized surveillance, policing, and incarceration was profoundly shaped by the aims of settler colonialism (Maynard, 2017). For example, Maynard (2017) describes the formation of the North-West Mounted Police (now the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) in 1873 as playing an active role in the displacement of Indigenous lands and the assimilation of Indigenous bodies (e.g., residential school systems). More contemporary associations between Blackness and crime, violence, and fear is perpetuated through national discourse (Maynard, 2017). For example, acts of racial profiling by police -- the oversurveillance and policing of particular communities based on stereotypes regarding race, ethnicity, or religion – continues to exist through certain police practices, like carding[17] (Maynard, 2017). The harmful practices of policing create a snowball effect for further criminalization as evident in the overrepresentation of Black, Indigenous, and racialized bodies in prison systems, the oversurveillance of and hostility toward Black and migrant communities, and the authority over equity-deserving groups (Maynard, 2017).

Popular political strategies inflict "fear of crime to gain popular support for 'law and order' platforms geared toward so-called public safety" that deepen xenophobic sentiments (Maynard, 2017, p. 93). For example, research conducted on police brutality and violence demonstrates higher rates of violent acts on Black bodies (particularly, Black persons with mental illness) compared to white persons (c.f., Chan & Chunn, 2014; Foster et al., 2016; Giwa et al., 2021; Wortley, 2003; Wortley & Marshall, 2005). As Maynard (2017) states, an expansive understanding of state violence offers opportunities to critically "examine the seemingly disconnected state and state-funded institutions that continue to act, in concert" (p. 7). A deeper investigation of the ways state-sanctioned institutions of power continues to remain in power is therefore necessary.

In June of 2022, the Toronto's Police Force's Equity, Inclusion, and Human Rights Unit released a data-driven report (drawn from records of 949 use of force incidents and 7,114 strip

[17]'Contact cards' are inclusive of the names and personal information of millions of people (Maynard, 2017)

searches over the course of 2020)[18]. Aligned with Maynard's (2017) call for critique, this report highlights the following findings[19]:

- Black, Indigenous and Middle Eastern people were all overrepresented in the number of "enforcement actions" taken against them relative to their total population in Toronto. For Black residents, it was by a factor of 2.2 times. In other words, Black people made up about 10 per cent of the city's population that year but faced 22.6 per cent of police enforcement, which includes arrests, provincial offences tickets, cautions and diversions.
- Black, Latino, East/Southeast Asian and Middle Eastern people were overrepresented by factors of 1.6 times, 1.5 times, 1.2 times and 1.2 times, respectively, when it came to use of force.
- Black, South Asian and East/South Asian people were considerably more likely than white people — 1.5 times, 1.6 times and two times, respectively — to have an officer point a firearm at them during an interaction.
- The 949 use of force instances reported in 2020 account for 0.2 per cent of the 692,937 recorded police interactions with the public. Firearms were pointed in 371 of those encounters and used in four, two of which were fatal, according to police.
- Indigenous people were 1.3 times overrepresented relative to their presence in arrests. Meanwhile, Black and white people were 1.1 times overrepresented.

To address this issue, in a public apology[20], Toronto Police Chief, James Ramer, said,

> …our own analysis of our data from 2020 discloses that there is systemic discrimination in our policing. That is, there is a disproportionate impact experienced by racialized people, particularly those of Black and Indigenous communities... the release of this data will cause pain for many as the concerns have deep roots that go beyond the release of today's report… we recognize that when a person has an encounter with police, it can have a profound impact on their life, their mental health and their trust in police… we have not done enough to ensure that every person in our city receives fair and unbiased policing. For this, as chief of police and on behalf of the service, I am sorry and I apologize unreservedly (CBC News, 2022).

During his public apology, Ramer positions the Toronto Police Service as needing to become a leader by "eliminating all forms of racial discrimination in policing and anywhere it is found" (CBC News, 2022). To do so, he says, "we [the Toronto Police Department] must engage the communities most impacted" (CBC News, 2022). Canada's BLM Co-founder Sandra Hudson

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[18]The full report can be found here: https://s3.documentcloud.org/documents/22060566/98ccfdad-fe36-4ea5-a54c-d610a1c5a5a1.pdf

[19]It is important to note that Black and Indigenous people are far more impacted, and likely to be systemically killed, by police that other racialized groups (South Asian, South East Asians, East Asians, for example) because of perceptions of the "model minority" (Giwa et al., 2021).

[20]Full video of news clip can be found at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2XQ02ojaowg

pushed back to Ramer's apology, saying "reform has been attempted over the decade…what hasn't been done is taking the power away from police to harm us… I want to see that action" (CBC News, 2022). While Ramer's apology does recognize the harms and violences against bodies and communities of colour at the hands of government-sanctioned power, it also demonstrates the need to hold more relational conversations between the state and justice activists.

Institutions of Power and Uniformed Bodies

The positioning of 'body as a subject' was originally described in Merleau-Ponty's (1996) phenomenological work. Merleau-Ponty (1996) disputed the acceptance of Cartesian dualism -- the idea of the mind and body are distinct, disconnected categories -- and instead positioned the human body, with the mind, as in and of itself a subject. I used this understanding to position UFRs as subjected bodies of the governing institutions they belong to. Drawing on Foucault's (1975/1977) work, I thought about how the hegemonic culture that UFRs are subject to can be positioned both as an institution (i.e., a social structure and set of practices through relations of power) (Foucault, 1980) and as a field (i.e., a socialized space orientated towards a particular means, with actors occupying various positions) (Bourdieu, 1993). I also thought about how uniformed bodies working as UFRs are governed through privileged cultural scripts, practices, and expectations. As such, political relations of government-sanctioned power are maintained and performed by the bodies that wear first responder uniforms (Foucault, 1980).

In 1980, Foucault argued that functions of surveillance and exploitation are not a result of one person or group who enacts apparatuses of control, rather it is the existence of an entire network of power. The network of power Foucault (1980) is referring to here is enacted upon and upheld by the very subjects who make up the institution, in this case UFRs (i.e., the idea of governmentality). As a result, uniformed bodies working as UFRs are also surveilled and exploited within the network of state power. Apparatuses of power (i.e., rules, laws, policies, allocation of resources, attribution of rights, and assignments of status) serve as functions of control and directly impact the lives of those that are governed (Foucault, 1975/1977). The apparatuses of power used to govern the mobility, position, and livelihood of UFRs influence uniformed bodies to act in relation to the socially prescribed "normal" dictated by government-sanctioned institutions.

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

Reflections on intersectionality[21] (Crenshaw 1989/2006; Rice et al., 2019) extend this dialogue to better the intersections of identity of UFRs. For example, research that addresses intersectional concerns (specifically in relation to police officers) suggests that female, LGBTQ+, and people who don't identify as white experience: higher amounts of stress and burnout (McCarty et al., 2007), a greater need to assert and "prove" themselves (Myers et al., 2004), situations of sexual harassment (Brown & King, 1998), and discriminatory actions and behaviours (Andersen & Papazoglou, 2015). Furthermore, a framework of intersectionality can better understand how UFRs are treated inequitably and unfavourably in the division of labours under processes of liberal capitalism research.

In the subsequent sections I examine the existing macro (e.g., government, hierarchies of power and control) and micro (e.g., social relationships, access to capital, performances) structures that preserve government-sanctioned power. This dialogue is vital for this work to better understand how ideologies, systems, and practices are privileged by institutions that govern UFRs. In the following section I deepen my reflections on the body as a subject (Merleau-Ponty, 1996) by investigating the institutions of power that govern UFRs. To do so, I think through relations of power through the work of Bourdieu (capitals, field, and habitus), Butler (performativity), Foucault (relations of power), and Holt (embodied social capital). The collective work of these scholars was used to: (1) review relevant literature about UFR culture and relations and, (2) seek out what redress of harmful, hostile, and dehumanizing practices might look like within UFR institutions.

Institutions that 'uniform' bodies

The maintenance of structural power can be understood by Goffman's (1957) notion of a total institution – a closed social system organized around norms, rules, and belief systems that are determined and enforced by authoritative hierarchies. The concept of a total institution is commonly taken up in considerations of prisons, education, health care, and religion making it fitting for this work (Goffman, 1957). The subjects that make up institutions (in this case, UFRs) are trained to execute totalizing performances of normality (like wearing the respective first responder uniforms to "serve" and

[21]Intersectionality has its roots in Black feminist scholarship dating back to the 19th century anti-slavery and women's right's movements (activists such as Sojourner Truth and other contemporary Anglo-Black feminists) (Rice et al., 2019). Intersectionality (coined by Crenshaw in 1989) articulates how layered labels of identity (i.e., racialized, gendered, classed, etc.) are mutually shaped and interrelated through global forces of colonialism, capitalism, and cultural configuration, etc. (Rice et al., 2019).

"protect") (Goffman, 1957). Goffman (1957) posits that employing practices of power within a total institution can often produce harmful consequences for the subjects (UFRs) themselves (like loss of control, feelings of dehumanization, etc.). As such, subjects (UFRs) come to (un)consciously exercise the power they have been afforded, becoming both a subject and an object (Foucault, 1977/1980).

In 2018, Martin described the personhood of policing as being represented by a mask that is worn by actors (in this case, police officers) and held steady by hierarchies of authority and status. The labour expected of UFRs reflects militancy in the forms of discipline, performances, and duties (Maguire, 2014). For example, UFRs are expected to adequately respond to critical events and tend to the needs of those involved (often with a high exposure to stress and trauma), while not showing any 'weakness' (Andersen et al., 2015a). UFRs are also expected to self-persevere, be resilient, and emotionally regulate when they encounter highly stressful, often traumatic situations (Andersen et al., 2015b; Crowe et al., 2017). Consequently, "softer" emotions that do not align with the "status-quo" (e.g., vulnerability, sadness, guilt, remorse) are regulated by the governing institution (Bell & Eski, 2015; Karaffa & Koch, 2016). As a result, UFRs often suppress such emotions in efforts to belong (Bell & Eski, 2015; Karaffa & Koch, 2016). These harmful narratives dehumanize UFRs and are seldom challenged (Maguire, 2014). Instead, the subject (UFRs) of the total institution extends a sense of pluralistic ignorance — the idea that bodies may privately reject a belief, feeling, or behaviour, to maintain their group identification (Karaffa & Koch, 2016; Miller & Prentice, 1996). This begs the question, *who* are UFR institutions and systems really built for?

Deeping Reflections on Uniformed Bodies as Subjects. An individual's ontological understanding of 'the way things are' is bounded by privileged discourses determined by their location, institutional status, and social formation (Foucault, 1970). The discursive ideologies that UFRs come to value is made up of what is made available to them by the governing institution, which Foucault (1970) argues cannot exist outside of history and language. Uniformed bodies working as UFRs are surveilled through disciplinary measures and apparatuses of control and dominance that are located within the governing institutions (Foucault, 1977). For example, UFRs are trained to value acts of obedience and service that include never quitting, failing, or leaving another service member behind (Druxbury & Higgins, 2013; Gibbons et al., 2014). As a result, UFRs internalize and embody[22] the meanings and

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[22]As I became interested in the idea of embodiment, I read the book, *Body Becoming,* by scholar and activist Robyn Henderson-Espinoza (2022). They argue that the materiality of the body is always becoming, adopting, and

symbols assigned to being a UFR out of fear of being excluded or othered. This serves as an example of what Foucault (1977) describes as processes of subjugation, that is, how a group of people (in this case, the state is inclusive of the institution that governs UFRs) dominates over another group (in this case, UFRs and more significantly the public) by taking away their freedom. Within the institution that governs UFRs, these processes afford some bodies/UFRs more access to hold and exercise power than others based on their level of hierarchical status.

Bourdieu: Capitals, Cultural Field, and Habitus. In 1984, Bourdieu identified three types of capital that exist beyond economic capital including: symbolic (i.e., prestige, honour), cultural (i.e., embodied, objectified, and institutionalized), and social (i.e., connections, networks, and relationships) (Fine, 2002; Calhoun et al., 1993). These capitals' intersect to facilitate understandings of the individual and collective identities that exist within a cultural field (Holt, 2008). A cultural field refers to a site of cultural practices that authorizes a series of rules, rituals, and conventions in relation to a subject's social position and access to capitals' (Webb et al., 2002). In this case, the institution that governs UFRs is in and of itself serves as a cultural field for uniformed bodies. With a focus on capitals', Bourdieu was committed to exposing the relations between social stratification, cultural practices, and human subjectivities (Coole & Frost, 2010; Fine, 2002; Naughton, 2014).

UFRs accumulate cultural capital by executing the "status-quo" performances of the governing institution (e.g., putting the needs of the uniform before the body). These performances further privilege and normalize the accumulation of cultural capital that becomes routinized and familiar for UFRs, even if it is toxic and/or harmful (Reyes Cruz & Sonn, 2015; Schaefer-McDaniel, 2004). Within the cultural field, UFRs may experience personal tensions as they navigate their roles/duties in preserving the collective identity (Calhoun et al., 1993). As a result, the privileged performances (e.g., stoic norms, scripts, and expectations that emphasize strength, self-resilience, and the act of caring for or saving others) are preserved within the governing institution and ultimately become a reflection of UFRs own identity (Erich, 2014;

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changing and describe bodies as always in constant relationship with ourselves, with others, and with the built structures, systems, and institutions that dictate our ways of being (e.g., schools/academics, healthcare, etc.) (Henderson-Espinoza, 2022). As such, our bodies are always in motion, they are always becoming, and there are constant shifts we experience as bodies that create the conditions for the body to become (Henderson-Espinoza, 2022).

Holt, 2008; Webb et al., 2002). Therefore, as uniformed bodies embody the collective identity of an UFR, they are simultaneously disembodied by the very institution they are subject to.

The habitus – that is, the social 'blueprint' or 'backdrop of knowledge' that orients human thought and behaviour without strictly determining it – is upheld through the embodied materialization of capitals' (Bourdieu, 1990/1997; Holt, 2008). The habitus is then passed on intergenerationally through the perpetual discursive performances enacted by UFRs (Bourdieu, 1990/1997; Jenkins, 1992). Here, I found Reay's (2004) conceptualizations of habitus useful to inform my thinking of the institutions that govern UFRs and UFRs themselves. Reay (2004) outlined habitus in four distinct ways: habitus as embodiment (i.e., creating socialized bodies), habitus as agency (i.e., the maintenance of habitual practices), habitus as collective and individual trajectories of uniformity, and habitus as a complex interplay between the past and present. Within the institution that governs UFRs, the habitus generates "common-sense" thoughts, scripts, behaviours, belief systems, and actions that coerce uniformed bodies to perform in a particular manner (Bourdieu, 1990). This necessitates the need to discuss theories of performativity (Bourdieu, 1990; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Butler: Performances of power. In 2010, McKinlay differentiated between the notion of performativity and acts of performance; the former being an often (un)conscious, continuous process of (re)iteration placed onto actors and the latter being an act performed by an actor. Individual and collective performativity is helpful to think through humanist notions of identity, subjectivity, and embodiment that are stabilized through relations of power (Butler, 2010). Theories of performativity recognize relations of power as being exercised to (re)produce productions of capital, rather than being given, seized, captured, or exchanged, (Butler et al., 2000; Grosz, 1990). In 1990, Judith Butler expounded theories of performativity as being the (un)conscious acts and practices that are engaged by 'actors' within cultural schemas made available to them. Through engagements of performativity, subjects (UFRs) come to understand the world and their individual subjectivities (i.e., constructs known in humanism as race, gender, and class) (Butler, 1990). While Butler's work primarily focuses on gendered and sexualized identities, her notion of performativity is useful to think about performances of government-sanctioned power enacted by uniformed bodies serving as UFRs. Informed by relations of power (Foucault, 1977), Butler's work moves beyond humanistic boundaries to recognize how uniformed bodies are made into subjects through linguistic and discursive performances (Butler,

2004; McKinlay, 2010). As such, it is relevant here to unpack the individual and collective performances of UFRs as it relates to the governing institutions.

Individual and Collective Performativity. At the individual level, human subjects are born into discourse and exist by taking up social positions that are made available to them (St. Pierre, 2000). Within humanism, identity claims are used to define subjects as stable, rational, knowing, autonomous, and inherently agentic in nature (Barad, 2007; Butler, 1997; Butler et al., 2000). The social positions afforded to bodies entails a set of social norms and expectations that are (re)produced through individual performances and embodied within subjectivities[23]. As a result, individual identities and performances are intricately entangled within and mediated by intersectional identities of class and gender and race and sexuality (Collins, 2019; Rose, 1997). For this work, UFRs are first and foremost human bodies, and as such they have pre-existing subjectivities prior to wearing the uniform. Understanding the individual subjectivities of UFRs creates a pathway to navigate the dynamic, collective corporeality that exists within their social networks (i.e., the institution that governs UFRs) (Holt, 2008).

As a collective, human subjects'/actors' subjectivities are complicated by their existing positions within a cultural field (in this case, the institution that governs UFRs) (Coole & Frost, 2010). Within cultural fields, meanings and discourses of time and matter are constantly being formed and re-formed (Barad, 2007). The institution that governs UFRs privileges certain practices over others (e.g., strength over weakness), becoming performative circuits that are presented time and time again (Barad, 2003; Butler, 2010). For example, some the toxic performances that UFRs experience include: dealing with a high volume of stressful, sometimes traumatic acute care situations, conforming to hierarchies of power, conserving the authority of the uniform, and being self-reliant and resilient in the face of adversity (Andersen et al., 2015b; Berger et al., 2012; Druxbury & Higgins, 2013; Jones, 2017). Performativity therefore cannot be seen as a singular act, rather it is (re)iteration of collective performances that have acquired a privileged status through habitual practices (Nash, 2000). An investigation of the collective performances of UFRs requires a decentering of their individual identities to call out assumptions of power and authority (McKinlay, 2010).

[23] I understand subjectivity as the intersection between life experiences and the social, cultural, and political factors that influence those experiences to create biases (Louis & Barton, 2002)

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

Foucault: Relations as Power. Power is productive and "employed and exercised through a net-like organization" (Foucault, 1980, p. 98). The 'net-like organization' Foucault is describing here refers to institutions of power that determine laws, policies, traditions, privilege statuses, and access to capital (Foucault, 1980). CDT centres it's arguments on identity which are useful to unpack how the socio-political establishment of individual and collective identities are formed according to the access to power one has. Further, they can be used to expose how identities are formed (materiality) and implemented (embodiment) onto subjects through relations of power (Feely, 2016). In relation to this work, I was interested in understanding how uniformed bodies are trained and governed to embody the material and symbolic identities assigned to being a UFR. This requires an exposure of the organizational politics and economies (including the use of mechanical power apparatuses) that exist within the institution that governs UFRs. It also requires an examination of the apparatuses of power that act on uniformed bodies through disciplinary measures.

Holt: Embodied Social Capital as Power. In 2008, Holt critiqued Bourdieu's (1990) concept of habitus in two main ways. First, he argued that it prioritizes social (re)production that maintains social inequalities through capitalist modes of production above transformation. As well, he disputed his work for downplaying how practices and performances that are embodied by subjects are privileged by the cultural field (Holt, 2008). To address his critiques, Holt (2008) offers a framework of embodied social capital that synthesizes Bourdieu's (1990) work with theorizations of performativity (Butler, 1990/1997) and relations of power (Foucault). Holt (2008) advances this work in four distinct ways: (1) theorizing embodiments of broader socio-economic processes, (2) exploring embodied differences from broader operations of power (i.e., political/economic operations), (3) critiquing the endurance of embodied inequalities and creating potential for social transformation, and (4) advancing the spatiality of social capital through engagements with socio-spatial contexts.

Understandings of embodied social capital (Holt, 2008) are fitting for this work as uniformed bodies are relational beings that take up work as UFRs to perform the expectations of the governing institution of power. Embodied social capital is therefore useful to identify which social relationships, cultural scripts, and performances are privileged through relations of power to form the collective identity of a UFR. A deeper investigation into the intersection between

capitals', performativity, and power for UFRs taking on labourous, public-facing care roles in therefore needed (Holt, 2008).

Power as Resistance: Opportunities for redress

The current section offered opportunities to redress parts of the institution that governs UFRs by taking up Holt's (2008) notion of embodied social capital. The performances maintained mediated by the habitus (Bourdieu, 1990) generate a sense of unity and belonging among uniformed bodies serving as UFRs by preserving a collective embodied identity (Butler, 1990; Holt, 2008). For example, Gibbons and colleagues (2014) describe institutions that govern UFRs as forwarding, "written and unspoken system of beliefs, values, language, manners, customs, courtesies, traditions, and expected behaviours evidence in rank structure, creeds, profession of arms, regulations, housing, social groups, lifestyles, and behaviours" (p. 368). Meaning, UFRs are trained to conform to an already existing mold of what it means to identify as a UFR made available to them by the governing institution (Butler, 2010; Davis, 1995; Fay, 1987; Nash, 2000). The collective performances of UFRs serve to stabilize hierarchies of power (un)consciously (Allen 2004/2011; Bourdieu, 1990; Forter, 2007; Kuentzel, 2000). This often becomes a process of what Bourdieu (1997) describes as misrecognition – that is, the symbolic violence of maintaining relations of power as never fully being recognized by the subjects themselves. With this work, I was interested in exposing the toxicity of intersecting relations of power and the lasting impacts it can have on UFRs, parallel to the public.

Institutions that govern UFRs utilize government power to disembody and conform UFRs stepping into labourous caring roles by privileging the uniform over the body (Bourdieu, 1990; Holt, 2008; Reay, 2004). This work is both timely and necessary as it addresses the misappropriated use of state power that inflicts harm and trauma on UFRs, and the public, through the safeguarding of oppressive systems (i.e., racism, classism, ableism, alongside other isms). Uniformed bodies serving as UFRs enact disciplinary performances of surveillance and criminalization that limit the mobility, placement, and livelihood of members of the public who are directly affected by practices of governance. UFRs also experience parallel consequences to their mobility, placement, and livelihood as the hands of the state and the institutions that govern UFRs. Although the harmful consequences of state power may be paralleled in some ways between UFRs and the public, it is important to recognize that as uniformed bodies are

subjects/actors of the state, they are afforded a level of safety and protection that the public (most notably, equity-deserving groups) are not.

An awakening (like the one some are presently experiencing) is needed to examine and prevent repetition of historical and cultural violence that has occurred through setter colonialism, capitalist accumulation, discriminations (i.e., ISMs), among other injustices (Burton, 2015; Martin, 2018). I saw opportunities for redress in this work by positioning UFRs in spaces of restoration (or at least, time to pause from performing harmful scripts) and a questioning what it means to wear/embody the uniform. To do so, I was interested in gaining an understanding of what UFRs say they need to care, heal, and restore their bodies. In the following section, I discuss the labours of care for uniformed bodies and how practices of healing (through leisure) may offer opportunities for restoration for UFRs.

Labours of Care by/for Uniformed bodies

To conclude this chapter, I take up the idea of leisure as a space to cope with stresses and trauma(s) (Heintzman, 2008; Iwasaki & Mannell, 2000; Kleiber et al., 2002; Weissinger & Iso-Ahola, 1984) by offering opportunities for restoration for uniformed bodies serving as UFRs. To frame this dialogue, I start by providing an overview of current literature that highlights the unique mental and emotional challenges faced and endured by UFRs. I then critically discuss the violences of medicalized care practices that seek to "cure" and "fix" bodies, adding to feelings of disembodiment. To conclude, I offer understandings of leisure as a practice of care, a means for healing, and a site for restoration for UFRs.

Conceptualizing the experiences of UFRs in Canada

This section provides an overview of the breadth of UFRs taking up work in Canada. Following this, I highlight recent studies that have gathered data on the mental health and well-being of UFRs. Below is a list and description of the governing organizations available for UFRs in Canada:

- Canadian Police Association (CPA) (60,000 police personnel across Canada) which encompasses municipal and provincial police services, and members of the RCMP, railway police, and first nations' police personnel (Canadian Police Association, 2020).
- Paramedic Association of Canada (PAC) (representing 20,000 Emergency Medical Service (EMS) personnel across Canada) is in the following divisional chapters: British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, Prince

Edward Island, Newfoundland and Labrador, and the Canadian Armed Forces (Paramedic Association of Canada, 2015).

- Canadian Association of Fire Chiefs (CAFA) (representing 3,500 fire departments across Canada) is comprised of provincial and territorial associations (including Canadian council of Fire Marshal's and Fire Commissions, Aboriginal Firefighters Association of Canada, Department of National Defense, Canadian Volunteer Fire Association, Canadian metro Chiefs, and Canadian Fallen Firefighters Foundation) (Canadian Association of Fire Chiefs, n.d.).

Each of these governing organizations are comprised of a board of directors who stand behind a set of professional value statements. As I scoped out information on these organizations that govern UFRs I was not shocked to discover a lack of diversity in differing identities including race, gender, sexual orientation, and ability among the board members. This begs the question, who are these value statements being made for, and who is not accounted for?

Canadian literature on the lived experiences of UFRs has documented the prevalence, frequency, and intensity of mental health concerns due to the stressful, often traumatic, work conditions (Carleton et al., 2018; Haugen et al., 2012; Sareen et al., 2007; Wilson et al., 2016). Appendix A: Relevant literature on UFRs and mental well-being, provides an outline of relevant research studies that were used to inform this section (a total of 20 studies ranging from 2005-to present within Canada, U.S., and U.K). The research studies included in this table are predominantly positivist in their articulation of UFR labour and mental health challenges. To my knowledge, very little critical research been done to expose the toxic relations and challenge the culture of labour for UFRs.

Table 1 was created to outline the descriptive statistics of UFRs in Canada according to the 2016 census in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2016).

Table 1. *Occupational and Salary Breakdown of UFRs as Relative to Population (Statistics Canada, 2016)*

Occupational breakdown	Individuals (by number)	% Of all occupations (relative to population)	Median earnings ($)
Occupations in front-line public protection	109,276	1.22	$93,382
Commissioned police officers	13,745	0.02	$117,489
Police officers (except commissioned)	57,510	0.64	$101,263
Sheriffs and bailiffs	2,025	0.02	$62,408

By-law enforcement and other regulatory officers	6,720	0.07	$64,830
Correctional service officers	17,205	0.19	$75,564
Fire chiefs and senior firefighting officers	1,825	0.02	$112,011
Firefighters	23,315	0.26	$100,846
Paramedics	16,955	0.16	$79,483

To my knowledge, there was no demographic breakdown of UFRs included in this data collected by Statistics Canada.

The unionization of UFRs is commissioned across the three levels of government (municipal, provincial, and federal). Within the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), the Emergency and Security Services (ESS) sector (made up of paramedic, police, correctional, security, and fire service workers) represents approximately 15,000 individuals nationally (with the majority being paramedical workers (11,350 individuals) as police and fire services typically fall under municipal jurisdiction (Canadian Union of Public Employees, n.d.). While UFRs are well compensated for their labour (as evident in Table 1.), the unique challenges and struggles they must face and endure as part of their employment require provisions for greater care and support. Some of the main health-related issues brought forward by the CUPE include: a lack of focus on the health and safety, an oversight of the need for access to health care services, staffing shortages, lack of pensions, a lack of bargaining power for individual UFRs, and a lack of funding (most specifically from municipal governments) (Canadian Union of Public Employees, n.d.). The CUPE only accounts for a small number of UFRs (i.e., approx. 15,000 of 109,276 in Canada), which highlights a gap in understanding of other UFRs who take on care roles. The on-going global pandemic also highlights issues of access to necessary personal protective equipment, training for managing outbreak situations, and a greater need for access to more mental health care support for UFRs (including self-care practices, coping with isolation, and remaining hopeful) (Canadian Union of Public Employees, n.d.).

I found a study conducted by Carleton and colleagues in 2018 from the University of Regina on the symptoms of mental health for UFRs to be useful to provide context on the internal politics that directly impact the mental and emotional well-being of UFRs. This research project surveyed 5,813 public safety personnel (PSP) (another term for UFRs) to gather data on their exposure to traumatic events as a function of their work (Carleton et al., 2018). Table 2

provides a summary of the findings of this research, including PSP who were screened positive on established "mental disorders" (such as PTSD, major depressive disorder, generalized anxiety disorder, social anxiety disorder, panic disorder, alcohol abuse), and/or who self-reported being diagnosed with a "mental disorder" (such as obsessive-compulsive disorder, persistent depressive disorder, bipolar I, bipolar II). Although this information was helpful to understand the issues surrounding mental and emotional wellness for UFRs, I also found it to be problematic as there is a lack of adequate categories for differing identities (e.g., race beyond white, sex beyond binary constructions of male/female). I want to acknowledge this limitation knowing there are people who are not accounted for in this research.

Table 2. *Demographic Breakdown and Percentage of PSP in Canada Screened Positive for Mental Health (retrieved from Carleton et al., 2018)*

Demographic:	Number (in %) of individuals screened positive for mental health
Sex	
Male	41.0
Female	51.7
Age	
19-29	40.3
30-29	43.6
40-29	46.5
50-59	44.5
60 and older	36.6
Marital status	
Married/common law	42.0
Single	49.8
Separated/Divorced/Widowed	55.8
Remarried	48.8
Province of residence	
Western Canada (BC, AB, SK, MB)	46.1
Eastern Canada (ON, QC)	41.8
Atlantic Canada (PEI, NS, NB, NVT)	44.8
Northern Territories (YK, NWT, NVT)	38.2
Ethnicity	
White	44.2
Other	46.2
Urban/rural work location	
Urban	44.1
Rural	46.2
Education	
Highschool or less	47.2
Some post-secondaries (less that 4-year college/university program)	46.1
University degree/4-year college or higher	41.0
Years of service	
More than 15 years	45.1
10 to 15 years	47.0
4 to 9 years	40.9
Less than 4 years	36.8
Public safety personnel category	
Municipal/provincial police	36.7
Royal Canadian Mounted Police	50.2
Correctional Workers	54.6
Firefighters	34.1
Paramedics	49.1
Call center operators/dispatchers	48.4

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

The data in this table highlights the ways UFRs are more vulnerable to experiencing challenges to their mental well-being as a part of their employment. Most relevantly, this data identifies a higher percentage of UFRs who: (1) have experienced personal struggles of separation, divorce, loss of spouse, or are single, (2) are "non-white" or "other," (3) serve within rural communities as compared to urban, and (4) have worked the job for longer periods of time (i.e., 10 years and up).

A recent scoping review on the first responder workforce emphasizes cognitive and physical fatigue and burnout often experienced by UFRs due to: the organization of work (e.g., shift length, number of shifts, shift patterns, work stress), environmental stimuli (e.g., alarm response, excessive noise), and personal capacity (e.g., emotional coping) (Yung et al., 2021). As a result of the taxing labours performed by UFRs, fatigue and burnout often lead to adverse outcomes that deteriorates their health (such as experiencing mental health challenges, difficulty maintaining personal relationships, etc.) (Yung et al., 2021). Some aspects of the job that evoke stress for UFR include: dealing with multiple, competing, excessive, and ever changing demands (i.e., the volume of work), pressure to take on work that falls outside of one's mandate, understaffing, dealing with the court system, managing the expectations of the public, a lack of time for rest, a lack of job control, a lack of decision making ability due to hierarchical bureaucracy, and a lack of support from employees (Berger et al., 2012; Duxbury & Higgins, 2012; Regehr & Millar, 2007).

Managing fatigue and burnout while at work, places additional emotional burdens on UFRs as they can often experience a loss of identity, safety, and control (Fullerton et al., 2006). Further, they may feel a sense of helplessness and isolation that can lead to negative coping mechanisms (such as alcohol abuse or retreating from social support networks) (Faust & Ven, 2014). UFRs are expected to complete their occupational duties and demands and then return to their activities of daily living and functioning (i.e., family responsibilities, housework etc.) (Jones et al., 2019). Although research is becoming more prevalent in identifying the need for institutions that govern UFRs to better support their workers, the stigma of mental and emotional wellness continues to keep individuals from seeking out and accessing care services (Haugen et al., 2012; Ricciardelli et al., 2020). As such, considerations of stigma, justice, equity, safety, and allocation of resources that protect the mental and emotional well-being of UFRs is needed (Rutkow et al., 2011).

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

Institutions that govern UFRs pride themselves on values of self-reliance and strength, making stigma around seeking and accessing mental health supports even more prominent (Jones, 2017; Ricciardelli et al., 2020). Haugen and colleagues (2012) identified that one in three UFRs (33.1%) experience stigma in relation to their mental well-being and one in eleven (9.3%) experience barriers to care. The labelling of UFRs as "superheroes" is threaded into the collective identity of what it means to be a UFR (Abbey et al., 2011; Corrigan, 2004, Corrigan et al., 2006). Such narratives enable emotional labour, asking UFRs to cope with adversity, be competent and resilient, and not show vulnerability (Andersen et al., 2015b; Bell & Eski, 2015; Corrigan, 2004; Crowe et al., 2017; Karaffa & Koch, 2016; Sudom et al., 2012). Internalized stigma connected to feelings of shame is often masked by UFRs, which is particularly damaging to one's health and well-being (Ben-Zeev et al., 2012). As well, a number of barriers (i.e., physical, structural, attitudinal, organizational, and societal) to accessing care exists, leading UFRs to: not pursuing treatment or adhering to treatment regiments, not perceiving a need for support, being fearful of services not being confidential from peers and supervisors and negatively impacting their career (i.e., job responsibilities and duties), navigating shift work that interferes with their access to provided services, and experiencing personal struggles (such as early retirement, divorce, and increased rates of suicide) (Andrade et al., 2014; Berger et al., 2012; Corrigan, 2004; Corrigan, 2004Chapman et al., 2012; Haugen et al., 2012).

Within the scope of Canadian literature, there are some mental health support, services, and interventions working to educate and build awareness for the unique needs of UFRs. For example, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) provides various services aimed to support their members' health, safety, and fitness for duty including: peer-to-peer support programming, psychotherapeutic services, periodic health assessments, counselling services through Health Canada's Employee Assistance program, and personal benefits from provincial workers compensation boards (RCMP, 2016). Similarly, Toronto Emergency Medical Services hosts psychological supports systems with designated full-time psychologists, peer support, employee assistance programs, and extended health benefits (Paramedic Chiefs of Canada, 2014). Yet, I see many of these initiatives are reactionary as opposed to preventative and performative rather than addressing the real issues at hand. Here, I want to bring attention to three separate reports that illuminate the need for more productive mental health supports for UFRs.

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

The 2018/2019 Mental Health Commission of Canada (MHCC) Annual Report. The 2018/2019 MHCC annual report (MHCC, 2019) highlights initiatives of mental life literacy (The Working Mind (TWM) (MHCC, 2018) among other highly publicized issues (Youth, Suicide Prevention, Opioid Crisis etc.). Louise Bradley, President and CEO of MHCC, said:

> Years of stigma have stifled our understanding of mental health: how to identify problems when they arise- both in ourselves, and others- how to articulate them, and what to do about them. The MHCC is striving to reach people where they are, to provide training to build a common language and offer practical tools for use in daily life… The MHCC is striving to create communities where there is awareness of mental illness, knowledge of the appropriate response, and big picture policy improvements to address service gaps. If high schools, university campuses, workplaces, and health-care settings are better equipped, there are more safeguards in place for those who may be vulnerable (MHCC, 2019).

Dr. Ivan Silver, Vice-President of CAMH stated,

> People with lived experience of mental health problems and illnesses frequently report feeling devalued, dismissed, and dehumanized by the health-care professionals providing their care. Yet, for someone seeking mental health support, the first point of contact is often a primary care provider — even though many of these providers feel unqualified to address mental health concerns…As health care providers, we must continue to challenge our own attitudes and co-create strategies with our patients to address stigma. Together we can make a difference (MHCC, 2019).

The report details that two thirds of Canadian adults spend 60% of waking hours at their workplace, and seven out of ten people are concerned about psychological safety at work (MHCC, 2019). In 2019, TWM training program reached a total of 17,200+ first responders (including 2,500+ Ontario provincial police officers and 40,000 paramedics in Canada) through a series of 13-videos showcasing stories of recovery, resiliency, and contact-based education (MHCC, 2019). Randy Mellow, President, Paramedic Chiefs of Canada said, "we have been working with the MHCC for many years now, and they have been the grounding force behind the mental health file within the [paramedic] community" (MHCC, 2019).

The 2016 Healthy Minds, Safe Communities Strategic Report. In 2016, a Canadian national strategy for supporting Personal Safety Officers (PSOs) for Occupational Stress Injuries (OSIs) was brought forth by the House of Commons standing committee on public safety and national security. This survey reported the prevalence of developing OSIs (e.g., PTSD, depression, etc.) is estimated to impact between 10 and 35 percent of UFRs. As a result of an OSI, UFRs may also experience somatic and psychomatic issues, chronic fatigue, difficulty with

alcohol and other substances, and higher rates (30%) of suicide (Healthy Minds Strategic Report, 2016). Jason Godin (President of the Union of Canadian Correctional Officers), Scott Marks (Assistant to the General President, Canadian Operations, International Association of Fire Fighters), Pierre Poirier (Executive Director of the Paramedic Association of Canada), Richard Kent (President of the Aboriginal Firefighters Association of Canada), and Randy Mellow (President of the Paramedic Chiefs of Canada) describe the need for more mental health awareness and advocacy for UFRs. Collectively, they call for more awareness of the trauma experienced on the job and the impact it can have on one's mental health, the emotional toll it takes to acutely care for individuals in distress, and the need for a continuum of support to be more readily available for UFRs (e.g., education, resilience training, exposure training, and returning to the workforce programs) (Healthy Minds, Safe Communities, 2016) (see Appendix B: Healthy Minds, Safe Communities Reports (2016) for direct quotes from the report).

The 2016 Peer-support and Crisis-focused Psychological Intervention Program. In 2016 the University of Regina highlighted a *peer-support and crisis-focused psychological intervention program* for Canadian UFRs (Beshai & Carleton, 2016). In their research they described occupational stress injuries (OSIs) as the psychological challenges that arise from experiencing traumatic situations during operational duties (e.g., symptoms of PTSD, depression, anxiety, and substance use) (Beshai & Carleton, 2016). The term OSI also encompasses the unique experiences of UFRs who are placed in highly stressful and potentially harmful environments (Beshai & Carleton, 2016). The report examines the use of peer-support and crisis-focused psychological interventions (e.g., critical incident stress debriefing, psychological first aid, psychoeducation), which are designed to provide opportunities for support for work-related stress (Beshai & Carleton, 2016). As an objective, they identified the following strategies that relate to the mental health of UFRs: (1) providing information on common reactions to stress and trauma, (2) healthy coping strategies, (3) proactive preventative interventions, (4) post-critical incident interventions, (5) resiliency training, and (6) on-going social and peer-support (Beshai & Carleton, 2016). The results of this review showed an urgent need for more methodologically rigorous research to be done in relation to peer-support and psychological crisis-focused care specifically designed for UFRs as they cope with the trauma often associated with their duties (Beshai & Carleton, 2016).

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

This section reflected on the mental and physical manifestations of labours that are experienced by UFRs as a result of the stress and trauma that is a part of their employments. As such, there is a need to re-imagine of to make supportive systems and models of care sustainable to ensure the safety of UFRs and the public.

Models/Approaches to Care

I use this section describe the leading narratives on mental health (i.e., diagnosis, symptoms, treatments) that seek to identify individuals who need help. I start by unpacking dominant medical ideologies of care based on scientific groundings as a frame of reference. I then move toward more relational philosophies of care (such as an ethics of care (Tronto, 1993) and social (disability) models (Thomas, 2004; Shakespeare, 2006), and person-centered care (Hebblethwaite, 2013; Jordan et al., 2004) by speaking to the harms and violences enacted by reductionist models of care (e.g., stigmatization, subjectification, dehumanization, etc.).

Within a neoliberal, capitalistic society, medical ideologies (i.e., definitions, categorizations, treatments) maintain the cultural hegemony of the ruling class (Cohen, 2016). For example, economic and social policies, service plans, and acts (e.g., the Canadian Mental Health Act) are maintained through self-serving mechanisms to advance medical efforts by "experts" (e.g., health professionals, media, governments, academics, and policy makers) (Moncrieff, 2018; Morrow & Malcoe, 2017). This is problematic as it affords power to a group of individuals (e.g., government, policy makers) to make decisions on behalf of the public who requires differing intersectional needs. Medicalized ideologies of health, illness, disability, treatment, cure, patient, disorders, rehabilitation, and normal functioning are informed by global organizational structures (e.g., World Health Organization (WHO), International Classification of Functioning, (ICF), and Diagnostic Statistical Manual (DSM). These organizational structures which rely heavily on quantitative data to inform "best practices" (e.g., diagnosing, treating/curing) that are made up of individualistic, paternalistic, and standardized interventions of what it means function "optimally" (Briscoe & Arai, 2015; Devine & Sylvester, 2005; Mobily et al., 2015; Sylvester, 2005/2015). This way of understanding "assumes that the *person must* change not society, that the person *wants* his disability to be 'healed' and that 'therapy' *will* make him better" [*emphasis in original*] (Mobily et al., 2015, p. 48).

As I considered how UFRs think about their own mental health and well-being, I referred to the prominent definitions of mental "illness," such as:

- Mental illness is defined as, “the reduced ability for a person to function effectively over a prolonged period of time because of: (1) significant levels of distress, (2) changes in thinking, mood, or behaviour, (3) feelings of isolation, loneliness, and sadness, (4) the feeling of being disconnected from people and activities” (Government of Canada, 2017, para. 2).
- “Mental illnesses are described as disturbances in thoughts, feelings, and perceptions that are severe enough to affect day-to-day functioning. Some examples are anxiety disorders, schizophrenia, and mood disorders, such as major depressive disorder and bipolar disorder” (Canadian Mental Health Association (CMHA), 2020, paras. 2-3).
- “Mental illnesses are conditions in which people’s thinking, mood and behaviours negatively impact their day-to-day functioning. Mental health problems can include depression, anxiety, schizophrenia and many others, as well as addictions… There are several types of mental illnesses. They can range from single, short-lived episodes to chronic disorders… . A diagnosis is based on a person’s subjective and personal symptoms, and the signs that physicians or relatives notice” (Canadian Association for Mental Health (CAMH), 2018, paras. 2-4).

These definitions are deeply rooted within a physician/expert-centred approaches that privilege the idea that ‘disabled bodies’ require fixing in order to be valued in society through unequal power distributions[24] (Diedrich, 2007; Dupuis et al., 2014; Hollway, 2001; Sylvester, 2005). Medicalized approaches to care do often fail to account for the symbolic violence that the public encounters while seeking care and instead they valorize oppressive systems that continue to pathologize, dehumanize, and disempower individuals (Burstow, 2015; Krough & Johnson, 2006; Morrow & Malcoe, 2017). As a result of the erasure of individual experience/accounts, medical racism, and poor continuity of care across the service spectra, health care institutions are known to perpetuate harm, violence, and trauma (Atkinson et al., 2015; Lord & Hutchison, 2007). This highlights the need for more paradigmatic shifts that consider holistic approaches to well-being that exist beyond medicalized ideologies.

Instead, I take up practices of care that move beyond the medical model and are more compassionate and relational in nature, such as an ethics of care (Tronto, 1993), social (disability) models (Thomas, 2004; Shakespeare, 2006), and person-centered care (Hebblethwaite, 2013; Jordan et al., 2004; Thomas, 2004). These approaches to care use action-based dialogue to promote inclusivity, liberate silenced voices, and promote inclusion and equality (Dupuis & Gillies, 2014; Fortune & Whyte, 2011; Shakespeare, 2006). By placing the blame on the built social, attitudinal, and structural environments, rather than on individual

[24]Freire’s (1970) referred to this unequal power relationship as a banking approach—that is, the ways in which individuals in positions of power deposit their knowledge onto others.

bodies these approaches to care are critical and political in nature (Davy, 2019; Devlin & Pothier, 2006). Alternative models to care, therefore, aim to (re)claim understandings of identity, personhood, victimhood, citizenship, self-determination, autonomy, and freedom (Frazee et al., 2006; Thomas, 2004; Rioux & Valentine, 2006; Shakespeare, 2006).

My philosophy of care is inspired by the work of Arai and colleagues (2015) who call for theory to guide belief systems and therapeutic relationships through: (1) existential theory (i.e., exploring understandings of existence, meaning, freedom, and choice), (2) relational theory (i.e., examining the relationships we have with self, others, and the surrounding environment), and (3) CT (and postmodernism) (i.e., revealing the power in interactions between individuals and with/in the community). Arai and colleagues (2015) advocate for care practitioners, educators, scholars, and researchers to break away from divided silos (in this instance, unhelpful dichotomies like the cared for/the cared by, the strong/the weak, etc.) (Arai et al., 2015).

Leisure as Resistance for Coping and Restoration

Here, I was inspired by the idea of leisure as resistance (Shaw, 2001) – the potential leisure can have to bring about positive social change by being critical of systems of truth(s)/knowledge and refusal to fall trap to acts of conformity of what it means to live a ‘good life’. -- to push forward critical agendas that question oppressive medicalized care systems and re-center human spirit. In 2002, Mair alluded to the idea of leisure as resistance through the notion of civic leisure – that is, when members of a given community work together to restore, rejuvenate, and (re)create stronger communities. Leisure as resistance engages scholars and researchers to expose the complacency of academic discourses in (re)producing exclusive understandings of leisure that do not represent diverse human experiences. This is what Mair (2011) spoke to when she called for leisure scholars to address the ‘rest of the story’ by critically confronting the systems that support oppressive trajectories of leisure and build a new leisure language. For this work, being inspired by the idea of leisure as resistance (Shaw, 2001) offers me opportunities to challenge the material and symbolic ideologies of institutions that governs UFRs and re-center of the lived experiences of bodies beneath the uniform.

By drawing on existential, relational, and critical theories, here I unpack the idea of leisure as a space to cope from the occupational stresses and trauma(s) UFRs commonly experience on the job (Arai et al., 2015; Heintzman, 2008; Iwasaki & Mannell, 2000; Kleiber et al., 2002;Weissinger & Iso-Ahola, 1984) by offering spaces for restoration. To frame this

discussion, I offer conceptualizations of leisure that were useful to inform the care, healing, and restoration that UFRs are in need of. Constructs of leisure have been construed across differing paradigmatic perspectives, and as such, understandings of leisure are often contested (Glover, 2017). Leisure can be traced across several disciples including anthropology, sociology, social psychology, geography, and economics (Chick, 2006; Crouch, 2006; Mannell et al., 2006; van der Poel, 2006; Veal, 2006). Leisure scholars explore past, present, and future systemic and social issues that center around ideas of time, gender, age, race, class, subculture, consumption, and mass communication/media (Cook, 2006; Critcher, 2006; Freysinger & Harris, 2006; Harahousou, 2006; Henderson & Shaw, 2006; Jenks, 2006; Rowe, 2006; Zuzanek, 2006).

A common attribute taken up by most leisure scholars the significant impact (negative or positive) leisure can have on individuals and communities as leisure is an unchanging part of human nature (Shaw, 2001). Conventionally, leisure has been discussed in relation to time, space, activities, functions (i.e., the purpose leisure serves), and freedom (i.e., the degree to which leisure is freely chosen or leisure as liberation) (Aitchison, 2009). Common understandings of leisure focus on individual meanings and experiences, accompanied by notions of free time, enjoyment, enrichment, meaningful, positive, accomplishment, connection, a sense of identity, state of mind, intrinsic motivation, social attitudes, freedom, satisfaction, and value etc. (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975; Iwasaki et al., 2015; Kleiber et al., 2002; Mannell, 1980; Sylvester, 1999). Yet, these conventional understandings of leisure often only focus on and identify the *who* is engaging in leisure, while forgetting the when, where, what, how, and why (Aitchison, 2009). Hence, leisure as resistance is beneficial to hold intentional space to shift public dialogues and advance agendas of justice (Kivel et al., 2009; Shaw, 2001).

In 2003, Arai and Pedlar described the modernity of leisure discourses as addressing three interrelated crises-- the crisis of identity or self, the social crisis (i.e., alienation resulting in a loss of trust, intimacy, and relationships), and the political crisis (i.e., the global representation of power and decision-making). Leisure is constituted through relational, social, political, and ideological discourses that are held together by relations of power (Genoe and Whyte, 2015). Leisure, therefore, offers opportunities to think about how our individual and collective human means (i.e., life purpose and meaning, personal growth, well-being, and accessibility) exist across terrains of age, culture, race, gender, sexuality, disability, religion, spirituality, among others (van der Poel, 2006).

Individuals' choices are subjected to structural influences and positionality (e.g., social status,

access to capitals). Intersections of class, gender, race, status, and other structural influences are inscribed into the social scripts that dictate freedom of choice and access to resources within leisure spaces (Rojek, 2005/2006). Leisure (whether it be time, activity, or state of mind) operates to privilege some social statuses over others, creating an elitist, essentializing, dividing, and normalizing effect on the experience of leisure (Rojek, 2005). A recognition of these effects, and the histories of harm and trauma that have (un)consciously been afforded space in this narrative, become a significant source of identity, resistance, and solidarity (Rojek, 2006). As such, these reflections are useful to position leisure as space to cope from stresses and trauma(s) by attending to the political nature of leisure (Heintzman, 2008; Iwasaki & Mannell, 2000; Kleiber et al., 2002; Shaw, 2001; Weissinger & Iso-Ahola, 1984).

Leisure as a Space to Cope from Stresses and Trauma(s)

We know that leisure practices are helpful to cope with negative, traumatic, or adverse life circumstances by prompting self-protective strategies that release stress, enhance moods, and/or offer companionship/connection with others (Caldwell & Smith, 1988; Coleman & Iso-Ahola, 1993; Heintzman, 2008; Hutchison et al., 2008; Iwasaki, 2001; Iwasaki & Mannell, 2000; Kleiber et al., 2002; Lazarus et al., 1980; Weissinger & Iso-Ahola, 1984). Leisure has been identified as helping to reduce the negative impact of stresses on one's physical and mental/emotional health (Iwasaki & Schneider, 2003), offer space for spiritual coping (Heintzman, 2008), and promote self-determination dispositions through social support resources (Coleman & Iso-Ahola, 1993). For example, Hutchison and colleagues (2008) identified restorative leisure activities as contributing to restoring an individual's sense of self and feelings of competency, mastery, and self-determination. In 2000, Iwasaki and Mannell distinguished between leisure coping beliefs – that is, enduring dispositional coping styles generated from the engagement in leisure (such as autonomy and friendships) – and leisure coping strategies – that is, situation-specific coping behaviours and cognitions available through leisure (such as companionship, palliative coping, and mood enhancement). Further, in 2008, Heintzman discussed leisure as offering space for spiritual coping from spiritual resources (e.g., higher power, spiritual practices, faith, and community) as beneficial for individuals who experience stress. These conceptualizations of leisure as a space to cope (physically, mentally/emotionally, and spiritually) from stressors and trauma(s) is useful to position leisure in this research project as a space of care, healing, and restoration for uniformed bodies serving as UFRs.

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

The healing nature of leisure gets at the essence of 'who we are' by facilitating opportunities for meaningful, enjoyable, and purposeful experiences that increase well-being and quality of life (Dieser et al., 2005; Iwasaki et al., 2015). For example, non-pharmacological/medical care practices that are often utilized in leisure that aim to: connect the mind and body (e.g., yoga, meditation, hypnotherapy, relaxation techniques, movement therapies etc.), and other parts of the body (e.g., physical activity, sports, tai chi, yoga, Pilates, play, nature and adventure therapy, aquatic therapy, art therapy, music therapy, animal-assisted therapy, among many others (Datillo & McKenny, 2011; Wynn, 2015). Leisure as a space of coping, therefore, offers opportunities for restoration for UFRs who choose to engage with the various means of leisure.

In relation to trauma (e.g., PTSD), Kleiber and colleagues (2002) offer four useful propositions of leisure including: (1) leisure as a distraction for negative life events; (2) leisure as generating optimism; (3) leisure as aiding in the reconstruction of past, current, and future life stories; and (4) leisure as a vehicle for personal transformation. These propositions orient leisure as a supportive means for engaging in meaningful pursuits that promote healing, resilience, and restoration through experiences of connection, meaning, purpose, and identity (Kleiber et al., 2002). Engaging in leisure spaces as a means of healing from negative life experiences (such as stress or trauma) moves through a relational process of disruption (i.e., the disruption of UFRs roles/responsibilities) and adaption (i.e., UFRs using leisure to transform their beliefs/values) (Kleiber et al., 2002). Through processes of disconnection and reconnection, leisure can become a journey of healing for UFRs as they gain a sense of belonging, feel supported, and aspire to create meaningful lives (Coleman & Iso-Ahola, 1993; McCormick & Iwasaki, 2008). Leisure can also facilitate moments for UFRs to (re)imagine themselves considering the adverse, traumatic situations they endure by reflecting on their own abilities to grow and finding communal spaces of connection that promote feelings of support, safety, and control (Dupuis & Gillies, 2014; Kleiber et al., 2002)

At the core, we as human beings, are relational and our experiences are shaped through the relationships we hold onto (Arai et al., 2015; Arai & Pedlar, 2003). I believe that at the intersection of leisure, healing, and restoration there are opportunities for re-awakening the human spirit guided by compassion and love (Arai et al., 2015; Sylvester, 2015). For this work, I was interested in the idea of leisure as a form of coping to offer opportunities to redress the toxic

material and symbolic constructs that are assigned to UFR uniforms. Positioning leisure as a practice of care, a means of healing, and a site for restoration was useful to gain insights into what sustainable care can look like for UFRs. For this this work, I wanted to better understand how leisure can intersect with embodied identities (in this case, UFRs and the public respectively) to help mitigate felt tensions, harms, and oppressions experienced at the hands of mis-appropriated government-sanctioned power.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

> We can speak to the tensions of sharing stories being both wonderous things, and simultaneously dangerous, as they are the things that bring us together, define us, teach us about the world; yet they are the things that break us a part, that make us invest in ways of being in the world that are destructive to each other (King, 2003, p. 3).

Informed by critical theories of disability, this research considers leisure as playing a role in care, healing, and restoration of UFRs. Using a methodological approach inspired by critical participatory action research (PAR) (Kemmis et al., 2014), this work recorded stories told by UFRs working in Southern Ontario. Inspired by the words of King (2003) above, the stories told by UFRs were analyzed interpretively to highlight connections in relation to the harms of taking on labourous caring roles. The following guiding questions were addressed:

1. What do UFR stories say about power relations that are a part of their employment? How does Holt's embodied social capital help to frame an understanding of this culture (language, symbols, norms, and performances)?
2. How do uniformed bodies practice care for the body?
    a. What needs to happen for the body to feel restored?
    b. How are leisure practices taken up by uniformed bodies?
    c. Is leisure a form of care to UFRs?
3. What recommendations or supports do uniformed bodies need (individually and/or collectively) to support holistic wellness in light of their duties/experiences?
    a. How can caring for the body be made sustainable?
    b. To whom and how can this information be disseminated?

I used these guiding questions to investigate the ways institutions of power that govern UFRs are upheld by the cultural habitus (Bourdieu, 1990). Through on-going conversations with my supervisor, we questioned: What are uniformed bodies asked to do in times that care is needed? In what ways does the system fail to provide care for uniformed bodies? Who are uniformed bodies more readily acting to protect? Critical PAR was useful for this research project as it created opportunities to connect with stakeholders[25] to gather their lived experiences of working as a UFR and supporting their mental health on and off duty through practices of leisure. To

[25]The 'stakeholders' of this research project included: the PAR research team members at FF (including myself, as "researcher") and participants of the research.

support and guide this inquiry, I created a reciprocal relationship with a local organization, FF, that focuses on the wellness of individuals working as UFRs.

FF (pseudonym)

FF was founded in 2019 by a retired paramedic and is a cornerstone for health, wellness, education, and advocacy in a community of UFRs in Southern Ontario. Inspired by the slogan, '*Feel Healthy, Feel Safe, Feel Strong!'* the 8,200 square foot facility is a wellness centre and is accessed by a growing number of local UFRs. FF employs a team of professional practitioners who are committed to supporting and educating individuals working in high-stress environments. With a focus on frontline personnel, they seek to prevent and manage symptoms from trauma among other challenges to mental wellness often experienced by UFRs. They use a holistic approach to balance the mind, body, and soul by creating space for positive change in the lives of all members. FF is a membership-based organization offering a range of wellness services from hypnosis, chiropractic services, massage, counselling, medium, neuro-optimal feedback, and reiki, to physically active classes like yoga, dryland training, and cycling. As such, FF was a good fit for this specific research project as it focuses on supporting the wellness of UFRs by offering a community-based space built on values of education and awareness.

A Methodological Framework Informed by Critical PAR

This section fleshes out tenets of critical PAR (Kemmis et al., 2014) including practice, communicative spaces, action, power, voice, identity, and some of the challenges I faced while conducting a critical PAR project. Also discussed in this chapter are ethical negotiations, COVID-19 precautions, researcher positionality and care, and the data representation of this project. PAR emerged in the early 1990's to provide a frame of reference for researchers and participants engaging in collaborative dialogue while critiquing more traditional means of social science research that privilege the researcher as "expert" (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2005; Swantz, 2008). Early influencers of action research include Freire (1982), who advocated for social change through relational pedagogical approaches, and Lewin (1951), who described the practicality of theory. Researchers from different ontological, epistemological, theoretical, and political orientations take up PAR to address a range of rising social and cultural issues (Kemmis et al., 2014) including: women's studies (Aziz et al., 2011), Indigenous rights (Datta et al., 2015), conservation activism (Reiten & Gibson, 2012), disease prevention (Bradley & Puoane,

2007; Olshansky et al., 2005), education (Bell, 2011; Brydon-Miller & Maguire, 2009), nursing (Friesen-Storms et al., 2015; Glasson et al., 2008), medicine (Saucier et al., 2012), and agriculture (Engel, 1995; Mapfumo et al., 2013; Zievogel & Opere, 2010).

Leisure scholars are in a unique position to create culture change as they often reflect on social and cultural issues and involved in community-based settings. As such, PAR has been taken up by a number of different leisure scholars in different settings/contexts including: campus recreation services and the well-being of students with disabilities (Gillies & Dupuis, 2013), dance as a form of leisure with persons with dementia (Dupuis et al., 2012), the role of community recreation for individuals in stroke recovery (Hebblethwaite and Curley, 2015), creating culture change in long-term care (LTC) (McKeown et al., 2016), fostering ethical and empowering practices within transgender communities (Singh et al., 2013), engaging with at-risk youth (Iwasaki et al., 2014), raising awareness about the stigma associated with female offenders, poverty, and homelessness to promote social inclusion (Yuen & Fortune, 2020), and exploring experiences of wellness from the perspectives of residents living in LTC (Lopez & Dupuis, 2014). These studies helped to inform my own learning of critical PAR as they highlight: the importance of creating opportunities and possibilities to re-imagine care, offering alternative leisure discourses to understand lived experiences, and providing insight on how to better support members within a community setting (Dupuis et al., 2012; Lopez & Dupuis, 2014; McKeown et al., 2016). With regards to social justice and activism, these research projects also demonstrate how critical PAR can strengthen community voices by highlighting inclusion, attending to differential power relations in communities, and exploring collective experiences of leisure as liberatory and revolutionary (Hebblethwaite & Curley, 2015; Singh et al., 2013; Yuen & Fortune, 2020).

Action-based research explores the philosophical, political, intellectual, and social footings that make up human experience and are embodied through individual and collective practices (Wicks et al., 2008). PAR reflects on past practices in an effort to change future practices (Gergen & Gergen, 2008). To do so, PAR questions how knowledge is produced, generated, and disseminated and holds space for relational processes to guide the co-construction of knowledge (Swantz, 2008). It also questions truth, objectivity, rationality, values, and progress (Wicks et al., 2008). Stakeholders involved in a PAR project are asked to think about how their individual assumptions, understandings, and experiences and identify implicit biases in their

thinking and practices (Fine & Torre, 2004). PAR processes can be understood as transformative in nature as they engage in conversations as a catalyst for advocacy by identifying the resources needed within the community (Gibson-Graham, 2002; Singh et al., 2013).

PAR works well with CTs as it attempts to re-humanize the research process by having benefactors (in this case, UFRs) directly involved in the shaping of the project (Pedlar & Hutchison, 1999; Torre & Fine, 2006). Through critical engagements, scholars who have taken up PAR utilize it to call for more engaged and relevant research (Pain, 2004), greater reflexivity and more equitable relations of power (Kindon & Elwood, 2009; Collie et al., 2010), and for silenced stories to be used as more than academic gain (Fine & Torre, 2004; Kesby et al., 2005). In relation to this work, critical PAR was useful to better understand prior knowledge and assumptions of uniformed bodies working as UFRs.

Guiding Tenets of PAR

PAR, as defined by Skolimowski (1995) "is the art of dwelling in the other, is the art of penetrating from within, is the art of learning to use the language of the other; in short, is the art of empathy" (p.182). This definition alludes to how we, as human beings, are living theories as we understand our knowing's through the reflection of our individual and collective beliefs and actions (Freire, 1982). Kemmis et al. (2014), outlines the guiding tenets of PAR as being an understanding of: (1) practices, (2) communicative spaces, and (3) action (communicative action). This section briefly unpacks these notions as it was taken up in this research project.

First, the concept of 'practice' within PAR can be understood as either objective (external, outsider, other) (i.e., how do others see the organization/practice?), subjective (internal, insider, self) (i.e., how do the people involved see the organization/practice?), or dialectical (i.e., the tensions/connections between the outsider/insider) (Kemmis, 2008; Kemmis & McTaggart, 2000). Practice is defined as,

> A socially established cooperative human activity in which characteristic arrangements of actions and activities (doings) are comprehensible in terms of arrangements of relevant ideas in characteristic discourses (sayings), and when the people and objects involved are distributed in characteristic arrangements of relationships (relatings), and when this complex of sayings, doings and relatings 'hangs together' in a distinctive human social project (Kemmis et al., 2014, p. 52).

The practices of a cultural field are formed in intersubjective spaces (i.e., within conscious minds), semantic spaces (i.e., shared languages), physical spaces (i.e., shared materials), and

social spaces (i.e., relationships of power) (Kemmis et al., 2014). For this work, I sought out discussions on which practices/performances are privileged by the institution that governs UFRs. I was also interested in exposing how uniformed bodies working as UFRs are governed by state-power to perform directive and strategic performances as symbolized by the uniform.

Second, PAR relies on the opening of communicative spaces -- the inclusive, collaborative, and transformative space between stakeholders (Kemmis, 2008). Through this process, stakeholders co-create dialogue that converses on the relationships between the social architectures (in this case, the institution that governs UFRs) and social practices (i.e., in this case, the beliefs, feelings, and lived experiences of UFRs) (Kemmis et al., 2014). Kemmis and McTaggart (2000) said,

> We contend that, on the one side, participants understand themselves and their practices as formed by system structures and functions that shape and constrain their actions, and that their efforts to change their practices necessarily involve encountering and reconstructing the system aspect of their social world. On the other side, we contend, participants also understand themselves and their practices as formed through the lifeworld processes of cultural reproduction, social integration, and socialization-individuation, and that their efforts to change their practices necessarily involve changing the substance of these processes. In addition, we contend, participants understand that there are tensions and interconnections between these two aspects of their social world, are each shaping and constraining the other, and they recognize that changing their practices necessarily involves taking into account the nature and substance of these tensions and interconnections (p. 590).

Through opening communicative spaces, all stakeholders involved create dialogue on critical questions of whether or not social architectures and practices are reasonable or unreasonable, actions are sustainable or unsustainable, and relationships with others are inclusive or exclusive (Kemmis et al., 2014). The processes for making these types of decisions are described in communicative action*,* next.

Third, the ‘action’ aspect of PAR is conceptualized as: participant-driven activities (McIntyre, 2008), the act of implementing a plan (Herr & Anderson, 2015), the concept of liberation as a directional state towards change (Greenwood & Levin, 2006), or a multifaceted and dynamic state that operates at multiple sites and is never static (Mosher et al., 2014). These conceptualizations of action were useful to attend to aspects of knowledge implementation, collaborative processes (i.e., aspects of growth and empowerment and the co-construction of knowledge), and systemic change (Mosher et al., 2014). More specifically, communicative action within PAR engages stakeholders in dialogue to reach,

> (a) *intersubjective agreement* about the ideas and language they use among participants as a basis for (b) *mutual understanding* of one another's points of view in order to reach (c) *unforced consensus* about what to do in their particular situation [*emphasis in original*] (Kemmis et al., 2014, p. 35).

Communicative action was used in this research project to generate a collective understanding of the experiences told by UFRs, to reach an unforced consensus of shared concerns around toxic practices, and to work through an examination of the conditions under which these practices are exercised by UFRs (Kemmis et al., 2014). This offered space to critically examine the intersecting functions between the institutions that govern UFRs and larger socio-political discourses, and the ways in which they inform individual and collective social practices for and by UFRs (Kemmis et al., 2014).

By utilizing a PAR methodological approach, I was interested in listening to the lived experiences told by UFRs as they navigate the power relations that are a part of their employment, perform the expectations of what it means to be a UFRs, and take up leisure as care, healing, and restoration (Brydon-Miller et al., 2011; Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Hawkins, 2015). Informed by intersectionality and CT, PAR processes were useful for this work to reveal disempowerment and injustices by investigating social practices that are held steady by the cultural conditions and arrangements made available to UFRs (Kemmis et al., 2014). The research processes apart of this project became more than a methodological framework, they became an alliance to broader social justice movements that sought to reveal the unequal power relations that make up hierarchies of rank (Kemmis et al., 2014). Critical PAR, as outlined by Kemmis and colleagues (2014), is relevant to this work by considering: (1) what UFRs are thinking and saying (i.e., their sayings) through cultural and discursive arrangements, (2) what UFRs are doing (their doings) and the materialistic provisions that are afforded to them, and (3) how UFRs are relating to others and the world through social and political arrangements (their relating's).

Critical Tenets of PAR

Critical PAR was useful for this work as it held space for stakeholders, specifically those who are directly impacted by the research (i.e., UFRs), with multiple opportunities to share their lived experiences in response to the guiding research questions for this project (Gaventa & Cornwall, 2008; Reid & Frisby, 2008). More specifically, in collaboration with UFRs, we identified recommendations and supports needed for UFRs as they navigate labourous care roles for the

public. As part of this process, it was important to think about how to make these recommendations sustainable, and how this information can be disseminated in community settings to policy decision makers and advocates of well-being.

Relational Tensions of Power, Voice, and Identity

The work of Habermas (1984) blurs the boundaries between social systems (i.e., organizations, institutions, states, structures, functions, and practices) and the lifeworlds (i.e., interpersonal, real life experiences of people and groups) (Kemmis, 2008). This highlights an intersection between that of language, labour, and domination, and the ways in which they are bound by ideological perspectives to shape ways of seeing, and not seeing (Habermas, 1989). Critical PAR was useful as it promoted self-realization by UFRs by offering space to untether momentarily from toxic practices and harms and account for the holistic well-being of the body (Kemmis, 2008). PAR projects require that researchers to address tensions of power at all levels (Foucault, 1975, Cahill, 2007; Gaventa & Cornwall, 2008). Within the cultural field of UFRs, power relations show up at the macro level (i.e., how government-sanctioned power is wielded through socio-political discourse), the intermediate level (i.e., the institution that governs the performances and expectations of UFRs), as well as the micro level (i.e., the relationships that exists between upper management and UFRs) (Gaventa & Cornwall, 2008).

Building a climate of mutual respect and trust (Heron & Reason, 2006) with all stakeholders involved was therefore vital to co-creating opportunities to exercise communicative freedom, power, and action (Kemmis, 2006). While this required nuanced dialogues that confronts relations and structures of power, truth-telling, critical evaluations of practices, and a pluralistic outlook of one's own implicit biases, I saw it as necessary to creating needed systemic change (Kemmis, 2006). To address concerns of privilege, identity, and voice, Reason and Bradbury (2008) outlined the following issues: emerging and enduring consequences (i.e., the consequences of toxic uniformed institutions), outcomes and practices (i.e., the individual and collective practices of uniformed bodies), significance of the research project, relational practice (i.e., working with all stakeholders involved to ensure no voice is lost), and plural ways of knowing (i.e., mutual respect for all voices, and lived experiences). I approached this project with UFRs with this in mind by facilitating conversations of power to and held space for all stakeholders, including myself, to have opportunities to share and be heard (Hawkins, 2015).

Challenges of Critical PAR

All methodological approaches have their own set of challenges, and as such it was important to be aware of the foreseeable issues that may have arisen throughout the data collection process. Here, I discuss some of the challenges brought forth by researchers who have engaged in PAR projects that held true for my own experiences leading this research project. First, Pedlar and Hutchison (1999) described the justifications needed by researchers to advocate for unorthodox qualitive inquiries in the face of mainstream social science as being a challenge of PAR. Although, the use of radical qualitative methodologies continues to be on the rise since this statement was made, throughout this project I was faced with tensions of PAR projects as being less concerned with contributing to silos of knowledge, and more about contributing to the development and improvement of community settings (Carr, 2007; Kemmis, 2008). A second concern is that PAR projects are often time intensive and can be difficult to conceptualize with a finite ending due to the scope and magnitude of the issues being addressed (Gustavsen et al., 2008; Herr & Anderson, 2005).

A third concern regarding representation and empowerment of agency and voice is ensuring researchers are not replacing one set of dominant voices with another, rather ensuring there are maintaining authenticity while questioning reality to generate change (Gaventa & Cornwall, Hawkins, 2015). This required that I have a deep awareness of the dynamics of power that existed within the current research project (e.g., UFRs involved in this project also working as colleagues) (Brydon-Miller, 2008). Further, it required that I engage in processes of trust building with all stakeholders by being upfront and transparent about my intentions. To address these concerns, I employed Grant and colleagues (2008) advice for PAR projects by: embracing open dialogue and on-going communicative efforts with all individuals involved, addressing barriers that showed up, appreciating the 'small wins' that occur rather than expecting large-scale change, and committing to the co-construction of knowledge production and mobilization. By doing so, I wanted to hold space to co-create richer knowledge through acts of story sharing – the very process that makes PAR radical and unique (Grant et al., 2008).

Mapping out the Research

As I map out the research project, in collaboration with stakeholders involved at FF, I speak to the level of involvement of all stakeholders throughout the different phases of the project. The PAR team members involved in the planning and facilitation of this research project included:

- Roger, age 60, male, owner/founder of FF, worked as a paramedic for 30 years
- Rebecca, she/her, age 24, mixed race, Manager of FF
- Jaylyn, she/her, age 28, self-identified female, white, PhD researcher

Pseudonyms were assigned to all stakeholders involved to protect their anonymity (apart from myself as "researcher"). I first met with Roger (Owner of FF) in June of 2020 and stayed connected with him throughout the first two lockdowns of the COVID-19 pandemic (from 2020 to 2021). In May of 2021, I successfully defending my proposal for this research project and received ethical clearance in September of 2021 (REB #43039). Following ethics approval, I met with Roger and Rebecca at FF in September 2021 to begin the planning phase of this project.

The initial recruitment of participants began in October of 2021. A total of eight participants (at least 18 years of age and either currently on active duty as a UFR or on a personal leave) were recruited by Roger and Rebecca to participate in this research project. I met with each participant (some individually and some in small groups) to provide an overview of the research project, including their responsibilities as participants (between October 18th to 22nd, 2021). At this time, demographic information (involving, pronouns, age, sex, ethnicity, education, occupation, number of years in service, education/training, and annual income) and consent forms from those who agreed to be a part of the project was collected (see Appendix C: Research information letter, consent form, and demographic information). Table 3 provides a breakdown of this demographic information. The research information letter provided to participants was used to help them make an informed decision regarding their participation. It outlined: what the study is about, their responsibilities as participants, their rights as participants (i.e., know that participation is voluntary and that they have the right to withdraw from the research project at any time), what they will receive for participation ($50 gift card), the possible benefits and risks/harms of participating, how their identity will be kept anonymous (i.e., by assigning a pseudonym), how their information will be kept confidential (i.e., all data being kept on a password protect computer for 7 years and then confidentially discarded), and who they should contact should they have any questions/concerns. Participants were also provided with the opportunity to ask any questions and/or share any concerns they had at this time.

Table 3. Demographic Breakdown of Research Participants

Participant:	Pronouns:	Current Age:	Sex:	Ethnicity:	Occupation:	Years of service:	Education/Training:	Annual income:
Bruce	He/him	40	Male	Caucasian	Police Officer	16 years	Social work, police foundations	$111,000
Courtney	She/her	22	Female	Caucasian	Paramedic	1.5 years	Pre-health sciences, paramedic program	$85,000
Matt	N/A	24	Male	Caucasian	Correctional officer	1 year	College diploma: Police foundations	$65,000
Jack	N/A	44	Male	Caucasian	Police officer	20 years	College- police foundations Ontario Police College (OPC)	$115,000
Tyler	He/him	28	Male	Caucasian	Police officer	1.5 years	College diploma, OPC	$79,000
Olivia	She/her	42	Female	Asian (Korean)	Paramedic	16 years	Bachelor of Science, PCP, ACP	$100,000
Joey	He/him	22	Male	Caucasian	Paramedic	2 years	Primary Care Paramedic	$90,000
Nicole	N/A	43	Female	Caucasian	Police officer	19 years	BA, University degree College diploma	$124,588

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

After the preliminary data collection had begun, I felt tension around the lack of racial diversity being represented in the current research participant pool. To address this tension, I submitted an ethics amendment in November of 2021 to conduct a race-focused analysis of the data that was collected. Snowball sampling method was used to recruit UFRs who identify as Black, Indigenous, or a racialized person and work in Southern Ontario. I began by connecting with current research participants involved in the initial data collection processes to assist in connecting me with colleagues who identify as Black, Indigenous, or a racialized person. I met with each of the individuals separately to provide them with information on the research project (See Appendix D: Race-focused research information letter, consent form, and demographic information). Table 4 provides a demographic breakdown of the participants that were recruited for the race-focused analysis.

Table 4. *Demographic Breakdown of Racialized Participants*

Participant:	**Pronouns:**	**Age:**	**Sex:**	**Ethnicity:**	**Occupation:**	**Years of service:**	**Education/ Training:**	**Annual income:**
Gill	He/him	41	Male	South Asian/ Punjabi	Police Officer	11	BA Anthropology, J.D. Law	$110,000
Melody	She/her	35	Female	Chinese	Paramedic	11	Kinesiology BSc. AEMCA	$100,000
Bowen	He/him	36	Male	Chinese	Police Officer	11	Honours BA of Science	N/A

Here, I map out the research phases that occurred for this project in alignment with Kemmis and colleagues (2014) framework for enacting a critical PAR project, including:

1. Initial reflections/planning: examining current practices, understandings, relations, and conditions (e.g., How do things work here? How have things come to be? What kinds of consequences have been produced?)
2. Action: asking questions about practices and their consequences (e.g., are the consequences of our practices in some way untoward (irrational, unsustainable, or unjust)?); engaging in communicative action to reach an unforced consensus of how to create collaborative change; and taking transformative action
3. Reflection/data analysis: documenting and monitoring the changes that occur

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

I was inspired by this relational framework and used it to facilitate the different phases of the research project (initial reflections, planning, action, reflection/data analysis, and representation) (Kemmis et al., 2014). Table 5 outlines the five phases of this research project with the corresponding roles and responsibilities of each stakeholder involved. Following, I provide more details for each of the phases

Table 5. *Overview of Research Phases and Role/Responsibilities of all Stakeholders*

Research Phase:	Timeline of phase:	Role/Responsibilities of Researcher:	Role/Responsibilities of FF Research Team Members:	Role/Responsibilities of FF Participants:
One: Initial Reflections	September 15th-22nd, 2021	Initial meeting(s): Dissemination the initial statement document (Appendix E) to PAR team. Discussion of initial statements; Creation of a collaborative initial statement (e.g., what did we, as the research team, hope to gain from the research project?)	Initial meeting(s): Review, and reflect on, the initial statement (Appendix E); Attended meetings with PAR team and contributed to creation of collaborative initial statement (i.e., what did we hope to gain from the research project?)	N/A
Two: Planning	October 12th -22nd, 2021	Planning meeting(s): Dissemination of the plan for change document (Appendix F) to PAR team; Discussion of a plan of action; Creation of a collaborative plan of action; Confirmation of detailed focus group plans (see Appendix G)	Planning meeting(s): Review, and reflect on, the plan for change document (Appendix F); Attended meetings with PAR team and contributed to creation of collaborative plan of action; Recruitment of participants for study (via word-of-mouth)	N/A
Three: Action	October 28th to Aug 1st, 2022	Attended all focus-groups; Facilitation of audio-recorded focus groups (see Appendix G for weekly focus group agendas); Organized and conduct individual interviews with participants (see Appendix H for semi-structured interviews	Attended most focus groups; Actively involved in the facilitation of the audio-recorded focus groups (see Appendix G for weekly focus group agendas).	Attended and participated in weekly focus-group sessions; Participated in individual interview with researcher.

Four: Reflection/Data Analysis	January 1st to August 30th, 2022	Reflection meeting(s) (see Appendix K for reflection phase prompts): Analyzed data and presented preliminary findings (e.g., emerging themes) to PAR team to provide insights and feedback into the analysis of the data (see Appendix I for executive summary of research findings); Attempted to engage with participants in member checking processes; Discussion of avenues for representation; Write up data analysis	Reflection meeting(s): Attended reflection meeting with PAR team and contributed to reflections; Reviewed preliminary findings (e.g., emergent themes) and provided feedback; Provided insights into representation	Reflection meeting(s): Opportunity to attend and engage in member-checking processes with researcher (preliminary findings of data).
Five: Representation and Dissemination	January 1st to August 30th, 2022	Wrap-up meeting(s): Organized meeting(s) to discuss data representation and dissemination; Presented data analysis and write up to all stakeholders; Discussed further avenues for representation; Discussed avenues for dissemination of research; Created a collaborative plan of action for disseminating research.	Wrap-up meeting(s): Attended wrap-up meeting(s); Reviewed data analysis write-up; Provided insights into further representation; Provided insights into dissemination of the research (i.e., what do FF stakeholders need for representing and disseminating the research?)	Wrap-up meeting(s): Opportunity to attend and provide insights into representations and dissemination of research.

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

Phase One: The Initial Reflections

During the first phase of this research project, I met with Roger and Rebecca on numerous occasions (between September 15th and 22nd, 2021) at FF to discuss our individual and collective intentions for this research project. We began to plan out how we could collaboratively facilitate this project. Using the initial statement (see Appendix E: The initial statement) as inspiration, I guided our conversations to include a critical examination of current practices, understandings, relations, and surrounding conditions/structures that are important to consider for this project (Kemmis et al., 2014). During these conversations, we shared our individual and shared concerns, what we hoped to jointly achieve through this process, identified who was going to be involved, and generated initial ideas for action (Kemmis et al., 2014). At this time, we also acknowledged the risks and harms that may arise while conducting a research project with human participants. We identified the following possible risks and harms: (e.g., bodily contact, muscle strain), psychological/emotional (e.g., feeling demeaned, distressed, embarrassed, worried, upset, loss of confidence, regret, disruption), and/or social (e.g., loss of status, privacy, reputation, control of self). As a PAR team it was our responsibility to ensure we were limiting the harm/risk for all individuals involved and identify a plan of action for dealing with any harms/risks that may arise (e.g., ensuring there were adequate measures/supports in place for participants who were triggered by the conversations). Additionally, we discussed how we could ensure the privacy and confidentiality of all stakeholders. This included assigning all stakeholders involved and the location of the research project (FF) a pseudonym. It was important to have these conversations at the forefront of the research project to ensure all stakeholders adhere to the privacy and confidentiality of all individuals involved.

Phase Two: Mapping out a Plan

In phase two of this research project we, as a PAR team, collaborated on an action-plan to address the needs and issues of the community in addition to the guiding research questions for this study (October 12th to 22nd, 2021) (Kemmis et al., 2014). Appendix F: Mapping out a plan, was used as a guiding framework to facilitate these conversations with the PAR team by negotiating and defining a plan for action in conjunction with the initial statement (Phase one). During our conversations in the planning phase, we discussed: the shared concern(s), a rationale for specific changes (i.e., individual practices and/or collective architectures), an outline of the social/public sphere (i.e., the roles and responsibilities of each member, and group protocols), an

outline of the initial schedule of activities (i.e., who will be doing what, when, where, and how), a description of how to monitor changes within data collection, a preliminary understanding of how the data would be analyzed, and any possible limitations and/or foreseeable challenges (Kemmis et al., 2014). During these conversations we intentionally acknowledged the values and commitments that inform the practices of UFRs as related to the goals of the larger research project (such as equity, sustainability, empowerment, education, collaborative learning, and/or respect) (Kemmis et al., 2014).

In collaboration with the PAR team, we decided it would be most meaningful for participants to participate in five (out of a possible ten) audio-recorded focus groups on a weekly basis that were centered around specific topics to probe participants to share their lived experiences of identifying and performing as a UFR. As a PAR team, we offered two different options for focus group session days/times per week (Thursdays at 5:00 pm, Fridays at 1:00 pm) for participants to attend to accommodate their changing shift work schedules. The focus groups were held at FF, a communal location that was central and accessible to all participants.

Phase Three: Facilitation of Plan

The action phase of this research was an enactment of the collective plan created by the PAR team (Phase two). Table 6 outlines the 10 audio-recorded focus groups (approx.1.5 to 2 hrs in length) that occurred weekly over the course of five-weeks (from October 25th to November 22, 2021). The table also includes the main topic and types of questions asked in relation to the guiding research questions.

Table 6. *Focus Groups Topics/Schedule*

Focus group:	Date(s):	Attendance:	Topic:	Data collection method(s):	Types of Questions asked:	Connection to research questions:
Focus group #1a/b	Thursday October 28, 2021 @ 5:00pm. Friday October 29, 2021 @ 1:00pm	Jaylyn Joey Courtney Nicole Jaylyn Rebecca Roger Bruce Tyler Jack	Introduction: Tell me your story	Focus group (audio recorded)	1. Tell me your story a. What inspired/motivated you to become a UFRs? b. How long have you been working as a UFR and in what role? c. What do you hope to gain from this research? What topics do you feel are important to discuss?	Q1, Q2a,b,c, Q3a,b
Focus group #2a/b	Thursday November 4, 2021 @ 5:00pm. Friday November 5, 2021 @ 1:00pm	Jaylyn Joey Olivia Jaylyn Rebecca Roger Jack Matt	Identity: What does it mean to wear a uniform?	Focus group (audio recorded)	1. What does it mean to identify as a UFR? 2. What are you expected to do/be? 3. What does education/training look like for your position? 4. Tell me about the hierarchies of UFR spaces? 5. Tell me about your experience navigating your UFR identity both on and off duty? 6. How does the public perceive your identity as a UFR? 7. Within UFR cultures, how do you make space for different identities?	Q1
Focus group #3a/b	Thursday November 11, 2021	Jaylyn Joey Olivia Nicole	Mental health: What does the body	Focus group (audio recorded)	1. Tell me what mental health means to you 2. What needs to happen in order for you to feel restored and mental well?	Q1, Q2a,b,c,

	@ 5:00pm. Friday November 12, 2021 @ 1:00pm	Jaylyn Rebecca Roger Bruce Tyler Jack	need to feel restored?		3. How do you navigate the stress/trauma of the job? 4. What policies need to be in place to address your mental well-being both on and off duty?	
Focus group #4a/b	Thursday November 18, 2021 @ 5:00pm. Friday November 19, 2021 @ 1:00pm	Jaylyn Joey Tyler Jack ——— Jaylyn Roger Courtney Nicole	Leisure: How do you take up leisure practices?	Focus group (audio recorded)	1. Tell me about what leisure means to you? 2. How do you take up leisure practices? 3. How does leisure serve as a form of care, healing, and restoration? 4. Tell me about your experiences of this space here at FF?	Q2a,b,c
Focus group #5 a/b	Thursday November 23, 2021 @ 5:00pm. Friday November 26, 2021 @ 1:00pm	Jaylyn Joey Roger Bruce ——— Jaylyn Rebecca Matt Tyler Jack	Needed Recommendations and Supports: What recommendations or supports do uniformed bodies need (individually and/or collectively)?	Focus group (audio recorded)	1. What recommendations do you have for needed supports for UFR, both individually and collectively as a culture? 2. How can we better support the wellness of UFRs in light of their duties/experiences? 3. How can we make information and research like this more sustainable? 4. Who does this information need to go to? 5. How can we disseminate this information so that it is accessible?	Q1Q2a,b,c, Q3a,b

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

For each focus group, a plan was created that addresses the 5 W's (who, what, where, when, why, and how). Figure 1. provides an example focus group plan (for all focus group plans see Appendix G: Weekly focus group outlines/plans).

Figure 1. *Sample Focus Group Outline/Plan*

Main theme:	Focus group #1 Introduction and Storytime (Tell me your story—how did you get to where you are today as a UFR)
Date/Time:	Thursday October 28th at 1:00pm, Friday October 29th at 5:00pm
Facilitated by:	Jaylyn, Researcher Roger Co-founder of *FF*
Activities planned:	1. Coffee and Storytime (Audio-recorded; Approximately 1.5 hours) (Guided by Roger and Jaylyn). Participants will gather at FF (circle formation) with refreshments provided.
Type of data being collected:	Audio-recorded focus group
Questions/probes:	2. Tell me about yourself- uniform, number of years, etc. d. What inspired/motivated you to become a UFRs? e. How long have you been working as a UFR and in what role? f. What do you hope to gain from this research? What topics do you feel are important to discuss? g. What are some of the challenges you face on a daily basis while working as a UFR?
Connection to larger research questions being taken up:	(Q1): What do UFR stories say about power relations that are a part of their employment? How does Holt's embodied social capital help to frame an understanding of this culture (language, symbols, norms, and performances)? (Q2): How do uniformed bodies practice care for the body? a. What needs to happen for the body to feel restored? b. How are leisure practices taken up by uniformed bodies? c. Is leisure a form of care to UFRs? (Q3): What recommendations or supports do uniformed bodies need (individually and/or collectively) to support holistic wellness in light of their duties/experiences? a. How can caring for the body be made sustainable? b. To whom and how can this information be disseminated

In addition to the data generated from the focus groups, participants were asked to participate in an audio-recorded semi-structured interviews (Mishler, 1986) inspired by narrative storytelling methods conducted by myself (see Figure 2. and Appendix H: Narrative storytelling

semi-structured interview guide). These interviews occurred after the completion of the focus groups (from November 30th to December 7th, 2021) and offered space for participants to share their thoughts and reflections on an individual basis.

Figure 2. *Narrative Storytelling Method*

Method:	Narrative Storytelling (narrative interviews)
Guided by:	Bruner, 1986; Bury, 2001; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Clandinin & Rosiek, 2019; Ellis & Bochner, 2000; Georgakopoulou, 2015; Naughton, 2014; Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007; Polkinghorne, 1988; Reissman & Speedy, 2007; Squire, 2013; Turner, 2010
Examples in research:	Anderson & Kirkpatrick, 2016; Barkhuizen & Wette, 2008; Boeijinga et al., 2017; Cotterill & Letherby, 2012; Davis & Dwyer, 2017; Etherington & Bridges, 2011; Gubrium, & Holstein, 2009; Huber et al., 2013; Onken et al., 2007; Mattingly, 2007; Lyons, 2007
Main tenets:	• The use of metaphors, visuals, and speech to explore human existence through social and cultural ideologies (Bury, 2001) • The power of story sharing as people story their experiences (past and present) (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990) • Exploring social, cultural, and institutional narratives by which individuals experiences are constituted, shaped, enacted, and expressed (Clandinin & Rusiek, 2006) • Embrace more relational understandings of the role of the "researcher" and the "researched" (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007) • Placing the people being interviewed at the heart of inquiry (Anderson & Kirkpartick, 2016) • Transformation of individual and collective identities by providing meaning to past experiences and framing possibilities of the future (Mattingly, 2007)
Expressions of method (most applicable to current study):	1. Metanarratives: exist at the political and cultural levels serving to cohere shared beliefs and values embedded within dominant constructions of power to maintain order (Naughton, 2014) 2. Collective life narratives: are formed to create a sense of solidary among particular communities (Atkinson et al., 2008; Bruner, 1996). A (re)construction of individual identities and experiences by locating stories within a continuum of collective experiences (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Reissman & Speedy, 2007) 3. Healing narratives (as a form of counter-narratives): views action and experience as a performed narrative that exists within cultural fields (Lyons, 2007). Healing narratives focus specifically on the meaning-making processes and relationship to illness/healing within the context of care (Mattingly, 2007)
Aim:	The aim of narrative storytelling is to use stories to make meaning of the complexities that contour social realities through the telling of personal and vulnerable stories (Bury, 2001; Naughton, 2014).
How it will be taken up in this research project:	The use of narrative storytelling for the current research project will be used to guide the audio-recorded focus groups and individual interviews with participants. The use of narrative interviews is useful for this research project as it approaches story sharing *softly*, meaning that it provides an accessible format for individuals to describe their personal experiences in relation to complex social issues. Narrative storytelling will be used to locate points of tension among stories that reveal more about the institution of uniformed bodies to illicit the small, and fragmented narratives within. For example, I will use narrative storytelling as a way to collect individual and collective stories that speak to the lived experiences of uniformed bodies while engaging in restorative leisure spaces.

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

Table 7 outlines the dates of the individual interviews that occurred with participants. The final PAR team meeting and interview occurred on December 13, 2021. Over the course of the data collection phase, I spent time at FF and had opportunities to ensure communicative spaces remained open for on-going conversations, observations, reflections, and adaptations as needed with all stakeholders.

Table 7. *Schedule of Individual Interviews with Participants*

Pseudonym:	Date/time:	Location:
Rebecca	November 30th, 2021; 1:00pm	FF
Joey	November 30th, 2021; 2:30pm	FF
Jack	December 1st, 2021; 9:30am	FF
Matt	December 1st, 2021; 2:00pm	FF
Bruce	December 3rd, 2021; 11:00am	FF
Tyler	December 6th, 2021; 10:30am	FF
Nicole	December 6th, 2021; 1:00pm	FF
Olivia	December 7th, 2021; 12:00pm	FF
Courtney	*chose not to participate in the individual interview process.	

For the race-focused analysis, I connected with three UFRs (Gill, Bowen, and Melody) who self-identify as Black, Indigenous, or a racialized person. Table 8 provides a timeline for when the racialized UFRs were recruited for this project, the purpose of their contribution, and the individually targeted questions that were asked of each individual.

Table 8. *Race-focused Conversations for Analysis*

Name:	Date of recruitment:	Date/Location of interviews:	Purpose of contribution:	Targeted questions:	Connection to guiding research questions:
Gill	March 11th, 2022	Initial meeting: Tuesday April 5th, 2022 (FF) Interview #1: Tuesday April 26th, 2022 (FF) Interview #2: Monday May 16th, 2022 (FF)	To speak to the role of community-based policing, transcending the symbolism of the uniform, building reciprocal/compassionate relationships with community.	1. Particularly in a time where racial justice is front and center in matters to do with persons in uniform, how, if at all, do you feel these expectations/pressures may be different for you as a POC? 2. What, if any, challenges come along with the symbolism of the uniform when you are working to serve and protect the community?	Q1; Q2a, b, c; Q3a, b
Melody	March 16th, 2022	Interview #1: Wednesday May 4th, 2022 (local coffee shop) Interview #2: Monday May 16th, 2022, local coffee shop)	To speak to the intersection of being BIPOC, female, and uniformed.	1. Tell me about your lived experiences as a BIPOC first responder while working with individuals in the community from different racial backgrounds? 2. How do you navigate your uniformed identity when you are off duty with friends and family? 3. What does it mean to be mentally prepared to perform the expectations/duties of the job?	Q1; Q2a, b, c; Q3a, b
Bowen	April 28th, 2022	Interview #1: August 1st, 2022 (FF)	To speak to the past/present/future role of policing, symbolism of the uniform, and how the institution takes up conversations on diversity.	1. Can you tell me what role you feel police play in serving and protecting the community? 2. Can you tell me your experiences of how the institution of policing has taken up conversation son diversity? How, if at all, are current measures performative and/or tokenistic?	Q1; Q3a, b

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

Interruption. It was during the action phase that I experienced an interruption of this work in relation to processes of capitalism, government-sanctioned power, ableism, white supremacy, and predominantly white institutions (PWIs). To engage with this interruption and to ease the tension I felt around having a lack of diverse racial representation for this research, I engaged in a race-focused analysis of the data collected during this phase. I found Dawney's (2013) approach to using an interruption as a tool for investigating the relationships between affect and subjectivation, and as a means of taking on reflexive critique to be meaningful for this work (Dawney, 2013). Situated within CT, Dawney (2013) described an interruption as enabling "us to position ourselves as critics of the politics of our own bodies, asking questions of the modes of productive power that give rise to bodies that experience historically specific affective responses" (p. 629).

This interruption was in alignment with what Mowatt (2021) describes as a rupture, infused by a necessary critical analysis. In conversation with my supervisor, I came to understand an interruption as a complete stop and a redress towards a new path, rather than (re)construction of the way things are. As Kempf (2020) said, an "interruption to the status quo is not enough, but it matters" (p. 392). This work is not enough to heal the harmful histories and legacies that equity-deserving groups have experienced from unjust justice and care systems, yet it is my hope that it matters to someone who can work towards the little changes that *can* make a difference. I knew that I could not do this work without engaging with this interruption, without disputing the flow of experience, and without calling into question the disruption that is being provoked (Dawney, 2013).

For the race-focused analysis, I was interested in speaking with individuals about their lived experiences of navigating the complexities of wearing a uniform to serve and protect (as governed by the cultural habitus of the governing institution of power) and their intersecting racialized identities. Further, I was interested in hearing their lived experiences, thoughts, and feelings on -oriented movements (i.e., BLM and #defundthepolice) that are becoming increasingly critical of institutions of power by striving for justice and equality. During the interviews with racialized UFRs, I provided them with a copy of an executive summary I put together for member checking purposes to spark conversation (see Appendix I: Executive summary of research findings). Appendix J: race-focused narrative storytelling semi-structured interview guide, was used for these audio-recorded interviews.

Throughout the action phase it was important to remain open to modifying or changing the plan as different circumstances arose throughout on-going dialogue between all stakeholders involved (Kemmis et al., 2014). This means that as a collective PAR team, continued to monitor our plans by discussing what we were observing, the data that was being generated, and what the data was revealing (Kemmis et al., 2014). As a PAR team, we continued to have conversations around how things are going, where things are heading, and any challenges that came up for us. Kemmis et al. (2014) describes this as being a narrative account of what has happened (considering what data has been collected), where data is lacking in terms of understanding the experiences and supports needed for UFRs, and what can be done to reconcile moving forward (see Appendix K: Reflection phase prompts). After completion of the data collection phase, participants were provided with a letter of appreciation and a $50 gift card (see Appendix L: Letter of appreciation).

I also engaged in self-reflexive journaling practices (audio-recorded and written) throughout the research process as a tool to document my personal experiences of engaging with action-based community research and justice-oriented issues (Mosavel et al., 2011). My reflections were used to detail the steps taken and provide an outlet for me to express the feelings and emotions that came up for me (Langley & Brown, 2010). I used these data generating modalities (narrative storytelling, self-reflexive journaling) to gain access to the individual and collective lived experiences told by UFRs and understand how they are shaped by social, cultural, and institutional ideologies (Bach, 2007). In line with the guiding research questions for this project, the methods I chose to engage with facilitated connections to and reflections on the body as being symbolically and literally uniformed.

Phase Four: Reflection and Data Analysis

The self-reflexive analysis of the data collected was deeply interconnected to my own interpretive understandings. During phase four, I analyzed, synthesized, and interpretively drew conclusions from the collected data. I chose to take up an interpretive analysis (IA)[26] (Smith et al., 1999) to carry my theoretical framework (of intersectionality and critical theories of disability) close to me while I reflected on the sayings, doings, and relatings' that were voiced by

[26]Phenomenologically, I took up interpretive analysis through the influences of Heidegger (we as researchers become a part of the research), Merleau-Ponty (interpretation comes from our own perspective/being in the world, and Sartre (we are always in a state of becoming).

all stakeholders involved (Kemmis et al., 2014). In conversation with the PAR team, we discussed possibilities throughout data collection for representation and dissemination of the data, and what we individually and collectively hoped to do with this work (see Appendix K: Reflection phase prompts).

Following the collection of data (Phase three), I listened and transcribed the focus groups and interviews (using the Otter.ai transcription service[27]), (re)read the transcripts multiple times, and began to pull out meaningful connections between my own understandings and the unfolding of the stories shared with me by UFRs. I then organized the interpretive connections I saw in a thematic manner with direct quotes that are attributed to each participant. I began to make sense of the data through theory in a way that reflected the voices of uniformed bodies working as UFRs and my own interpretive understandings. This process offered me space to create richer connections between the knowledge I had acquired about institutions that govern UFRs, mental health (e.g., trauma), and leisure as a practice as care, healing, and restoration, in relation to the lived experiences shared with me by UFRs. In line with critical PAR, I was deeply involved in all aspects of the research process and self-reflexive practices were vital for me as I came to terms with the stories being shared. To highlight my own learning and growth throughout this project, I embedded my own researcher reflections into the findings to show how I was simultaneously (re)thinking and (re)imagining my own personal beliefs and values, and theoretical range.

During the data analysis process, I employed a form of member checking – the process of taking data analysis back to participants for confirmation and/or elaboration (Charmaz, 2006). However, instead of providing the transcripts for participants to "check," I used Harvey's (2015) approach to this process which aims to have participants more deeply involved in the analysis of data. Once I identified the preliminary interpretive themes, I created an executive summary that outlined the main ideas (see Appendix I: Executive summary of research findings). I offered opportunities (on April 7th and 8th, 2022 at FF) to present this executive summary document to the PAR team and participants. Here, I asked stakeholders to share any further reflections, insights, discussions, and feedback that came up for them while engaging with the executive summary[28]. After our conversation, I re-visited the identified interpretive connections and the

[27]https://otter.ai
[28]Roger, Rebecca, and Bruce were the only stakeholders who attended the "member checking" meeting.

data again. This process was useful for me to ensure stakeholders felt the that executive summary was reflective of the experiences they shared (Harvey, 2015).

Ethical Considerations

While mapping out this project, it was important for me to think through the ethical considerations that are bound by academic silos and informed by theoretical perspectives (Pink, 2013). This required attentiveness to the gatekeeping practices of academia, as well as the community of UFRs this research is serving. Across research paradigms the act of judging quality research requires different understandings and criterion (Patton, 2002). This includes discussions of ethical practices, codes, and principles, and issues of consent, anonymity, confidentiality, minimal risk of potential harm, voice, space, authorship, and representation (Pink, 2003). Ethical questioning was an important part of this research and was tended to at each phase of the project. I found Lyons (2007) questions on ethical considerations to be useful, including: "who constructs, warrants, and evaluates knowledge claims, such as causality or valid scientific research? by what authority? with what consequences?" (p. 601). As well as Pinnegar and Daynes (2007) questions on power, including: "power (who owns a story? who can tell it? who can change it?), authority (whose version of a story in convincing? what happens when narratives compete?), and community (what do stories do among us?)" (p. 28). Here, I discuss some ethical considerations that were important to account for throughout this research project.

First, as I approached this work as an "outsider" to FF and the community of UFRs, it was vital to acknowledge my perceived conflict of interest. The perceived conflict of interest here stems from my own passion and interest in creating and maintaining meaningful, reciprocal, and relational relationships with all stakeholders involved. Second, I attended to tensions of power, voice, identity, authority, and subjectivity to ensure I was reflecting on and representing the lived stories and experiences of UFRs in equitable manner (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Josselson, 2007). As a critical researcher taking up PAR, I held an ethical duty to protect the privacy and dignity of the lives and the stories of UFRs that I am representing in this work (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Josselson, 2007). As Rice & Mündel (2019) said, as social researchers, we cannot "fall into the trap of 'urgency' of *needing* to tell stories, rather, we must consider how we can '*become out of step*' with neoliberal academic pressures to make room for vulnerable stories that push back at the damaging metanarratives stitched into the politics of identity" [*emphasis in original*] (Rice & Mündel, 2019, p. 138). This speaks to the importance of

differentiating between 'stories *in* theory' and 'stories *as* theory' (Rice & Mündel, 2018). The former being a theory about what is and is not a story, and the latter drawing on King's (2003) understandings that we are our stories and cannot exist apart from them.

Third, the ethical premises of a critical PAR inspired methodology often collide with academic norms in ways that more traditional research may not (Pain, 2009). With a focus on understanding felt dissatisfactions and exploring lived experiences of stakeholders, PAR is less focused on conventional ethical concerns of validity, reliability, generalizability etc., and more focused on improving social practices and cultural structures and creating positive change (Kemmis et al., 2014). This process required that I pay close attention to my own personal philosophies (i.e., values and morals), as "our morals must then be to find ways of enacting these values in our practice as researchers, educators, community members, and social activists" (Brydon-Miller, 2008, p. 200). Therefore, throughout the research process, I tried to remain vulnerable, open, and critical of my own self-interests as well as the self-interests of all stakeholders involved (Kemmis, 2012). Finally, the intersection between ethical principles and the shared value of PAR requires that researchers: have respect for all persons, protect the autonomy of all persons, advocate for individuals to be involved in collaborative processes, and be attentive to the individual practices in relation to collective responses (Brydon-Miller, 2008).

Study Context in Uncertain Times. Adhering to current restrictions, this project upheld the guidelines of public health (e.g., physical distance, protective equipment) to ensure the safety of all participants. I submitted and received approval on a COVID-19 safety plan to ensure the health and safety of all participants. As part of the COVID-19 research protocols, participants were asked to sign a waiver before each focus-group stating they were feeling okay to proceed with the focus-group. As the protocols shifted and changed in light of the on-going pandemic, as a research team, it was important for us to remain flexible and open to adaptation as needed to adhere to all guidelines put forth by public health (See Appendix M: Information on COVID-19 in-person research protocols).

Researcher Positionality/Care

Aligning myself within social justice agendas meant that I needed to vigorously, critically, sensitively, and ethically reflect on this work to encompass complex human relations (with communities, academic institutions, governing agencies, and funding sources) (Brydon-Miller, 2008). As a researcher, it was not only important to articulate my theoretical perspective, but to

also consider my own positionality and multiple social identities to understand how they intersect and create explicit/implicit biases (Hays & Singh, 2011). This process required me to partake in on-going reflexive examinations of my own webs of influence and self-interests throughout this research study (Wicks et al., 2008).

As with many qualitative research projects the topics researchers choose to engage in are often highly publicized, political, and oriented towards social justice issues. As a junior researcher and scholar, I have often found it difficult to find my voice in a complex world full of people speaking louder than myself. When I entered graduate school, I became aware of how limiting my ways of thinking were. I also became aware of the privileges I have been imbued with to have the opportunity to access higher education. Growing up in a rural area, I was not exposed to a lot of racial diversity, or diversity in how I was taught to think about the world. I look back now and recognize that I grew up wearing blinders to deeper socio-cultural and political narratives. My interest in holistic wellness care stems from my own personal experiences as well as the practices I have been afforded through my work in the field of therapeutic recreation. These experiences were eye-opening for me as I began to see the world in a different way with a perspective of criticality. I began to recognize the faults and violences of systems and institutions of power, and the ways in which they continue to oppress, marginalize, and stigmatize equity-deserving folx. As a result, it became clear to me that there are voices and stories that are missing from the dominant meta-narratives. My interest in exploring leisure stems from my own experience of engaging in leisure as a source of energy through feelings of joy, happiness, and fulfillment. I have always turned to leisure in my own life as a space to care for myself, to heal my wounds, and to restore my energy. Yet, I failed to realize the ways in which spaces of leisure are often inaccessible, unsafe, and not afforded to many folx. This dissertation therefore serves as a labour of care for me, as I choose to embark on complex conversations in a space that I have been afforded to think, be, learn, and grow as a scholar, researcher, care partner, and human being. It is my hope that through this work I can care for myself along with others who are walking beside me on this journey.

Phase Five: Representation

As a researcher embarking on a PAR inspired methodology, it was important to consider representation in all phases of the data collection process. I found the questions of representation by Cahill (2007) to be useful, including: How will the representation live and survive outside the

PAR process? How do we understand the fragility of new knowledge repertoires (i.e., are new knowing's embedded within the material and social spaces)? How do new knowing's or ways of existing exist outside of the carefully managed arenas? I also agree with Atkinson and colleagues (2008) ideas of PAR representations speaking directly to the dilemmas and opportunities afforded within the research process by not only questioning what this work seeks to accomplish, but more importantly, *who* this research is being accomplished for.

After numerous conversations with my supervisor, Kimberly, we thought through the main interpretive understandings that were emerging and discussed how to represent them in a way that is meaningful for both academic and community audiences. I was inspired by previous creative representations done by leisure scholars Dupuis (2016), Berbary (2011), Flanagan (2014, 2022), and Fortune and McKeown (2016) to represent the findings of this research in a way that could be mobilised beyond the pages of this dissertation. In representation, it was important to directly include the stakeholders involved in this project to collectively decide how findings can be disseminated, who they need to be disseminated to, and the purposes this work aims to serve (Kemmis et al., 2014). In conversation with the PAR team, we thought it would be meaningful to present the findings of this research through a narrative script (inspired by a documentary) with the intent of holding space for the voices of UFRs to speak for themselves, verbatim (Chapter 4).

Rather than present a traditional academic presentation of findings and discussion, in Chapter 4, I offer readers with an interactive script to engage with. To create this script, I pulled together direct quotes from the audio-recorded focus groups and individual interviews that informed the interpretive connections I made throughout data analysis (Phase four). I then took creative authorship over the verbatim quotes shared by participants and began re-arranging the quotes in a way that flowed conversation-like. I chose to integrate myself, and my personal researcher reflections, in the script to showcase my own musings on the experiences and reflections being shared with me by UFRs. The narrative script is broken into four separate acts of writing with each act tells its own story and yet remaining deeply intertwined within the unfolding of the broader narrative being told. Throughout the script, meaningful connections that were made have been hyperlinked to the sections of the interpretive analysis (Chapter 5 & 6). The hyperlinks act as the connective tissue between the stories shared with me by UFRs and my own theoretical range and interpretive analysis of the data.

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

This work aimed to continue the conversations taken up in this document by engaging with UFRs to co-create paths that not only weave academic silos and community spaces together, but that (re)imagine relations for UFRs to advocate for equity, justice, and inclusion. It is my hope that this work illuminates the complexities of human experiences, exposes the failures (and complacency) in our systems, and makes intentional space for restoration. To do so, the narrative (documentary inspired) script created for this work highlights the findings in a way that is accessible to the audiences it is intended to serve (i.e., institutional policy makers, advocates of well-being, and UFRs) (Fiske, 1992). My intention here was to bridge together academic and non-academic spaces by representing this work in a way that can exist in both worlds (Garcia & Rossitier, 2010).

CHAPTER FOUR: UNRAVELLING THE UNIFORM -- A NARRATIVE SCRIPT

In this chapter, I present a narrative script (inspired by a documentary script) created from the collected data. The script contains four acts (ACT I: Unravelling the Uniform: Threads of Power, Cultural Habitus, Symbolism, and Performativity; ACT II: Interrupting Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs), Capitalism, Ableism, and Power; ACT III: Restoring the Body: Leisure as Resistance, Care, Healing, and Restoration; ACT IV: Re-dressing the Uniform: Needed Recommendations and Supports). Each act presented speaks to different connections made during the interpretive analysis (Smith et al., 1999). To best navigate this script, readers should pay particular attention to the quotes that are underlined as they have been hyperlinked to specific sections in the interpretive analysis (Chapter 5 and 6). I chose to make this script interactive through the hyperlinks provided as a way to demonstrate how I made sense of the lived experiences told by UFRs. I encourage readers to use the revision pane (on the left hand side of the screen click the "review" tab) as they engage with this script. At times that readers feel they need more contextual understanding, make note of the page you are currently on, follow the hyperlink, engage with the interpretive analysis, and then return to the script. While creating this script, it was important for me to honour the verbatim voices of UFRs as they shared there lived experiences. Throughout the script, readers will notice [square brackets] around some of the words/dialogue. This signals the spaces where I added to the dialogue in efforts to make the script flow conversation-like. Table 9 provides an outline for the narrative (documentary inspired) script followed by a brief description of cast members representing participants in this study. For readers quick reference, they can find the research questions for this study on pages 20 and 57 of this document.

Table 9. *Narrative Script Act/Scene Guide*

Act #:	Scene #:	Main theme/ideas:	Connection to guiding research questions:
I	I	What do UFRs have to say about the power relations that make up their employment?	Q1
	II	What does the uniform symbolize to the public and what impact does that have on UFRs?	Q1
	III	How are UFRs trained and expected to perform?	Q1
	IV	How are conversations on mental/emotional well-being taken up by UFRs/institutions that govern UFRs?	Q1
	V	How are UFRs impacted by the trauma they endure/embody?	Q1
	VI	In what ways do UFRs come to identify as the uniform?	Q1
		ACT I: Researchers Reflection	Q1
INTERRUPTION [of processes of capitalism, ableism, and government-sanctioned power]			
II	I	What harms, violences, and systemic oppressions have been perpetuated by government-sanctioned power, order, and control?	Q1; 2a; 3a
	II	What does it feel like to navigate the intersection between identifying as racialized person and a UFR?	Q1, 2a; 3a
	III	In what ways do PWIs (such as the institutions that govern UFRs) impact the ability of UFRs to serve and protect the public?	Q1, 2a; 3a
	IV	In what ways, if any, does the institution that governs UFRs forward agendas of social justice and equity?	Q1, 2a; 3a
	V	What would it mean for UFRs to help in facilitating community-based healing with the public?	Q3a
		ACT II, Interruption: Researcher's reflection	Q1; 2a; 3a
III	I	What does it mean for UFRs to feel restored?	Q2a
	II	What supports do UFRs need to feel restored?	Q2a; Q3a,b
	III	How is leisure taken up by UFRs? How can leisure become a practice of care, a means for healing, and a site of restoration?	Q2b,c
		ACT III: Researcher's reflection	Q2a,b; 3a
IV	I	What recommendations/supports do UFRs need to happen internally, within the institution?	Q3a,b
	II	What recommendations/supports do UFRs need to happen externally, beyond the institution?	Q3a,b
		ACT IV: Researcher's reflection	Q1, Q2a,b,c, Q3

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

The cast

- **Roger,** age 60, White, is the owner and founder of FF[29]. Roger is a retired a paramedic. He served for 30 years as a Frontline Paramedic with the last 18 years of his career as a Critical Care Flight Paramedic. Roger was diagnosed with PTSD due to responding to cumulative traumatic calls and decided to step down from the frontlines. In 2018, Roger opened FF.
- **Bruce** (he/him), age 40, White, is a police officer and has served for 16 years.
- **Courtney** (she/her), age 22, White, is a paramedic and has served for 1.5 years.
- **Matt,** age 24, White, is a correctional officer and has served for 1 year.
- **Jack,** age 44, White, is a police officer and has served for 20 years.
- **Tyler** (he/him), age 28, is a police officer and has served for 1.5 years.
- **Olivia** (she/her), age 42, Asian (Korean), is a paramedic and has served for 16 years.
- **Joey (**he/him), age 22, White, is a Paramedic and has served for 2 years.
- **Nicole,** age 43, White, is a police officer and has served for 19 years.
- **Gill** (he/him), age 41, South Asian (Punjabi), is a police officer and has served for 11 years.
- **Melody** (she/her), age 35, Chinese, is a paramedic and has served for 11 years.
- **Bowen** (he/him), age 36, Chinese, is a police officer and has served for 11 years.
- **Jaylyn** (she/her), age 28, White, is a PhD candidate and researcher at the University of Waterloo leading this research project in collaboration with the other research team members.
- **Rebecca** (she/her), age 24, mixed race, is the receptionist at FF. Although Rebecca is not a part of this documentary script, she was an integral member of the PAR research team.
- **Narrator**

[29]FF is the location that this research project was conducted. It is a community-based holistic wellness centre for first responders that I partnered with for this research project. More information on FF can be found on page 57.

ACT I: Unravelling the Uniform: Threads of Power, Cultural Habitus, Symbolism, and Performativity[30]

ACT I, Scene I: What do UFRs have to say about the power relations that are a part of their employment?

[Fade in; Scene opens with a visual of the FF building (perspective of someone walking through the doors); Jaylyn is standing in the entrance of FF near the welcome sign. Dialogue begins]

Narrator: Before we begin can you provide some context of the location of this project?

Jaylyn: This research project occurred in collaboration with FF, a local community-based wellness organization in the Region of Waterloo in Southern Ontario. FF was founded in 2019 as a space built for and by uniformed first responders (UFRs) to support their holistic well-being. At times I use the terminology uniformed bodies rather than UFRs as a way to identify the objectification that systems of oppression have on bodies who are institutionally uniformed to work as UFRs. For this specific project, UFRs included individuals working as police officers, paramedics, and correctional officers. The region of Waterloo is a semi-diverse city with a population size of 535,154 residents (*1 in 5 people self-identifying as a minority (60%); 1 in 4 were immigrants born outside of Canada; and 1 in 8 speaking a language other than English) according to the 2016 consensus[31]. UFRs live and work in the Region of Waterloo to serve roles that are intended to maintain public safety, health, and well-being. FF was founded by a retired paramedic (Roger) who decided to step away from his high stress/pressure job as an Acute Flight Paramedic to attend to his post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) diagnosis. From his experience, Roger saw a gap in mental-health related services for individuals who step into highly labourous positions as UFRs, and thus founded FF.

Narrator: Can you share what this research project is about?

Jaylyn: The main motivation behind pursing this project was to investigate how UFRs navigate power relations that are a part of their employment and become performative actors of the governing institution. More specifically, I wanted to better understand how UFRs address their mental well-being as they step into high stress/traumatic situations while on duty. As I began this research project in partnership with FF, I came to realize how complex this work was as there are years of systematic oppressions and harms that are felt by those who are institutionally uniformed and the public they are intended to serve and protect. Similar to the institution of academia, (mental) health care systems, and welfare systems (among other systems), the institution of power that governs UFRs is maintained by a strategic set of beliefs, rules, and policies that directly impact the bodies who make up the institution. Institutions that govern UFRs are hierarchically fashioned to "serve" and "protect" through disciplinary means that often create harmful, violent, traumatic, and/or oppressive effects for both uniformed bodies and the public. And so, the question remains, are UFRs truly 'serving' and 'protecting' the public? Are UFRs themselves being served and protected? And if not, what needs to happen to better serve and protect both UFRs and the public? This project was informed by three guiding research

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[30]See page 30-40 in this document (Chapter 2) for a discussion of these concepts.

[31]https://www.regionofwaterloo.ca/en/shared-content/resources/Census-Bulletin-Summary-ACCESS.pdf

questions. The first question aimed to better understand what uniformed bodies say about the power relations that are a part of their employment (ACT I &II). The second question explores how uniformed bodies practice care for their body, what needs to happen for the body to feel restored, and how leisure practices may be a form of care (ACT III). The third question addresses the recommendations and supports needed, for and by uniformed bodies, to support their holistic wellness in light of their duties/experiences (ACT IV).

Narrator: A content warning is needed here to ensure the safety of all individuals engaging with this script. Throughout this script, various scenes speak to the trauma shared by uniformed bodies and the public as a direct result of processes of capitalism, government-sanctioned power, and white supremacy. If at any point whole engaging with this script you feel that you are triggered by any of the dialogue, please ensure you do what you need to do to protect yourself.

[Fade out]

[Fade in; Visual begins with a wide-lens view of the room and slowly fades in toward the individuals; Scene transitions to a large studio room at FF; In the middle of the room is a circle of chairs. To the right of the circle of chairs is a long table with a coffee maker and snacks; Jaylyn, Bruce, Tyler, Matt, Jack, Roger, and Nicole are standing around the table enjoying coffee and refreshments; They then begin to walk to the chairs and each take a seat; Dialogue begins]

Jaylyn: I want to start [the conversations] by opening the floor for you all to speak to [the] relations and hierarchies of power that [currently] exist within first responding institutions and how they impact your responsibilities and expectations as a first responder [working on the frontline of the public].

Bruce: [I can start]. When it comes to hierarchies within the institution [between 'upper management' and patrol]…things have always worked a certain way and [upper management has] always gotten away with things…and now that there's certain pushback, there needs to be a paradigm shift for the whole agency…and their reluctant to do that.

Tyler: [Yeah, I agree], typical law enforcement, [all about] power and control.

Matt: [And once you become upper management], once they are in the white shirt area, then they puff out their chest and they walk around flaunting off their seniority and their power.

Bruce: [And that's not going to change because] it takes a while to make certain changes unless it's something that will outwardly get you social points.

Jack: [Yeah because] there's a lot more politics up there, a lot more people to answer to.

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

Roger: [It is not just about the external politics or social points though, upper management is] very disengaged… [they] rely on [us as] the minions below them… [and then as minions we become the] 'yes men' [sic].

Nicole: [Yeah] once you get higher up and the further away you go from the road you start to have the 'me, me, me' mentality.

Matt: [And I would add to that, that] the higher you get, the more disconnected you get from the actualities of [what's happening on the road] and the more narrow minded you are to just keep climbing the ranks.

Roger: [Upper management doesn't] want you to be a thinker.…they just want you to follow the book... [even when you move up the ranks, they aren't impacting anything because it's a continuous hierarchy of rank], the person above them is giving them the direction.

Jaylyn: [And so what impact does that have on you as a UFR being the ones wearing the uniform and serving in the community?]

Bruce: You feel that you can't trust the people that are supposed to be looking out for your best interests [because you can't trust upper management]… We're kind of the pawns at the end of the day…You need someone [in those positions] who legitimately has gone through it, [who] gives a fuck… and can balance the needs of the organization [and us as the representation of the institution] and the needs of the people [who make up the public].

Jack: [I agree, because if you're not in touch with your people or with the public, and you're not willing to see the bigger picture here], I think that is where complacency does come in…because all of a sudden [we, as the individuals who are serving in the community] realize things aren't gonna change.

[Fade out]

End of scene.

ACT I, Scene II: What does the uniform symbolize to the public and what impact does that have for UFRs?

[*Fade in; Visual starts with a wide lens view of the room and slowly fades in towards the individuals; Jaylyn, Bruce, Tyler, Matt, Jack, Nicole, and Roger are sitting in the same circle in the studio room; Dialogue begins]*

Jaylyn: We talked about the relations of power that exist and impact your responsibilities and expectations as a UFR. I am curious to hear more about how the uniform that you wear when you are working with the public becomes a representation of the institution of power that governs the unform. As well, I am curious if anyone can share experiences as to what impact this has on them while they are trying to care, serve, and protect the public as a first responder.

Bruce: [That is an interesting question and something I have thought a lot about] because ultimately when we are in uniform and in the community] [we] are representing 'the man'.

Tyler: [Yeah], as soon as we walk on the scene, people just see police and they already have a have a judgment…before we even start talking.

Bruce: [That makes it really] hard to have honest conversations with people because when [we] wear the uniform, [we're] representative of something institutional, something much bigger than [us].

Matt: [Yeah and that is difficult because the public often] just sees us as the enemy.

Jack: [And when we are dealing with the public, we] have to suffer the wrath of the decisions made above [us by upper management and the institution].

Bruce: [Yeah, so when I am working in the community, I often question myself, thinking], what do I represent to people? How do I break down those barriers?

Jaylyn: [And so when you are in uniform serving in the public, how do you try to transcend the symbolism of the uniform [and] break those barriers?]

Nicole: [For me, as a police officer], every time that I'm out and about whether I'm wearing a uniform or not…I try and stay open to other individuals and whatever their experiences may be, even if they dislike police altogether…They [the public] don't have that trust [with police officers] anymore…which is completely fair, that's their lived experience.

Bruce: [And that can be really difficult sometimes because] a lot of times if people have had systemically negative experiences, it's really hard to then get to that level where "hey, we're human."

Jaylyn: [That's interesting], I think people forget when you put on that uniform that there's still a human under that uniform. It's somebody going through a separation, a breakup, losing a loved one. [You all as first responders] still go through all the usual human life experiences on top of the stress of the job.

Roger: [Yeah and on top of that] the harsh quick reality with that is that with [the uniform] comes a huge sense of responsibility [and that responsibility falls on our shoulders]...We make decisions as police officers, as paramedics, that make huge impacts on people's lives and that's a heavy, heavy, heavy cycle…. decisions that really impact people's lives forever, not just tomorrow, forever.

Bruce: [And to add to that], I think [there is] the social distain that's kind of been added to the ethos [of policing]… that social understanding of like, well, "fuck you, [this is] what you signed up for"…[and so] because [as police officers we] are representing the man, [we] are a part of that [institution].

Jaylyn: And that is a huge responsibility, because when you wear the uniform, you become an immediate symbol of the institution that governs the uniform and with that comes the ideology of what it means to "serve" and "protect."

[For this work, I am taking on a] critical lens [toward] the institutions [of power] that govern the uniform. This requires a naming of the forces of oppression that act on individuals in our community, including who has access and privilege to housing, education, healthcare, etc., and who doesn't. Living in a capitalistic society, we, as a collective, are coerced to take on labourous jobs that directly impact our access or privilege to "live a good life." The broken relationships between UFRs and the public continues to depend on these power disparities for both the uniformed body who is a symbolic representation of the uniform, as well as the public they are meant to serve and protect. These disparities exist in the first place because we, as a society, aren't acknowledging and taking accountability for the ways in which the social systems we are complacent within continue to displace, harm, and limit mobility for some members the public. So, how can we atone for the ways in which the uniform has caused so much social and structural unrest for the public?

[Fade out]

End of scene.

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

ACT I, Scene III: How are UFRs trained and expected to perform?

[Fade in; Visual starts with a wide lens view of the room and slowly fades in towards the individuals; Jaylyn, Roger, Matt, Olivia, Bruce, Joey, Nicole, Jack, Tyler, and Courtney are sitting in the same circle in the studio room; Dialogue begins]

Jaylyn: I am curious if you could share some of your feelings around how it feels to become a walking symbol of the institution, the trained expectations that are assigned to the uniform, and how this impacts your personal well-being.

Joey: [See that is what is difficult because we are trained not to talk about our feelings], the older group [upper management with seniority who have been on the job for a long time]…they never talk about their feelings … [to them], you just do your job and you [go] home.

Bruce: [Yeah and] those old school methods of dealing with the shit that you're seeing isn't working… we're becoming more sensitive, more in tune [with our] feelings now, which is good but we have long ways to go.

Jaylyn: [And so when you say you are "trained not to talk about your feelings," how are trained to think?]

Jack: [We basically] get in trouble for doing what [we've] been trained to do…[when I am on the job, I am constantly wondering] who's gonna find fault in something we've done even though we've done things that we've been trained to do or we've been told to do….it's the damned if you do, damned you don't… you're fucked either way.

Tyler: [Yeah, when it comes to the training, really] nothing can prepare you for what you experience and what you see out there… the real working world is so much different than anything you ever learned.

Jaylyn: [And so what are you expected to be and do when you wear the uniform and are on duty?]

Matt: [We are expected to be perfect]… Perfection is literally like the minimum that you can give and the second you don't [demonstrate] perfection and you slip up you won't live it down until the next person has that moment of weakness…it's a toxic workplace…honestly survival of the fittest [has] never been more suited.

Bruce: And [we are human, and] humans are always going to make mistakes.

Olivia: [Yeah, I would also say that as a paramedic who has served for a long time, I have seen] our scope of practice change…we're expected to do a lot more in the same amount of time.

Roger: [Oh, big time. The], expectation [is that] you're going to [always be there to] save the day.

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

Joey: [Yeah, I agree. As a first responder], you have to essentially be what the public wants you to be…we're almost put on a pedestal…[and the] fact of the matter is, we shouldn't be on that pedestal because we're still the same.

Nicole: [Yeah and I think that speaks to the fact that as first responders] we have this inflated sense of grandeur, or the sense of ego… that we were much more value to the service…. [when the] reality is, you are just a number.

Olivia: [I couldn't agree more], we're just a number…were a body on a truck.

Jack: [I felt that when I went off on leave because] as soon as I left, they just put somebody else in my position on the platoon.

Jaylyn: And so, what impact does that have on you personally, as you wear the uniform, with the intention of serving and protecting the public?

Matt: Your personality changes within the first few months and you become like a negative human being because of the [negativity of the] environment.

Courtney: [Yeah], as first responders we're pretty cynical people. We get very jaded, very cynical [because of everything we are expected to be].

Nicole: [Yeah, and there is] no more thin blue line [as a community of first responders. It has become] more like people get selfish, all about themselves for survival.

Bruce: [I think that is because you] start the career off and you're a certain way and then it turns [into needing to] put on a show [for upper management and for the public]... [You can] check the boxes [of who and what you are expected to be and do but what happens] when you have to check the boxes but at the expense of your authenticity and integrity?

Nicole: [Yeah], it's like a complete fake façade that we take on [as first responders].

Olivia: [It's like we are] robots…[and that is what] is expected, you're supposed to be able to handle anything, we're a different breed of people and like we're not.

Roger: [For me, it got to a point where] I lost my faith in humanity with the job. I truly did. And I got tarnished by everybody…I didn't want anything to do with anybody. I just got angry.

Olivia: [And that is why] at some point, you just can't do this job anymore because if you try [when] you're broken, it just crushes you. [You get into a mindset of] I am going to survive this 12 or 13 hours today, because I have to come back tomorrow and I can't be broken because if I'm broken then I am going to be of no use to anybody else…It's almost like you put a shield over yourself.

Jaylyn: With all this talk of toxicity of the work environment, and what you are expected to be and do, what motivates you to keep doing this job? To keep putting on that uniform?

Tyler: I think we're all here for a certain reason because we're hard working, caring, compassionate people.

Joey: [Despite all the toxicity], we love this job, that's why we're still in it. [Sometimes I will go to] a call and be like, okay, this is why…this is why I'm here.

Matt: [Yeah, I agree. For me], I want to be out there in the community helping.

[Fade out]

End of scene.

ACT I, Scene IV: How are conversations on mental/emotional well-being taken up by UFRs/institutions that govern UFRs?

[Fade in; Visual starts with a wide lens view of the room and slowly fades in towards the individuals; Jaylyn, Roger, Jack, Joey, Bruce, Tyler, Nicole, and Olivia are sitting in the same circle in the studio room; Dialogue begins]

Jaylyn: We have talked about the relations of power and hierarchies that exist, the symbolism of the uniform and what it represents/means for you as UFRs who are trying to care, serve, and protect the community, and the expectations you are trained to perform. I am curious about the impact all of these nuances can have on your mental/emotional health and how, if at all, you feel your mental/emotional health is supported within the institution that governs you as UFRs?

Roger: [The big thing that jumps out for me here is the number of calls we are expected to go to that are highly stressful, and sometimes very traumatic. When I was working on the job], it was like being exposed to a major traumatic event in your life every other day or every third day for 30 years.

Jack: [Yeah, I agree as first responders] we see the worst of the worst, [and] people aren't naturally built to deal with that.

Jaylyn: How do you cope with the exposure to trauma you endure while wearing the uniform?

Joey: [For me, I think] seeing it constantly also normalizes it.

Bruce: [Yeah, I agree, when you walk into a traumatic situation] a lot of it is an involuntary psychological reaction … [your brain is] trying to decipher, "okay, I'm not used to seeing this, this is odd."

Tyler: [And we are not just talking about one call, it's a cumulation of calls you respond to over your career], like how are you going to do that for years and years?

Joey: [Yeah and it is not only about what we are exposed to but I think where] to start having issues [with your mental health is] immediately after the call and if it's not handled appropriately, then those issues are going to continue.

Jaylyn: And so how is the aftermath or traumatic calls managed now? What would it look like for them to be handled "appropriately"?

Jack: [I think it starts with the fact that conversations on mental health and trauma have] been taboo for so many years… [We have talked about it before, but again, we are trained to] keep [our] emotions to [ourself], especially amongst male police officers or frontline workers… you don't show weakness, right?

Roger: [And that is a difficult thing to navigate. I [wish I would] have done more for my mental health. [And I am not using this as an excuse, but] I came from the era that you didn't talk about this stuff.

Jack: I would say the vast majority of people still don't feel safe talking to the service and a lot of it is fear out of…[because they think], "they'll [upper management] take me off the road."

Jaylyn: Which is also very toxic because the institution is then breeding this idea of "show up to do your job even if you are mentally/emotionally unwell," instead of prioritizing what they need to prioritize which is serving and protecting you as UFRs and the public.

Bruce: [Yeah and then for us as police officers] there's always that level of like, "well, if I come out and [say I am] diagnosed [with] PTSD or depression, they're not going to want me to be promoted. They're not going to want me to get into these roles."

Nicole: [And then instead of getting the help we need] when you do come back [to work from being off on stress leave], you're treated with kid gloves.

Jaylyn: And so that fear of being labelled "that person that needs help" perpetuates that mentality of "suck it up," when in reality it should be about your personal survival.

Bruce: [And] I think [that] really causes [a lot of] under reporting [of mental health concerns].

Tyler: [This whole conversation is sad because] the actual duties of the job are hard enough on everybody's mental health and stress and now, going to these calls, knowing you're not supported and you're not liked whether it's from management or the public, like that just deteriorates you.

Jaylyn: And why do you think it is that the institution, and upper management, don't want to take up these conversations to ensure there are appropriate and accessible measures in place to support the mental/emotional well-being of you as first responders?

Bruce: [I think it is because] it's not glamorous to…allocate money to the village of broken toys that have gotten there through years of abuse....It's much easier to put money aside and say, "look at this, like we have this team and we're reaching out to all communities", which is good, however, if you have burnt out people that can't even take care of themselves, how are they going to help other people in need?.

Olivia: [And] it's not that it seems like it's a broken system. It is a broken system.

Jaylyn: Which I think begs the question of how UFRs are being served and protected from the harms of the very institution they are complacent within. If the system is broken, if is not serving and protecting UFRs or the public – who is this labour and performance really for?

[Fade out]

End of scene.

ACT I, Scene V: How are UFRs impacted by the trauma they endure/embody?

[Fade in; Visual starts with a wide lens view of the room and slowly fades in towards the individual; Jaylyn, Jack, Joey, Matt, Bruce, Nicole, Roger, and Olivia are sitting in the same circle in the studio room; Dialogue begins]

Jaylyn: I wondered if we could pick up today where we left off last talking about last time and dig deeper into the direct impact that stress and trauma has on your body as a first responder.

Jack: [Honestly, I just think] there is so much about this job that messes you up.

Nicole: [I think one of the things that messes us up as first responders, is that], you're hyper vigilant 24/7, 365... the only times you are not is when you're sleeping, assuming that you're actually falling asleep... it just becomes part of who you are and you will never turn it off… even when you're retired you still do it because it's just been part of you for the last 30 years.

Bruce: I think the problem becomes, from a police perspective… you develop a certain level of cynicism and you question things that "normal people" don't.

Matt: [Yeah, for me], I can't even frickin go to the grocery store without… doing a 360 and making sure I've watched every single person in my close proximity that they're not acting weird or might be a threat to me [or]… going into a restaurant….I need to see who's coming in and who's coming out… I'm not trying to have anybody who might be coming in [to] shoot up the place. [So], I need to know where my escape routes are [at all times].

Bruce: [And that is] hard for your "average person" to understand, [it is a] cycle… you're [just] constantly hyper vigilant.

Jack: [For me there are], certain calls [that] stick with me…I had these horrible dreams and things that I know had happened and I just picture [my] girls going through [the things I have seen].

Olivia: [Nightmares are a big one for me too], every single day I was having nightmares of babies dying and me being the sole cause of a baby's death … [and now] I'm afraid to go to sleep because I'm having all these nightmares….So now I'm like caffeinating myself to the nines trying to friggin stay awake.

Bruce: [Yeah, you also] start having certain smells [sights, or sounds] that trigger you …like there are certain sounds I cannot unhear.

Roger: [Yeah, I can relate to that. It's bizarre how triggers effect you] like I can't sit in the car with the turn signal on… because I've been in that car so many fucking times [when I was caring for people as a paramedic].

Matt: [Yeah] and if you're seeing [different traumatic things] multiple times a shift, let alone the duration of your career, if you can't disassociate, it's going to eat you alive and you're going to have a very short career because you're going to mentally break down.

Olivia: [Yeah, we don't all have that "one story" that broke us. For me there was multiple incidents and then there was one specific thing], that broke me… I just felt like my career was flashing before my eyes…. I was like, "Holy F, I can't deal with this right now"….it's almost like, my mind went into like hyperdrive… [and now I] have ghosts in the city or the region [that haunt me].

Jaylyn: And so, when you experience those calls while on duty, whether it's a traumatic call or a trigger, what impact does that have on your mental/emotional well-being while at work and also at home?

Bruce: It's not normal [what we go through in a day], and then you get home and you're not patient. You're an asshole with your kids. It doesn't mean that you're an asshole as a person, it means that you you've maxed out your patience.

Matt: [Yeah] because it's the only time and the only space that you have to really like kind of let your emotions go. It's one of the unfortunate parts career.

Jack: [I think when] people bring up PTSD they think you [are] curled up in a ball and you're bad, [your] depressed, right? … but for me personally, I went from like compassion burnout to zero patience.

Roger: [And without understanding the impact PTSD can have], other people go "what the fuck is wrong with you?"

Jaylyn: And so, when you don't feel like other people understand what you're going through and you don't feel that you can openly talk about your feelings whole at work, how do you cope or manage these emotions?

Jack: For me, like I've been through everything…I was sad for years and nobody noticed my sadness until it turned to anger and then I'm the bad guy.

Bruce: I find like it's the post-work where those vices and those things can come to fruition…whether it's drugs, alcohol, sex… you can become self-destructive.

Olivia: I know it's gonna sound really morbid, but we all have a way that we're like, oh, well, you know, "if I was going to kill myself, I would do it this way" and [that is] scary.

Jack: [But stuff like this helps, talking. When I reflect on things, I think] I gave enough of myself to that to the job that looking back now… I put myself in this in this position, with help, but I did it myself and I'd hate to see anybody else go through the shit that I've gone through.

[Fade out]

End of scene.

ACT I, Scene VI: In what ways do UFRs come to identify as the uniform?

[Fade in; Visual starts with a wide lens view of the room and slowly fades in towards the individuals. Jaylyn, Roger, Jack, Bruce, Matt, Jack, and Joey are sitting in the same circle in the studio room; Dialogue begins.]

Jaylyn: I had a conversation with Roger the other day about how the job becomes your identity as a first responder and how difficult it can be to dissociate and so I wanted to hear more about that from all of. Is there anything you wanted to add to that to start the conversation with Roger?

Roger: [I just think] we let the job identify who we are. We give everything to the job [and that's what we were talking about the other day].

Bruce: It's hard to disconnect. It's hard to say, "okay, well, this is my work identity [and] when I'm done, I'm different"... [because in reality], you're always on...a lot of [us, were] police officers first and foremost, and then [we are also] dads and partners and everything else. [As a first responder] you need to have that ability to compartmentalize, do what you have to do [at work], pay the bills, and get home and be there for your family.

Roger: [And that is] a juggling process because you have to be a certain person on the job to do the job….I think where so many of us fail is that we just let that become who we are and then we're that way all the time, we're that way with our buddies, with our family.

Matt: [And that is why] I do a good job of keeping my profession private…I just think for my overall safety and mental health on the outside, not having people really know what I do is in my best interest.

Roger: [I agree] because once people like in your family know that you're a corrections officer, and once they know you're a cop, once they know you're a paramedic, you seem to be almost "on" all the time. That's what that's where it gets exhausting… it's tough to get a break from the job, from being on all the time.

Joey: [Yeah and then] the job just claims you for your entire life.

Bruce: what happens if that [identity of being a first responder] goes away...What else do you have…I hate to feel so negative about it, but that's what the reality is. When I take my uniform off, I feel like 20% stress has just gone away. I leave it at work. I want to get the fuck out of the station…those things [that keep you motivated to do the job that we have discussed already] no longer really make you feel like you want to jump out of bed.

Jack: [It feels like] this job takes [and] takes and really doesn't give you anything besides your pay, your pension, [and] benefits, but it's not worth everything in your life.

[Fade out]

End of scene. End of Act I.

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

Act I: Researcher's Reflection

The symbolic meaning assigned to the uniform (power, order, control) remains deeply held by the body who wears the uniform, even when the physical/material constructs of the uniform are removed. What needs to happen for UFRs to feel restored is subjective, it varies on the needs of the individual body. This requires time and deep intuitive reflection and listening to what UFRs are saying, feeling, thinking in relation to their performances as UFRs.

Roger spoke about trauma as a dissociate disorder that makes it more difficult for people who experience trauma to be fully present, mindful, and aware with themselves, their families, friends, with co-workers, and with civilians while on the job. Many UFRs described not having the energy to show up in their lives outside the uniform and institution. I was taken back by the stories UFRs shared, the embodiment of their traumas and how their traumas stick with them in the sense that they cannot unsee or unhear some things they have experienced. It became clear how the embodiment of trauma forces bodies to dissociate, to feel like they are on autopilot, a shell of a person they thought they were, broken into pieces.

I keep reflecting on the idea of compassion fatigue and the necessity of individuals to find ways to restore their compassion so that they can wear the uniform and serve and protect the public. What would serving and protecting the community look like if it was lead with compassion for all, including the body that wears the uniform? If uniformed bodies were mentally and emotionally well enough to be doing the job of serving and protecting the public. There is this expectation for uniformed bodies that when they wear the uniform, they aren't human anymore, they don't have feelings. Based on these conversations, it seems that the uniform wears the body, rather than the body wearing the uniform.

[Interruption sound plays; Visual on screen goes black]

Narrator: We interrupt your regularly scheduled program to bring you this necessary dialogue on injustices, oppressions, and harms by taking up processes of capitalism, government-sanctioned power, and ableism.

[Fade out.]

End of scene.

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

ACT II: Interrupting Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs), Capitalism, Ableism, and Power[32]

ACT II, Scene I: What harms, violences, and systemic oppressions have been perpetuated by government-sanctioned power, order, and control through the institution that governs UFRs?

[Fade in; Visual starts with a wide lens view of the room and slowly fades in towards the individuals; Jaylyn, Gill, Bruce, and Bowen are sitting in a therapy office setting on comfortable chairs/couches at FF. Dialogue begins.]

Jaylyn: [To start, I am curious how you understand the profession of policing and the role it plays in the community].

Gill: Policing is a domestic peacekeeping force that tries to maintain the peace by enforcing certain laws…that's the function.

Bowen: [Yeah to add to that], if I were to simplify policing right now, it's definitely maintaining status quo and avoiding outbursts, which it shouldn't be… what [I think] it should be…is a two tier policing…there's definitely need in place for old school policing, catching the bad guys doing bad things….and then there's a lot of points to having a community-based policing approach…being leaders in the community.

Bruce: [For example] if you look at policing, traditionally, it's very reactionary… and I think stats will back it up is that it's really the preventative [community-based] measures that are going to probably curb a lot of the things like addiction, crime, just general dysfunction.

Jaylyn: [More recently within the socio-political landscape, we have seen an increase in critical discussions surrounding policing, can you speak to how this has impacted your understanding of the job?]

Gill: [It] feels like [there has been] an overarching ideological shift in society [in relation to policing]… as an institution, we've taken a step back…enforcement was the job when I started, and you didn't let people get away if they had a warrant… now there's a lot of flexibility.

Jaylyn: [It is interesting you mention an ideological shift because] one thing that Bruce and I talked a lot about [is how] the uniform [is a direct] symbolic representation of the institution of power…and so I am curious how the uniform also becomes a symbol of the systemic oppressions, structural racism, harm, and violence that the public has experienced as a result of what the institution of policing has and continues to do.

Gill: I don't think anyone argues that there's a clear history of racism in society, versus just in policing, right?... do you want revenge for the past or do you want to see where we're actually at today and then address issues based on that? … I don't think anyone would deny a history of racism between the Black community and police. … [but] the conversation has been allowed to

[32]See Appendix N on page 266 for a conceptual definition of how these terms are being used.

become entirely emotional without being accuracy based and I think you [need to] have to be accuracy.

Bruce: I think… there's a lot to atone for… there is odious systemic racism [to atone for]… [and I think in order to atone for the harms] there has to be a willingness to have an open honest conversations.

When you look at the most successful societies in history…there needs to be a balanced justice system…those are the things that kind of keep the fabric of society in line… society today has gotten to a point where it's different… and so it's like it's you're operating as a chameleon a lot of times… every call is different and you have to wear different hats and I think policing has become kind of a dumping ground for that.

Bowen: [I agree with that as well because I think that is one of the issues is that], we end up putting our feet in a lot of different situations that are generally… not under any sort of authority, then you get [in trouble] for doing something wrong when you're trying to do something right.

Jaylyn: [So, based on these conversations], where [do you believe are] the gaps in the system, what needs to change, and what how do we go about making those changes?

Gill: [I think it starts by asking] what are we allowed to talk about? …[because] there's clearly a lot of stuff that we've [as a society] made uncomfortable to talk about… [like] if I was a white police officer, [I would] be extremely disappointed that this is how I'm viewed as a tool of a racist institution. I can tell you like they're not like, that's not the function.

Jaylyn: It is interesting you say that because I talked to a couple of white police officers in this group and asked them, what does that feel like [being a white police officer in today's day and age?]? They talked [about]…the first interaction [with public being challenging because they aren't just in battle with] the symbol of the uniform, [they are also] trying [in battle with what their white skin] represents…[I think it speaks to the idea of a] fear mentality… [some people shared their experiences of] second guessing [themselves] because [they are worried] it is going to be misconstrued or taken the wrong way.

Gill: I can relate to that [idea because]… if you have a hiccup in your confidence, the job becomes very hard to do.

Bruce: [To add to what you are saying Jaylyn, I think that we, as community members are] constantly only relegated to certain paths [of how we are told to think], and we're not deviating from that… [so when] you identify with certain opinions…it's hard to deviate from that that lane…. [and I think that] has an effect on everyone's well-being.

[Fade out]

End of scene.

ACT II, Scene II: What does it feel like to navigate the intersection between identifying as racialized person and a UFR?

[Fade in. Visual starts with a wide lens view of the room and slowly fades in towards the individuals; Jaylyn, Gill, Melody, and Bowen are sitting in a therapy office setting on comfortable chairs/couches at FF; Dialogue begins]

Jaylyn: [With our conversations I am curious to hear from you, what systemic] gaps exist based on your experiences [working as UFRs]. More specifically, what are the gaps in the system that you feel like are needing to be addressed specifically [in relation to] social justice and your experience as someone that identifies as BIPOC. [To start], I wonder if you can tell me a bit about what it means to you to navigate your identity as a police officer and as BIPOC?

Gill: [To be honest], I don't like the "BIPOC" thing…because then you're saying that there's white and everything else…it clumps together, there's the baseline, right, and then everything else and all those groups are very different. Everything else is [an] extremely, extremely broad range of cultures and, and appearances and backgrounds and countries of origin.

Jaylyn: Thank you for sharing that [with me because] I think its conversations like this that [I find to] be useful for [my own] learning and education on topics of race… [I am curious to hear about how] you [all] feel your own personal cultural identity and the identity of being a first responder impacts your experiences on the job when wearing the uniform?

Melody: [I think what makes this conversation challenging is that] we [as first responders] just can't do or say what everyone [else does when] we're wearing that uniform…even [when] we're done [work and not wearing the uniform] we are walking billboard, [we] represent the region.

Bowen: I know for me when I started, I was very guarded about [identifying myself as a police officer]. that was kind of part of the training that was received when I was in police college, like you don't know who the bad guys are, you don't know where they are, you don't know who's connected…[the training we do instills in us this idea of] safety first, safety first safety first...[so], as a police officer, I'm more worried about the perception and the opinions of people.

Jaylyn: [It is interesting you say that because] from my conversations [with police officers], there's more like conversations [to be had] around… [the ways in which] marginalized communities [are being] underserved and under protected…one thing [I am interesting in hearing more is how you are] navigating community [relations while] also [being a] representation of [what Bruce described as] 'the man'… what has been your experiences of [navigating these tensions] as a first responder?

Gill: [For me], if I deal with people of a similar background to me there's a degree of comradery depending on the nature of the call.

Melody: [Yeah], I can only speak [from my experiences with the] Asian [community]…a lot of them like they have higher standards, that's why [we] don't have [much representation] in this profession [as paramedics]…[When I respond to calls with Asian people, I find] they look to me over and my partner right off the bat [because they see it as] more [of a] connection...they make

more eye contact with me, smile more…. I'm a very white, Asian, but there's other things that I understand that they're doing that some people might not know.

Gill: [It is interesting because] I feel like [as a minority police officer] one of the benefits is that [they]…can be more frank about their views than a white officer [may] feel comfortable [doing]…[For example, when I was working in schools] I felt like it benefited me being a visible minority [because when] there was like a racially charged incident at the school … the officer I was with would not have been able to say a word, just out of fear of repercussion…[So] my [cultural] background played a role because I was comfortable saying, what I think about the situation right, without fear of repercussion.

Bowen: [I have actually had similar experiences where] I've never felt that the Chinese community was ever against me particularly for being a Chinese person and a police officer. If anything, I would hope that it helped. I know that I've attempted Mandarin, to speak with people who otherwise would have troubles communicating.

Jaylyn: [That is interesting because while doing this work], I've often thought of [how these tensions might be more] prevalent for Black police officers to navigate [this idea that] "I'm a police officer and I value these things", but I also come from [the Black] community that has experienced [very harmful systemic] discrimination and [as a result] has anti-police [anti-institutional rhetoric]…[I would be interesting in understanding how that feels to] be in both communities almost simultaneously.

Gill: Yeah, I imagine [that experience would be] tricky [because] they [Black police officers] probably do face an immediate sense of "how can you do that job and oppressed our community?"

Jaylyn: [Yeah, it is something I hope to learn more about through the connections I am making with this work]…I am curious [then] from your lived experiences, [do you feel you] have experienced racism [as a result of your job]?

Melody: [For me, I don't believe] I have experienced much overt racism on the job.

Bowen: [I would agree], I've never felt discriminated against.

[Fade out]

End of scene.

ACT II, Scene III: In what ways do PWIs (such as the institution that governs UFRs) impact the ability of UFRs to serve and protect the public?

[Fade in; Visual starts with a wide lens view of the room and slowly fades in towards the individuals; Jaylyn, Gill, Melody, and Bowen are sitting in a therapy office setting on comfortable chairs/couches at FF. Dialogue begins.]

Jaylyn: [During previous conversation I have had with UFRs] there was a perceived disconnection between upper management and [UFRs working] on the roads…[Can you speak to how these ideas resonate with you from your own experiences?]

Melody: [Yeah, I think] a lot of them [upper management] they put on that shirt [and they] forget [what it is like to be on road]…[Like you said], its disconnected.

Gill: [I agree with Melody and would add that] there's also a political element to that job more so than like frontline policing….they [upper management are] more concerned with doing right by whatever is popular politically at the time.

Jaylyn: It must be challenging then [for you, as first responders, who become] walking symbols of the institution.

Melody: [Yeah and what I find frustrating is that upper management doesn't] really listen, they just go by [the] data that they collect.

Jaylyn: And the data [that is collected by institutions is often very objective, often it is very] biased or it only tells you one thing [or one side of the story].

Melody: Exactly and there's different angles of looking at [things in relation to first responders].

Jaylyn: [To add to this conversation, the institutions that govern UFRs are] predominantly white [making the institution itself a predominantly white institution]… [I am curious to hear when you are working in the community, wearing the uniform] how [are] your experiences, [as someone who identifies as a POC] different from [your white] counterparts?

Gill: I think [this question is very] specific to the officer and the nature of [the] interaction [or] the way [that officer] carries themselves. [From my experiences working in the community], it's very easy to get past a stigmatized uniform.

Bowen: [Yeah, I was just thinking about] one of the things that we are taught [throughout our training] is [that], "people [the public] don't see you; they see blue."

Gill: [Yeah and I think] you can humanize yourself without a great deal of difficulty because you're interacting with that person, and their experiences with police are based on actual interactions versus ideas in [a] mind…[It is hard to have more relational conversations with the public] when the first thing they see is [the] uniform and [they] have a negative connotation of [the] uniform.

Bowen: [And that is what makes this conversation so difficult is that I think] there's got to be some responsibility held by individuals who do bad things, and whether it is like a result of life

circumstances and or addiction or mental health but like at some point in time, like someone has to take responsibility for their own behaviour. So where do you draw that line?

[Because on the other side of things, I also see that] there's definitely a large amount of people who are engaged in potentially criminal acts that aren't there because they necessarily really want to be…they don't have any other option…[as a police officer] you need to have the ability to enforce rules, but also not to be just punching them because they're already disenfranchised by society.

Jaylyn: [And based on your lived experiences], how does the institution take up these [kind of justice-oriented] conversations [on systemic oppressions and racism?]. Specifically, [as a result of the murder of George Floyd by a police officer in the US that sparked a lot of justice-oriented conversations on police violence].

Gill: [To be honest], I don't think it's discussed as a conversation [within the institution at all]. [I know] we've gotten some emails from our chief, just acknowledging institutional racism or historical racism without any further deeper discussion or [critical] analysis…. I [can't recall] any discussions, like "Okay, this happened in United States. And now we're going to talk about this and how we approach things.".

Melody: [I would also add that I think having more] proactive responses to that [conversation is needed], but we're very reactive service.

[Fade out]

End of scene.

ACT II, Scene IV: In what ways, if any, do the institutions that govern UFRs forward agendas of social justice and equity?

[Fade in; Visual starts with a wide lens view of the room and slowly fades in towards the individuals; Jaylyn, Gill, Melody, and Bowen are sitting in a therapy office setting on comfortable chairs/couches at FF; Dialogue begins.]

Jaylyn: One thing [I am] curious about are the performative [measures that are taken up by the institutions that governs UFRs]. In previous conversations I have had, first responders shared some of the performative aspects of the mental health supports made available to them. I wonder how that mentality may also be drawn across measures of diversity and whether or not you feel the institution is forwarding agendas of diversity and equity in a genuine way.

Bowen: A lot of [policing right now], is trying to maintain status quo…[by] avoiding any sort of public outburst…when [the institution] starts approaching potentially controversial issues, it's almost [like they] try to take a step back to say, "this isn't us."…[they're] trying to backpedal.

Gill: [Yeah for me, when it comes to things about diversity and equity, I think] is there a meaning to it that's genuine... I think [the institution as a whole is] trying to check a box…[and] it is it strikes me as disingenuous. I [can] give you an example... [for a social media campaign via Twitter] they asked an officer of a certain background if they would come and do a photo shoot… And the officer had just frankly asked, "are you asking me to do this because of my background?" And they said "no." And he said, "Okay, I'm gonna pass, I'm not comfortable doing it" and they chose another officer with the exact same background. It was just kind of pathetic.

Bowen: [Yeah, I agree], I've seen the stuff we put out and it's [always] minorities and women who are front and center on covers or videos.

Melody: [I have had similar experiences like] when I got hired, the year after [another Asian paramedic got hired and then the first] brown person got hired, [and upper management] made them do a poster for like the region [that said], "were here to care for you" …They are both great medics I am just saying, [out] of all these new hires… you pick those two [that are not white] and they are [put] on a billboard.

Jaylyn: Yeah, it's [these are all examples of] tokenism.

Gill: [Yeah], it's tokenism…If there's some 12 year old out there who it's meaningful for him to see that, I'm not going to discount that. For me, it's silly, but I don't need it…I don't benefit from it. So, is tokenism all bad? I'm gonna say no because I'm thinking of that kid.

Bowen: [Yeah, I agree], if they needed a Chinese representation or something for a proper purpose, I'd be down for that. But it was just at the time [it was just] a blatantly attempt at being popular.... The concern [for me] was always well, did I get in a position to get my detective position…because of my race?

Melody: [Yeah, I get that and] you can like see it with like, police, ambulance and like fire… like is it because I qualified for the job, or is it because you need to put on a visual front for the media?

Jaylyn: That's a difficult thought… [and I agree with Gill], it's good to have that representation but [I think we need to] make sure the policies and the supports [that are] in place [are actually] doing what they should be doing.... at the end of the day, are they [upper management] actually taking the steps and the measures [to] implement measures that are addressing issues of equity with the public?

[Fade out]

End of scene.

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

ACT II, Scene V: What would it mean for UFRs to help in facilitating community-based healing with the public?

[Fade in; Visual starts with a wide lens view of the room and slowly fades in towards the individuals; Jaylyn, Gill, Olivia, and Bowen are sitting in the same circle.; Dialogue begins]

Jaylyn: [Today, I would like to discuss where to go from here by hearing from all of you speak to your] understandings of what it means to [shift the institution of first responders to be more] focused on community. And specifically, for you Gill and Bowen as police officers what you believe community-based policing is and can do?

Gill: [I can go first] I think [community-based policing is about giving] someone a chance, or an opportunity to prevent entrance into the justice system, that's far less costly for everyone involved…there's people who will benefit from an intervention with police prior to it really being a police matter… [When we engage in proactive community-based measures as police officers] I think [that is] really beneficial… [because I do believe that police offices] want people in the community to find the path of least resistance [as opposed to the] old fashioned greedy officers who they think the job is [just about] arresting people. I think, politically and socially we're moving in that direction.

Bowen: [Yeah, I agree, for me], if someone's upset, or angry or just emotional, [I always try to figure out] what's going on? [I want to] figure out a way to talk to them, to bring them down to a level where we're having a discussion and then let's figure out what the next steps are [together]… [If we can] have a conversation, [and] communicate the better we communicate the better we can solve [the] problem [at hand].

I think because of the movement towards [community based] style of policing, a lot of the fundamental characteristics of policing are now in question and I think that's created a lot of destabilization within policing…because then [there is a question of what are we] supposed to be doing here now? Are we just supposed to be enforcing the law or now or are we social agents?

Jaylyn: [How do you feel the public would respond to you in the uniform with a more community-based approach as opposed to the more traditional, old school mentality of policing?]

Gill: [When I am working with the public, I try to say to people that] I'm here in a capacity of my profession, so why don't we try and change your perspective of our uniform? If it's negative for whatever reason, then pretend that I don't wear it.

I [have] noticed [that]this profession, there seems to be very little attention paid to victims and there's a [larger] focus on offenders rights… with almost no discussion of what they did to somebody else to have an interaction with the justice system in the first place… So, [I think we are in] an interesting era of the police saying, this is the law [but] because of politics we're not going to enforce it and that's a really slippery slope because one day [that] could be your rights where the police are no longer willing to politically help you.

Olivia: [Not to mention] the number of violent crimes has gone up. I see it in my work [as a paramedic].

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

Jaylyn: [It is interesting because as Bowen spoke to previously, there is a large number of individuals in the community who engage in criminal acts not because they inherently want to, but because they do not have any other choice to survive because they're already disenfranchised by society. And so, in relation to that, how do you as a frontline responders of the institution of policing] break down those barriers?

Gill: [I think situations always need to start] contextually, like why am I dealing with them? Is it a situation where they've been the victim of something and they're not cooperative? Is it a situation where they've committed an act, or [are in] jeopardy of being arrested or charged? Or is it just a conversation I'm trying to have so the next time I inevitably deal with them, it goes easier.

Bowen: [Yeah, I think for me] I like [having] a conversation about [these types of] issues, whether it is within policing or society or whatever, and how policing can assist… but [right now] I find that most times it wouldn't be a conversation.

Gill: [And that can be hard because] I feel like police are less well liked by more people [in the public] than when I started…there's [a narrative of] "I hate the police," despite [some people] having never interacted with [us]…[I feel like there are people who are] just waiting for me to make mistake [so that they can] complain…. [and] I didn't feel that way when I started.

Jaylyn: [Yeah and I think that speaks to the] era of racial justice movements [that are] coming to the forefront [of societal discourse]… [I know we have briefly touched on it before, but I am curious] how you feel [justice-oriented] movements [such as BLM and defund the police] are integrated into your job as a first responder.

As well, as Bruce mentioned previously, there are things that need to be atoned for and there are communities that have been not served and protected as they should have been….So [what role or responsibility do you as first responders have in] caring, serving, and protecting marginalized community members in a way that's equitable and more community based?

Gill: [I think these conversations with public need to start with], what is your lived experience that justifies your views, if any… what happened [to you] that this is [your] reality?... [and] I think [that is a difficult thing to talk about because] the current societal messaging of policing is so negative [and I think] that we [as police officers working in the community] have to espouse [that] because… news [and] media generally will focus on the story that is a critical of police because it's more popular.

Olivia: [Yeah and although I am not a police officer, I see that a lot of the public just thinks] "all the cops are corrupt"…[but I think] that's like painting the whole profession with the biggest widest brush. Yes, there are people [police officers] who are bad... But [I don't think that] changes the fact that so many people go into this profession [as a first responder]… wanting to help make our community a better place.

Bowen: [I think] social justice movements [and] BIPOC [focused conversations]… [have] definitely pushed… a lot more [focus on] community oriented policing…. The defund police movement, in all honesty, it depends on who or what the stance is, but my perception of it is I'm not entirely against that idea… okay, defund police and use that money to fund social services, which in my mind is makes a ton of sense…. [because right] now police are doing that job of

social service when we're not generally equipped, or the personnel to do that. So, if we can properly support social workers and everything like that, to prevent issues, 100%, totally for it.

Jaylyn: [For this project], I've [been thinking through what it would mean to] re-dress the uniform... as Gill said, [we need to] reimagine what the uniform means and what it means to community members and how we can make it more kind of useful in the sense of healing those relationships between police [the state] and public… So, [I am curious to hear what you all think is needed in efforts to] heal the relationships between [public] and you as first responders [who are governed by state power].

Gill: [I am not sure I have an answer for this. As police officers], we're civil servants, we're not part of the political process…[so], how do you navigate that? It's difficult...[because] you're in between worlds. You're open to the political criticism, but not so much able to represent yourself politically…you're just doing your job [the way you have been trained to do so].

[I think] we need to get back to a place where people feel like they can have a discussion and say, "Okay, well, why don't we research this? Why don't we look at every incident? Why don't we correlate it with crime rates?" Like collect every stat if that's if you want to racialize every issue that has to do with crime and police then collect every stat and find out if any group has overrepresented in crime? And if so, by how much does that correlate to incarceration charge arrest violence? And that's how you find actual discrepancies…. and I'm not saying you wouldn't find a problem.

[Fade out]

End of scene. End of Act II.

ACT II, Interruption: Researcher's reflection

For me, this work offered me opportunities to write to on my knowing's while I continuously reflect on my growth, my experiences, and my coming to knowing. In these moments, I felt the interruption of this research project deeply. Current activist movements (including #BlackLivesMatter, #Defundthepolice (among many others)) are being critical of powerful institutions, specifically law enforcement services, to be held accountable for acts of force that marginalize, oppress, and cause harm. At the helm of those social justice efforts is a demand for accountability and questioning of "well-to-do" public "services" that enable systemic racism (among other injustices). What came from this interruption is dialogue on government-sanctioned power and white supremacy to not only understand the nature of structural racism and other forms of oppressions and to understand the history of existing racial hierarchies and why it is necessary for white bodies to accept their individual and collective responsibilities in perpetuating white supremacy.

Rather than perpetuating the symbolism of power, order, control, discipline, and punishment, what if uniformed bodies used their power to enact equality, justice, and care for all? What would it mean if all members of the community were able to see the uniform as a real form of service and safety? I think this begins with a necessary acknowledgement of the legacies and histories of policing -- the violence, genocides, displacements, and harms that the uniform has enacted on equity-deserving groups. It requires more education and a deeper awareness so that public services can make better, more informed decisions when it comes to serving the

public. In relation to this work, I needed to ensure I am holding space for conversations on race, equity, diversion, and inclusion as it relates to individuals who identify as a part of the BIPOC community and wear a uniform to serve and protect the public, to identify where the gaps are and where BIPOC, uniformed bodies experiences differ from that of their white counterparts. What would it look like to increase the moral between uniformed bodies and public and work towards community relations built on care, compassion, and dignity for all?

Social justice movements continue to advocate for equity and justice. Change is slowly happening, but there is a lot of change that still needs to happen. 'The way things have been' are not and have never truly served and protected the public. I believe we need a coming together, a space to collaboratively discuss what a balanced and restorative justice system would look like, to move towards community-based healing We all have stake in making our communities safer for all bodies to live, love, and experience the potential of their lives. That is what I hope this work helps to do. My reflections of grappling with white supremacy and systemic oppressions lives in Appendix O.

ACT III: Restoring the Body: Leisure as resistance, care, healing, and restoration

ACT III, Scene I: What does it mean for UFRs to feel restored?

[Fade in; Visual starts with a wide lens view of the room and slowly fades in towards the individuals; Jaylyn, Jack, Nicole, Bruce, Olivia, Tyler, Roger, and Bruce are sitting in the same circle in the studio room; Dialogue begins.]

Jaylyn: We have spent a lot of time discussing the physical and mental/emotional toll it takes on the body to wear the uniform and step into labourous first responding roles in the community. I wondered if you could share how you care for your body on and off duty. What does your body need to feel restored?

Nicole: [I think for us, as first responders, when you are off duty] you just go through the motions [of your life]…the circuits in your brain are not working [like they should because you are so drained]….[you just feel like] you're on auto pilot.

Olivia: [Yeah, I agree, for me, being away from work] gives me a little bit more time to like to decompress…it's like a mental dump, you're just so exhausted that you just do nothing.

Jaylyn: What happens when you are not able to decompress or disconnect?

Olivia: I find when I don't disconnect, I get swept up in the whirlwind and then it's just like, go, go, go, all the time.

Jaylyn: And so, what can you do to feel restored?

Jack: [I think for first responders] your downtime, [and] your time off [duty] at home is just charging your batteries so that when you do get to work you can do it properly and safely.

Tyler: [Yeah because when you are off work] your brain is going at a third of the pace…. if your minds healthy, and you're physically healthy, you're going to be in a high stress situation [and] you're going to be able to [make the] right decision [because] your brain will be clearer.

Olivia: [Yeah because when you are able to slow down], then you're able to deal with the stuff that you need to deal with, instead of your tank always being full.

Roger: [As first responders], it's about being physically strong, but it's also about being mentally strong and figuring out that it's okay to not be okay.

Jaylyn: Would you say that is what motivated you to build this space [FF] for first responders?

Roger: [Well I always say FF] stands on a platform of education and awareness. [For me, after] 18 months of pretty intense therapy…I just made the conscious decision that I could go back to work for two years and get my full pension or [I could] walk away from the job, and I walked

away. I walked away for my own physical and mental health… and the health and well-being of my family because it was having a major impact on my family.

Jaylyn: And what does FF mean to all of you?

Nicole: [This space means a lot to me. I appreciate how] when you walk through the door, there is no rank, we're all the same….it doesn't matter if you're fire, EMS, corrections, police, whatever…When [I] come here [to FF]… [there is a level of] community engagement [that] allows you to let that guard down … you're not constantly doing the check around right like that hyper vigilance that most cops like to do all the time.

Tyler: [Which is important because as first responders] you learn very quick the struggles in these jobs and what some people go through and you hear stories of how people have acted on their mental health.

Nicole: [Yeah and that is what is nice about having spaces like this at FF. When we are here] you can laugh, bring some shitty thing that just happened at work …[or] you [can] express to another member who regardless [of] whether they're an officer or paramedic or fire they have that concept of understanding so you feel not only understood… you feel welcomed and not judged.

Bruce: [I think] just [coming] into this place, you're like, "fuck, there's a place for the shit that I am dealing with"…it's not just me here.

Olivia: [Yeah, in this job, I think] it's just how you deal with it.

Jaylyn: So, what do you think you need to do in order to "deal with it?"

Joey: [I think you need] to accept the waves... it's gonna get better and then it's gonna get worse…that's just kind of the way it is naturally with the job, you're not gonna stay stagnant.

Bruce: [and to add to that, I think we all have to remember that] we are all imperfect people.

[Fade out]

End of scene.

ACT III, Scene II: What supports do UFRs need to feel restored?

[Fade in; Visual starts with a wide lens view of the room and slowly fades in towards the individuals; Jaylyn, Bruce, Jack, Joey, Nicole, Tyler, Roger, and Olivia are sitting in the same circle in the studio room; Dialogue begins]

Jaylyn: I am curious to hear what supports need to be in place, both at work and outside of work, to help you find space and time to restore?

Joey: [I think that can be a bit of a difficult question to answer because] everyone's experience is going to be different, so the support is going to be different.

Roger: [Yeah], we're all different, each of us, that's the beauty of us.

Bruce: [I do think as first responders] it's important to have a couple of good people in your life that you care about that [you] can call… [For me when it came to having supports in my life], it was finding the right…psychological person.

Jack: [I always tell people] it takes a lot more courage to talk about your issues then it does to bury them.

Nicole: [Yeah and it can be really hard for us as first responders to acknowledge that we may need to talk someone or we may need help because] at the end of the day, it comes down to a personal choice and a personal recognition…[from my experience] it's your family and your friends who will notice the differences [in you] first before you do…[So, I think having social supports are so important because] those outlets allow you to remain connected to the rest of humanity.

Bruce: [Yeah that's what happened for me, it was my family who said to me], "I love you but you're making some fucked up decisions. I'm by your side, but you're fucked [and] we need to talk."

Joey: [I also] find that no one else can relate [to] a first responder in that regard other than other first responders.

Jack: [Yeah so being in spaces like this where you are hearing somebody else backup what you're saying it's so positive… [because] at the end of the day, we're all on this journey together.

Tyler: [To offer another point of view, I think , I think as first responders] it's about finding the power to use these resources [that are available. I just think] you still have to have some of your own inner personal strength.

Nicole: [Yeah], we can all go to counselors and support services, but [if] you're not engaged…you're just there because you have to check off on that box, it doesn't work.
Joey: [Yeah, like] I need to tell you what I need.

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

Tyler: [I think too it is really important to] leave work at work. You're allowed to love it when you're there… but [you need to] find the balance [in your life].

Jaylyn: So, when you leave work, and you take off the uniform, what does that feel like?

Nicole: [For me], especially as a sergeant, when I'm at work… there's a certain [level of] professionalism that I have to display…[at the end of the day], I can only control what's within my control [and] I can't control all the other shit that's happening, whether it's internal politics, personality conflicts and/or society in general… [When I take the uniform off], the best way to describe it would be freedom.

Jaylyn: And what does having that "freedom" from the uniform and the job allow you to be and do?

Bruce: [For me, when I am off duty], I look forward to boredom…I just look forward to the simple things like sitting down and reading a book with my kids. Whereas before, I just couldn't appreciate it…[it's those] things that you take for granted.

Joey: [Yeah and that's a hard thing to think about because] the fact of matter is [some people in our position as first responders have] just coped their entire life and they'll just continue to cope.

Tyler: [Yeah and I don't want to "just cope"], I don't want to go home and just think that all my days off are just to rejuvenate for work.

Nicole: [Yeah it has to be about more than just coping], it's that ability to know that when you're…going back to work, or even in your day-to-day life, you're mentally ready for whatever may come at you… if you're not then you at least know [there are] outlets that you [can be] connected to get, [to] you back on that track.

[Fade out]

End of scene.

ACT III, Scene III: How is leisure taken up by UFRs? How can leisure become a practice of care, a means for healing, and a site of restoration?

[Fade in; Visual starts with a wide lens view of the room and slowly fades in towards the individuals; Jaylyn, Nicole, Tyler, Jack, Roger, Olivia, Courtney, and Matt are sitting in the same circle in the studio room; Dialogue begins]

Jaylyn: One thing I am really interested in hearing more about is how you define or take up leisure in your own life as first responders.

Nicole: The best way to describe [leisure] would be freedom in the sense that …whatever it is that you're doing, you enjoy it, it brings you some type of serenity or peace and you want to keep doing it because it makes you feel good.

Jack: [Leisure is] just something that makes you feel better… whether it be physical, mental, or emotional.

Nicole: [I agree, leisure is important because it gives you] that time to recharge [so that] when you go back for whatever amount of shifts, you're working…you're a lot less [and] you have a lot more compassion to either your co-workers, general public, [or] situations that arise [while you are at work].

Olivia: [Yeah, I agree. For me] I need to find stuff that will bring me pieces of joy and rejuvenate [me] so that I can go back into the chaos [of the job] and deal [with it better].

Tyler: [Yeah like] leisure for me is just getting out…it's nice to get away from the house.

Jack: [For me I find when you are doing things you enjoy], you just get lost in it…. You're just completely lost and enjoying the time.

Nicole: [Yeah, I can relate to that idea of getting lost in an activity. I think for me when you calm your mind, for me it happens during yoga], you're so focused internally on your breath that time doesn't really exist. It doesn't happen every single time, but when it does, it's like magic.

Jaylyn: So, when we think of the previous conversations that we have had around what the body needs to feel restored, where and how does leisure fit into this conversation?

Olivia: [Leisure] almost grounds me…. it gives me a sense of purpose [outside of work]…it [gives be space to be] doing other things that aren't work related…, recalibrate your expectations about yourself…finding meaning in your life… doing stuff that doesn't limit [me] anymore.

Nicole: [I think when you do things you enjoy doing in your leisure time] it feels like you've emptied out part of your bucket, you will never empty out your whole bucket, but you've emptied out a little bit of a bucket so that you can take more on.

Courtney: [Yeah, I agree. For me], I'm a big fan of meditating. I find that really helps me… my mind is not on anything. I'm just like, "be free to think"... .and that is a big thing because when

I'm at work I'm constantly thinking…[and] when I get home…I can't turn it off. [So] for me that time to just not be thinking about anything is really important and then I feel relaxed.

Olivia: [Yeah it is like] shutting your brain off from work… [to have] the ability to be able to disconnect from everything and just have that peace and quiet to calm yourself, I think that's a big thing…when I have that sense of disconnect, I'm able to take a step back…I think it gives me a better perspective on what's going on…it allows me to not get so angry at work…it gives me time away and then gives me a fresher perspective and then it restores my patience…it gives me a little bit of time to almost recuperate my brain so that I can deal.

Roger: [I think] it allows us to be able to go back to our jobs and hopefully make healthier [and] more educated decisions while you're on the job.

Matt: [Yeah, when I have time for leisure] I feel like a brand-new person and like I have like a whole new gas tank for my ability to overcome stress.

Bruce: [Yeah, I agree with that, and I also find leisure is about things] like safety, family, meaningful relationships, your self-worth, all those things that brings you value to your life.

Jaylyn: So, I am curious then what types of leisure practices or spaces you find most useful for caring, healing, and restoring your bodies as first responders?

Roger: [For me], I like the whole quiet thing…. go for a walk, just find quiet time.

Matt: [Yeah, I am the same way] when I do have my downtime, I love spending time by myself…. I'm a very regimented human being as it is so I thrive on being alone and when you're alone I feel like you learn the most about yourself …that in [and of] itself is enough to clear your head and make you feel better.

Jaylyn: So, can you tell me what leisure allows you as first responders to be and do?

Roger: [I know we talked about this, but I think having a] healthy balance in your life [is important so that] you're not always the cop, paramedic, [or] firefighter, [it is that identity piece again].

Nicole: [Yeah and to add to that] I think leisure, what it allows me to do is just go back to being a kid again…[and what I mean by that is leisure] allows me to have that freedom once that uniform is not on me to be able to be the me that I remember me to be before I got on the job…[before I] got a new sort of identity implemented onto me based on the profession that I chose to be...we all decide to make this our profession, but that doesn't mean that it has to eat at you until the end.

[Fade out]

End of scene. End of Act III.

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

Act III: Researcher's Reflection

To be aware of what the uniform represents relative to its perceived function in public (a symbol of power, order, and control) also requires an acknowledgment of the harms and violences that have incurred both by and on UFRs. For UFRs, restoring the body means having the capacity to perform again, and again, and again. To restore the body through leisure can be hold space for UFRs to find meaning, purpose, and passion in their lives beyond restoring only for labouring purposes. Restoring the body then becomes what Audre Lorde describes as "an act of political welfare" so that uniformed bodies can return to the chaos of work and model the uniform with dignity, care, and compassion at the core of service, protection, and caring for all members of our community. It is here, that I believe leisure can be positioned as care, healing, and restoration, not only for uniformed bodies who step into first responding roles, but also for the public who is navigating similar difficulties (of coercion, discipline, punishment, over-surveillance). What if leisure became more than an act of restoration for the individual body and instead became a way to care and heal both UFRs and the public?

Based on the conversations I have had with UFRs, I think leisure can be a space to no longer let the uniform wear the body, rather to take off the uniform (materially and symbolically) and nurture the pieces of what is left behind. Leisure can be a space to escape from the stressors of the job and an opportunity to find purpose outside of the uniformed identity that is implemented onto the body. A space to disconnect from the idea of 'this is what I do as a job, this is what I am expected to do' to integrate other parts of your being. To figure out what you value in life. To stay connected with humanity outside of the work especially as you endure trauma and become jaded, cynical, and angry. Leisure can be used to empty out the bucket that you have been holding onto for so long so that you can go back to work and take more on. Leisure can be a space to let go of the multiple beach balls you have been trying to hold under the water and not let slip up for so long. Leisure is more than physical attainments, its paying attention, and showing up for your whole self, your authentic being, your essence. I think just healing yourself to be the best version of yourself wherever you're at. It's healing your body to make sure that when you go to work or when you're with your friends or with your family, that you're present and you're aware.

Something I am trying to think through in this moment is, how do I frame healing and position leisure as a practice of care? Practices of care are often used as reactive rather than preventative (i.e., the medicalization of leisure as therapy). Yet, I can't help but question why we, as humans, need to justify caring for the body for healing and restoration? Why is caring for the body, in and of itself, not enough to just exist without external justification? Does healing the body always need to be healing from something? Do our bodies need to be considered 'broken' in order to heal? and if they do, who defines how broken our bodies need to be in order to heal? Could healing for the body simply be just caring for the body by consciously feeling what is missing or broken or fractured, moving away from perceived selfhood. Would It be fair to assume that all bodies are broken or impartial, or not whole? And if all bodies are broken then aren't all bodies in need of healing?

In relation to UFRs and understanding how trauma manifests and is embodied leads me to think about what it means to heal bodies that are institutionally uniformed. Trauma isn't always a specific situation that has happened, or a cumulation of situations that have happened over time. Trauma can also be positioned as an embodiment of lived experiences of systemic traumas and oppressions felt by racialized folx who have been systemically oppressed and marginalized, as well as uniformed bodies who have been strategically trained to perform the

expectations of the institution. If trauma is embodied systemically and that system is broken, then aren't our bodies inherently broken within that system (i.e., inequalities, inequities, class/race/sex/ability disparities)? And if UFRs become actors of the governing institution are unwell, paradoxically this can directly impact the way they serve and protect or fail to serve and protect the public. Wanting to feel cared for (by self and others) and wanting to heal our wounds I believe is a universal feeling. What works for one body in terms of care, healing, and restoration may not work for other bodies. Rather than letting the uniform wear the body, what would it mean for the body to wear the uniform with compassion and love for all people in the ways it is meant to serve.

ACT IV: Re-dressing the Uniform: Needed Supports and Recommendations

ACT IV, Scene I: What recommendations/supports do UFRs need to happen internally within the institution?

[Fade in; Visual starts with a wide lens view of the room and slowly fades in towards the individuals; Jaylyn, Tyler, Nicole, Matt, Jack, Roger, Joey, and Bruce are sitting in a circle in the studio area; Dialogue begins]

Jaylyn: Based on all the conversations we have had thus far, I wonder if you could share what you think needs to happen internally, within the institution, to maintain the safety and well-being of *all* members of the public, including yourselves as first responders?

Tyler: I think we [uniformed bodies] need to be blunt about it and just say look, this is what people go through on this job [and] if you want to continue to have people who are willing to do this work then you need to start supporting your own… we go through so much on the job… [and] bottom line is that management needs to be on board, [and] needs to be willing to support their people [which I don't think always happens right now].

Nicole: [Yeah and part of that is to] recognize burnout and have resources put in place for individuals, instead of asking them to just keep going.

Matt: [And making] sure that they [upper management] aren't criticizing [us] for reaching out for help and actually providing the help when somebody does come forward.

Jack: [It's hard because there just seems to be such a] lack of compassion from upstairs, which also needs to be addressed…I've had a nice break from policing and it's completely changed my view on policing and how policing should be done, not only with calls on the road, but inner service…[for example], the wellness committee, that's a huge fail on the service. I think having an effective wellness committee [is necessary].

Roger: [Yeah, I agree and I think conversations on mental health] need to start in training. It should made clear to new recruits that they] need to find that person [whoever it is, who can help them take care of their mental health].

Joey: [I couldn't agree more]**,** you really got to you got to hit home [to] people [who] are coming into the career…[because] they wear rose colored glasses and [think] everything is jolly. You have to tell them [that] it's not always going to be that way and that's okay… I think that's what really has got to change…[it needs to be] pre-emptive, because right now everything is reactive.

Bruce: [That is why] I've always said to my new [trainees] meet your psychologist before you start, add that to your tool belt.

Joey: [Yeah I think], shifting that mentality from covering our own ass to actually putting something in place that would help…[I think] if you're able to kind of get this sort of mentality into [training practices], then it helps model and shape your career and working life… because

before you're even in the career it's already there, you don't have to unlearn a mentality that you've learned [like we now have to].

Jack: [And I think the people, like me, who have been on the job for longer and can see the need for change are the ones that need to step up] for the younger guys [sic]… they're new and they haven't experienced a lot of the stresses…[so to be able to] shed some light on what they have coming up in their lives… [it is like] creating another little community that will grow to include [other first responders who] are more open to talking [about mental health stuff].

Roger: [Yeah, I agree because I also think we, as first responders, need to take responsibility here as well]… I think it really comes down to education and awareness [when it comes to mental health]…[we need to] take that action to go "I need to come off the road, I need to go home, I need to take a shift off. I need to go to the gym. I need to go see a counselor." That's got to come from you.

Nicole: [I agree with that], you can make change regardless of what your job is, but it starts with yourself and the things that you have control over.

Jaylyn: [I think these are all great points], especially with everything that's happened in the last two, three years [with the prevalence of justice-oriented movements]…there is a lack of trust in police and public relations right now…[and I think that there is a paradox here because] if you paid more attention to the wellness of first responders then they would be able to be in situations, maybe with a clearer head than they are right now and make a better decisions in that moment. [So, what do you think needs to happen internally to make that happen?]

Bruce: I think to me, it boils down to the most intrinsic form of communication and I think that's [about having] open, honest, intellectually conversations with each other…we need people to be willing to have those hard conversations [and] I think it starts at the top.

Tyler: [And to take that one step farther, I think that] there has to be [that] internal change and then [upper management needs] to present it to the public, because [the public] needs to understand what we're going through…if they understand then they will support and if they support then we [can] have a healthier relationship with the public…[because at the end of the day, upper management's] job [should be about] making sure we understand the lawful way of going about things, as well as taking care of us, so that we can take care of the public.

Nicole: [And I think those conversations need to be] a community-based…[because] you can't build something by yourself, you can, but it's so much better when you have a whole group that buys into that same vision.

Tyler: [Having those conversations with upper management and with the public could be so useful because] we [as first responders] like to talk, we like to share ideas and listen other people and that's what makes us good at serving the community.

Nicole: [I think] if you have everybody's [first responders, upper management, and public's] input then [it can] become productive, because [then] we [can all work toward] the same

goal…[and we as first responders have a unique position to be] able to affect that change…[even if it just] comes down to [changing] your [own] thoughts, [you are] planting [a] small seed, [that can grow into a] giant tree.

[Fade out]

End of scene.

ACT IV, Scene II: What recommendations/supports do UFRs need to happen externally, beyond the institution?

[Fade in; Visual starts with a wide lens view of the room and slowly fades in towards the individuals; Jaylyn, Bruce, Nicole, Jack, Courtney, Roger, and Jack are sitting in a circle in the studio area; Dialogue begins]

Jaylyn: Last time we talked about what needs to happen internally, today, I would like to ask you to share what you think needs to happen externally, outside the institution, to maintain the safety and well-being of *all* members of the public, including you as first responders?

Bruce: [I think in relation to mental health], there's such a need for people [to have] an understanding of [the] post-traumatic stress [most] first responders [experience], and what they're dealing with.

Nicole: [Yeah and advocating for more] community-based approaches that allows for people who are not first responders to understand the complexities of this work and how taxing it is not only on a biological level but psychological as well.

Matt: [I also agree, I think] there needs to be more light shed on this [this topic], so [that] the general public can understand that people in this industry aren't superheroes, they're just regular people taking on a very serious burden.

Jack: [Yeah like having more spaces like FF and being able to] come here and talk to like-minded people and people experiencing the same things.

Jaylyn: [I think the big thing with this space, FF, is] having more education and awareness about the reality of the job, like you said Roger, that there's going to be some bad days, bad shifts…[and this job is] probably going to impact your family life at some point. It's probably going to cause a lot of stress on your marriage if you choose to get married and your relationship with your kids if you choose to have kids, but there are ways that you can cope, [and] these are the resources that are available.

Bruce: I could literally come in here [to FF] and just sit and talk to staff or talk to Roger and it wouldn't matter what it was about, it could just be whatever, and I think that has a huge potential because you're not affiliated with any real agencies. It'd be nice [for the institution to have more] partnerships with those agencies…so if the institution says that they don't have the capacity to deal with [issues of mental health] in house but are willing to help fund [places like this, it would be so valuable].

[That way, more people could] come down here [to FF], come have a couple of workouts in the gym, come do jujitsu or whatever, and maybe while [they are here that can] talk to a therapist…then [you can] leave feel like "fuck, like, there's a lot of cool people out there that have gone through some similar stuff [as me]"… I think [that would help to] normalize [conversations on mental health] and instill a sense of comfort with other people to be vulnerable.

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

Courtney: [Yeah, I agree], I wish I had had the opportunity to be part of this [type of research/conversation] when I first started [working as a paramedic]. I think it'd be so beneficial.

Roger: [Once again], I think if we want anything to change, we can make it happen individually. If we want to change, we can change, we just got to decide that we're going to do it.

Nicole: [And to be honest, I think] moving forward, our society's fucked if we don't change things…. [so I think we all need to] have that open mind [so] that we can learn from each other because you can't change anything if we're all stubborn [about making change].

Joey: I know a lot of the conversations [we have had] seemed very negative in nature, in terms being critical, but I think that's where this needs to begin, is to be like "what's broken? okay now let's address it"… and I would like to be part of that change.

Jaylyn: And that was what I hope this research will help to do, make that change. Some of what I have learned from listening to you all share your lived experiences of the trauma you endure and the expected performances that are assigned to the uniform, and how much that can 'wear' on you as the bodies who step into laborious roles – it is like the uniform wears the body rather than the body wearing the uniform. What I have learned from these last few conversations is that within the institution there is a need for an authentic, genuine level of care and support, rather than performative so that you, as first responders, can go out and provide the same level of authentic, genuine support to the public. So, I guess I wonder what it would mean for the institution that governs you as uniformed bodies to truly 'serve' and 'protect' *all* members of the public by creating 'safer' spaces for all to exist, including all of you who step into first responding roles.

And I don't think there is an easy or quick solution to these tangled, interconnected, and complicated issues. I think that we, as a community, need to come together, to sit in shared vulnerability by holding space that ensures no voice is silenced or left behind. Rather than continue to be polarized and divisive, what would it look like to re-dress the uniform by acknowledging the harms and violences the uniform, and institution of power, has created, specifically for equity-deserving groups, and moving away from the trope of that's "the way things have always been" toward? What would it look like to move toward a more equitable and just future for both you all as first responders who take on the burden of caring, serving, and protecting the community, as well as the public who has been under cared for and underserved systemically by the institution.

I think to do so, we need to be simultaneous inwardly looking (within the institution) and outwardly looking (to the community and public). As my supervisor once said to me, all bodies are in need of restorative justice in our badly fractured systems.

[Fade out]

End of scene. End of Act IV. End of Script.

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

ACT IV: Researcher's reflection

We are need of more compassion for equity-deserving folx in our community who have been harmed by government-sanctioned power that is embodied through the uniform, as well as for uniformed bodies who step into these labourous roles as UFRs. As a community we are in need of mending the fractured relations between upper management and UFRs, as well as the institution (state) and the public. The cynical side of me wonders, is this even possible? Are the broken and fractured relations beyond healing or repair? Has too much harm been done to uniformed bodies and the public? And, if it is not possible to heal from the brokenness, what happens now? In this moment, I have to believe in something bigger than myself. I have to believe that there can be a coming together. I think this coming together is going to require time, deep listening, honesty with ourselves, with others, and with the systems that govern us, collective vulnerability, and advocacy beyond performativity. I believe in this because I believe that *all* members of the public deserve to feel a sense of belonging, community, friendship, and love.

What would it look like to come together to re-dress the uniform, restore the body that wears the uniform, and begin to heal the fractured community relations between uniformed and non-uniformed bodes? What would look like to move toward upswing, justice-oriented movements to heal, restore, and re-dress the harms felt and experienced by both uniformed and non-uniformed bodies? Amidst the current socio-political landscape, a global pandemic and underlying mental health pandemic, the rise of necessary justice-oriented movements toward upswing structural and cultural change, and social unrest, we need more kindness and compassion in our communities. How can we co-create 'safer' spaces to learn from each other through acts of deep listening and sharing? How can we initiate real change, rather than performative change? How do we begin to atone for the harms of structural power and oppression?

This sole dissertation is by no means going to change the brokenness of the systems to which we are all a part of, and complacent within. Here, today, we collectively have fallen flat to the level of our systems. To how we are trained and coerced to exist and be as a products of our surrounding. I believe that we all have stake in doing work to better our communities, to decrease the intergenerational trauma we pass on, and to strive to care, support, serve, and protect all of the members of our communities. The state (inscribed by process of colonialism and capitalism) continues to divide us on a humane level. It continues to normalize greed, hate, depletion, and exhaustion (Sonia Rene Taylor). It is our time, as a collective humanity, to push back. To demand, advocate, and fight for the systemic changes that we can only dream of right now. What would it mean to come together as a community, to exist as we are, to sit in collective vulnerability, and to re-dress the uniform that governs public mobility?

It is my hope that this dissertation can exist as an intentional act of interruption, a demand for healing the caring relations within our communities, and a way to re-imagine a world where *all* members of the public are welcomed with respect, dignity, care, equity, and restorative justice.

CHAPTER FIVE: UN-RAVELLING THE UNIFROM

In this chapter I present the interpretive analysis (Smith et al., 1999) of the data collected (see Table 10 for an analytic framework for the narrative script). Inspired by critical PAR (Kemmis et al., 2014) and thinking through my theoretical range, I use this chapter to showcase the interpretive connections that came up for me as I engaged with the lived experiences shared by UFRs. The first part of this chapter addresses the first guiding research question, connecting to Act I (Unravelling the Uniform: Threads of Power, Cultural Habitus, Symbolism, and Performativity). Throughout this chapter, I reflect on the relations of power that uphold hierarchies of institutional rank (thread one) (Foucault, 1977), the cultural habitus (thread two) (Bourdieu, 1990; Holt, 2008), and the ways in which UFRs perform the expectations and symbolic representations of the uniform (thread three) (Butler, 1990). A necessary interruption on matters of the labouring body, capitalism, government-sanctioned power, ableism, and systemic oppressions is included following the description of the three threads (in relation to ACT II: Interrupting Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs), Supremacy, and Power). By un-ravelling the uniform thread by thread, this chapter makes the case for a needed re-dress (Chapter 6).

Table 10. *Analytic Framework for Narrative Script*

Act/Theme:	Connection to guiding research questions:	Connection to interpretive analysis:
I.I: *What do UFRs have to say about the power relations that make up their employment?*	Q1	Thread 1
I.II: *What does the uniform symbolize to the public and what impact does that have on UFRs?*	Q1	Thread 3
I.III: *How are UFRs trained and expected to perform?*	Q1	Thread 2,3
I.IV: *How are conversations on mental/emotional well-being taken up by UFRs/institutions that govern UFRs?*	Q1	Thread 2
I.V: *In what ways are UFRs impacted by the trauma they endure/embody?*	Q1	Thread 2.3
I.VI: *In what ways do UFRs identify as the uniform?*	Q1	Thread 2,3; Embodying the uniform
II.I: *What harms, violences, and systemic oppressions have been perpetuated by government-sanctioned power, order, and control?*	Q1; 2a; 3a	Grappling with the toll of capitalism; Grappling with white supremacy and systemic oppressions
II.II: *What does it feel like to navigate the intersection between identifying as a racialized person and a UFR?*	Q1, 2a; 3a	Grappling with white supremacy and systemic oppressions (see Appendix O)
II.III: *In what ways do PWIs (such as uniformed institutions) impact the ability of UFRs to serve and protect the public?*	Q1, 2a; 3a	Grappling with white supremacy and systemic oppressions (see Appendix O)
II.IV*: In what ways, if any, does the institution that governs the UFRs forward agendas of social justice and equity?*	Q1, 2a; 3a	Grappling with white supremacy and systemic oppressions (see Appendix O)
II.V: *What would it mean for UFRs to help in facilitating community-based healing with the public?*	Q3a	Grappling with the toll of capitalism; Grappling with white supremacy and systemic oppressions
III.I: *What does it mean for UFRs to feel restored?*	Q2a	Body restoration
III.II: *What supports need to be in place to help UFRs feel restored?*	Q2a; 3a	Body restoration
III.III: *How is leisure taken up by UFRs? How can leisure become a practice of care, a means for healing, and a site of restoration?*	Q2b,c	Leisure as resistance; Leisure as care, healing, and restoration
IV.I: What recommendations/supports do UFRs need to happen internally, within the institution?	Q3a,b	Re-dressing the uniform
IV.II: What recommendations/supports do UFRs need to happen externally, beyond the institution?	Q3a,b	Re-dressing the uniform

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

Thread One: Relations of Power: Upholding Hierarchies of Institutional Rank

Using Goffman's (1975) conceptualization of a total institution[33], I asked UFRs to reflect on the relations of power (Foucault, 1977) that exist within their respective governing institutions (e.g., Waterloo Regional Police Association; Paramedic Services, Region of Waterloo). During this conversation, I thought about how the lived experiences shared with me by UFRs spoke to who is afforded power and privilege within the governing institution (i.e., upper management or 'white shirts'), and how forces of power are strategically used to maintain the cultural habitus (thread two) (Bourdieu, 1990; Holt, 2008). UFRs described the governing institution as preserving an "old school mentality" (Joey, Jack), that is built on specific legacies, histories, and traditions to maintain habitual beliefs, values, and performances (i.e., the habitus) (Bourdieu, 1990). The idea of "that's the way things have always been done" (Bruce, Jack) is threaded into the Ideology of what the institution that governs UFRs aims to be/do (e.g., 'serving' and 'protecting' for police officers, providing immediate acute care for paramedics, maintaining control and order for correctional officers). And yet, there has been little to no critical questioning of the institutional structures, and the impacts it may have on UFRs and members of the public respectively.

UFRs described performances of power as being enacted through a unilateral, top-down, power-over approach starting at the top of the hierarchical ladder (Foucault, 1977). The relationships that exist within institutions that govern UFRs afford specific uniforms (and bodies) more power and privilege over others – an example of governmentality practices (Foucault, 1977). When I asked UFRs for examples of how this impacts their labour mobility, they expressed feeling fearful of not following the cultural norms that are pressed onto them by those who hold more power (i.e., upper management or 'white shirts') through acts of discipline/punishment (e.g., getting written up, limiting labour mobility, being labelled 'that person' that is incompetent). This speaks to Foucault's (1977) concept of surveillance and how power is used strategically to govern UFRs through disciplinary acts, serving as a mechanism of control. UFRs shared that as a result they often feel a disconnect between themselves and the 'white shirts' they report to. For example, they shared a lack a trust they felt with upper management, feeling like they "don't have our backs" (Nicole, Jack). They also shared a lack of

[33]a closed social system organized around norms, rules, and belief systems that are determined and enforced by authoritative hierarchies (Goffman, 1975).

accountability they felt from upper management due to not having consistency in leadership approaches (Joey, Bruce). Regimes of discipline, punishment, and control are maintained by the governing institution and is perpetuated by UFRs who step into these roles (Martin, 2018). As such, there are differing systemic expectations/pressures assigned to the different coloured uniforms (e.g., 'white shirts' versus blue patrol uniforms).

Within the institution that governs UFRs, a hierarchical system maintains the differing levels of rank to which UFRs discussed having the least amount of power and persuasion to enact change. In conversation, we reflected on how creating structural change requires vertical mobility up the bureaucratic ladder. Such institutional politics create a culture by which UFRs become power-hungry to advance their careers. As a result, UFRs can easily fall into a trap of complacency within the governing institution – the idea of rationality and self-governance (Foucault, 1977). UFRs described this trap of complacency as living through egotistical approaches (e.g., I am invincible), by both upper management and UFRs, which can have negative impacts on their bodies both professionally and personally. For example, they described a self-preservation mentality (i.e., a 'me, me, me' approach (Joey, Olivia)) that exists and often destructively influences team comradery. This trap of complacency also maintains the "old school mentality" (Joey, Jack) to ensure only certain UFRs are afforded the mobility to move up the rank to gain power and privilege.

When discussing what privileges are afforded to those in positions of power, UFRs expressed that upper management is often more focused externally on the political job, rather than also looking inward towards the UFRs that make up the institution. Some UFRs voiced a level of respect they felt towards upper management based on the idea that they have "survived" the institution this long (Joey, Olivia). Yet, there was an overwhelming consensus that upper management is often not present, disengaged, and/or unaware of what is happening on the road, including the personal struggles UFRs endure on and off duty (Joey, Bruce, Tyler, Jack, Olivia, Matt). For example, Nicole used the metaphor of "smoke and mirrors" to describe the performative politics of the institution that governs UFRs and how upper management wants to be portrayed in the public eye as caring for UFRs, when in reality, she feels that it is all a façade. Similarly, Bruce depicted the institution that governs UFRs as being focused on gaining "social/community points," rather than being accountable for what it is meant to do/be (i.e., serve and protect).

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

As a collective, UFRs expressed wanting more of an internal focus and compassion for the bodies who perform the expectations of the governing institution. This shift in focus is not meant to take away from the much needed social/community role that UFRs feel is working to create more diverse, inclusive, and safer spaces for the public. Rather, they reflected on wanting a more balanced approach so that they too, feel safe, supported, and cared for by the governing institution. The current section teased out how power is preserved and exercised within institutions that govern UFRs. In the following section, I describe how these premediated power relations are strategically used to maintain the cultural habitus (both for and by UFRs) (thread two).

Thread Two: Uniformed Cultural Habitus

I probed UFRs to share the status-quo beliefs/norms that make up the cultural habitus within the cultural field (in this case, the institution that governs UFRs) (Bourdieu, 1990). Some of the common cultural beliefs/norms brought up by UFRs include:

- Don't be vulnerable, show weakness, or talk about your feelings (until something bad happens, like trauma or suicide), instead, suffer in silence (Joey, Nicole, Roger, Jack, Matt,
- Deny or don't talk about any mental health struggles you are facing (e.g., addiction, trauma, suicidal ideation), a 'suck it up' mentality (Nicole, Bruce, Tyler, Olivia)
- There is no time for rest and/or restoration while on duty, do your job and go home and you can deal with your issues on your own time (Joey, Olivia)
- You are stupid until you can prove otherwise and it is up to you to prove yourself (Joey. Matt)
- You must be in control of every situation you encounter on the job, uphold law and order first and foremost (Bruce, Tyler, Jack, Matt)
- Be resilient, you should be able to handle everything, including the trauma incurred while responding to calls (Joey, Tyler, Olivia)
- Always be a 'yes' person, you cannot say no to taking overtime (Joey, Nicole, Roger).

In conversation we discussed how the cultural beliefs/norms outlined here maintain an egotistical, power-over leadership approach that is perpetuated at every rung of the hierarchical ladder. As such, the privileging of the cultural habitus is further perpetuated and (un)consciously accepted by the uniformed bodies who take up work within the governing institution (Bourdieu, 1990; Holt, 2008).

I asked UFRs to reflect on how training practices/protocols aid in perpetuating some of the toxic aspects of the cultural habitus described above. Current training practices/protocols are

meant to prepare UFRs to perform the expectations of the uniform. Yet, UFRs shared feeling a lack of consistency in the administration of training practices/policies within educational settings (e.g., College programs including Paramedicine and Police Foundations, Ontario Police College, etc.), as well as within governing institutions. For example, Olivia described training practices/policies as being used to inflict fear and intimidation onto new recruits/UFRs, saying we are “killing our young.” UFRs also described a lack of caring/supportive training practices/polices (specifically from upper management), and a lack of action-based, hands-on training practices/policies (i.e., the idea of ‘all talk, no action’ (Joey)). As such, many UFRs felt that current training practices/policies are not adequately preparing them for the reality of what the job entails (Olivia).

Current training practices/policies were depicted as not preparing UFRs physically, mentally, and emotionally to endure the toll it takes on the body to wear the uniform (Matt, Tyler) (Andersen et al., 2015a,b). As an example, police officers expressed not feeling prepared to resolve conflict when a community member is experiencing a mental health crisis (even though they described this as being the majority of police response calls). UFRs therefore described a need for more on-call support (e.g., Centre for Addictions and Mental Health (CAMH) Integrated Mobile Police and Crisis Team (IMPACT)[34]) to assist them as they work to serve and protect members of the public experiencing a mental health crisis. While the responsibility of the institution that governs UFRs should be always evolving alongside socio-political/economic shifts and justice oriented movements (e.g., Black Lives Matter (BLM), #defundthepolice) (Martin, 2018), Roger described that there is “no one way to respond” to the differing situations that they are involved with. As such, we reflected on what it would look like to have more adaptable training practices/policies that respond to varying ideological shifts and human needs, including the needs of UFRs.

UFRs also shared many polarizing cultural scripts/schemas (Bourdieu, 1990) that they are (un)consciously required to navigate on a daily basis. Many of these scripts/schemas were described as toxic, leading to negative tribalism within the governing institution (Maguire, 2014). For example, UFRs shared experiences of feeling judged (i.e., passive bullying), being criticized (e.g., the idea of an ‘armchair quarterback’), being labelled (i.e., based on their ability to ‘do the job right’), and becoming a victim of the rumour mill within what was described as a

[34]https://cmhaww.ca/programs-services/impact-integrated-mobile-police-and-crisis-team/

"high-school mentality" (Nicole, Bruce, Jack). UFRs are trained to internalize and therefore normalize, the negative, toxic, and often harmful narratives that are instilled in them through training tactics (Bourdieu, 1990, Martin, 2018). For example, Olivia shared feeling like UFRs are "nagged until [they] break" through a "shut up and put up" mentality. UFRs also shared feeling alone, isolated, cynical, and/or jaded, feelings that often lead to suicidal ideation (Nicole, Bruce, Olivia) (Andersen et al., 2015a,b).

The privileged cultural habitus (beliefs/norms and scripts/schemas) are then passed on intergenerationally to the next cohort of UFRs. For example, Matt, a corrections officer, shared a situations in which veteran (i.e., a person who had been on the job longer) warned him to "run and escape before it's too late… it's not what you want… it's not a good life…you're in for a lifetime of misery." Similarly, Matt and Tyler reflected on how the idea of a family or a brotherhood/sisterhood (i.e., the idea of the thin blue line[35]) has been taken over by harmful cultural scripts/schemas that are made available to them. The perpetuation of such toxic aspects of the cultural habitus creates a self-fulfilling prophecy in relation to the impact the job has on the body (e.g., quality of life, mental health, challenging relationships with family and friends, higher rates of separation and divorce, etc.). To protect themselves from the harmful aspects of the cultural habitus, UFRs expressed needing to compartmentalize their identities while wearing the uniform in order to manage and survive (Olivia, Nicole) (Butler, 1990).

In addition to being surveilled by upper management, UFRs also described a high level of scrutiny from the public outside the institution, leaving them feeling fearful of "fucking up" (Bruce). While this scare tactic may be useful to ensure UFRs are appropriately responding to the needs of the public, it simultaneously places additional burdens on their shoulders to perform "perfectly" (Matt). UFRs described negative images that are painted onto their uniforms in broad strokes (by public at large, i.e., news/social media) leading to them feel individually scrutinized and mentally/emotionally unsafe (Olivia). For example, Joey described feeling a lack of compassion for the critical role he plays as a paramedic in the community, as the public instills a "you signed up for this" mentality.

Amidst the toxic and harmful aspects of the cultural habitus, it also became evident the sense of loyalty and dedication UFRs collectively held in relation to what the job is meant to do. UFRs shared a common response of wanting to be a leader in the community by making positive

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[35]https://www.thinblueline.ca/pages/about-us

and impacting relationships/connections with the public. They also reflected on wanting to make communities safer by helping members of the public feel safer in their respective spaces. Further, UFRs shared feelings of comradery and teamwork leading to a sense of unity and respect for each other as UFRs, regardless of the specific uniform that person wears (i.e., police uniform, paramedic uniform, corrections officer uniform etc.). Throughout our conversations, we reflected on what it would mean for UFRs to be a part of the public in a more meaningful way, going beyond acts of serving and protecting and aiding in healing relations with the public.

Within the cultural habitus, there is an expectation that UFRs will experience traumatic situations at some point in their careers. As Bruce said in relation to experiencing trauma on the job, "it is not if, it is when." UFRs shared that experiencing trauma on the job is sometimes a single incident, yet, more commonly, it is a cumulation of traumatic experiences that re-occur over the course of their careers. As a group, we intensely sat, shared, and listened to UFRs recalling various experiences of trauma, including stories of violence, death, and harm towards others (most commonly, children). Jack described UFRs as being in a position where they "see the worst of the worst in humanity." Likewise, Nicole described her career as being a "rolodex of traumatic experiences." In conversation, UFRs shared traumatic situations they encountered on the job that they can never unsee (e.g., car accidents, sudden deaths, death of an infant, suicides, etc.), unhear (e.g., violence, screaming, calls for help), or undo (e.g., having to give death notifications to families involved). For example, Olivia described past traumatic calls as becoming 'ghosts in the city' that haunt her on a daily basis. As a result of cumulative exposure to trauma, UFRs are left to cope with the significant impacts it can have on their mental/emotional well-being and overall quality of life.

While reflecting on the mental/emotional impacts of trauma, UFRs expressed that conversations related to mental health care/support continue to be deeply stigmatized and silenced by the privileging of hyper-masculine narratives within the governing institution (Martin, 2018). Similar to previous research done on the mental well-being of first responders outlined in chapter two (c.f., Beshai & Carleton, 2016; Carleton et al., 2018; Faust & Ven, 2014; Fullerton et al., 2006; Haugen et al., 2012; Healthy Minds Strategic Report, 2016; MHCC, 2019; Sareen et al., 2007; Wilson et al., 2016), stigmatizing narratives are conserved by and through status-quo ideologies, which then become internalized. Despite mental health becoming

somewhat of a buzz word in the current era, UFRs shared deeply held stigmatizing narratives that continue to endure within the governing institution including:

- Becoming 'that person' that needs help (e.g., fear of being judged by peers and colleagues, fear of asking for help) (Courtney, Nicole, Roger, Bruce, Jack, Olivia)
- Being treated differently (e.g., being treated with kid gloves, fear of labour mobility hindering promotions/moving up in rank) (Nicole, Roger, Bruce, Jack)
- Being seen as 'weak' and untrustworthy and not being able to handle the job (Bruce, Jack, Olivia, Matt)
- Needing to be resilient and adverse through (i.e., 'get over it and get back on the road'), 'you should be able to handle anything' (Joey, Roger, Bruce, Olivia)
- Needing to 'prove' that you are broken 'enough' and are in need of help (Joey, Olivia)

As a result of these toxic stigmatizing narratives, UFRs often choose to remain silent about the struggles they are facing out of fear.

When I asked UFRs what would happen if they were to ask for help within the governing institution, Joey and Olivia said that it often falls on "flat ears," as upper management is "not willing to listen." On an institutional basis, UFRs described a lack of access to and/or a lack of streamlining of mental health related resources/services that are accessible to them on and off duty. For example, Olivia recounted times in which she needed to go "call after call" with very little, if any, time to debrief, decompress, and rest/restore before the next call. Joey described this perpetual process of going to "call after call" (Olivia) as not offering opportunities to "break the cycle." As a result, UFRs discussed not having the time to complete any additional responsibilities of the job (e.g., paperwork, documentation, etc.), as well as attend to their personal needs (e.g., going the washroom, having lunch/dinner). Instead, UFRs described upper management as taking a performative approach (i.e., a 'checklist' mentality) to mental health, with little to no follow up on what the body beneath the uniform truly needs to feel cared for (Joey, Jack, Olivia). For example, Joey described upper management as only paying attention to the needs of UFRs when "something bad happens" (e.g., someone commits suicide). On a systematic level, UFRs also identified gaps in resources, or adequate use of resources (e.g., number of trucks/vehicles on the road), a lack of staffing and/or retention of staff, a lack of necessary debriefing practices/policies after traumatic response calls/situations, and a disconnection between institutional policies (i.e., how UFRs are trained to think and perform).

As a whole, the institutional and structural practices/policies in relation to mental health were described as performative rather than action-based, reactive rather than proactive,

medicalized rather than holistic, and individual rather than collaborative. This dominant "sink or swim" approach to mental health care/support described here by UFRs (Joey, Nicole, Olivia) offers very little genuine and holistic care/support for uniformed bodies. As Bruce described, UFRs are viewed as village of broken toys that is seen as not worthy to fix. The current section provided a better understanding of the cultural habitus that produces the expectations and symbolic representations of the uniform. Next, I discuss how these expectations and the symbolic representations are caried out through individual and collective performances by UFRs (Bourdieu, 1990, Butler, 1990).

Thread Three: Performing Expectations and Symbolic Representations of the Uniform

Here, I return to the work of Butler (1990) to understand how UFRs are tactically coerced to take on and perform the expectations of the uniform (i.e., the notion of governmentality (Foucault, 1977)) in alignment with the cultural habitus (thread two). UFRs described a high level of responsibility and expectation assigned to their uniforms. In alignment with previous studies that have focused on the conformity of UFR institutional expectations (c.f., Andersen et al., 2015a,b; Bell & Eski, 2015; Crowe et al., 2017; Karraffa & Koch, 2016; Maguire, 2014; Martin, 2018), UFRs shared feeling overwhelmed by the cumulative pressures placed on their shoulders. This was especially pertinent in light of the current uncertain times as we navigate a pandemic, justice-oriented movements, mental health crises, and general social unrest. Some of the common expected collective performances brought forward by UFRs included:

- Don't fuck up (Joey, Bruce, Matt)
- Be able to perform perfectly, make split second decisions leaving no room for mistakes (Joey, Bruce, Jack, Matt)
- Be able to know how to handle every situation you encounter (Courtney, Tyler, Bruce, Olivia, Matt)
- Be professional at all times, don't show feelings and emotions (Joey, Tyler, Jack, Olivia, Matt)
- Be what the public expects you to be and do (the idea of heroism) (Joey, Olivia)
- Put the job and performances of serving and protecting others before your own needs (Roger, Bruce, Jack, Olivia)

The expected collective performances outlined here maintain an inflated sense of grandeur and duty for UFRs to take on (Nicole). For example, Olivia described that as a paramedic, she is often put on a pedestal and viewed as "superhuman," rather than simply human. This narrative of heroism can be extremely harmful for the body beneath the uniform as

they are expected to "always be on" (Bruce)[36]. Bruce described this feeling metaphorically, saying it feels like you are trying to keep multiple beach balls under water at the same time while not letting any slip. UFRs are told to execute these performances with little to no emotional feelings and/or care/support for their personal needs (Tyler, Olivia). As a result, Roger and Bruce described the governing institution as asking and taking a lot from the body, while giving very little in return. The high expectations and pressures to perform in a certain way, produces a lack of compassion and humanity experienced by UFRs. For example, they described feeling dispensable and replaceable, being "just another number" (Nicole), "just another set of boots" (Jack), or "just another body on a truck" (Olivia).

UFRs expressed that in addition to the overwhelming amount of response calls they are dispatched to, the situations they encounter are often highly stressful, sometimes traumatic. Bruce said, "people aren't wired to handle all the stress and expectations of the uniform." As a result, Roger and Matt said that they need to be on "high alert" and "mentally prepared" at all times. To cope with such serious burdens, UFRs described the governing institution as normalizing the use of negative coping mechanisms (e.g., partying, drinking, drug-use, sex, gambling, dark humour, engaging in the negativity of the 'rumour mill' at work, etc.). These coping mechanisms are then internalized by UFRs as a way to desensitize themselves to the things they have seen, heard, and done on the job. This conversation led us to reflect on experiences of compassion fatigue/burnout while performing the expectations of the uniform.

UFRs described compassion fatigue/burnout as being a "burning of the candle on both ends" (Nicole, Olivia) that becomes an inevitable part of their collective expected performances. Compassion fatigue/burnout was described as a cumulation of small burnouts that leads to a

[36]As I thought through the idea of heroism, I was reminded of the work of a colleague of mine, Cargill (2022), who completed an undergraduate thesis on the topic of heroism as an aid in the extraction of care labour for care workers in LTC during the pandemic. While reading her work, I found the narrative of heroism to be similar to that of the stories and experiences shared with me by UFRs. Cargill (2022) uses the work of Saji and colleagues (2021) to describe the connection between superhero labels and care labour. Similarly, these ideas are also useful when discussing the expected heroism of UFRs to "save the day" (Roger) due to "the roles and responsibilities of the superheroes and the virtues characterizing a superhero (i.e., courage, ingenuity, public safety)" (Saji et al., 2021, p. 146). As Cargill (2022) mentions in her thesis, "the overarching pressure to be resilient and tenacious in the face of a persistent crisis wares on individuals" (p. 18). The portrayal of uniformed heroism in movies, literature, and television shows is not synonymous with the reality of what it means to wear the uniform and perform the expectations of the job in relation to public safety. As a result, the narrative of heroism enables the system to conjure the energy needed from labourers (UFRs) to service the system's needs at the expense of their own needs.

bigger burnout that often requires time away from the job if not adequately addressed. For example, the shift work required UFRs adds to the stress of the job as it directly impacts UFRs ability to perform (e.g., lack of sleeping patterns, exerting the body for long hours, being in high alert at all times). Pushing their bodies towards compassion fatigue/burnout becomes an expectation of UFRs, creating a mentality of survival, (i.e., "survival of the fittest"). As Olivia said, there is a need "to survive the day" (Olivia) so they can come back the next day and perform again. This reinforces the idea of needing to "endure the bumpy road" in order to gain respect on their names (Olivia).

The individual performances of UFRs are held together by relations of power to perpetuate the collective performances of the broader governing institution (Butler, 1990; Foucault, 1977). In other words, collective performances are (un)conscious upheld through individual, "robotic" (Nicole) performances as UFRs are trained to accept, and not question, the cultural habitus (thread two). This process creates a servitude of what it means to wear the uniform, and symbolically represent the governing institution (Butler, 1990). In conversation, we discussed the idea that with great power comes great responsibility as the expected performances of UFRs has real, felt impacts on the lives of the public (Roger, Bruce). This led us to a conversation on the material constructs of the uniform as becoming a symbolic representation of government-sanctioned power that is deeply felt by UFRs and the public they aim to serve (Tyler, Jack, Bruce, Roger).

I shared with UFRs my theoretical assumptions and how I have come to conceptualize the body as literally and symbolically uniformed by the institution through the phenomenological work of Merleau-Ponty (1996). Together, we examined how the uniform itself not only represents government-sanctioned power, but it also symbolizes the histories/legacies of the uniform (of power, discipline, order, lawfulness, whiteness). The histories/legacies represented by the uniform (more specifically, police uniforms) have more recently been mainstreamed, reigniting reminders of on-going systematic oppressions and experiences of violence, criminalization, inequity, hate, and harm voiced by equity-deserving communities (particularly for, Black and racialized people, Indigenous, 2SLGBTQ+, Mad/Crip communities, among others). UFRs are public agents that directly represent government-sanctioned acts of power in the eyes of the public (Bruce). As a result, Bruce and Tyler shared that the symbolism of the uniform often makes it difficult to connect with members of the public on a deeper, personal

level as they are viewed through the performances of power enacted by the governing institution. More recently, the symbolic representation of the uniform has translated into feelings of distain, resentment, and fear, aiding the ethos of anti-institution and anti-UFR (specifically, anti-police) social justice movements (Bruce).

I reflected on how the symbolism of the uniform often places blame on the body that wears the uniform, rather than the broader institution of power that perpetuates systemic oppressions and inequities. I also reflected on how individuals who take up racism and other forms of ISMs[37] are enabled the power to enact hate in an official capacity[38]. UFRs expressed feeling that they are on display as actors performing the expectations of the governing institution (Butler, 1990). As a result, they become the first in line to experience the harmful impacts of what the uniform symbolically represents. For example, UFRs shared some of the harm and hate they experience as a uniformed body, such as racial and sexist slurs and actions (e.g., having their butts and boobs grabbed at) (Olivia)) and name calling (e.g., being called a pig (Nicole)). They also described being told they are at fault for things not going right on the job (e.g., the death of a patient for paramedics), and being yelled for not “doing their job properly” (Joey). To incur the harm and hate directed towards the symbolic representations of the uniform, Olivia described needing to “armour themselves.” Similarly, other UFRs shared needing to have measures in place outside the confines of the institution/uniform to keep themselves personally safe (e.g., not having open social media accounts, not having people know where they live, living in a different region than they work, etc.) (Matt, Tyler, Olivia).

In this section, I unpacked the threading of the uniform (relations of power, cultural habitus, performativity, and symbolism), which are strategically stitched together to create the material and perceived realities of the uniform. As UFRs wear the uniform, they (un)consciously take on the different threads, becoming the uniform. Through a critical examination of the threads that make up the uniform, I came to recognize that uniformed bodies who step into

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[37]Racism, sexism, heterosexism, ageism, ableism, etc.

[38]Here, I want to hold space for some of the reflective and thought-provoking conversations that were held during my final dissertation defense presentation. On the onset of this work, I believed that it would be useful to clump all first responder professions together under the umbrella “uniformed first responders” because of the tendency of UFRs to see themselves as part of the same team. In reality, I have learned from this work that members of the community understand the differing UFR professions as having very different responsibilities in community. Specifically, as a result of historical and on-going acts of violence and harm against racialized people at the hands of the institution of policing, there are deep feeling of untrust towards uniformed police officers as compared to other first responder professions.

labourous caring roles are also systematically oppressed by the very institution they serve. I created Table 11 as an overview of the threads that make up the uniform in alignment with my theoretical range to better understand the felt embodiments experienced by UFRs. Before discussing what UFRs need to restore their bodies from the expectations/pressures, high stress/trauma, and performativity of the job, I want to hold some space to engage with an interruption – a halt (Dawney, 2013). This interruption grapples with processes of capitalism, ableism, and systemic oppressions enacted on UFRs, as well as perpetuated by UFRs as part of their employment.

Table 11. *The Threading and Felt Embodiments Experienced by UFRs*

Thread:	**Theoretical underpinning:**	**Main ideas:**	**Felt Embodiment:**	**Direct quotes:**
One: Relations of Power: Upholding Hierarchies of Institutional Rank	Relations of power (Foucault, 1977) Total institution (Goffman, 1975)	How power is exercised through discipline, punishment, and control of uniformed bodies. Hierarchical ranking: unilateral, top-down, power-over approach; who is afforded power and privilege? Traditions and legacies of the uniform; old school mentality. Trap of complacency; egotistical and self-preservative approaches.	Feeling unsafe; fearful being punished. Lack of power to enact change. Lack of internal focus and understanding of the realities of the job. Limiting labour mobility up the rank.	"Don't fuck up" (Bruce). "That's the way things have always been done" (Jack).
Two: Uniformed Cultural Habitus	Cultural habitus (Bourdieu, 1990) Embodied social capital (Holt, 2008).	Socialization of uniformed bodies through strategic and directive belief systems and cultural norms. Perpetuation of cultural habitus through training practices/policies. Negative/toxic institutional commodore. Expectation of experiencing and enduing trauma. On-going stigmatizing impacts of mental health.	Not feeling adequately trained to manage the realities of the job. Feeling judged, being scrutinized, criticized and labelled. Feeling broken, not being able to handle the stresses/trauma of the job. Sense of loyalty and dedication to serve and protect. Lack of access, accessibility, and/or streamlining of mental health resources (both within and outside the institution).	We are "killing our young" (Olivia). You "see the worst of the worst in humanity" (Jack). It's like "burning of the candle on both ends" (Nicole). It is a feeling of "needing to survive the day" (Olivia).

		Lack of structural support (e.g., appropriate resources and staffing).		
Three: Performing the Expectations and Symbolic Representations of the Uniform	Body as subject Merleau-Ponty (1996). Individual and collective performativity (Butler, 1990).	Uniform is a representation of the institution of power. Falling in alignment with the set individual and collective performances privileged by the institution.	Difficulties transcending the uniform, connecting with community members. Blame is placed on the body rather than the institution. Need to be mentally and emotionally resilient at all times. Feeling replaceable and/or dispensable.	We are "representing the man" (Bruce). We are viewed as "superhuman" (Olivia). "Don't show emotions" (Joey). We are "just another set of boots" (Jack).

Interruption: Interrupt(ing) Capitalism, Ableism, and Government-sanctioned Power

> "An interruption: a corporeal moment that halts and disrupts the flow of experience, that is both habitual and yet not. It emerges from habitual modes of being, yet at once calls them into question through the sense of disruption that it engenders" (Dawney, 2013, p. 2).

I use this section as an intentional pause, a centering of my own grappling, and a space to speak from my own embodied reflections as I navigated this work. In relation to institutions that govern UFRs my intention with this interruption is to shift away from privileging ableist tactics that assign unrealistic and harmful expectations to UFRs and towards a more relational approach that builds capacity for prosperity and wellness In thinking through CDT, I use this section as a journey towards restorative justice by reckoning with forms of ableism, interrupting ableist thinking, and disrupting disabling practices in society (Lopez, 2022). The remainder of this interruption reflections lives in Appendix O[39].

Grappling with toll of capitalism on the labouring body

What came up for me in this interruption was a grappling with the toll of neoliberal[40] capitalism on the labouring body. Drawing from Merleau-Ponty's (1996) 'body as subject', here I am speaking to the idea that bodies are created through systems of production of labour and goods. I reflected on the felt struggles shared by UFRs as they described their lived experiences of stepping into labourous and highly politicized jobs and the impact it has on them physically and/or mentally/emotionally. Here, I highlight the lived experiences shared with me by UFRs to unpack how bodies are exploited through processes of neoliberal capitalism.

Systems of capitalism are powered by our collective labour, and our bodies are therefore in demand for the on-going production of capitalism (Henderson-Espinoza, 2022). In essence, capitalism treats all bodies as disposable, with some bodies more disposable than others. The systems and institutions that make up the Canadian landscape (inclusive of UFR agencies) reinforce class power and capital accumulation. Within UFR institutions, bodies are made to be

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[39]I want to interrupt my own interruption; I recognize that we collectively cannot talk about power, capitalism, and ableism without already talking about race and racism. While having rich discussions during my final dissertation defense, we collectively felt that by speaking to race and processes of racialization more broadly for this work, I wasn't truly doing it justice. In response, my supervisor and I decided we would include the reflections on racialization as a postscript to this work. My intention with this postscript is to offer myself the space to note the moments and thoughts I am having to return to in future writings on this work.

[40]Harvey (2007) defined neoliberalism as a political-economic philosophy that values the primacy of markets and redefines the role of the state as a creator and protector of markets including privatization, deregulation, marketization, and public disinvestments.

subjects of action and used as a mechanism for discipline and punishment no matter the consequences for employment or the well-being of the labouring bodies (Harvey, 2007). As a result, UFRs are in positions where they not only represent the interest of capitalism and compel government-sanctioned violence, but they too are vulnerable to harms of capitalism. UFRs spoke to this when they shared the lack of caring relations available to them within the institution in relation to their mental/emotional well-being (Nicole, Olivia, Bruce, Jack). When I shared these reflections with Gill, Melody, and Bowen, they also resonated with these feelings of disconnection. For example, Bowen reflected on the miscommunication between the institutional “wellness unit” and UFRs, as either not doing what it intends to do (e.g., checking in on uniformed bodies after “tough” calls), or UFRs not feeling a “connection” with people that are in the wellness branch, regardless of how well promoted they are. This becomes an example how institutions of power can directly impact the lives of UFRs as they are designed to keep them disconnected and disembodied from their bodies in order to function (Henderson-Espinoza, 2022).

To better understand the impacts of capitalism on UFRs as labouring bodies, I read Amelia Horgan’s (2021) book, *Lost in Work.* Horgan (2021), inspired by Marx’s (1955) critiques of capitalism and the class system, considered ideas of production (i.e., the materials needed to produce goods/capital), exploitation of workers (i.e., poor working conditions, low wages, etc.), and conflict and division of labour (i.e., who does and does not have power). Under capitalism, Marx (1955) described a collective, humane quest for purpose and meaning as being utterly unrecognizable as the forces of capital ‘suck the life’ out of the working class and larger society. Bowen spoke to this when he said, “I’ve grown tremendously through the experiences I have had [as a police officer].” Yet, Bowen also described his experiences as being clouded by feelings of exhaustion, burnout, and compassion fatigue. According to Marx (1955) exploitation and the general unfairness of a capital society makes labouring bodies feel undervalued, underappreciated, and worthless leading to feelings of isolation, meaninglessness, and alienation. Olivia spoke to this when she said, “you're supposed to be able to handle anything, we're a different breed of people and like we're not.” In today’s capitalistic society, work becomes a defining mode of labour as lines between work and play (and leisure) are significantly more blurred (Horgan, 2021). As Horgan (2021), says,

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

> Work is a central institution through which capitalism is lived. It is the site and process of value extraction, and this process leaves its mark on the natural world just as much as it does on individual people. Capitalism and work under capitalism have as their precondition and product all kinds of structural inequalities. It has world-transforming capacities because human effort, in all its various forms, has the power to change the world. As it stands, however, these capacities are channelled into activity that causes harm on a massive scale; they are cannibalised, challenged into the destruction of human life (p. 113).

Capitalism is dependent on the worker (the labouring body) to produce through human action (Smith, 1776). Working conditions under capitalism often create harmful, sometimes traumatic, lived realities for labouring bodies in the working class (e.g., low-wages, long hours, lack of job security, lack of feeling valued, etc.) (Horgan, 2021). Although UFRs are highly compensated for their time and efforts on the job, many shared with me feelings of being dispensable or replaceable by the institution as a whole (Olivia, Jack, Bruce). Hyper-competitive and highly individualized workplaces, such as the institution that governs UFRs, place specific expectations on how labouring bodies work, and the conditions by which they are meant to work (Hogan, 2021).

Within their respective institutions, UFRs described the privileging of the cultural habitus (thread two) by those who hold power as providing a basis for the maintenance of discursive practices and performances that uphold the expectations of the institution (thread three) (Bourdieu, 1990; Holt, 2008). Horgan (2021) argues that the one of the problems with work under capitalism is how labouring bodies are subjected to be controlled by others at work. In this case, upper management holds power over UFRs to work in certain ways or at certain speeds, to attain the desired means of production (Horgan, 2021). As described above, UFRs become actors of the total institution (Goffman, 1975) that is built and maintained by hierarchies of rank, affording some bodies more power and privilege over others (thread one). As such, UFRs described many experiences of working under conditions that are out of their control, producing commodities that wield power over the uniformed labouring body for the profit of the governing institution (Horgan, 2021). UFRs shared with me that those in lower rank are instructed, managed, monitored, and controlled by those above them (i.e., Foucault's (1977) notion of surveillance) (Roger, Bruce, Jack). For example, Gill said, "there's a disconnect between the realities on the ground and upper management…you're doing such a different job at that point…there's also a political element to that job." This division of unequal labour often

becomes a source of significant harm for labouring UFR bodies who exist without the power to enact change (Horgan, 2021).

Horgan (2021) maintains that the particular way power and control and exercised over labouring bodies can be extremely harmful. For example, Horgan (2021) described the way "work harms us as individuals, eating up our time, leaving us with little left for ourselves or for any other activity outside of work" (p. 98). Although some UFRs shared that work has afforded them a degree of recognition, a feeling of being seen and appreciated (Jack, Nicole), more often than not work was described as becoming a site of disadvantage, inequity, greed, and hostility for those deemed not with power (Horgan, 2021). A focus on labouring UFR bodies under capitalism requires an acknowledgment of the harms and violence the uniform can have on the body. The physical and psychological stress that is placed on the body as described by UFRs is exacerbated by the pressures and expectations of the workplace leading to compassion fatigue, burnout, and/or exhaustion (Nicole, Roger, Olivia, Jack, Tyler, Bruce).

Returning to the work of Bourdieu (1990), the relationship between the cultural habitus and the labouring body is so durable that lines between personal identity and social stratification are often blurred. The products of work – material and immaterial –come to define the governing institution as UFRs experience it -- it is not just something they do, it becomes something they are (Horgan, 2021). Under capitalism, work becomes tied up with personal identities, and they ways uniform bodies interact with the world. As Melody said, while wearing the uniform we become a "walking billboard" of the institution. Work therefore holds competing and intersecting demands on the body – physically, mentally, and emotionally – as UFR labouring bodies are called to deploy more and more of themselves to the expectations and pressures of their work with very little say over the conditions to which they work (Horgan, 2021). For example, UFRs described embodying the uniform, as they are trained to think and act in hegemonic ways, making it difficult to ever truly feel like they are not always and already wearing the uniform (Nicole, Olivia). When reflecting on this point with Bowen, he shared that as a police officer you are trained to put "safety first," at all times, and as a result UFRs are also trained to be untrusting of others, to always question "who the bad people are" in every situation. Further, they shared that a lack of dissociation from the uniform makes it difficult to figure out who they are without the uniform (Bruce, Nicole, Olivia). As Gill said, "you are always between

worlds." This becomes an example of how the uniform (and the institution that governs UFRs) wears the body rather than the body wearing the uniform.

Uniformed Discourse: Histories of power, violence, and trauma

To unpack how government-sanctioned power is infiltrated within the institutions that govern UFRs, I once again return to Bourdieu's (1990) concept of cultural habitus to unpack the socializing effects and impacts of internalized white supremacy can have on both UFRs and the public. As outlined above, while talking with UFRs we reflected on the larger governing institution that enables hierarchies and ranks of power to which UFRs are trained to seek out power by following the rules of the game (i.e., cultural norms and ideals). In 1977, Bourdieu described such cultural norms as becoming 'rules of the game' that are sometimes explicitly taught (e.g., never leave a man behind), while other rules are unwritten and learned through experience with social patterns (e.g., suck it up mentality, mental health is a weakness). As Bruce said, "if we're constantly only relegated to certain paths, and we're not deviating from that…you kind of identify with that opinion and…it's hard to deviate from that that lane." When I probed UFRs to reflect on the whiteness of the institution and the harms it has caused equity-deserving bodies, Bruce said, "we have a lot to atone for." Similarly, Gill shared, "I don't think anyone argues that there's a clear history of racism in society, versus just in policing."

During our conversations, Gill, Melody, and Bowen all stated that they have never felt they have experienced overt racism within the institution, nor have they felt that their cultural identity has impeded their labour mobility. Here, I am more interested in exposing the institution that governs UFRs more broadly, to better understand state power and violence and the impact it has on both UFRs and the public. The nuances of this conversation led us to talk about the ways in which the institution of policing specifically plays just one part in the felt and lived systemic oppressions equity-deserving folx have to endure on a daily basis (i.e., education systems, healthcare, housing, school to prison pipeline, criminal justice system, etc.). Instead of the institution of policing doing what it is intended to do (serve and protect the community by having a balanced justice system), Bruce described policing as becoming "a dumping ground" for inadequate (mental) health care, economic (i.e., poverty), housing, and education systems. Similarly, Bowen described a lack of clear boundaries and/or direction of what the role of policing truly is. As police are at the frontline of social service support, Bowen said, "police are

doing that job of social service and were not generally equipped…or the personnel to do that," Bowen also questioned, "are we just supposed to be enforcing the law or are we social agents?"

UFRs are therefore expected to respond to calls in which they are either not adequately trained (e.g., de-escalating a person experiencing a mental health crisis) or have little to no control over assisting with (e.g., individuals who are inadequately housed). UFRs (most pertinently, police officers) become the frontline agents, symbols of power (thread three), that tend to members of the public who are navigating broken social systems. As such, UFRs are often targeted as the problem, when in reality we need to remember who the real enemy is, PWIs. In light of police brutality, Olivia said, "I know that there are people who are bad, but that doesn't change the fact that so many people go into this profession…wanting to help, wanting to make our community a better place." Although I believe this statement to be true, it is important to recognise that UFRs are more protected against physical harm and corporeal punishment in comparison to members of the public who are navigating an inequitable judicial system.

In conversation, Bowen said, "they, [the public], don't see us, they see blue." In conversation with racialized UFRs, I encouraged this dialogue as I was interested in hearing their lived experiences of wearing the uniform and serving the public. More specifically, I was interested in learning more about whether or not they felt the symbolism of the uniform inhibits their ability to care, protect, and serve the public (as Bruce and Tyler had previously shared with me their own struggles with connecting with equity-deserving groups). While talking with Gill, Melody, and Bowen, they mentioned to me the benefit they felt they gained when connecting specifically with BIPOC folx in the community as they have a sense of "relational comradery" (Gill). Melody described that often BIPOC public members will look to her over her partner as they feel a sense of connection and Bowen shared experiences of trying to speak Mandarin with Mandarin-speaking folx in the community who would otherwise have had difficulties communicating with the police officers on scene. Similarly, Gill mentioned that he feels he is able to say things white police officers wouldn't be able to "without fear of repercussion." This comment led to an interesting conversation on the fear mentality that some UFRs (specifically, police officers) are coming to terms with while uniformed as Gill described that many white police officers are fearful of saying or doing the wrong thing and being exploited on media. Gill said, "news, media generally will focus on the story that is a critical of police because it's more

popular." Further, Gill discussed the need to transcend and re-humanize the uniform when responding to calls in efforts to better connect, and therefore better serve and protect the public.

When I asked racialized UFRs how conversations on systemic racism are taken up within the institution of policing specifically, Gill shared that upper management are "just acknowledging institutional racism or historical racism without any further deeper discussion or analysis." Instead, Gill and Bowen (and Bruce previously), described the performative initiatives the institution of policing takes on in efforts to diversify the PWI as "disingenuous" (Gill). For example, Bowen spoke about the use of social media as a performative tool by the institution to promote diversity, saying "this isn't our job." Rather than acknowledge the reality of felt systemic oppressions and create actionable structural change, many of the equity and diversity proposals were described as "checking the box" (Gill), an example of "gaining social/community points" (Bruce).

Gill, Melody, and Bowen all recalled examples of times in which they, or another racialized colleague, had been asked to pose for a poster of the service for community dissemination. In conversation, we reflected on how such experiences are tokenistic, creating harmful and isolating effects for them. For example, Melody questioned whether she got the job "because [she was] qualified for the job or is it because you need to put on a visual front for the media." On the other hand, we reflected on how tokenism and representation may have positive lasting effects for the younger generation who may find meaning over seeing someone who looks like them on a poster for a uniformed profession (Gill). As such, we reflected on the importance of representation as long as it is backed up by action-based initiates to make meaningful policy changes that advocate diversity and equity and addresses the *real* issues at hand (Gill).

Many UFRs expressed their struggles with dissociating from the uniform, of finding who they are without the uniform, and of not letting the uniform take over every aspect of their lives (Bruce, Roger, Tyler, Jack, Nicole, Olivia, Matt). As I reflected on these conversations, I thought about the nuances this created for racialized UFRs who are uniformed by the governing institution, becoming a direct representation of the government-sanctioned power that creates systemic violence. Bowen highlighted the nuances of serving racialized communities by describing how underserved communities do not often engage with criminal acts because they "necessary really want to," rather because "they don't have any other option." As a police officer, Bowen described his role is about having the ability "to enforce rules, but also not to be

just punishing them, [underserved community members], because they are already disenfranchised by society." Social justice movements such as BLM and #defundthepolice are taking up these conversations to fight for more community-based policing efforts aimed at providing the necessary supports needed for *all* community members to contribute to society (to be discussed further).

In conversation with my supervisor, Kimberly, we discussed how racialized UFRs not only have to navigate the struggles of disassociating themselves from the uniform, but they also have to navigate complex relationships with their cultural communities as they become walking symbols of the felt systemic oppressions felt by their community. When I brought this up in conversation with Gill, Melody, and Bowen, they expressed that they didn't feel this tension very much with individuals in relation to their own cultural backgrounds. However, Gill mentioned a Black colleague who he assumed would be able to speak to this tension more as he said, "they probably do face an immediate sense of, "how can you do that job and oppress our community?"" See Appendix O for an interruption, a grappling with white supremacy and systemic oppressions.

Parallel tensions and reckoning with systemic harms

The discussions of this interruption expose how the system works through UFRs, and the public, in different ways. As I analyzed, reflected on, and talked through the data collected with my supervisor, Kimberly, we noticed underlying parallel tensions that are experienced by both UFRs and the public. Identifying and naming these parallel tensions and systemic harms is necessary to grasp the realities of government-sanctioned power, capitalism, and ableism. A naming of these parallel tensions also considers how UFRs, and the public are pressed down on by oppressive government relations. As I thought through how to represent the parallel tension felt by both UFRs and members of the public at the hands of government-sanctioned power and institutions, I wanted to ensure I am not demonstrating complacency in white supremacy and capitalistic ideals. I recognize that in talking to the parallel tensions and systemic harms experienced by UFRs I must also recognize the privileges they are imbued with -- UFRs are highly compensated for their time, often have a strong support system, and are backed by government and community support. While the attention of this work focuses on the lived experiences of UFRs, attention must also be placed on communities who are deeply impacted by UFR relations. Although some

shackles between UFRs and public may be paralleled and others are not, at current socio-political moment in time, no *body* is truly free to heal and restore.

Using Table 12 to guide this dialogue, I offer a brief discussion of the parallel tensions and reckoning with systemic harms that impacts UFRs and the public simultaneously. Here, I also consider who/what should be held responsible for the harmful repercussions experienced by UFRs and the public.

Table 12. *Parallel Tensions Experienced by UFRs and the Public*

Parallel tensions:	How it is felt by UFRs (and by who):	How it is felt by the public (and by who):
Feeling pressed down on by the system/ 'the man' (Bruce); Acts of hypervigilance, surveillance, discipline, and control.	UFRs directly feel the relations of power and expected performances of the uniform; UFRs feel a lack of autonomy and control, needing to "follow suit" (Joey) with the institutional (by the institution that governs UFRs).	The public is over-surveilled and over-represented in the criminal justice system; There is a lack of access to equitable services and protection by the system (by the institution that governs UFRs/UFRs).
The need to think critically about what is said/done.	UFRs feel fearful of "fucking up" (Bruce) (e.g., saying/doing the wrong thing) while in a position of government-sanctioned power (by the institution that governs UFRs).	The public is fearful of being treated inequitably by the system and/or experiencing state violence (e.g., being institutionally harmed or killed) (by the institution that governs UFRs/UFRs).
Perception of progress	UFRs have different perceptions of the advancement of institutions that govern UFRs (by the institution that governs UFRs/UFRs).	Public has different perceptions of how police institutions/services have not evolved and/or are performative (by the institution that governs UFRs/UFRs).
Lack of access/opportunity to social systems that advocate for care, healing, and restoration.	UFRs feel underserved (both within the governing institution and beyond) to access genuine, action-based (mental) health related supports (due to stigma and fear) (by the institution that governs UFRs).	Public is underserved by broken social systems, including the (mental) health system, criminal justice system, and access to adequate housing food, education, and equitable labour forces (by the institution that governs UFRs/UFRs).
The need for rest/restoration (e.g., leisure) because of depletion and exhaustion (processes of capitalism); The struggle for peace and living.	UFRs feel compassion burnout/fatigue, overworked (e.g., shift work, overtime) and underappreciated; UFRs don't want to get hassled for things that fall outside their scope of practice (e.g., attending to acute mental health care situations that they are not trained for).	Public feels exhausted, depleted, overworked, and a lack of genuine care/support by social systems (by the institution that governs UFRs/UFRs, as well as other social systems); Public doesn't want to get hassled for things that fall outside their scope (e.g., the expectation of BIPOC folx to take up/on equity work in the current socio-political climate).

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

To start, from the conversations I had with UFRs, their lived experiences spoke to the ways in which they feel pressed down on by the institution of power that governs their collective performances, mobility, positionality, and livelihoods. A parallel tension exists here as in the same way that UFRs feel over-surveilled by upper management within the institution to perform in a strategic manner (e.g., as Jack said, police officers, "get in trouble for doing what [we've] been trained to do"), the public is also over-surveilled and over-criminalized by the very institution that is meant to serve and protect. As evidenced the recent report released by Toronto's Police Force's Equity, Inclusion, and Human Rights Unit in 2022, BIPOC folx have been statistically proven to be overrepresented in police interactions regarding: use of force situations, experiences of violent/fatal encounters with police, and number of criminal arrests[41]. In conversation with UFRs on the topic of criminalization and violence, Melody, said, "the number of violent crimes has gone up. I see it in my work [as a paramedic]." This brings up an interesting dialogue on *why* violent crimes often occur in the first place and a questioning of *why* BIPOC folx are overrepresented in police interactions and the criminal justice system.

In conversation with Bowen, he reflected on his role as a police officer as needing to also consider how some communities are "are already disenfranchised by society." Here, Bowen is referring to the failures of intersecting social systems to adequately meet the needs of *all* members of the public. In 2020, a news article published in the Guardian (written by Alex S Vitale), spoke to the militarization of policing by the state that has expanded in scope and intensity into avenues of education, mental health services, the criminalization of drugs (i.e., war on drugs), access to adequate housing and food, and poor opportunities for labour/employment (Vitale, 2020). As a result, the public, and more specifically BIPOC folx, are caught in a destructive cycle of violence and despair as they attempt to live a good life despite the odds always being against them (Vitale, 2020). Vitale (2020) questions, "what is the actual impact of policing on those that are policed?" Similarly, Mullings (2012) identified how institutional racism is especially prevalent in the labour market (e.g., BIPOC folx being unemployed, underemployed, or facing unequitable barriers in the workplace), educational institutions, law enforcement, and the criminal justice system. As such, in the same way UFRs experience hyper-

[41]The full report can be found here: https://s3.documentcloud.org/documents/22060566/98ccfdad-fe36-4ea5-a54c-d610a1c5a5a1.pdf or on page 32 and 33 of this document.

vigilance and fear of safety (because of the expectations/performances of the job), so too does the public at the hands of UFRs, who become a representation of government-sanctioned power. Yet, this tension differs for UFRs and the public as the public holds less power/privilege, mobility, and opportunities to feel safe from physical harm and corporeal punishment as compared to UFRs who are somewhat protected by their institutional ties.

Another parallel tension that came up for me was the need to think critically about what UFRs and the public say/do within the current socio-political climate as a critical questioning of well-to-do public services (i.e., policing) is underway. Further, a need to think critically about the accessibility of ableist care systems/structures and who they were/are built for. UFRs expressed feeling fearful of “fucking up” (Bruce) (i.e., saying/doing the wrong thing) as they are a direct representation of the governing institution. For example, Gill reflected on his position as a BIPOC UFRs as allowing him to say/do things “without fear of repercussion” that his white police officer counterparts may not be able to say/do. Similarly, the public is becoming more and more fearful of “fucking up” in relation to government-sanctioned criminalization (i.e., fear related to being involved with the criminal justice system, as well as for their lives/safety during police encounters), on top of an ethos of saying/doing the wrong thing in an era of justice activism. As a result, UFRs and the public may try to (un)consciously protect/shield themselves from possible harm (Olivia). For BIPOC folx, internalized racism – that is, the internalizing of racial oppressions by the racially subordinated (Pyke, 2010) – and a privileging of white washing may be used as a protective mechanism, when, it can be one of the most damaging psychological injuries (Speight, 2007). For example, when Melody described herself as being “a very white Asian”, I wondered how this may be an instance of internalized racism and white washing. This tension of critical thinking sits in relation to another parallel tension around the perception progress we, as a collective humanity, feel has been made in relation to equity and restorative justice.

As I spoke with UFRs, more specifically BIPOC UFRs, it became evident that different folx have different perceptions of progress in relation to ableism, equity, and justice, which I believe is also paralleled by public discourse. To illustrate this point, when I asked Gill and Bowen the purpose of policing today, Gill described it as a “peace keeping force that tries to maintain the peace by enforcing laws,” and Bowen described it as “trying to maintain status-quo.” In conversation with Bruce, he expressed that when you “look at the most successful

societies in history… there needs to be a balanced justice system." While I acknowledge that there has been useful progress in realm of social services, and police services to be held accountable for harms and acts of violence, I still question: Are police keeping the peace with public? Who created the laws that police are enforcing? Who defines/maintains "status quo"? How do we collectively judge what a "successful" society and balanced justice system looks like? In conversations on the current training practices/protocols privileged by the institution that governs UFRs, Bowen described a push on a narrative of "safety first, safety first, safety first." Yet, I wonder whose safety is being considered here, and whose is not, as it seems both UFRs and the public experience fear of safety in their own respective ways. In relation to the public, there also seems to be varied perceptions on the progress being made toward equity and justice. This makes it difficult to navigate steps forward when there is multiple, intersecting, and often contradictory perceptions of what has happened, what is currently happening, and what needs to be done.

Another parallel tension to be teased out here is the ways in which both UFRs and the public are de-personalized and made to feel sub-human by institutions of power. As a result of the performative expectations placed on the shoulders of uniformed bodies by the governing institution, UFRs expressed feeling like they are not seen as human when in uniform. For example, Olivia described UFRs as being put "on a pedestal" and viewed as "superhuman." As well, Bruce discussed that as a walking symbol of the institution of policing that has perpetuated systemic harms felt by members of the public, it is difficult to transcend the uniform to get to a level of shared collective humanity. Bowen also related to this when he said "they, [community members], don't see us, they see blue." Similarly, unfortunately we do not need to look far or hard to see how the state has deemed the public (specifically, Black, Indigenous, and racialized folx) to be sub-human (e.g., Indigenous peoples being assimilated into whiteness through the residential school system, Black folx being exploited through slavery, among other occurrences). This creates a noteworthy parallel tension felt by both UFRs and the public, who are all made to feel dehumanized, disconnected, and disembodied by inequitable social systems (Henderson-Espinoza, 2022).

A final parallel tension that came up for me was a need for rest/restoration. While working and living under processes of capitalism, acts of alienation and exploitation normalize feelings of depletion and exhaustion for labouring bodies (Horgan, 2021; Marx, 1955). For

example, UFRs shared experiences of commonly enduring stress and trauma on the job. Further, they discussed a lack of institutional mental/emotional support being made available to them both on and off duty. As such, UFRs are trained to service the system's needs above their own and continue to perform even if they are feeling unfit or unwell to do so, a repercussion of the intersection between capitalism and ableism. As Bruce said, "if you have burnt out people that can't even take care of themselves, how are they going to help other people in need?" This narrative is driven by capitalistic tendances that exploit labouring bodies to perform in productive ways (Horgan, 2021), making UFRs feel undervalued and replaceable (Olivia, Jack, Bruce). Similarly, the public is also negatively impacted by processes of capitalism in their own respective labours as Western ideologies promotes individuals to become a product of their labours, blurring the lines between personal identity and social stratification (Bourdieu, 1990). Likewise, I see UFRs and the public as experiencing a parallel tension of struggling for peace of living as they both don't want to be hassled for things that fall outside their scope of living. For UFRs this may include being asked to do things that fall outside their scope of practice (e.g., attend to mental health situations they are not trained for) and for BIPOC folx this may include the expectation of taking on equity work (e.g., it becomes their responsibility to educate/teach others (i.e., white people)).

The current section speaks to the underlying parallel tensions experienced both by UFRs and the public that came out of a deeper analysis of the data collected for this project. I intentionally positioned this conversation here as a way to identify the necessity of UFRs to be awakened to the realities of processes of white supremacy, ableism, capitalism, and government-sanctioned power (as symbolised by the uniform) to make the case for the need for body restoration. As a result of relations/hierarchies of power (thread one), the maintenance of a toxic cultural habitus (thread two) and performing the expectations and symbolic representations of the uniform (thread three), UFRs become entrenched in unhelpful power dynamics. Such dynamics keep them from being able to connect with their own bodies and those around them, keeping them disembodied (Henderson-Espinoza, 2022). Inspired by Dawney (2013), the current interruption aimed to "position ourselves as critics of the politics of our own bodies, asking questions of the modes of productive power that give rise to bodies that experience historically specific affective responses" (p. 629). In Chapter 6, I use this dialogue to speak to the

embodiment of the uniform and trauma, alongside reflections on leisure as resistance and restoration that promote care and healing (Shaw, 2001).

CHAPTER SIX: RE-DRESSING THE UNIFORM: FROM RESISTANCE TO RESTORATION

Chapter 5 was used to un-ravel UFR uniforms thread by thread (relations of power (thread one), cultural habitus (thread two), and performing expectations and symbolic representations (thread three)). A necessary interruption of this dialogue took up conversations on government-sanctioned power, white supremacy, capitalism, and systemic oppressions to identify the parallel tensions and systemic harms experienced by UFRs and the public. The final chapter of this dissertation aims to re-dress the uniform to advocate for needed systemic change in relation to the health and well-being of UFRs. In this chapter, I think through Holt's (2008) concept of embodied social capital to describe the ways in which UFRs come to embody the uniform and related trauma. I then take up notions of leisure as a space of coping (Coleman & Iso-Ahola, 1993; Heintzman, 2008; Iwasaki and Mannell, 2000; Iwasaki & Schneider, 2003; Kleiber et al., 2002) to position leisure as a practice of care, a means of healing, and a site of restoration for UFRs, and indirectly the public (connected to ACT III: Restoring the Body: Leisure as Resistance, Care, Healing, and Restoration). Reflections on capitalism, ableism, and anti-racism bleeds through this dialogue as I speak to global and local upstream justice movements (BLM, #defundthepolice, Waterloo Region Crime Prevention Council (WRCPC) Friends against Crime Prevention) that align with the scope of this research project. To conclude, I offer practical and theoretical/methodological considerations that can be used to continue the momentum of needed justice-oriented dialogue on state power and governance practices for the public (connected to ACT IV: Re-dressing the Uniform: Needed Recommendations and Supports). I begin this chapter by highlighting Table 13, an outline of the needed shifts for re-dressing the uniform as I speak to each of these connection points throughout this chapter. It is important to note the nuances of showcasing a re-dress in this way (see Table 13). This visual is not meant to signal a binary of negative/positive (from, to), rather it is meant to idealize movement towards more relational, community-based understandings of the possible futurities both of and for UFR.

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

Table 13. *Redressing the Uniform (from and to)*

From…	To…
Punitive	Upstream
Power-over	Power-within
Corporeal	Redistributive
Disciplinary	Compassionate
Performative action	Intentional, meaningful action
Transactional	Relational
Compartmentalizing	Fluid
Breeding hostility, hate, harm, and violence	Breeding care, connection, and love
Institutionalized	Community-based
Individualized	Collective
Broken, Fractured	Healing and restorative

Embodying the Uniform: The impact of trauma on the body

In conversation with UFRs, many reflected on how they have come to internalize the identity assigned to the uniform by the governing institution, therefore embodying the identity of a UFR (Roger, Bruce, Nicole, Olivia, Jack, Tyler, Matt, Nicole). This speaks to what Deleuze (1995) said, "I am a collection of identities, but that I am already an assembly, even a general assembly, or an assemblage" (p. 68). In other words, the collective identity assigned to uniformed bodies by the governing institution not only precedes and imprints onto their individual identity and performances, but uniformed bodies are also (un)consciously reproduced collectively through modes of embodiment (Butler, 2015). As actors of the institution that governs UFRs, uniformed bodies become an assemblage of identities that they (un)consciously perform both on and off duty (St. Pierre, 2000) For example, Nicole shared that as a police officer they "giv[e] themselves" to the assigned identity of a UFR, allowing it to define who they believe themselves to be. UFRs described subjectively positive attributes of the UFR identity (e.g., a sense of honour, being proud to serve and protect the community, being passionate about helping others, a sense of confidence and invincibility, a sense of loyalty and respect to the uniform, and a sense of purpose). Yet, they reflected on how these positive attributes are often outweighed by felt systemic harms that are embodied through the identity of a UFR, which will be further discussed here.

Reay's (2004) conceptualizations of embodied social capital is useful to discuss how an embodiment of the cultural habitus (thread two) made available to UFRs socializes bodies (i.e., UFRs) to perform particular habitual practices (thread three) in uniformity of collective (past and

present) institutional ideologies. As UFRs embody the assigned identity of a UFR, they also embody the legacies and histories that are represented and symbolised by the uniform (e.g., government-sanctioned power (thread one). For example, Bruce shared that as a police officer, he is always a representation of egotistical, power-over governance practices that are maintained by the institution. Performativity theory (Butler, 1990) is also useful here to examine how the fixed identity of a UFR becomes socialized through discursive and non-discursive practices that stabilize and mobilize the uniform and expected performances. As Butler suggests, identity is, "always a process, always a becoming, a journey of the self with neither a point of departure or arrival" (Butler & Shusterman, 1999, p. 235).

The cultural habitus, ideologies, expectations, and performances described in Chapter 5 compel UFRs to dedicate their whole selves/lives to upkeeping what is means to be a UFR. Starting in training practices/policies (Joey), UFRs are trained to preserve and perpetuate the dominant cultural habitus that makes up the identity of a UFR (e.g., not showing weakness/being vulnerable/showing emotions) (Gibbons et al., 2014). This becomes a demonstration of what Holt (2008) described as embodied subjectivities, as UFRs have to navigate nuanced corporeal relationships both within and beyond the governing institution. For example, Nicole described feeling "the weight of the uniform" on her shoulders even when the uniform is physically removed, making her feel like she is on "on auto-pilot" as she performs the collective performances of the uniform. Similarly, Bruce described the perpetual, long standing expected performances of the uniform as "chipping away" at his "authentic self" over time. As a result, UFRs often experience an identity crisis(es) (i.e., who am I if/when I am not a wearing a uniform?) (Bruce, Olivia)), and feel as if they are unable to remember who they were before they put on the uniform (Nicole). This serves as an example of processes of capitalism at play, as labouring bodies are coerced to believe that their labours are a direct reflection of who they are.

I asked UFRs to reflect on what happens when they physically take the uniform off (e.g., when off duty, being on leave from work, retirement, etc.). They reflected on a collective struggle they often face trying to separate their professional and personally identities, as the UFR identity is all-consuming and engulfs every aspects of their lives (Nicole, Bruce, Olivia). As such, UFRs described never truly being able to escape or disassociate from the identity that was assigned to them based on the career they chose (Nicole). In addition to embodying the collective UFR identity, UFRs are also expected to endure highly stressful, often traumatic situations that

leave (in)visible mental/emotional scars on the body beneath the uniform. While reflecting on the impact trauma has had on his body, Bruce described feeling drained of all energy, becoming a "shell of a person," as a long-lasting impact of experiencing and embodying trauma. Likewise, Tyler and Matt expressed feeling physically and mentally/emotionally unsafe in some circumstances on the job, making them feel anxious about stepping into potentially harmful situations while on duty. This creates a roller coaster of emotions that is deeply felt by UFRs, directly impacting their overall well-being, as UFRs shared feeling tarnished by what they are expected to be/do (Olivia, Bruce, Nicole). For example, Joey expressed that as a result of navigating cumulative traumatic experiences on the job, it becomes difficult to "turn it off."

On a personal note, UFRs reflected on the struggles they experience feeling connected to with their loved ones (e.g., spouses, kids, family, and friends) as their mental/emotional capacity and energy is depleted (Nicole, Roger, Bruce, Jack). For example, Bruce shared that he has given so much of himself to upkeeping the uniform that he has "nothing left in the tank to give," and therefore his family and loved ones "only get the scraps of [him]" that is left behind. UFRs also identified that the embodiment of trauma often leads to:

- Feelings of panic, anxiety, spiralling out of control (Joey, Courtney, Olivia, Matt)
- Feeling broken (Joey, Bruce, Olivia)
- Dissociating from life, not being able feel joy in life outside of work (Roger, Bruce, Jack, Olivia, Matt)
- Hyper-vigilance (the idea of always being 'on' and running on high alert and stress 24/7) and expecting the worst case scenario to happen (some examples given include: only walking on certain sides of the sidewalk, sleeping with the door on, sitting in certain spots at a restaurant (facing the door), being over-attentiveness on transportation (like airplanes), thinking people are going to hurt you and your family) (Nicole, Roger, Bruce, Jack, Matt)
- Not being present in the moment (Jack, Olivia)
- Feeling "locked up" in their own body (Matt)
- Experiencing hallucinations (Roger, Bruce Matt)
- Replaying memories (e.g., seeing 'ghosts' in the region of past traumatic calls on a daily basis) (Roger, Olivia)
- Difficult sleeping, over-caffeinating to stay awake (Joey, Bruce, Olivia)
- Experiencing nightmares/terrors (Olivia)
- Losing faith in humanity (Olivia)
- feeling cynical and questioning life (e.g., suicidal ideation) (Joey, Jack Roger, Bruce, Nicole)
- Not being able to feel joy (Olivia, Nicole)
- Higher rates of divorce and separation (Bruce, Jack)

- Difficulty creating lasting and meaningful relationships with loved ones (e.g., spouses/partners, kids, extended family members, friends) (Roger. Bruce, Jack, Matt)
- Physical and psychological deterioration of the body (e.g., feeling exhausted, feeling like a 'pressurized bottle' that is going to explode (Roger, Bruce, Tyler. Olivia),

The cumulation of trauma experienced on the job builds up over time, creating moral distress and residue that is long lasting and deeply felt by the labouring body (Todaro-Franceschi, 2013; Webster & Baylis, 2000). Jack used the metaphor of holding onto a glass of water and noticing the longer you hold the glass, the heavier it becomes to describe this feeling. When I asked UFRs how it feels to experience such heavy/traumatic burdens, they shared feelings of "not being able to function anymore," or "not being able to handle what is happening" (Bruce, Tyler, Olivia). The embodiment of trauma is subjective, and effects UFRs in different ways (e.g., feeling agitated, angry, and sad, and "numb to the world" (Roger, Olivia)). For example, Jack said, "no one noticed by sadness until it turned into anger and then I was the bad guy [sic]." UFRs therefore become disconnected/disembodied from their bodies (i.e., dissociation) (Roger), feeling the "need to escape" (Bruce). The toll trauma takes on the body is real and deeply felt by UFRs (e.g., exhaustion and depletion) as the expected performances of the uniform puts self-care and restoration at risk (Nicole, Olivia, Roger, Bruce). Once again, an example of processes of capitalism at play.

As I reflected on our conversations, I continued to think about how the uniform wears the body, rather than the body wearing the uniform. I listened to UFRs share their lived experiences of the ways the embodiment of the UFR identity can trauma manifest beyond the scope of the job making it challenging to nurture a more authentic identity. There is a need to restore the body beneath the uniform and I believe that considering leisure as a space to cope with the occupational stresses and trauma(s) of the job (Coleman & Iso-Ahola, 1993; Heintzman, 2008; Iwasaki and Mannell, 2000; Iwasaki & Schneider, 2003; Kleiber et al., 2002) can be useful to move toward collective spaces for care, healing, and restoration.

Leisure as a Space of Coping: Restoring the Body Beneath the Uniform

To address the second guiding research question, in this section I investigate the disconnection and lack of caring relations (physically, mentally, emotionally, and spiritually) made available to UFRs. Using notions of leisure as coping (Coleman & Iso-Ahola, 1993; Heintzman, 2008; Iwasaki and Mannell, 2000; Iwasaki & Schneider, 2003; Kleiber et al., 2002), I position leisure

as an intentional act to resist the material and symbolic constructs of the uniform through practices of care aimed at healing and restoration (beyond physicality). I start by discussing how I take up leisure theoretically by grappling with processes of capitalism for labouring bodies taking on care work.

Neoliberal capitalism places pressure on bodies to maintain their own health and wellness, becoming a moral imperative on top of work and familial responsibilities (Lopez, 2018). Anti-colonial work is being done to examine how practices of wellness (and leisure) have been co-opted from African and Indigenous Peoples by white/European colonizers, resulting in centuries of intergenerational trauma (Gamby et al., 2021). In 2021, Gamby and colleagues suggested a need to shift to a wellness paradigm that Indigenizes wellness practices by de-centering white-settler, colonial, capitalist, cisheteropatriarcial understandings of what it means to be/live well. Gamby and colleagues (2021) go on to posit that wellness literature has widely divorced self-care from self-preservation, as self-care has dominantly been described as an act of self-improvement. Yet, as Black queer feminist Audre Lorde (1988) said, "caring for myself is not self-indulgence, it is self-preservation, and that is an act of political warfare" (p. 130). Similarly, the late Black activist and author bell hooks (1999) said, "I am often struck by the dangerous narcissism fostered by spiritual rhetoric that pays so much attention to individual self-improvement and so little to the practice of love within the community context" (p. 98).

While thinking through how practices of wellness are taken up by capitalism and ableist ideals, I reflected on how leisure as coping (Coleman & Iso-Ahola, 1993; Heintzman, 2008; Iwasaki and Mannell, 2000; Iwasaki & Schneider, 2003; Kleiber et al., 2002) can become a space for care, healing, and restoration for UFRs. While reading through my supervisors doctoral thesis (Lopez, 2018), (in this case, personal support workers working in long-term care (LTC)) by Hilfiker (1985), it said, "all of us who attempt to heal the wounds of others will ourselves be wounded; it is, after all, inherent in the relationship" (Hilfiker, 1985, p. 207). Lopez (2018) reflexively spoke to this quote as she discussed how individuals engaged in care work negotiate resources to support and maintain caring relationships through self-reflective and morally integral care practices. Lopez (2018) said,

> Supportive care workers frequently make choices between giving and taking; self-care and other-care; self-preservation and altruism; and exhaustion and guilt…over time and with reduced ability to care for self, it becomes increasingly challenging to shield self

> from burnout, moral distress and residue, stress, and violence occurring in caring environments (p. 66).

For UFRs, the expectations of serving and protecting the public is care work and therefore as the individuals a part of this study spoke to, it has a high potential to lead to stress, exhaustion, and emotional labour (Benner 1994; Lopez, 2018). As such, there is a need to better understand leisure through a lens of self-care that can have the potential to move beyond constraints of neoliberal capitalism and open doorways for the creation of new stories built on inclusion, care, and respect for all bodies involved in the caring relationship (Lopez, 2018). Lopez (2018) said,

> Self-care, including leisure, needs to be considered a collective ethical imperative for each person involved in the care relationship. Taking a stand together towards ensuring 'care for all' means that society must privilege all persons involved in the labours of care so that each individual can engage caring as best as possible. Doing so requires systemic critique and attending to a reprioritisation of what is valuable – people over profits" (p. 76).

As outlined in Chapter 2, Arai and Pedlar (2003) identified three interrelated crisis involved with leisure that is relatable to the experiences shared by UFRs, including: the crisis of identity or self (e.g., who am I without the uniform?), the social crisis (e.g., What broken/disconnected relationships exist between UFRs and the public?), and the global crisis (e.g., What do I represent when wearing the uniform?). I shared with UFRs how I am inspired by Shaw's (2001) notion of leisure as resistance by focusing on the political nature of leisure and the potential of leisure to bring about social justice-oriented change. Similar to how Shaw (2001) positions leisure as a refusal to conform to dominant ideologies of leisure, here, I see leisure as a refusal to conform to the systemic harms maintained by the threading of the uniform that limits mobility, placement, and well-being for UFRs. As such, I believe that leisure offers opportunities to systemically challenge relations of power (Foucault, 1977) that maintain the embodied cultural habitus (Holt, 2008) and performativity of the uniform (Butler, 1990).

Body Restoration beyond Physicality: Mental, Emotional, and Spiritual realms

Before unpacking leisure as coping for care, healing, and restoration, it was important to gather UFRs reflections on what needs to happen for the body to feel restored. As UFRs shared the physical and mental/emotional toll it takes on their bodies to step into labourous and highly politicised positions (e.g., embodiment of the uniform/cultural habitus, embodiment of trauma), it became clear there is a need to cope with the stresses and trauma(s) of the job to restore the

body. I shared with UFRs how I don't think of restoration as simply a focus on the physical body, rather it is also (and arguably more importantly) an awareness of the mental/emotional and spiritual realms of the body. I also shared my own philosophy of care as being grounded in existential, relational, and critical theorie(s) that (re)center human essence rather than medicalized ideologies privileged by Western, Eurocentric, colonialist ideals (Arai et al., 2015). In this section, I use the lived experiences shared with me by UFRs to unpack what they said their bodies need physically, mentally/emotionally, and spiritually to feel restored (see Table 14).

Table 14. *Physical, Mental/Emotional, and Spiritual Restoration for UFRs*

Type of restoration:	**Physical:**	**Mental/Emotional:**	**Spiritual:**
What UFRs say the body needs to feel restored:	• Awareness of what the physical body needs (e.g., needing rest, sleep, and/or play) • Physical distance from the job (e.g., cultural habitus, expectations/performances) (e.g., "break the cycle" (Joey) • Find physically safer spaces (like FF) • Need to slow down, breathe deeply, relax, and de-stress, to occupy the mind with other things outside the job	• Need to preserve, care, and restore their bodies (e.g., compassion, empathy, and patience) • Find meaning in their lives beyond the job/uniform • Disassociate from the uniform-having opportunities to decompress • Acts of self-preservation (i.e., self-care, leisure*) • Opportunities to talk, share, and listen (i.e., the idea of universality) • Identifying triggers/unsafe situations • Advocating for what the body needs • Reaching out and access external care supports • Need to feel safe/cared for both within the governing institution (e.g., upper management and co-workers), and outside the confines of the institution(e.g., family, friends, healthcare professionals)	• Re-charge batteries when they are depleted; Replenish rather than exhaust the body; restore rather than simply cope and "survive another day • Feel free, rather than constrained • Find stillness, calmness, serenity • Have an open mind towards what it means to holistically fuel the spirt and soul • Reflect inwardly (i.e., self-reflective activities such as journaling) • Let their guard down; be vulnerable • Fill their body with love, care, compassion, and kindness

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

To start, I probed UFRs to reflect on what it would physically feel like to distance themselves from the expected performances of the uniform, to disconnect from the cultural habitus (e.g., leaving work at work (Matt)), and to physically "break the cycle" of trauma and stress (Joey). Physical restoration was described by UFRs as requiring an awareness of what the body physically needs (e.g., rest, sleep, and/or play). UFRs also shared needing to nurture safer spaces that offer opportunities to slow down, breathe deeply, relax, and de-stress, and to occupy their minds with things external to the job (Roger, Bruce, Olivia, Nicole, Jack, Tyler, Matt) – a site of disconnection (Coleman & Iso-Ahola, 1993; McCormick & Iwasaki, 2008). For example, UFRs described the physical space of the current research project (FF) as providing space to "walk away" from the whirlwind of expectations/pressures of the job when it becomes "too much" (Joey, Nicole, Olivia), to let go of a depletion mentality (i.e., 'go, go, go' mentality), and to put the needs of body before the uniform (Joey, Nicole, Bruce, Tyler, Jack).

When I asked UFRs what needs to happen for them to feel mentally/emotionally restored, they shared needing to "put in the work" (Nicole) to preserve, care, and restore their bodies and find meaning in their lives beyond the uniform. For example, they expressed needing to "fix [their] brain" (Olivia), to find solace in being imperfect (Bruce), and to restore their compassion, empathy, and patience (Nicole, Roger, Bruce). Further, they reflected on the need to disassociate the uniform mentally/emotionally by taking time to decompress after a "bad" call/shift (Tyler). For example, as a paramedic, Tyler described acts of self-preservation (i.e., self-care) as being vital to ensure he can have a clear mind going back to high-stress, acute care situations. I asked UFRs to specifically reflect on what their bodies need in order to process the trauma(s) they endure while wearing the uniform. They shared the importance acknowledging the "brokenness" of the body by identifying triggers (e.g., sounds, smells, sights) (Roger, Bruce), advocating for what they need, and actively reaching out and accessing caring relations (e.g., peers, therapists, mentors, counsellors, sponsors, life coach etc.). In conversation we talked about how the body needs to restore preventatively (i.e., being aware of the signs of triggers, compassion burnout, trauma, depletion, exhaustion) rather than reactively (e.g., by hitting burnout or rock bottom) and that UFRs need to respond productively (e.g., caring for the wholeness of the body), rather than destructively (e.g., coping with drugs/alcohol, gambling, sex etc.).

The need to feel safe and supported by upper management/co-workers while at work, and family/friends outside of work, was also identified by UFRs as needed for restoration – a site of

connection (Kleiber et al., 2002). Within the institutions that govern UFRs, UFRs identified needing intentional spaces for collective healing (e.g., wellness teams, support circles, peer support, debriefing measures, etc.) that are actionable rather than performative. During our conversations, it became apparent that UFRs, like most human beings, want to feel heard, understood, validated, respected, and to trust that the people around them "have [their] back" (Roger, Jack). As such, UFRs expressed wanting to know they are not alone in how they are feeling or what they are experiencing (i.e., the idea of universality (Yalom, 1975)[42]), so that they can feel like others "get it" (Tyler) as a way to lessen the embodied systemic harms. For Jack, this meant engaging in meaningful conversations with other UFRs so that he can let go of feelings, frustrations, and emotions that fester in the body and can lead to compassion fatigue/burnout(s).

Not only does the toll of the job directly impact UFRs mental/emotional well-being (Nicole, Bruce, Roger, Jack, Tyler, Matt) it also directly impacts their personal relationships outside of work (e.g., spouses, kids, family, friends) (Nicole, Jack, Bruce, Roger, Olivia, Matt). For example, UFRs shared not always feeling like they have the time and mental/emotional energy to "show up" outside of work (Bruce). When I shared these reflections with Bowen, he further spoke to the impact that overtime and shift work can have on the families of UFRs as they are the ones who sacrifice the most. He said, "they [the institution that governs UFRs] don't just hire a person, they hire a family."

On a spiritual level, some UFRs reflected on needing to shift their mindsets to focus on what they can control and let go of the things that are not serving their body (Nicole, Bruce, Jack) by engaging with meaningful spiritual practices (Heintzman, 2008). For example, Olivia shared needing to re-charge her batteries when they are depleted and Nicole described the need to heal the body by creating space for her to feel free, rather than constrained or shackled by the uniform. Although the idea of spirituality did not resonate with all individuals involved, most UFRs reflected on the need to find stillness, calmness, serenity (Roger, Nicole); to have an open mind towards what it means to holistically fuel the spirt and soul (Olivia, Nicole, Tyler); to reflect inwardly (i.e., identifying areas of strength and areas of growth) (Nicole, Roger, Bruce); to let their guard down and be vulnerable (both with themselves and others) (Nicole); and to

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[42]Yalom's (1975) therapeutic factors in group psychotherapy, universality being the recognition that one is not alone in their impulses, problems, or issues.

"take a breath of fresh air" (Matt) and fill their body with love, care, compassion, and kindness (Nicole). Together, we reflected on what it would mean to replenish rather than exhaust the body, to restore rather than simply cope and "survive another day" (Olivia).

While discussing what UFRs holistically need to restore their bodies, they expressed needing more balance between what the uniform gives and takes, between their assigned uniformed identity and their authentic identities, and between the expected performances of the uniform and their personal responsibilities (e.g., taking care of family, house chores, personal hygiene, etc.) (Olivia, Roger, Bruce, Jack). It is at the intersection of physical, mental/emotional, and spiritual restoration that I believe leisure as an intentional act of resisting the uniform can be used to position leisure practices as care, healing, and restoration for UFRs.

Leisure as care, healing, and restoration

I asked UFRs subjectively what leisure means to them and how they define leisure. They shared reflections of leisure as:

- Finding value, meaning, and purpose to one's life (e.g., feeling fulfilled) (Nicole, Olivia, Roger)
- Finding spaces of care and support and to feel loved, cared for (Nicole, Roger, Matt, Tyler, Jack)
- Finding space to be autonomous and learn what they are passionate about and how they want to spend their time while off duty (Olivia, Jack)
- Finding spaces of calmness, stillness, and silence for reflection (Roger, Bruce)
- Pushing and/or challenging their bodies (often physically) (Joey, Jack, Matt)
- Being productive, finding a sense of accomplishment (Tyler)

In relation to the embodiment of the UFR identity and trauma, leisure as resistance can hold space for UFRs to move away from only defining themselves only as a UFR (Nicole, Olivia), by leaning into their intersectional identities (Crenshaw, 1991) and integrating their whole selves (i.e., the process of identity integration[43]) beyond UFR designations. I then asked UFRs to share meaningful practices of leisure that they take up that may offer spaces to feel joy and (re)learn who they are without the uniform (outlined in Table 15).

[43]In her book, The Gifts of Imperfection, Brene Brown (2010) describes the processes of identity integration as being a way to bring all of our identities in order to transform our understanding of the world.

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

Table 15. *Practices of Leisure Taken up by UFRs*

Focus of care:	Practices of leisure:
Physical body	• Fitness/working out/lifting weights • Cycle/biking • Walking, hiking, running • *We also discussed how this may also be as a form of unhealthy escapism, obsession/fixation on the physical body (Roger, Bruce)
Mental/emotional body	• Yoga • Playing (video) games • Taking a hot shower/bath • Finding humour to lighten the mood • Being surrounded by supportive and caring people (e.g., family, friends, co-workers) • Spending time with pets (e.g., dogs • Cooking/baking/eating • Traveling • Watching movies/TV show • Deviant leisure[44] pursuits (e.g., partying, drinking, drug-use, gambling, sex, and dark humour)
Spiritual body	• Yoga • Meditation (i.e., the idea of sitting/being still) • Self-reflection (e.g., journaling) • Being surrounded by supportive and caring people (e.g., family, friends, co-workers) • Being in the outdoors (e.g., nature, travel, etc.)
Leisure as an extension of care beyond the body	• Volunteering for the community (e.g., food drives) • Caring for others around you (e.g., going for drinks or ordering pizza at work to bring up morale after a difficult shift)

As it is important for me to go beyond identifying practices of leisure, I asked UFRs to consider how their definitions and identified practices of leisure could be beneficial if they are taken up as a practice of care, a means for healing, and a site of restoration (outlined in Figure 3).

[44]In the field of leisure studies, Rojek (1997) and Stebbins (1997) described deviant leisure as leisure practices that go against the moral grain of society.

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

Figure 3. *Benefits of Leisure as Care, Healing, and Restoration for UFRs*

Practices of care	A means for healing	A site of restoration
• De-stress • Purposeful time • Serenity, calmness, solitude • Joy,fun, laughter, hapiness • Reciprocol, supportive relationships/connections; Community connection • Love (for self and others) • Healthy disconnection/dissassociation	• Manage/cope with the embodiment of trauma • Being aware and education on what body needs • Finding safety/feeling safe • Feelings of appreciation, gratitude, peacefullness, and groundedness • A sense of universality (Yalom, 1991)	• Feeling refreshed/recharded • Being pacient (with sef and others) • Integrating whole identity (uniformed, intersectional, leisure) • Broadening horizons • Time for self-reflection/retrospection • Freedom

UFRs described leisure practices as offering opportunities to identify habitual practices of care and compassion for the subjective needs and values of the body. For example, Nicole shared needing time to be/feel free and a space to "get lost in the moment" where the construct of time lacks any true meaning (Nicole) (i.e., the idea of flow by Csikszentmihalyi (1992)). Other aspects of leisure identified by UFRs included: spaces of solitude (e.g., to be focused on listening to the body internally, to learn and grow through self-reflection (such as journaling) (Roger); enjoyment (e.g., enjoying time away from the chaos/toxicity of the institution (Bruce, Jack)); serenity and calmness (Roger); mindfulness and presence (e.g., to think/feel without external dialogue as distraction (Nicole); to feel re-energized (Courtney); and to feel *real* joy (e.g., to have fun, laugh, love, and feel happiness (Nicole, Olivia)).

Physical spaces of leisure (such as FF) were described by UFRs as a site of connection and dis-connection (Coleman & Iso-Ahola, 1993; McCormick & Iwasaki, 2008). On one hand, we discussed how leisure and practices of care can offer opportunities to: find a sense of connection and belonging (Roger, Nicole), surround themselves with people they deem to be safe (Joey, Olivia), and connect with like-minded people (e.g., UFRs) to keep them connected to humanity beyond the uniform (Bruce, Tyler, Jack) (i.e., the idea of universality (Yalom, 1991)). This speaks to the idea of civic leisure (Mair, 2002) as the UFRs a part of this project (who are a reflection of the community of UFRs) described using FF as space to work together to restore, rejuvenate, and (re)create stronger communities. On the other hand, UFRs described leisure spaces (FF) as providing a beneficial disconnection from the uniform (Nicole) – a distraction

from negative life events (Kleiber et al., 2002) -- by: having time/space to unwind and de-stress (e.g., "mentally dump" (Olivia); "re-charging the batteries" (Jack)); letting their guard down and removing built up armour (Nicole, Olivia); and prioritising their own well-being above the uniform (Bruce, Roger). Leisure and practices of care, then, become about more than caring for the body, they also become a means for healing the body.

When I asked UFRs what it means to feel healed, they expressed feelings of appreciation, gratitude, peacefulness, and being grounded. I shared with UFRs how I understand leisure as a means for healing in a non-binary way (i.e., healed/broken), and a catalyst for healing the body through whatever means is most meaningful in that moment. For UFRs who have been impacted by trauma, leisure can become a space to come to terms with the trauma they have endured as a vehicle for transformation (Kleiber et al., 2002). For example, Joey described a need to heal the body so that he can "get back up when bad shit happens;" Nicole positioned leisure as creating more bodily awareness; and Roger, Bruce, and Jack spoke of leisure as a way to be educated on what the body intuitively needs. Leisure can therefore be valuable for UFRs to let go of things that make them feel unsafe (e.g., hyper-vigilance, triggers) (Nicole, Bruce, Jack, Matt), to (re)learn how to set and maintain boundaries (with themselves, others, and the institution) (Olivia), and to restore their bodies.

Leisure as a site of restoration is also beneficial for UFRs as they prepare themselves to wear the uniform again and perform the assigned/expected responsibilities. When I asked UFRs to reflect on what this means for them, they shared restoration as being a way to: attend to their whole bodies, rather than only parts of the body (Roger); find meaning and purpose in life beyond the uniform (Olivia); recalibrate who they are and how they want to show up in the work they do (Nicole); identify what they value outside of societal/institutional discourse (Nicole); find inner patience (Roger); and to broaden their horizons by questioning their assumptions, reflecting deeply on their lives, and seeing the "big picture" (Bruce). This once again becomes an example of what Mair (2002) describes as civic leisure.

The last point here --- to broaden their horizons by questioning their assumptions (Bruce) – has direct parallels to the idea of leisure as resistance (Shaw, 2001). For example, Bruce specifically reflected on the need to critically confront the institution that governs UFRs by questioning what can/may exist beyond. In this sense, leisure can play a vital role in restoring UFRs bodies to who they were before the UFR "identity was implanted on us" (Nicole), and who

they can/want to become. When leisure is taken up in this way, UFRs may be able to return to work, wear the uniform, navigate the relations and hierarchies of power (thread one) that uphold the cultural habitus (thread two), and perform the expectations and symbolic representations of the uniform (thread three). As a result, leisure can be helpful to come to terms with who they are/what they represent, and who they want to be/represent with the power and privilege they have been afforded to them as UFRs.

Here, I am questioning: how can leisure be used to reckon with the felt system harms experiences by UFRs and the public? To respond to this question, the following section briefly highlights global (Black Lives Matter, #defundthepolice) and local (WRCPC Friends against Crime Prevention) upstream, justice-oriented movements that are engaged in meaningful and relevant dialogue in relation to the idea being presented here, a re-dressing of the uniform.

Upstream, Justice-oriented Movements Advocating for Redress

In this section I advocate for a needed coming together of state and justice-oriented movements, to sit in shared vulnerability, and to step towards healing broken relations between UFRs and the public. I discuss upstream, justice-oriented movements in this work as a way to point towards a needed redress of the institutions that govern human mobility and life. I recognize that this work in its current form exists at a disconnect with racism and anti-Black racism specifically. I use this section to advocate for a continuation of this work that takes up discussions on white supremacy, power, and systemic oppressions (see Appendix O).

Informed by global and local upstream justice movements (BLM, #defundthepolice, and WRCPC Friends against Crime Prevention), I engage with co-activators (Berbary, 2020) who are already doing meaningful work towards communal healing and restorative justice through community-based approaches. Engaging with upstream justice-oriented movements (being led primarily by Black, Indigenous, and racialized people, women, 2SLGBTQ folxs, and allies) is valuable for this work as they continue to advocate for needed changes by sharply calling attention the discriminatory racial mistreatment to all government-sanctioned sectors of society, most notably policing, embedded within capitalism and ableist ideals. To conclude, I address the third and final guiding research question for this project by offering needed practical recommendations/supports (e.g., how caring relations can be made sustainable), as well as useful future methodological tools/supports that may further this dialogue.

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

With the intention of shifting national dialogue around race and justice, the BLM movement continues to highlight the (in)visible ways in which racism exists by connecting the dots between the brutal violence of slavery, the legacy of an economy built on the subjugation of Black, Indigenous, and racialized people, the decades of unjust systems and practices that rose up in the aftermath of the civil war, and the inequality that continues to pervade society today (Chambers, 2021). In conversation with BLM co-founder Patrice Cullors[45], Chambers (2021) writes that BLM is about more than police brutality, it is also about all the components of a broader system that create the reality we see today (i.e., incarceration, health care, housing, education, economics). In relation to policing, BLM movements are highlighting and addressing the need to imagine a world beyond current carceral systems of policing and confinement (i.e., prison) by calling for more investment in community supports, jobs, education, housing, health care, and services that can offer opportunity for safety, security, and a violence-free life for each member of the public[46]. BLM intentions are directly connected to the #defeundthepolice movement, that advocate for a defunding of state-sanctioned funding and resources from institutions of policing to be put toward community-based services and initiates.

The #defundthepolice calls for a re-investment of state-sanctioned funding and resources that works to create safety and security all members of the public, most pertinently equity-deserving folx[31]. To understand the intention of the #defundthepolice movement, we as a collective humanity must start by acknowledging how the state has created systemic circumstances and harms that make it more likely for individuals to enter worlds of crime (e.g., lack of adequate house, access to food, health care, education, etc.) (Bates & Ng, 2021). Bowen spoke to this when he discussed how equity-deserving communities are "already disenfranchised by society." In 2021, Chambers reported on the issues policing is facing today, saying that police have been given tasks that are outside of their jurisdiction. This was also expressed by Bruce who described policing as becoming a "dumping grounds" of complex social issues and Bowen who said,

> The defund police movement, in all honesty, it depends on who or what the stance is, but my perception of it is I'm not entirely against that idea… okay, defund police and use that money

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[45]BLM was co-founded in 2013 by three radical Black organizers, Alicia Garza, Patrice Cullors, and Opal Tometi, in the response to the acquittal of Trayvon Martin's murderer, George Zimmerman (https://blacklivesmatter.com/herstory/)

[46]https://defundthepolice.org/about/

> to fund social services, which in my mind is makes a ton of sense…. police are doing that job of social service when we're not generally equipped, or the personnel to do that. So, if we can properly support social workers and everything like that, to prevent issues, 100%, totally for it.

The #Defundthepolice movement, therefore, advocates for more funding to go towards more social/community agencies who are able to better handle communal relations (e.g., quality, affordable, and accessible housing, universal quality health care, including community- based mental health services, income support to stay safe during the pandemic, safe living wage employment, education, and youth programming, cultural life, arts, recreation, etc.)[20]. During the *Exclusive* news report[47] highlighted earlier, Deputy Chief Marc Andrews (Peel Region) spoke to this when he said, "when I hear defund the police, what I hear is that the community wants other social services strengthens which ironically is what we the police at leadership levels have been advocating for years."

#Defundthepolice aims to eliminate the root causes of crime by shifting state-sanctioned funding to communal spaces who are working to make communities safer for *all* (Chambers, 2021). Local community organizations, such as the Waterloo Region Crime Prevention Council (WRCPC)[48] (and Friends of Crime Prevention) are also engaged with this work as they advocate for agendas of restorative justice and community stewardship[49] to generate a greater public understanding of the root causes of crime, create deeper community commitments to prevention, and shift crime prevention upstream[50]. In partnership with community liaisons, including the Waterloo Regional Police Association (WRPA), the WRCPC commits to,

> Work with communities and systems to address barriers and amplify voices not being heard. We prevent and reduce social harms by driving structural change through evidence informed strategies that address the root causes and honour diverse ways of knowing and being[51].

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[47]https://toronto.citynews.ca/2021/02/24/the-truth-about-being-a-black-police-officer/

[48]WRCPC, founded in 1994 and founded by the Region of Waterloo, is made up of 40 community leaders representing diverse sectors including education, mental health, child and youth advocates, politicians, and law enforcement.

[49] https://preventingcrime.ca/get-involved/friends-of-crime-prevention/

[50] According to the WRCPC, "upstream approaches to community safety and well-being are about more than the absence of crime; they are about creating a community where everyone has opportunities to grow, learn, work, play, connect, love, and be loved" (https://preventingcrime.ca/our-story/)

[51] https://preventingcrime.ca/our-story/vision-mission-values/

Similarly, as a police officer, Bruce said, “I think stats will back it up that it's really the preventative [community-based] measures that are going to probably curb a lot of the things like addiction, crime, just general dysfunction.”

In conversation with UFRs I probed them to reflect on how community-based policing practices are useful, and currently being utilized, to address the concerns of BLM and #defundthepolice. It is important to note here I do not intend to support “community-based policing” as a binary to “old school policing,” rather I aim to position a re-dress of the uniform as an interruption of “the ways things have been done” (Bruce) that are grounded in white supremacy and capitalistic ideals (i.e., PWIs). UFRs (more specifically, police officers involved in this project), described the pivotal role they feel they perform on the forefront of social systems as they aim to connect the public with community supports/resources (undertaken by the Community Connections branch of the WRPA) with the assistance of other community organizations (such as CMHA, IMPACT team, and WRCPC). As a police officer working in this branch, Gill said,

> I think if you can give someone a chance, or an opportunity to prevent entrance into the justice system, that's far less costly for everyone involved then dealing with it exclusively afterwards… I always try to give an opportunity to do things…as easily as possible, with allowing a personal level of agency… [I will ask people I encounter on the frontline], “tell us what happened to you.”

Bruce and Bowen also spoke to the need to have honest conversations about the current role of police, and the unique opportunity police can have, as agents working on the frontline of community, in furthering agendas of social justice in alignment with justice-oriented movements (such as BLM and #defundthepolice). For example, Bowen said, “the better we communicate the better we can solve [the] problem [at hand].” Similarly, Giwa and colleagues (2021) argued that interagency collaboration between policing and social services (in this case, social work) would be beneficial as police work directly on the frontlines 24/7 and are therefore in a unique position to make help bridge connections for the public to needed community-based services/resources. They said, “seeing police not only as agents of control but also as agents of change could help to promote interagency, interprofessional collaboration” (Giwa et al., 2021, p.232). This dialogue enables us to think differently about policing and self-governance practices (Bates & Ng, 2021) by adapting more community-based practices that breed love and compassion for both UFRs stepping into labourous positions and the public they aim to care for, serve and protect. By

engaging with justice-oriented movements (BLM, #defundthepolice, and WRCPC community-based initiatives), the current section continues to make the case for a needed re-dress of the uniform to further agendas of communal healing and restorative justice.

Re-dressing the Uniform: Needed Supports and Recommendations

The dialogue presented in this thesis sought to make a case for a needed re-dress[52] by addressing: (1) parts of institutional culture that UFRs that perpetuate toxic resilience, (2) the lack of mental health care relations and support that exist within UFR cultures, and (3) the need for leisure spaces of care, compassion, and healing. In alignment with global and local justice-oriented movements (BLM, #defundthepolice, and WRCPC Friend against Crime Prevention), I return to Table 13 to offer a re-framing of what it might look like to shift the hegemonic, ableist ideologies that govern UFRs to be more equitable, just, and compassionate for individuals stepping into labourous, frontline jobs to care for the public. I believe a re-dressing of the uniform can move from: punitive to restorative; power-over to power-within; reactive to proactive; disciplinary to compassionate; performative to action-based; transactional to relational; compartmentalizing to fluid; breeding hostility, hate, harm, and violence to breeding care, connection, and love; institutionalized to community-based; individualized to collective; and broken/fractured to healing. As I reflect on what this re-dress means for UFRs and the lived experiences/reflections they shared with me, I see restorative, disability justice as being focused on resolving conflict (past/present/future), communal healing (through honest dialogue), mutual aid and shifting towards action-based community building as breeding the capacity for *full* restoration (O'Brien & Nygreen, 2020). Re-dressing the uniform therefore becomes a re-imagination of radical visions of justice that provide an alternative to an over-reliance on oppressive and violent systems that cause harms (Kim, 2020). For UFRs, being "forced" (i.e., strategically trained) to productively work even when they are unwell to do so lives at the intersection of capitalism and ableism. I conclude here by offering collective/communal recommendations and supports for needed practical changes (i.e., within the institution that governs UFRs and UFRs themselves), methodological/theoretical tools that can further this

[52]I take up the idea of redress (similar to scholars Amighetti & Nuti, 2015; Henderson & Wakeham, 2013; Spiga, 2012), as momentum towards resisting, restoring, repairing, or reconciling with the institution that governs the uniform and UFRs.

dialogue, and justice-oriented resources/links that may be useful for folx interesting in engaging more with this work.

An Offering of Collective/Communal Recommendations and Supports

I start by sharing some of the ideas brought forward by UFRs on what recommendations and/or supports are needed to better care for the bodies beneath the uniform, and as a result, the public. In conversation with UFRs, it became evident that the recommendations/supports offered by UFRs needs to happen at both the internal level (i.e., within the institution of power that governs the uniform), as well as the external level (i.e., beyond the confines of the institution). Simultaneously, change needs to happen at the individual level (i.e., by UFRs) and at the collective level (i.e., within public discourse). Table 16 outlines these recommendations/supports to address the third guiding research question of this project.

Table 16. *Needed Recommendations and Supports: Where do we go from here?*

	Internally (within the institution)	Externally (beyond the institution)
By the institution	• Re-calibrate institutional policies/protocols, and the toxic expectations of the uniform, to better care for the bodies who step into first responding roles (Q1). • Re-structure the hierarchical, power-over ranking system to invite more justice-oriented and relational ways to lead and mentor uniformed bodies (i.e., work towards re-building trusting relations between upper management and uniformed bodies) (Q1). • Be willing to engage in necessary, critically conversations about systemic oppressions/injustices and how they have created harms and violences against equity-deserving groups (Q1). • Create more focused mental health related training/education practices/protocols (e.g., the reality of the jobs expectations and toll it takes on the body, de-stigmatizing mental health diagnosis) (Q2). • Move from performative to reliable mental health supports to more positive social networks (e.g., supportive colleagues/upper management, daily de-briefing practices, follow up calls after "difficult" calls, creating safer spaces for asking for help, peer support groups, wellness committees etc.) (Q2). • Actively work to de-stigmatise mental health relations (e.g., thoughts/behaviours, asking for help, reaching out for help) and normalizing accessing mental health resources (Q2).	• Be willing to engage in necessary, critically conversations about systemic oppressions/injustices and how they have created harm and violence against equity-deserving groups (Q1). • Enact more community-based leadership with compassion, empathy, and relational understandings in mind with the public (Q1). • Be accountable to what the purpose of the uniform is meant to do (e.g., care, serve, and protect) (Q1). • Create more individualized supports for family/friends that support uniformed bodies off duty (Q2). • Align with wellness spaces that aim to care, heal, and restore the body (such as FF) outside the confines of work (Q2).

A re-dress of the uniform (including the assigned symbolism and meaning) to work towards healing the broken relations with the public.

By the uniformed body	• Engage in the needed learning over the course of career to better serve and protect community members (Q1). • Be critical of "the way things are," challenge the status-quo, and engage in community-based practices that support, serve, and protect *all* members of the public (Q1). • Find spaces to connect with peers and share relatable experiences of the job (i.e., expected performances) (e.g., peer support groups) (Q1/Q2). • Buy in and be willing/vulnerable to have conversations about mental health and caring for the body (Q2). • Shift away from perpetuating stigmatizing thoughts and behaviours surrounding mental health (e.g., prejudice, discrimination) (Q2). • Find balance between the expected performances of the uniform and caring for the body beneath the uniform (e.g., taking a break, venting, debriefing, talking to someone) (Q2).	• Be willing to check your assumptions, beliefs, and biases (the idea of leaving ego and/or uniform at work) (Q1). • Engage in needed dialogue that advocates for UFRs to both share and listen to different lived experiences/stories (e.g., peer support groups) (Q1). • Finding spaces outside work (e.g., FF) to care heal and restore the body (e.g., through leisure pursuits) (Q2). • Find/nurture more positive social networks outside the confines of work (e.g., with family/friends)

Re-imagining relations, restoration, and leisure for UFRs

I also feel it is useful here to offer collective, communal supports for current/future methodological/theoretical tools and considerations to continue the momentum of this work. In table 17 I suggest some tools/considerations that I feel will be beneficial to moving towards a re-dressing of the uniform.

Table 17. *Needed Methodological/Theoretical Tools and Considerations*

Methodological tools/considerations:	Theoretical tools/considerations:
• Community-based (i.e., PAR) in collaboration with UFRs/the institution that governs UFRs • Acton-based methodologies that go beyond performativity and implement useful strategies/practices • Building more reciprocal relationships with community-based organizations taking up this work (e.g., WRCPC, FF) • Knowledge mobilization/implementation practices that move research from paper to action in the community • Narrative, qualitative based, data that speaks to the lived experiences/realities (of UFRs and the public) beyond statistic-driven data	• Theorizing the ways in which bodies are socialized become actors/performers of dominant social systems (putting the onus on the system rather than the individual body) • Critical theories (critical disability theory, critical race theory, feminism(s)) that continue to question dominant, status-quo PWIs • Aligning with justice-oriented movements (BLM, #defund the police, WRCPC community-based initiates) that have already, and continue to, advocate for work on equity, inclusion, and diversity

Finally, Appendix P: Useful justice-oriented resources, highlights a list of global and local resources that are engaged in justice activism. These resources are by no means an exhaustive list, rather they serve as a point of connection to the work that is being done on a global/local scale, in alignment the intention of the current research project. My intention with this is to further this conversation beyond the pages of this document.

Non-conclusion: Where do we go from here?

Here, I offer a non-conclusion (Berbary, 2017) as an intentional way to signal that the research presented for the requirements of this dissertation will not be enough to make the needed changes, and therefore cannot have a definite conclusion. As I come to the close of this

dissertation, I am reminded of the opening quote by Sonia Rene Taylor[53] about how "…we are being given the opportunity to stitch a new garment. One that fits all of humanity and nature." I believe that *all* bodies, including those taking up work as UFRs and the public, are in need of a re-dress in our badly fractured care and justice systems. This dissertation has only taken up part of this discussion as I sought to better understand what is needed for caring persons in formal caring roles within ableist care systems/structures. Change is happening towards a re-dressing of the uniform from the activist work of justice-oriented movements (BLM, #defund the police, and WRCPC), and it is my hope this dissertation aids in continuing this energy for the future world we, collectively, want and need to see. As Mowatt (2021) says in the conclusion of his book, "[for a liberating society] we need to birth the dreamers who will grow up in a just society that we have wrestled from the State" (p. 274).

As UFRs and the public experience parallel tensions and systemic harms (i.e., feeling pressed on by the system (e.g., acts of hypervigilance), the need to think critically about what is said/done, perception of profess, lack of access/opportunity for care, healing, and restoration, and the need for rest/restoration) the onus of this work lands on state-sanctioned systems to atone for odious systemic harms and oppressions felt by UFRs and the public. Rather than UFRs remaining complacent in governance practices that instill fear and intimidation, and blames, scrutinizes, and dehumanizes uniformed bodies, a re-dress of the uniform calls for a re-dress of how the institution that governs UFRs, and UFRs themselves, can truly care for, serve, and protect themselves and the public at large.

This dissertation made the case for leisure as a space for coping (Coleman & Iso-Ahola, 1993; Heintzman, 2008; Iwasaki and Mannell, 2000; Iwasaki & Schneider, 2003; Kleiber et al., 2002) to be used for advocating for needed care, healing, and restoration, for UFRs who are taking on the serious burden of trying to serve and protect, and indirectly the public. This work points toward colonialist processes that position "recovery" and "healing" as a return to productive, rather than a return to wholeness. It is my hope that this work goes beyond performative measures and moves towards the embodiment of social healing by addressing interlocking systems of oppression (Collins, 1990) that press on bodies at systemic, political, and

[53]"We will not go back to normal. Normal never was. Our pre-corona existence was not normal other than we normalized greed, inequity, exhaustion, depletion, extraction, disconnection, confusion, rage, hoarding, hate, and lack. We should not long to return, my friends. We are being given the opportunity to stitch a new garment. One that fits all of humanity and nature."

institutional levels. Collectively, I believe we need to question the kind of world we want to build and the kind of humanity we want to embody (Henderson-Espinoza, 2022), and then actively move towards a future centered around care, healing, and restoration to ensure no *body* is left behind. As justice activist Mariame Kaba advocates, rather than continuing to harm people in bigger and bigger ways through violent systems[54], we, as a collective, need engage in this work together to make it more worthwhile by questioning, "what can we imagine for ourselves and for our world?" (Kaba, 2021, p. 5). Disability justice activist Leah Lakshmi Piepzna-Samarasinha spoke to this question in their book, *The Future is Disabled,* by dreaming disability justice dreams, a reckoning toward disability healing that requires *all* bodies to be free.

[54]https://www.endoftheworldshow.org/blog/2018/11/7/the-practices-we-need-metoo-and-transformative-justice-part-2

Postscript: Writing towards my knowing

"Once you turn on you 'turn it on' [an awakening up to justice-oriented reckonings'], you can never 'turn it off'" is something that has stuck with me ever since Dr. Kelly Anthony said it to me during my final dissertation defense. The space that was created at my final dissertation defense brought forth meaningful and insightful discussions. I am grateful for each of my committee members that thoughtfully contributed to these discussions and guided me to reflections on my work in different ways.

The unfolding events of 2020 – a global pandemic, a resurgence of justice-oriented movements to address shared and felt systemic oppressions – interrupted our collective ontological knowing's. Within a Canadian landscape, the systemic murders Jermaine Carby in 2014[55], Andrew Loku in 2015[56], and Abidirahman Adbi in 2016[57], and countless other Black individuals[58] sparked a global call-to-action to dismantle state power and white supremacy by mobilizing efforts towards community-led social change and collective liberation (Bakshi, 2021). Canadians commonly disparage police violence/brutality as only existing in the United States (such the murders of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor at the hands of police), and instead promote our nation as successfully enacting "multiculturalism." Yet, there are countless systemic instances of racial erasures, injustices, and violence (e.g., assimilation of Indigenous peoples, slavery, Chinese head tax, Japanese internment camp, among others) that have, and continue to, exist within a Canadian context (Mullings et al., 2016).

As members of the public, we all felt the interruption of injustices and social unrest in different ways. I felt this interruption through questions of identity politics, power and privilege, intergenerational trauma, and acts of hate, harm, and violence[59]. I questioned whether the work I had been doing with UFRs (inclusive of police officers) was useful and/or meaningful at this time. I also questioned: Who would I possibly harm by doing this work? Who would I possibly harm by not doing this work? How can I ensure this work doesn't fall into the trap of systematic complacency that has caused so much intergenerational harm and violence? While reflecting on these questions, I felt paralyzed by the thought of continuing this work as I felt that my voice was not what was needed to be heard right now. I am still grappling with many of these questions and, maybe, that has become the true purpose of doing this work; to grapple, to question, to listen, to learn, and to make mistakes. I found Berbary's (2020) concept of theorypracticing[60] to be useful here to think about how to begin to untangle the messy tensions I was, and am, feeling. Berbary (2020) (citing Tuck and Yang, 2018), said,

> We likely sense the call to ask different questions and inquire about those questions differently within the new choreographies of becomings in our social research with others—opening up ourselves, our teachings, and our research projects to a needed critique of past exclusions, displacements, and targeting of Indigenous, Black, two spirit,

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[55]https://www.thestar.com/news/crime/2015/07/31/jermaine-carby-taken-in-under-mental-health-act-a-month-before-police-shot-him-dead

[56] https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/coroners-inquest-andrew-loku

[57] https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/26/canada-police-beating-abdirahman-abdi-ontario

[58]https://sayevery.name

[59]Mowatt (2021) defines violence as "the currency of colonialism and capitalism that is spent on maintaining the social order of daily life" (p. 184)

[60]Berbary (2020) define theorypractice as "reinforces that theory and practice *should*, and truthfully always have, been one and must be valued equally and engaged simultaneously to move us toward the most useful action" (p. 6)

> trans, queer, asexual, disabled, of color, aging, street involved, migrant, newcomer, imprisoned, mad, fat, and poor folx—that liberal multicultural listing for which there are not sufficient alternatives (p. 2).

It is with these ideological assumptions in mind that I move through this interruption, and my future writings of this work, intentionally, thoughtfully, rigorously, and mindfully. The remainder of my interruption reflections live in Appendix O.

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Appendix A. Relevant Literature on UFRs and Mental Well-being
*studies range from 2005-present, **Canadian-focused studies are bolded**

Author/Year:	**Focus:**	**Methodological approach/framework:**	**Main Findings/Outcomes and/or proposed action-based strategies:**
Ricciardelli et al. (2020)	**Public safety personnel (Canada)**	**Thematic analysis-optional open-ended comments provided by over 828 Canadian public safety personnel as part of a larger online survey.**	**Results indicated that systematic processes may have (1) shaped public safety personnel decisions for care-seeking, (2) influenced how care-seekers were viewed by their colleagues, and (3) encouraged under-awareness of personal mental health needs. We described how public safety personnel who do seek care may be viewed by others; in particular, we identified widespread participant suspicion that coworkers who took the time to address their mental health needs were "abusing the system."**
Jones et al. (2019)	First responders (Firefighters and EMS personnel) (U.S.)	A community-based approach and individual ethnographic qualitative interviews were used.	Analysis generated three broad factors that influenced first responder's perception of mental health problems and engagement in mental health services: (a) Knowledge, (b) Barriers to help-seeking, and (c) Facilitators to help-seeking. Knowledge was an overarching factor that encompassed barriers and facilitators: A lack of knowledge was a barrier to help-seeking but increased knowledge served as a facilitator. Barriers included five subthemes: Can't show weakness, Fear of confidentiality breech, Therapist: negative experience, Lack of access and availability, and Family burden. First responders, as well as mental health care providers, need a more thorough understanding of these issues in order to mitigate barriers and facilitate help-seeking. As advocates, educators, and health care providers, psychiatric nurses are well-positioned to care for this at-risk population.
Szeto et al., (2019)	**First responders (Canada)**	**Road to Mental Readiness for First Responders program (R2MR). The program was tested using a pre-post design with a 3-month follow-up in 5 first-responder groups across 16 sites.**	**The results indicate that R2MR for First Responders was effective at reducing the stigma of mental illness and increasing resiliency skills after program implementation in participants across 16 different sites and in 5 different first-responder groups. As such, our results indicate that the program was successful in achieving its main course objectives. In general, after taking the R2MR for First Responders program, participants reported fewer stigmatizing attitudes towards those with mental health illnesses and felt more prepared to handle stressful and traumatic events in their workplace.**

Carleton et al. (2018)	**Public Safety Officers (i.e., call center operators/ dispatchers, correctional workers, firefighters, municipal/provincial police, paramedics, Royal Canadian Mounted Police) (Canada)**	**5813 participants (32.5% women)** **Online survey was made available in English or French from September 2016 to January 2017**	**Substantial proportions of participants reported current symptoms consistent with 1 (i.e., 15.1%) or more (i.e., 26.7%) mental disorders based on the screening measures. There were significant differences across PSP categories with respect to proportions screening positive based on each measure.** **44.5% of public safety officers were screened positive for significant clusters of mental health challenges** **The current Canada-specific public safety personnel results lend support to calls for a National Action Plan with emphasis on rigorous and robust research, including a full epidemiology study, to support public safety personnel mental health.**
Harenburg et al. (2018)	**Emergency medical services (EMS) Personnel (Canada)**	**EMS workers from a single mid-western Canadian organization (n = 100) participated in the study. The participants completed the Posttraumatic Stress Disorder Checklist (PCL-5) and the Depression, Anxiety and Stress Scale (DASS-21) as part of an online survey.**	**The results revealed that five per cent of HEMS personnel experienced heightened PTSD symptoms. Participants self-reported levels of depression, anxiety, and stress symptoms (i.e., 83-89% in the "normal" range on the DASS-21) that were particularly low and consistent with reports from the general population (i.e., > 80-94% normal; Crawford & Henry, 2003) and some reports from Emergency Medical Service (EMS) personnel (i.e., > 93% normal). Taken together, the self-reported symptoms of PTSD, depression, anxiety, and stress were lower in this population than expected.**
Crowe et al., (2017)	First responders (U.S.)	Content analysis	Comparing perceived societal resources and personal competence among FR and the general population (e.g., resilience, positive coping, social support, personal competence, perseverance, emotional regulation, and physical fitness). Main findings: (1) Although both the general population and first responder participants highlighted the importance of having a support network, first responders suggested that dealing with traumatic experiences was more of an individual process, and seeking professional help was not common practice; (2) One important point of discussion is that the characteristics identified by first responders did not include the desire to process these traumatic events with a helping professional; (3) The assumption then is

			that first responders believe that traumatic events and work stress should be dealt with individually, and that to survive in the job, they must learn internal coping mechanisms.
Martin et al., (2017)	Firefighters and EMS personnel (U.S.)	Participants (N=3036) from a large, urban fire department completed demographic and self-report measures of alcohol dependence, depression, posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) symptom severity, and lifetime suicidal ideation and attempts.	Major findings: (1depression was significantly associated with lifetime suicidal ideation and suicide attempts; (2) PTSD symptoms severity was significantly associated with lifetime suicidal ideation and attempts, (3) rates of suicidal ideation were higher before joining the department than ideation after joining; (4) rates of suicide were higher before joining the department than attempts after joining
Wilson et al. (2016)	**First responders (Canada)**	**Literature review**	**Estimates suggest that as many as 2.5 million adult Canadians and 70,000 Canadian first responders have suffered from PTSD in their lifetimes. While we could not find any evidence on the economic cost of PTSD specifically, a recent estimate suggests that mental illness in the Canadian labour force results in productivity losses of $21 billion each year. Research from Australia suggests that expanded mental health care may improve the benefits of treatment over traditional care, and more cost-effectively. Given the methodological challenges in the existing studies and the paucity of evidence on Canada, more Canadian studies on prevalence, on the economic and social costs of PTSD, and on the costs and effectiveness of various treatment options are encouraged.**
Beshai & Carleton. (2016)	**First responders (Canada)**	**Systematic review**	**Results from a review conducted by a team of researchers at the University of Regina have shown that there is an urgent need for more research on the effectiveness of peer support and crisis-focused psychological intervention programs designed to help First Responders — police, paramedics, and fire and rescue personnel — cope with the trauma often associated with their work. The research team also identifies a need for "methodologically rigorous" research that examines the effectiveness of peer support and crisis-focused psychological intervention programs. Among the few studies conducted to date, many have significant methodological limitations.**
Karaffa & Koch (2016)	Police officers (U.S)	248 police officers completed a 62-item online survey related to their attitudes toward	Results indicate that public stigma and self-stigma were negatively correlated with attitudes toward seeking psychological help. Self-stigma fully mediated the relationship between public stigma and attitudes toward seeking help, and the model explained 56% of the variance in attitude scores. The results also suggest that police officers tended to believe that their peers were less

		seeking mental health services, mental health stigma, and perceptions of other officers' willingness to seek services.	willing to seek mental health services for several common presenting issues than they actually were.
Bell and Eski (2015)	Police officers (UK)	Content analysis	Focused discussion on: (1) the stigma of mental health issues, (2) Police culture and mental health stigmatization, and (3) research-based training. Research on the topic of police officers' attitudes to people with mental health issues is scant, with even less understanding and research about police officers' attitudes to colleagues experiencing mental health problems. By better understanding police officer attitudes to mental health through critical research, as has been suggested here, recommendations can be made to improve the effective management of mental health within the service. Greater knowledge could address the failure to effectively recognize the detrimental impact of workplace mental health problems upon police officers and, in a broader context, the safety of the communities they serve.
Andersen et al. (2015)	**Police officers (Canada)**	**Paper (open dialogue)**	**Police officers are expected to respond to critical incidents and resolve challenging situations effectively despite routine exposure to severe stress. Even though local and national governments invest a vast amount of money in police tactical training and equipment, resilience building has not been a major component of police training. Fostering resilience in the face of adversity. Mental preparedness' (that is, psychological (i.e., conscious awareness of one's state of mind) and physiological (i.e., arousal, ability to focus, and clarity of the mind) awareness) while on active duty.**
Flannery (2014)	First responders (U.S.)	Conceptual framework	Given the multiplicity of impacts from psychological trauma and the inadequacies of responder treatment intervention research thus far, this paper proposes a paradigmatic shift from single/double treatment interventions to a multi-modal approach to first responder victim needs. A conceptual framework based on psychological trauma is presented and possible multi-modal interventions selected from the limited, extant first responder research are utilized to illustrate how the approach would work and to encourage clinical and experimental research into first responder treatment needs.
Faust & Ven (2014)	First responders (large scale disasters) (U.S.)	Literature review	We conclude with a summary of current research and a critique of what is missing in the literature including attention to subclinical PTSD, proper training, the lack of attention to institutional screening for PTSD vulnerability, and the dearth of evaluation research on "what works" in disaster preparedness for police officers.

Karaffa and Tochkov (2013)	Police (U.S)	Sample of 158 sworn officers	Results indicate that officers exhibited, on average, a neutral attitude toward seeking professional services. Officers' perception of other officers' willingness to seek services was positively correlated with attitude scores, while endorsement of the distrust of outsiders' norm was negatively correlated with attitude scores. Officers perceived their colleagues to be less willing to seek psychological help than themselves and generally indicated concern with pragmatic aspects of service utilization.
Wagner & O'Neill (2012)	**Firefighters (Volunteer) (Canada)**	**Responses to the Impact of Event Scale-Revised (IES-R), the Neuroticism-Extroversion-Openness Personality Inventory (NEO-PI) and the Symptom checklist (SCL)-90R were collected from a sample of volunteer firefighters (*n*=64), as well as from a similar comparison sample (*n*=103).**	**Volunteer fire service members reported significantly higher rates of posttraumatic stress symptomatology when compared to a similar group of comparison participants. In contrast, no differences were found in other types of mental health symptomatology between the volunteer fire fighters and comparison group. Additionally, there appeared to be few differences in the patterns regarding prediction of mental health symptomatology from individual personality characteristics for the two groups. Generally, the authors' results suggested that, regardless of group, neuroticism was a predictor of mental health symptomatology in many domains.**
Haugen et al. (2012)	First responders (U.S.)	Systematic review of PTSD treatment literature (English and non-English)	Highlights of review: (1) Of 845 studies identified only 17 focus on PTSD in first responders, (2) We identified no medication RCTs and only 2 psychosocial RCTs, (3) Effect sizes in psychosocial RCTs are large, (4) Based on the first responder literature identified, treatment guidelines are questionable (5) Additional treatment studies of PTSD in first responders are sorely needed.
Kleim & Westphal (2011)	First responders (U.K.)	Systematic review	A number of implications for prevention and intervention strategies can be drawn from the results of the present review. Based on the predictor studies reviewed above, first responders identified as high risk groups due to risk factors such as a history of mental illness, being injured during rescue operations, or those who screen positive for symptoms of acute or posttraumatic stress disorder or other psychological disorders in the initial aftermath of the event would present important candidates for these interventions. Another approach would be to develop, test, and disseminate

			prevention programs. Such programs could promote resilience in first responders. More specific trauma-informed, skill-based programs have been developed for families facing the impact of wartime deployments.
Prati and Pietrantoni (2010)	First responders (e.g., firefighters, police officers, and paramedics or emergency medical services personnel). (U.K.)	Meta-analytic review	As hypothesized, there were no significant differences between the estimates of longitudinal and cross-sectional studies. Therefore, relationship of social support to mental health was not significantly stronger in cross-sectional studies than in longitudinal studies. This result does not offer support to the idea that social support resources are merely correlates of mental health. Generally speaking, this study supports the notion that social support is a resilience factor in the aftermath of potentially traumatic events. Social support may be of importance in the cognitive processing of traumatic events.
Regehr and Millar (2007)	**Paramedics (Canada)**	**Mixed methods: survey and qualitative interviews**	**Operational and organizational stressors in the workplace of paramedics including excessive work demand, a lack of time for rest, lack of job control, lack of decision-making ability (e.g., hierarchical bureaucracy), and lack of support from employers. The paramedics in this study perceived their work environment as being high in demand, low in control, and low in support. The results point to the urgent need to consider organizational stressors and the impact that chronically stressful conditions have on workers. Emergency service organizations must find ways to increase supports available to workers and increase the sense that their skills and knowledge are valued and their decisions and opinions are respected.**

Appendix B. Healthy Minds, Safe Communities Report (2016)

Retrieved from http://publications.gc.ca/site/archivee-archived.html?url=http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2016/parl/xc76-1/XC76-1-1-421-5-eng.pdf

Jason Godin, President of the Union of Canadian Correctional Officers, said:

> We are the first responders in the truest sense. We are paramedics, we are police officers, and we are firefighters behind the walls of Canada's federal prisons.... We are the ones who must often compensate for the lack of nursing staff after hours and on weekends. We are the first responders for suicide attempts and for any medical emergencies.... In the correctional environment, where rates of infectious diseases are higher than any other community in the country, it is our officers' duty to administer CPR to inmates in distress, only a few centimetres away from an inmate's face, usually covered in bodily fluids. We are clearly the forgotten about public safety officers who are not in the spotlight of the public eye, within a system that most Canadians would prefer to ignore. Unfortunately, the traumatic effects of the work that we do is not often recognized (Healthy Minds Strategic Report, 2016, p. 3).

Scott Marks, Assistant to the General President, Canadian Operations, International Association of Fire Fighters, said:

> We are first on the scene in virtually any emergency, whether it's a structural fire, a highway accident, a serious medical call, a hazardous materials incident, or any other emergency. It's well-known that firefighting is a dangerous and physically demanding occupation and that firefighters suffer high rates of workplace injury and illness. Less known are the mental demands of the occupation, including the effects of being regularly exposed to scenes and images that anyone would find disturbing and difficult to see (Healthy Minds Strategic Report, 2016, p.4).

Pierre Poirier, Executive Director of the Paramedic Association of Canada, said:

> I think the uniqueness oftentimes is that paramedics do develop relationships with their patients. That has an emotional context, too, which oftentimes isn't seen with the fire community.... That's why I refer to as us having a unique relationship. Oftentimes there's an emotional attachment—or maybe detachment, however we want to work it. We are engaged emotionally with our patients in their treatment. We see the ups and downs in terms of our interventions. I think that really does add to the level of complexity, or to what makes so unique the work we do. It's not that we're better than; it's just that it's different (Healthy Minds Strategic Report, 2016. p. 4).

Richard Kent, President of the Aboriginal Firefighters Association of Canada, stated:

> When we look at Canada's First Nations emergency responders, we must be aware that the people they respond to who need their help are more often than not friends, relatives, or acquaintances. Our First Nation communities are very close-knit communities where everyone tends to know everyone. This definitely adds to the emotional injuries that they will be and are suffering from (Healthy Minds Strategic Report, 2016, p. 4).

Randy Mellow, President of the Paramedic Chiefs of Canada advocated for a needed continuum of support for UFRs including education, resilience training, exposure training, and returning to the workforce programs (Healthy Minds Strategic Report, 2016).

Appendix C. Research Information Letter, Consent Form, and Demographic Information

Research Information Letter and Consent Form

Title of the study: Opportunities for Redress: Re-imagining Relations for Uniformed Bodies, Restoration, and Leisure

Faculty Supervisor (Lead Investigator): Dr. Kimberly Lopez, Assistant Professor, Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies, Faculty of Health, University of Waterloo. Email: kjlopez@uwaterloo.ca

Student Investigator: Jaylyn Leighton, PhD. Candidate, Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies, Faculty of Health, University of Waterloo. Email: jjleight@uwaterloo.ca

To help you make an informed decision regarding your participation, this letter will explain what the study is about, the possible risks and benefits, and your rights as a research participant. If you do not understand something in the letter, please ask one of the investigators prior to consenting to the study. You will be provided with a copy of the information and consent form if you choose to participate in the study.

What is the study about?

You are invited to participate in a research study about the holistic wellness of uniformed first responders (UFRs) through leisure-based practices healing and restoration. Uniformed first responders (UFRs) include: the tri-services fire, police and paramedics), search and rescue personnel, correctional services officers, border services officers, operational intelligence personnel, and Indigenous emergency managers. This research study is a collaborative process between The University of Waterloo and staff members at FF in Southern Ontario. Research demonstrates that due to the nature of work, UFRs are considered to be at higher risk for experiencing stressors affecting their mental well-being leading to depression, alcoholism, and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). As such, the current research project employs the concept of *redress* -- the idea of resisting, restoring, repairing, and/or reconciling -- to unpack for some UFRs cultures: (1) promote toxic resilience and violence to and by uniformed bodies, (2) require more adequate compassionate, holistic care and support, (3) might benefit from storytelling to advocate for needed care and being vulnerable to discuss the harms of toxic resilience, and (4) might benefit from leisure as preventative care, healing, and restoration.

This study is being undertaken as part of my (Jaylyn Leighton) PhD research dissertation. I plan to work with UFRs, and specifically the community at *FF*, to address the following overarching questions: (1) What does sustainable care look like for UFRs? and (2) In what ways, if any, can leisure be taken up to re-humanize the UFR culture and restore well-being to caring bodies?

I. Your responsibilities as a participant

What does participation involve?

At the forefront of the study, you will be asked to submit demographic information for research purposes. This includes: age, gender, ethnicity, education, occupation, number of years in service, and annual income. The purpose of collecting this demographic information is to gain a better understanding of who the participants of this study are regarding the purpose/intent of the broader research project. This demographic information will be stated in the dissemination materials (i.e., written dissertation, journal articles) to give potential readers a better understanding of the participants of this study. You will be asked to fill out this demographic information at the end of this information letter once you have consented to participate in this research project. This

information will be kept confidential from other participants. As well, this information will be stored separately from other identifiable information (e.g., consent form).

Participation in the study will consist of attending six FF community workshop events (over an 8-week period). Please note, these workshops will not be made public to other members of FF and/or the general public who are not participating in this research project. You will be asked to attend focus group #1 and #6. You will be asked to also attend one of focus group #2 or #3 and one of focus group #4 and #5. The audio recorded focus groups include:

1. Coffee and Storytime: Introduction and Storytime
2. Coffee and Storytime: Exploring and understanding UFR cultures (structures, hierarchies, systems)
3. Coffee and Storytime: Navigating a UFR identity (What does it mean to be a UFR?)
4. Coffee and Storytime: Mental health care and support (on and off duty)
5. Coffee and Storytime: Leisure and well-being (leisure practices as care)
6. Coffee and Storytime: Needed recommendations and supports for future polices/practices

Each session is expected to last approximately 90 minutes. The workshops will occur at *FF*. Snacks and refreshments will be provided. As a group, we will engage in a focus group. The types of questions that will be asked will include: What does it mean to be a UFR? How do you navigate your identity as a UFR on and off duty? What supports need to be put in place to create safe spaces for UFR to engage in leisure spaces as practices of care, a means for healing, and a site for restoration?

The focus-group sessions will be audio recorded to ensure an accurate transcript of the conversations. With your permission, quotations may be used in publications and presentations with a pseudonym in place of your real name. Given the group format of this session I will ask you to keep other participants identity confidential.

You will also be asked to participate in a conversational style interview with Jaylyn at some point throughout the research process that will be approximately 1 hour in length (once focus groups are complete). During this informal interview you will be asked questions such as: Tell me about your story of becoming a UFR? What does it mean to identify as a UFR? What are some of the typical practices you engage with on a daily basis? How do understand leisure spaces as being a site for restoration? etc.

The individual interviews will also be audio recorded to ensure an accurate transcript of the conversation. With your permission, quotations may be used in publications and presentations with a pseudonym in place of your real name.

Once we have completed the focus groups and the audio-recorded individual interviews, I will ask that you engage in a member-checking process with me. This means, once all the transcripts from the audio-recordings have been transcribed and analysed by the research team, I will sit down with you to go over the findings to ensure that I have understood the experiences/stories you have shared and that I am accurately representing this in the findings.

Who may participate in the study?

In order to participate in the study, you must identify and be in a role of a uniformed first responder. You must be at least 18 years of age.

II. Your rights as a participant

Is participation in the study voluntary?

Your participation in this study is **voluntary**. You may decide to leave the study at any time by communicating this with Jaylyn, or staff at *FF*. Any information you provided up to that point will not be used. You may decline to answer any question(s) you prefer not to answer. You can request your data be removed from the study up until January 2022. After this point, it is not possible to withdraw your data once the research dissertation has been submitted to the University of Waterloo. Please note that due to the focus group format it may be difficult to remove all of your data.

Will I receive anything for participating in the study?

To thank you for your time you will receive a $50 gift card. If you leave the study during the research project, you will still receive the gift card. The amount received is taxable. It is your responsibility to report this amount for income tax purposes.

What are the possible benefits of the study?

The anticipated benefits of this study may include: personal benefits (i.e., new insights/understandings of leisure spaces and care, healing, and restoration), benefit to the organization of *FF* (i.e., building relationships, opportunities for social events), benefits to the culture of UFRs within the KW area, and scholarly benefits (i.e., showcasing deeper insights and meanings into the institution of UFRs, and the need for addressing mental health care and support through spaces of leisure as care, healing, and restoration).

What are the risks associated with the study?

As with many human research projects there may be risks and harms associated to participation including: (1) Physical risks or harm (e.g., bodily contact, muscle strain etc.), (2) Psychological or emotional risks or harms (feeling demeaned, distressed, embarrassed, upset, worried, upset, loss of confidence, regret, disruption) due to the vulnerable topics that will be explored and discussed, and/or (3) Social risks or harms (loss of status, privacy, reputation, control of self) because of the topics that will be explored and discussed throughout the workshops, focus groups, and interviews. As a collaborative research team, it will be our responsibility to ensure we are limiting the harm/risk for all individuals involved and identify a plan of action for dealing with any harms/risks that may arise throughout the research project. Due to the nature of this research project, it is possible that some participants may find the topics of conversation upsetting. In this case, any potential harms and risks involved in this research project will be mitigated by the research team providing any additional resources or supports needed (e.g., providing information and contacts for counselling services, community mental health services/programs, and/or online resources).

Will my identity be known to others?

To ensure the confidentiality and anonymity of all participants, participants will be assigned a pseudonym for the purposes of this research project. Please note, that the research team and other participants will be aware of anything you choose to share with the group during the leisure-based workshops and audio-recorded focus groups.

Will my information be kept confidential?

The information you share will be safely stored on a password protected computer for the research team. Your name will not be used in any paper or publication resulting from this study. Identifying information will be removed from the data that is collected and will be stored separately. Audio recordings will be deleted after I defend my dissertation (expected to be summer 2022). The transcripts and other electronic data will be securely stored for a minimum of 7 years in an encrypted folder on my password protected laptop. Although we will ask all participants in your focus group to maintain confidentiality, we cannot guarantee that they will do so

III. Questions, comments, or concerns

Who is sponsoring/funding this study?

There is no funding and/or sponsorship associated to this research project.

Has the study received ethics clearance?

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Board (REB #43039). If you have questions for the Board, contact the Office of Research Ethics at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or reb@uwaterloo.ca

Who should I contact if I have questions regarding my participation in the study?

If you have any questions regarding this study or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please contact Jaylyn Leighton at jjleight@uwaterlo.ca. You may also contact the faculty supervisor (primary investigator) at the University of Waterloo, Dr. Kimberly Lopez, if you have any questions, comments, or concerns regarding this research project at kjlopez@uwaterloo.ca

Sincerely,

Jaylyn Leighton, PhD(c)
Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies, Faculty of Health, University of Waterloo
jjleight@uwaterloo.ca

Dr. Kimberly Lopez, Assistant Professor
Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies, Faculty of Health, University of Waterloo
kjlopez@uwaterloo.ca

Consent Form

By providing your consent, you are not waiving your legal rights or releasing the investigator(s) or involved institution(s) from their legal and professional responsibilities.

Title of the study: Opportunities for Redress: Re-imagining Relations for Uniformed Bodies, Restoration, and Leisure

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study conducted by Jaylyn Leighton, under the supervision of Dr. Kimberly Lopez (Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies, Faculty of Health, University of Waterloo). I have had the opportunity to ask questions related to the study and have received satisfactory answers to my questions and any additional details.

I was informed that participation in the study is voluntary and that I can withdraw this consent by informing the researcher.

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Board (REB #43039). If you have questions for the Board, contact the Office of Research Ethics at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or reb@uwaterloo.ca

For all other questions contact Jaylyn Leighton at jjleight@uwaterloo.ca.

♦ I agree to participate in the six facilitated leisure-based workshop series (each approx. 1.5 hours in length occurring at the FF facility)

♦ I am aware the focus groups occurring at the end of each workshop will be audio recorded to ensure accurate transcription and analysis.

♦ I am aware the individual interview with the researcher will also be audio recorded to ensure accurate transcription and analysis.

♦ I give permission for the use of anonymous quotations in any thesis or publication that comes from this research.

I agree of my own free will to participate in the study.
Participant's name: ____________________________

Participant's signature: ________________________ Date:_________________

Researcher's/Witness' signature___________________ Date:_________________

Participant Demographic Information

Please provide the research team with the following information:

*Please note, if you are uncomfortable sharing any of the information below, please leave the space blank.

Pronouns:____

Current Age:____

Gender: ____

Race: ____

Occupation: ____

Number of Years of Service:____

Education/Training: ____

Current annual income: ____

If you have any questions, concerns, or comments for the researcher and/or research team at FF, please contact Jaylyn or the research team members at FF.

Appendix D. Race-focused Research Information Letter, Consent Form, and Demographic Information

Research Information Letter and Consent Form

Title of the study: Opportunities for Redress: Re-imagining Relations for Uniformed Bodies, Restoration, and Leisure

Faculty Supervisor (Lead Investigator): Dr. Kimberly Lopez, Assistant Professor, Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies, Faculty of Health, University of Waterloo. Email: kjlopez@uwaterloo.ca

Student Investigator: Jaylyn Leighton, PhD. Candidate, Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies, Faculty of Health, University of Waterloo. Email: jjleight@uwaterloo.ca

To help you make an informed decision regarding your participation, this letter will explain what the study is about, the possible risks and benefits, and your rights as a research participant. If you do not understand something in the letter, please ask one of the investigators prior to consenting to the study. You will be provided with a copy of the information and consent form if you choose to participate in the study.

What is the study about?

You are invited to participate in a research study about the holistic wellness of uniformed first responders (UFRs) through leisure-based practices healing and restoration. Uniformed first responders (UFRs) include: the tri-services fire, police and paramedics), search and rescue personnel, correctional services officers, border services officers, operational intelligence personnel, and Indigenous emergency managers. This research study is a collaborative process between The University of Waterloo and staff members at a local community Wellness Centre (focused on first responders) in Southern Ontario. Research demonstrates that due to the nature of work, UFRs are considered to be at higher risk for experiencing stressors affecting their mental well-being leading to depression, alcoholism, and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). As such, the current research project employs the concept of *redress* -- the idea of resisting, restoring, repairing, and/or reconciling-- to unpack for some UFRs cultures: (1) promote toxic resilience and violence to and by uniformed bodies, (2) require more adequate compassionate, holistic care and support, (3) might benefit from storytelling to advocate for needed care and being vulnerable to discuss the harms of toxic resilience, and (4) might benefit from leisure as preventative care, healing, and restoration.

This study is being undertaken as part of my (Jaylyn Leighton) PhD research dissertation. I plan to work with UFRs, and specifically the community at *FF*, to address the following overarching questions: (1) What does sustainable care look like for UFRs? and (2) In what ways, if any, can leisure be taken up to re-humanize the UFR culture and restore well-being to caring bodies?

Some data for this research project has already been collected. The data collection phase of this project started in October 2021. A total of eight participants were recruited at a local Wellness Centre (focused on first responders in the community) to participate in ten audio-recorded focus group sessions and an individual interview with the student researcher. These audio-recorded focus groups were transcribed for data analysis purposes. The student researcher has created an executive summary of this data to share with participants of this secondary analysis This executive summary is preliminary and subject to shift and change in line with the conversations of the future interviews/focus groups. The intention of the secondary interviews/focus groups is to go through a process of reflection and analysis of the current findings of the data.

I. Your responsibilities as a participant

What does participation involve?

At the forefront of the study, you will be asked to submit demographic information for research purposes. This includes: age, gender, ethnicity, education, occupation, number of years in service, and annual income. The purpose of collecting this demographic information is to gain a better understanding of who the participants of this study are regarding the purpose/intent of the broader research project. This demographic information will be stated in the dissemination materials (i.e., written dissertation, journal articles) to give potential readers a better understanding of the participants of this study. You will be asked to fill out this demographic information at the end of this information letter once you have consented to participate in this research project. This information will be kept confidential from other participants. As well, this information will be stored separately from other identifiable information (e.g., consent form).

Participation in the study will consist of attending **up to three** (to be determined between participant and student researcher) audio-recorded interviews and/or focus group sessions with first responders in the KW region who identify as Black, Indigenous, Person of Colour. These sessions are expected to last approximately 90 minutes. The location of the interviews/focus groups will be organized between the participant(s) and the student researcher. The types of questions that will be asked will include: What are your initial reactions to the themes presented from the data of this project? What, if anything, is missing based on your experiences? As a BIPOC first responder, how do these themes either relate or differ from your own understandings and experiences? What do you believe is the best way to disseminate this information? To whom does this information need to be disseminated to?

The interviews/focus-group sessions will be audio recorded to ensure an accurate transcript of the conversations. With your permission, quotations may be used in publications and presentations with a pseudonym in place of your real name. In the case that this is a group format, I will ask you to keep other participants identity confidential.

Once we have completed the focus groups, I will ask that you engage in a member-checking process with me individually. This means, once I have transcribed and analyzed the transcripts from these three focus groups, I will share the preliminary findings with you to ensure that I have understood the experiences/stories you have shared and that I am accurately representing this in the findings.

Who may participate in the study?

In order to participate in the study, you must identify and be in a role of a uniformed first responder. You must be at least 18 years of age. You must also identify as a member of the BIPOC communities and/or be affiliated or working with BIPOC communities.

II. Your rights as a participant

Is participation in the study voluntary?

Your participation in this study is **voluntary**. You may decide to leave the study at any time by communicating this with Jaylyn, Any information you provided up to that point will not be used. You may decline to answer any question(s) you prefer not to answer. You can request your data be removed from the study up until June 2022. After this point, it is not possible to withdraw your data once the research dissertation has been submitted

to the University of Waterloo. Please note that due to the focus group format it may be difficult to remove all of your data.

Will I receive anything for participating in the study?

To thank you for your time you will receive a $50 gift card. If you leave the study during the research project, you will still receive the gift card. The amount received is taxable. It is your responsibility to report this amount for income tax purposes.

What are the possible benefits of the study?

The anticipated benefits of this study may include personal benefits (i.e., new insights/understandings of leisure spaces and care, healing, and restoration), benefits to the culture of UFRs within the KW area, and scholarly benefits (i.e., showcasing deeper insights and meanings into the institution of UFRs, and the need for addressing mental health care and support through spaces of leisure as care, healing, and restoration).

What are the risks associated with the study?

As with many human research projects there may be risks and harms associated to participation including: (1) Psychological or emotional risks or harms (feeling demeaned, distressed, embarrassed, upset, worried, upset, loss of confidence, regret, disruption) due to the vulnerable topics that will be explored and discussed, and/or (2) Social risks or harms (loss of status, privacy, reputation, control of self) because of the topics that will be explored and discussed throughout the focus groups. As a collaborative research team, it will be our responsibility to ensure we are limiting the harm/risk for all individuals involved and identify a plan of action for dealing with any harms/risks that may arise throughout the research project. Due to the nature of this research project, it is possible that some participants may find the topics of conversation upsetting. In this case, any potential harms and risks involved in this research project will be mitigated by the research team providing any additional resources or supports needed (e.g., providing information and contacts for counselling services, community mental health services/programs, and/or online resources).

Will my identity be known to others?

To ensure the confidentiality and anonymity of all participants, participants will be assigned a pseudonym for the purposes of this research project. Please note, that the research team and other participants will be aware of anything you choose to share with the audio-recorded focus groups.

Will my information be kept confidential?

The information you share will be safely stored on a password protected computer for the research team. Your name will not be used in any paper or publication resulting from this study. Identifying information will be removed from the data that is collected and will be stored separately. Audio recordings will be deleted after I defend my dissertation (expected to be Fall 2022). The transcripts and other electronic data will be securely stored for a minimum of 7 years in an encrypted folder on my password protected laptop. Although we will ask all participants in your focus group to maintain confidentiality, we cannot guarantee that they will do so

III. Questions, comments, or concerns

Who is sponsoring/funding this study?

There is no funding and/or sponsorship associated to this research project.

Has the study received ethics clearance?

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Board (REB #43039). If you have questions for the Board, contact the Office of Research Ethics at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or reb@uwaterloo.ca

Who should I contact if I have questions regarding my participation in the study?

If you have any questions regarding this study or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please contact Jaylyn Leighton at jjleight@uwaterlo.ca. You may also contact the faculty supervisor (primary investigator) at the University of Waterloo, Dr. Kimberly Lopez, if you have any questions, comments, or concerns regarding this research project at kjlopez@uwaterloo.ca

Sincerely,

Jaylyn Leighton, PhD(c)
Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies, Faculty of Health, University of Waterloo
jjleight@uwaterloo.ca

Dr. Kimberly Lopez, Assistant Professor
Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies, Faculty of Health, University of Waterloo
kjlopez@uwaterloo.ca

Consent Form

By providing your consent, you are not waiving your legal rights or releasing the investigator(s) or involved institution(s) from their legal and professional responsibilities.

Title of the study: Opportunities for Redress: Re-imagining Relations for Uniformed Bodies, Restoration, and Leisure

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study conducted by Jaylyn Leighton, under the supervision of Dr. Kimberly Lopez (Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies, Faculty of Health, University of Waterloo). I have had the opportunity to ask questions related to the study and have received satisfactory answers to my questions and any additional details.

I was informed that participation in the study is voluntary and that I can withdraw this consent by informing the researcher.

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Board (REB #43039). If you have questions for the Board, contact the Office of Research Ethics at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or reb@uwaterloo.ca

For all other questions contact Jaylyn Leighton at jjleight@uwaterloo.ca.

♦ I agree to participate in up to three audio-recorded focus group session with the data collection themes (each approx. 1.5 hours in length, location TBD)

♦ I am aware the focus groups occurring at the end of each interview/focus group will be audio recorded to ensure accurate transcription and analysis.

♦ I give permission for the use of anonymous quotations in any thesis or publication that comes from this research.

I agree of my own free will to participate in the study.

Participant's name: ____________________________

Participant's signature: ______________________________ Date:_________________

Researcher's/Witness' signature___________________ Date:_________________

Participant Demographic Information

Please provide the research team with the following information:

*Please note, if you are uncomfortable sharing any of the information below, please leave the space blank.

Pronouns:____

Current Age:____

Gender: ____

Race: ____

Occupation: ____

Number of Years of Service:____

Education/Training: ____

Current annual income: ____

If you have any questions, concerns, or comments for the researcher and/or research team at FF, please contact Jaylyn.

Appendix E. The Initial Statement

Kemmis et al. (2014)

This document will be disseminated to the PAR team (including FF research team members and lead researcher*)*. Once individuals have time to reflect on this document, we will meet to discuss and reflect on the following things:

1. *The shared concern of PAR team*: Here, we will make a brief statement about what we plan to act on, individually and collectively; the reasons we arrived at this concern as the focus our critical participatory action research efforts; and what we think might be achieved (what difference we might make) by making this concern the focus for our initiative. We will indicate whether and how our shared concern is grounded in issues about *education* and/or about questions of whether current ways of doing things are in some ways *irrational* or *unreasonable*, *unproductive* or *unsustainable*, or *unjust* or *exclusive* (or are perceived in those ways by some people involved or affected by the ways things are currently done).
2. *The public sphere*: Here, we will indicate *who* will be involved in the public sphere created by the critical participatory action research initiative. This will include who is involved in or affected by 'the way we do things around here' currently, and the extent to which they bring different perspectives and different potentialities for action (for example, because they have different roles or because they look after different organisational functions) to the public sphere created by the critical participatory action research initiative.
3. *Our ideas for action:* Here, we will review the workshop plans that have already been developed to summarise the group's initial ideas about *who* will do *what*, and *where, when* and *how* they will do it. The workshop plans will act as a starting place and will be treated as open to modification in the light of further discussion. Our initial ideas about these things will be justified in some way in relation to the practices and practice architectures involved.
4. *Our ideas for next steps:* (1) receive ethical approval, (2) received informed consent for all participants, (3) confirm plans/consensus formed with all facilitators and research team members, (4) discuss with the research team how we will make decisions collectively moving forward and what steps to take to move forward when people are unable to agree, (5) have a joint understanding of confidentiality, where data will be stories, how data will be treated to preserve confidentiality

Drawing together ideas and possibilities from our *individual* statements, we will refine our ideas to make a clear statement of what is planned and cut out many things we *could* do to focus our energies on what it is most *practically important*, *significant* and *useful* to do.

Appendix F. Mapping out a Plan

Kemmis et al. (2014)

This document will be used to help form our collective plan for action. We will draw together our ideas in a more detailed, collectiv*e* plan for action. We will use the individual initial statements, as well as our reflections and discussions on the initial statement to inform our collective plan. We will use the workshop plans created for the purpose of this proposal as a starting point. Our collective plan will be negotiated and refined through discussion (communicative action) as a basis for agreement about what we are planning to do. We will negotiate, where necessary, with others potentially involved in, or affected by the changes you plan to make.

Our collective plan will include:

1. A description of our shared concern about the current situation.
    1. We will outline, very briefly, why we have chosen this shared concern, where appropriate citing evidence from our initial statement—noting that we can say more about why we have chosen this shared concern in the section describing our rationale below.
2. Describe and give a brief rationale for specific changes we plan to make, referring to changes in different people's practices and to the practice architectures that enable and constrain their practices. It would be helpful here to include in our rationale some discussion of how present ways of doing things came to be (how they have been historically formed), locally as well as more generally, and what the different *consequences* of present ways of doing things have been for different kinds of people and groups involved and affected. We might also comment on how the changes we plan to make respond to existing needs, circumstances and opportunities in our current situation.
3. Outline the membership of our public sphere and say why this is an appropriate action group to work with in terms of participants' different perspectives or roles or the ways things currently affect them differently.

    a. We may also want to refer to, and perhaps attach a copy of, any group protocols (i.e., our initial statement documents, workshop plans, and this research proposal) that will govern how group members relate to one another.
    b. We may also need to say why some people or groups involved or affected are not involved in the critical PAR initiative—for example, because they declined an invitation to participate, because other commitments made it impossible for them to participate, because the group is proceeding cautiously on a delicate shared concern and is not yet ready to include a wider range of participants, or for some other reason.
    c. We may also want to indicate how members will relate to others in the situation who are not part of the public sphere for the critical PAR initiative.

4. Outline an initial schedule of activities to show who will be doing what, when, where and how (usually, this will change and evolve as the initiative proceeds— things do not always go according to plan). We will use the workshop plans created for the purpose of this proposal as a starting point for this discussion.
5. Describe how we plan to monitor (through participants' reflections, evidence they have gathered, and documentation they have collected) changes in the conduct and consequences of
    1. people's practices,
    2. their understandings of their practices, and

3. the conditions under which they practise, and how they turn out for different groups involved and affected by the ways we do things in our setting; and

6. Give a preliminary view about how we think the evidence we collect might allow us to reflect productively on what happened when the group made the changes it did, so we can relate our interpretation of the evidence about what happened to our shared concern and to our situation as a basis for formulating a refined, modified or alternative plan for further and better informed changes in your practice.

Appendix G. Weekly Focus Group Outlines/Plans

Focus group #:	1 a, b
Main theme:	Introduction and Storytime (Tell me your story—how did you get to where you are today as a UFR)
Date/Time:	Thursday October 28th at 1:00pm, Friday October 29th at 5:00pm
Facilitated by:	Jaylyn, Researcher Roger, Co-founder of *FF*
Activities planned:	Coffee and Storytime (Audio-recorded; Approximately 1.5 hours). Participants will gather at FF (circle formation) with snacks refreshments provided.
Type of data being collected:	Audio-recorded focus group
Questions/probes:	1. Tell me about yourself- uniform, number of years, etc. a. What inspired/motivated you to become a UFRs? b. How long have you been working as a UFR and in what role? c. What do you hope to gain from this research? What topics do you feel are important to discuss? d. What are some of the challenges you face on a daily basis while working as a UFR?
Connection to larger research questions being taken up:	(Q1): What do UFR stories say about power relations that are a part of their employment? How does Holt's embodied social capital help to frame an understanding of this culture (language, symbols, norms, and performances)? (Q2): How do uniformed bodies practice care for the body? d. What needs to happen for the body to feel restored? e. How are leisure practices taken up by uniformed bodies? f. Is leisure a form of care to UFRs? (Q3): What recommendations or supports do uniformed bodies need (individually and/or collectively) to support holistic wellness in light of their duties/experiences? c. How can caring for the body be made sustainable? d. To whom and how can this information be disseminated
Focus group #:	2 a, b
Main theme:	Understanding UFRs cultures (What does it mean to wear a uniform? What expectations come along with that role? What are the training practices, policies, and protocols? How do you navigate your identity as

	a UFR on and off duty? How do your relationships work with co-workers and supervisors?
Date/Time:	Thursday November 4th at 5:00pm and Friday November 5th at 1:00pm
Facilitated by:	Jaylyn, Roger, & Rebecca
Activities planned:	Coffee and Storytime (Audio-recorded; Approximately 1.5 hours). Participants will gather at FF (circle formation) with refreshments provided.
Type of data being collected:	Focus group (audio-recorded)
Questions/probes:	**1.** Tell me a bit about what the culture or the morale is like within first responding occupations… o Last week we discussed kind of the masculinity, buck up culture of first responders or the old boys club, egotistical… would you say this type of culture and still remains? o What would it mean to have more openness and space for vulnerability to talk about tough things like mental health issues? **2.** What does it mean for you to wear a uniform? o What expectations come with that uniform? o What pressure comes along with those expectations? o How does it feel to put on that uniform at the beginning of your shift? o How does it feel to take off that uniform at the end of your shift? o How do others within the community respond to you while wearing the uniform? **3.** What are some of the stereotypically images or symbols that become attached to the uniform? o How can we redress (resist, restore, reconcile) the uniform so that it cares and protects the individuals who wear it? o What would it look like to have more humanity and compassion threaded into the uniform? **4.** Tell me about the training practices, protocols, and policies that are required of you to wear a uniform o What, if anything, is missing from these training protocols/practices/policies? o What do you feel like you need more information or knowledge in terms of training practices and policies? o Last week someone mentioned some things being a tokenistic “check list” style of system that often fails to account for the human beneath the uniform… can you expand on that?

	5. Last week we discussed some of politics engrained within the systems of first responder cultures, can you tell me a bit more about that? o Last week someone mentioned that the politicised positions of first responders in the media and such are so distant from the groundwork… what impact does this have on individuals who wear the uniform? 6. Can you tell me more about the hierarchies or rank of uniforms that is at play within first responder cultures? o What would it mean to feel supported by the system or the individuals in higher up positions? o Last week someone mentioned a lack of trust in hierarchies and rank, can we talk more about what trusting relationships looks like within these hierarchies? o Last week someone mentioned that individuals in positions of power higher up rely on the minions to do the work and the minions become "yes men" in the sense that they want to follow suit to ensure their position and their mobility to move up rank… can we talk a little bit more about that. **7.** Tell me what it means to identify as a first responder o Last week we discussed in the focus groups that you come to identify as a first responder and it becomes your number one priority, how do you navigate that while off duty? o How do you navigate your first responder identity with friends and family?
Connection to larger research questions being taken up:	(Q1): What do UFR stories say about power relations that are a part of their employment? How does Holt's embodied social capital help to frame an understanding of this culture (language, symbols, norms, and performances)?

Focus group #:	3 a, b
Main theme:	Mental health care and support (What needs to happen for you to feel restored? How do you navigate stress/trauma on the job?)
Date/Time:	Thursday November 11th @ 5:00pm, Friday November 12th @ 1:00pm
Facilitated by:	Jaylyn, Roger, & Rebecca
Activities planned:	1. Coffee and Storytime (Audio-recorded; Approximately 1.5 hours) (Guided by Roger and Jaylyn). Participants will gather at FF (circle formation) with refreshments provided.
Type of data being collected:	Focus group (audio-recorded)

Questions/probes:	1. In what ways, if any, is mental health discussed in the spaces you work?
	    a. What protocols/polices/training procedures are in place to protect individuals who wear a uniform?
	    b. What stigmas exist around mental health care and support? How do these stigmas impact your role/duties?
	2. What does it mean to me mentally prepared in your line of duty?
	    a. What does this allow you to do/be?
	3. What does it mean to be resilient in your line of duty?
	    a. What does this allow you to do/be?
	4. How do you understand your own mental well-being?
	    a. Why do you think it is important to address your mental/emotional well-being?
	    b. What things come up for you to challenge your mental well-being (e.g., hyper vigilance etc.)
	5. How do you support your mental well-being while on duty?
	    a. How do you navigate this type of support for yourself while working in what can be a very toxic and/or unsafe environment/culture?
	6. What do you think needs to change within the culture of UFR to have more holistic support for mental/emotional well-being?
	    a. What are the best ways to advocate for this?
	7. How do you support your mental well-being while off duty?
	    a. What does this look like?
	    b. What are some safe outlets for you?
	    c. In what ways, if any, does this impact your personal lives outside of work?
	8. What does it mean to feel safe both on and off duty?
	9. What does it mean for the body to be cared for and restored?
	    a. What does restoration allow you to do/be?
	10. How can we heal the body from the stress and trauma of the job?
	    a. Why, if at all, is it important to create intentional space for care, healing, and restoration?

Connection to larger research questions being taken up:	(Q2): How do uniformed bodies practice care for the body?
	    a. What needs to happen for the body to feel restored?
	    b. How are leisure practices taken up by uniformed bodies?
	    c. Is leisure a form of care to UFRs?
	(Q3): What recommendations or supports do uniformed bodies need (individually and/or collectively) to support holistic wellness in light of their duties/experiences?
	    a. How can caring for the body be made sustainable?
	    b. To whom and how can this information be disseminated

Focus group #:	4 a, b
Date/Time:	Thursday November 11th , 2021 @ 5:00pm, Friday November 12th, 2021 @ 1:00pm

Facilitated by: Jaylyn, Roger, & Rebecca

Activities planned: Coffee and Storytime (Audio-recorded; Approximately 1.5 hours). Participants will gather at FF (circle formation) with refreshments provided.

Type of data being collected: Focus group (audio-recorded)

Questions/probes:

5. How do you define leisure?
    a. Leisure as an activity
    b. Leisure as a space
    c. Leisure as time
    d. Leisure as a space
6. Tell me about what leisure means to you?
    a. What does leisure time/activity allow you to do/be?
    b. What are some of the feelings or emotions that come up for you while in leisure?
    c. What are some activities that you engage in within your own leisure time?
7. How do you take up leisure practices in your own life while off duty or away from work?
8. How does leisure serve as a form of care, healing, and restoration?
9. Tell me about your experiences of this space here at Frontline?
    a. What does this space, including the access to different supports offered here, allow you to do/be?
    b. Tell me what you feel as you walk through those front doors
    c. The slogan here is—"stay healthy, stay safe, stay strong" – how does this resonate with you?
        i. What does it mean to "stay healthy"?
            1. How does FF offer this?
        ii. What does it mean to "stay safe"?
            1. How does FF offer this?
        iii. What does it mean to "stay strong"?
            1. How does FF offer this?
    d. The mission at FF is to offer multi-disciplinary services that holistically balance the mind, body, and soul – how if at all do you resonate with this?
        i. What does it mean to "balance the mind, body, and soul"
            1. How does FF offer opportunity for this?
    e. Last week—"for first responders by first responders"- what does it mean to have a space specifically geared for first responders by first responders?
    f.

Connection to larger research questions being taken up:	(Q2): How do uniformed bodies practice care for the body? a. What needs to happen for the body to feel restored? b. How are leisure practices taken up by uniformed bodies? c. Is leisure a form of care to UFRs?

Focus group #:	5 a, b
Main theme:	Needed Recommendations and Supports (What recommendations or supports do uniformed bodies need (individually and/or collectively) to support holistic wellness in light of their duties/experiences- how can this information be made sustainable and whom and how can this information be disseminated?)
Date/Time:	Thursday November 25th @ 5:00pm; Friday November 26th @ 1:00pm
Facilitated by:	Jaylyn, Roger, & Rebecca
Activities planned:	Coffee and Storytime (Audio-recorded; Approximately 1.5 hours). Participants will gather at FF (circle formation) with refreshments provided.
Questions/probes:	1. What are the central issues and concerns for UFRs based on the discussions and conversations we have had in these sessions? 2. On an individual level- What supports do uniformed bodies need to support their support holistic wellness considering their duties/experiences 3. On a collective or cultural level- what supports do uniformed bodies need within the culture of UFRs to support their support holistic wellness considering their duties/experiences 4. On an individual level- Based on our conversations and discussions in these sessions, what recommendations would you have to create more caring relations for individuals who identify as a UFR? 5. On a collective or cultural level- Based on our conversations and discussions in these sessions, what recommendations would you have to create more caring relations within the culture of UFRs? 6. How might the supports and recommendations coming from this project be received and/or resisted by your co-workers, supervisors, policy makers in UFR spaces, and with the community members you serve? 7. How can caring for your body (physically, mentally, emotional, spiritually) be made sustainable? a. How do we disseminate this work in a way that makes UFR want to "buy in" or engage with it? 8. How can this information be disseminated? What are the best practices to translate this knowledge/information into practice to

	ensure it is relatable and accessible to individuals who identify as UFR? 9. Whom can this information be disseminated to? Who needs to hear this knowledge/information?
Type of data being collected:	Focus group (audio-recorded)
Connection to larger research questions being taken up:	(Q3): What recommendations or supports do uniformed bodies need (individually and/or collectively) to support holistic wellness in light of their duties/experiences? a. How can caring for the body be made sustainable? b. To whom and how can this information be disseminated

Appendix H. Narrative Storytelling Semi-structured Interview Guide

Narrative story-telling interviews with participants:

1. Before we get started, was there anything we discussed over the focus group sessions that you wanted to talk more about?
2. What motivated you to want to become a first responder?
    a. What continues to motivate you to wake up each day and continue to deal with the stressors of the job?
    b. What do you wish people knew about what it means to identify as a UFR?
3. We talked a lot about how as first responders you become that identity- tell me how you negotiate/balance your identity as a part of the collective identity of UFRs?
4. We talked about the lack of care/support for mental well-being and leisure as care, healing, and restoration.
5. Think about how you would change the way you engage with leisure as a practice of care, a means for healing, and a site for restoration. What would need to change, if anything, to make this more accessible and normalized among UFR cultures?
6. Tell me about your experience of engaging with this research project?
7. What would you say your biggest learning was from this research project?
    a. What do you believe this type of research and this focus of research seeks to bring to the culture/profession of UFR?
    b. How, if at all, do you think these learnings will apply to your roles/duties as a UFR?
    c. How, if at all, do these insights change the way you understand leisure spaces, care, healing, and restoration, and mental well-being?
    d. How do you think this research can be beneficial for day-to-day acts of serving and protecting community members?
8. We talked a lot about the supports/recommendations needed--- How can these recommendations and supports be sustainable to UFR?
    a. How do we, as a collective, disseminate this information and research? Who needs to hear this? How can we make this information accessible to the community of UFR?
    b. How might these learnings or understandings be received or resisted in the community, the policy arena, and in the academy?
9. What do you believe our next steps should be in forwarding this research?

Narrative story-telling interviews with PAR research team:

1. Tell me about your experiences of the workshops?
    a. What were your overall impressions of the workshops?
        i. What worked well? What didn't work well? What could have been done differently?
    b. What, if anything, inspired you? What, if anything, excited you? What, if anything, surprised you?
    c. What, if anything, frustrated/agitated/annoyed you?
2. Tell me about your experience of the PAR project
    a. What, if anything, did you like about the collaborative process?
    b. Why do you feel this research project as a whole was important?
        i. What do you believe it seeks to change in UFR cultures?
        ii. What are some stuck points that came up for you?
    c. How do you think this research is most beneficial for UFR cultures?

i. Who need to hear this?
ii. How can we access the people who would benefit from hearing this?
iii. What supports do you need to make these changes?

d. What, if anything, did you learn from this research project?

3. What recommendations or supports do you feel you need (either individually or collectively) to support your holistic wellness, both on and off duty? How can these recommendations and supports be sustainable?
   a. How do we, as a collective, disseminate this information and research? Who needs to hear this? How can we make this information accessible to the community of UFR?
   b. What are the central issues and concerns for UFRs?
   c. How will experiences with the identified issues be uncovered, interpreted, and collectively analyzed?
   d. Who is and who is not participating in this research project and what are the consequences?
   e. What sources of conflict, power imbalances, and silences emerged (if any) and how were they dealt with?
4. Who has authority over representation and how will this be determined?
   a. How will data be collected, interpreted, analyzed and communicated?
   b. How might these new forms be received or resisted in the community, the policy arena, and in the academy?
   c. What are the intended and possible unintended consequences of the research?
   d. Who owns the research, how will it be produced, communicated, and acted upon?
   e. Who is benefiting (or not) from the actions being taken in this research?
   f. What are our next steps?

Appendix I. Executive Summary of Research Findings

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Title of the study: Opportunities for Redress: Re-imagining Relations for Uniformed Bodies, Restoration, and Leisure

Research Investigators: Dr. Kimberly Lopez (Assistant Professor, University of Waterloo) and Jaylyn Leighton (PhD Candidate, University of Waterloo)

Focus of the study: Uniformed first responders (UFRs) includes the tri-services (fire, police, and paramedics), search and rescue personnel, correctional services officers, border services officers, operational intelligence personnel, and Indigenous emergency managers[1]. Due to the nature of work, UFRs are considered to be at higher risk for experiencing stressors and challenges to mental and emotional well-being like depression, alcoholism, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), major depression, generalized anxiety, and sleep disorders[2-9]. Throughout the research process thus far, I have engaged with UFRs in needed conversations around job expectations, performances and leisure as care and healing for restoration. By listening to the stories told and exposing taken-for-granted understandings of wearing a uniform, I hope to continue to collaboratively build understandings of what sustainable, leisure-based care practices look like for UFRs *with* UFRs.

Research objective: This research project takes up the concept of redress -- the idea of resisting, repairing, restoring, and/or reconciling[10-12] -- to unpack how some institutions who govern UFRs: (1) promote toxic resilience and violence to and by UFRs (2) require more compassionate, holistic care and support, (3) might benefit from storytelling to advocate for needed care, and (4) might benefit from leisure as form of preventative care, healing, and restoration.

Guiding Research Questions:

4. What do UFRs stories say about power relations that are a part of their employment? How does Holt's embodied social capital help to frame an understanding of this culture (language, symbols, norms, and performances)?
5. How do uniformed bodies practice care for the body?
    a. What needs to happen for the body to feel restored?
    b. How are leisure practices taken up by uniformed bodies?
    c. How might leisure be a form of care for UFRs (if at all)?
6. What recommendations or supports do uniformed bodies need (individually and/or collectively) to support holistic wellness considering their duties/experiences?
    a. How can caring for the body be made sustainable?
    b. To whom and how can this information be disseminated?

Data Collection Procedures (thus far): In collaboration with a local community-based Wellness Centre (built by and for first responders), I have conducted 10 focus groups, 7 individual interviews, and 3 research team member meetings (all audio-recorded) through participatory action research (PAR) inspired practices[13]. A total of 8 participants joined the group for the first round of data collection (with 5 self-identified as male and 4 self-identified as female; 5 self-identified as white and 1 self-identified as Asian (Korean); age range from 22-44 years of age; and 4 law enforcement officers, 3 paramedics, and 1 corrections officer).

Data Analysis (thus far): I have done a primary analysis of the data collected (through interpretive, narrative analysis) to pull out and connect themes that speak to how I understood the stories, experiences, and reflections of all participants shared with me (see chart below).

Possible dissemination of research: The representation of this research project aims to share personal and collective narratives told by UFRs with the intention of generating more public awareness, education, and advocacy. Through dissemination I hope bridge together academic and non-academic spaces by inviting *all* stakeholders involved/interested in this work (e.g., UFRs, upper management/unions, policy makers, community members/groups) to collaboratively decide how best to disseminate the findings, who the findings need to be disseminated to, and the purpose dissemination will aim to serve in healing relations between UFRs and community members[13].

Value of this on-going research project: I believe an examination of toxic relations, culture, language, and a lack of care and support are needed to begin conversations about healing for UFRs. The current research project is working to continue these conversations by engaging directly *with* UFRs to collaboratively create pathways froward that not only weave academic silos and community spaces together, and (re)imagine relations for UFRs to advocate for equity, justice, and inclusion. It is my hope that this work illuminates the complexities of human experiences, exposes the failures (and complacency) in our systems, and makes intentional space for restoration. I position this work alongside social justice movements that call for an (eventual) coming together, a space of collective vulnerability, to redress systemic injustices while rehumanizing caring relations.

OVERARCHING IDEAS FOR REPRESENTATION

- **The uniform**: Unpacking the uniform thread by thread. Unpacking the relations of power and cultural habitus (i.e., the cultural norms, beliefs, practices/policies (e.g., training, education, awareness) that are threaded strategically together to create and maintain the symbolism of the uniform, what the uniform represents. Historically for some community members/groups, the uniform has represented power-over, displacement, violence, and harm. In an era of social justice awakening, individual bodies that are uniformed by the system/culture of the uniform embody the symbolism of the uniform. What is often not talked about is how the uniform creates harm internally within the institution to the body that wears it (e.g., trauma, exhaustion, depletion, stress). **The uniform wears the body, the body doesn't wear the uniform.** Bodies that are uniformed are therefore trained to think and perform in a specific and strategic manner in line with the cultural habits of uniformed institutions. The embodiment of experiences of trauma on the job and the embodiment of the uniform itself press down on the body who is wearing the uniform.
- **The body:** As a result of the cultural habitus (including cultural norms, expectations, and performances), the body goes into survival mode, to endure and cope (sometimes with negative coping mechanism) with what it goes through (e.g., stressful, often traumatic experiences on the job). Not only are bodies that are uniformed expected to perform in a certain way while wearing the job, but they also experience life stressors when they are not wearing the uniform (e.g., family responsibility, separations/divorce, loss of loved ones, etc.). A lack of caring relations within the institution (e.g., not feeling supported by upper management ('white shirts), streamlined mental health supports, accessible mental health supports, continuous stigma of mental health (e.g., don't want to be 'that person', fear of labour mobility, being treated differently or 'with kid gloves'), negative and toxic cultural mentalities (e.g., 'suck it up', 'don't show weakness') takes a further toll on the body.
- **Redress:** To resist, restore, and reconcile. **What would it look like and mean to uniformed bodies to re-dress the uniform in a way that is more caring, compassionate, and supportive of the body that wears the uniform?**

- **Body restoration:** needs to be beyond physically restoring the body (e.g., having physical distance from the uniform/job, caring for the body physically (e.g., working out), being aware of what the body needs physically), and the body needs to restore mentally/emotionally (e.g., debrief/decompress from stressful/traumatic experiences, being able to have a 'clear mind' and letting go of pressure/expectations put on the body by the uniform, being able to recognize and aware of 'bad days' and what the body needs mentally/emotionally, coming to terms with trauma (e.g., triggers), focusing on preventative measures rather than reactive, to fee supported and cared for (on (e.g., upper management and co-workers and off duty (e.g., family/friends), to feel heard and understood (e.g., universality among other uniformed bodies who 'get it' and can share/relate and 'have their back'), and reaching out to further supports/services as needed (and before needed) (e.g., therapist, psychologist, mentor etc.), and also spiritually (e.g., finding outlets to rejuvenate and feel refreshed and safer (e.g., life FF), nurturing and caring for the body when it is depleted, finding calmness and serenity, fueling the soul and spirit, being open and vulnerable and honest with self and others (who are deemed as 'safe'), and finding a sense of meaning and purpose in life beyond the identity assigned to the body by the body who wears it)
- **Leisure as an intentional act of resistance (of the uniform): A practice of care, a means for healing, a site for restoration**
    - **A practice of care:** physically (e.g., fitness, cycle, walking/hiking, running, etc.), mentally/emotionally (e.g., yoga, 'mind numbing' activities (e.g., video games), hot shower/baths, humour, pets, cooking/baking/eating, the idea of 'blowing off steam' (e.g., having a drink, dark humour), and spiritually (e.g., yoga, meditation (being still), self-reflection (e.g., journaling), being in nature, being surrounded by caring people. Leisure as a practice of game is both a space of disconnection (e.g., 'breaking the cycle' and recharging the batteries) and a space of connection (e.g., being surrounded by caring/supportive people, finding a sense of community, a space to relate with others). Leisure as a practice means finding intentional and purposeful time (e.g., getting lost in the moment, not 'needing to be on'), finding solitude (e.g., being with yourself and reflecting on self, feeling calm, feeling 'numb'), being compassionate with the body, finding a space of balance (between caring for the physical body and the mind and soul, between productively and accomplishment and simply being), finding spaces of real joy (e.g., to have fun, laugh, love, and feel happiness)
    - **A means for healing:** Practices of care as a catalyst for healing the body (healing the body from the wounds it is exposed to on the job and/or healing the body to show up as its best self), feeling safer in your own body and surroundings (e.g., letting go of hyper-vigilance), creating and maintain healthy boundaries (with self and others), being aware of what your body needs to feel restored (or healed)
    - **A site of restoration:** Practices of care as a site to restore the body (e.g., to feel refreshed, to find moments to 'escape', to be intuitive with your body and what it needs), to find meaning and purpose in life beyond the uniform (e.g., recalibrating how you want to show up both wearing the uniform and not wearing the uniform, identifying what you value, what gives your life meaning and purpose, finding inner peace and solitude), and to practice identity integration (a space to find an identity outside the identity assigned by the uniform, to remember who you are before the uniform was implanted onto you), and restoring the body to return to work, wear the uniform, exist within the cultural habitus, perform the expectations of the job, and navigate the institutional systems and structures.
- **What does it mean and look like for uniformed bodies to embody healing and restoration through practices of leisure?**
- **What recommendations/supports are needed to address the wholeness of the body, rather than merely the sum of its parts?**
    - **A tool belt for education and awareness:**

- **On the inside of the tool belt (within the institution):**
    - Individually (as an individual body wearing the uniform): engaging in on-going learning practices (education), being open and honest in conversations of mental health care, healing, and restoration (awareness), shifting away from on-going stigmatizing thoughts, behaviours, and actions surrounding mental health (education and awareness), finding space to both disconnect and connect from the institution (as needed by the body)
    - Collectively (as an institution construction of the uniform (and assigned symbolism/meaning): more focused and realistic training and education practices/protocols from the onset (education), more directive attention toward caring for the body beneath the uniform (e.g., debriefing practices, wellness teams, peer support etc.), re-calibrating expectations of the uniform (e.g., workload balance, staffing issues) (education), re-imagining more relational mentorship/leadership within the institution rather than power-over (e.g., building trust between 'white shirts' and uniforms on the road) (education and awareness), more easily accessed (and less stigmatized) education and awareness for uniformed bodies on resources/services available to them (e.g., normalizing conversations on mental health)
- **On the outside of the tool belt (beyond the institution)**
    - Individually (as an individual body wearing the uniform):'support for family/friends who care for a uniformed body (education and awareness), individual buy in by uniformed bodies to seek out and access mental health care services/supports (education)
    - Collectively (as an institution construction of the uniform (and assigned symbolism/meaning): more education and awareness for non-uniformed bodies (i.e., civilians) on the toll the uniform takes on the body that wears it (e.g., expectations/performances, cultural norms, trauma and stress, etc.), creating collaborative and relational spaces for uniformed and non-uniformed bodies to work together to care, support, protect, and serve *all* members of the community (e.g., open, honest dialogue, ask questions, be willing to 'check your assumptions', be willing to think/act differently, will to deeply listen to others lived experiences, etc.) (education and awareness)

A coming together to re-dress the uniform (symbolically through acts of re-humanization), restore the body that wears the uniform (through leisure as care, healing, and restoration), heal fractured community relations between UFRs and non-UFRs, moving towards upstream justice-oriented conversations to create change. A re-dress of the uniform shifts from: punitive to supportive; power over to power within; reactive to proactive; disciplinary to compassionate; performative to meaningful action; one-size-fits-all to individualized; transaction to relational; compartmentalization to fluid; broken to healing (for both the community members protected and served by the uniform, and for the body that wears the uniform).

Guiding research question:	**Q1: What do UFRs stories say about power relations that are a part of their employment? How does Holt's embodied social capital help to frame an understanding of this culture (language, symbols, norms, and performances)?**
Brief highlights of (working) themes:	**Theme #1: Relations of power:** Relations of power weaved through legacies, histories, and traditions that have been perpetuated by the institutional regimes of UFR; Dominant, power-over approached to UFR expectations performances; UFRs institutions as being politicized. **1a) Institutional structures (hierarchies & rank):** Operates on premises of discipline and punishment (through fear and intimidation tactics; Disconnect between upper management ('white shirts') and UFRs on the road (lack of trust, accountability, presence, consistency, care/support); Moving up the ladder (rank) (Different expectations/pressure put on the different colour of the uniforms; Upper management becoming pollical figures; Complacency in the hierarchy) **1b) Symbolism of the uniform:** The uniform symbolizes the histories and legacies of the uniform (power, discipline, order, assimilation); The symbolism of the uniform signalling different meanings to different people (some harmful, hateful, and violent meanings); As a UFR you are display and a direct representation of the institution. **1c) Institutional Policies/Resources (or lack thereof):** Feelings of little to no support for the bodies beneath the uniform; Resources and supports available to UFRs are seen as performative rather than action-based; A need to re-imagine policies/protocols (e.g., lack of debriefing policies after traumatic calls/situations); Disconnection between institutional policies (how UFR are trained to perform) and the realities of the duties/responsibilities on the road. **Theme #2: Habitus of UFR Spaces (cultural norms, cultural mentality, cultural expectations, cultural training practices)** **2a) Cultural scripts/schemas (mentality):** Toxic work environment (high-school mentality); Negative image painted by media relations; Negative tribalism (e.g., high judgement by fellow UFRs); A sense of loyalty and dedication to the job, wanting to care for bodies in the community **2b) Cultural norms and belief systems:** Old school mentality' (narratives of 'not talking about feelings', self-preservation, suffer in silence, no time for breaks/rest, be resilient, 'suck it up' mentality, always be in control, deal with your own issues on your own time); A game of survival (a sense of 'needing to survive' and come back the next day to do it again); Compassion fatigue and burnout due to expectations of the job; Experiencing and handling traumatic situations; Stigma of mental health (fear of not moving up in rank, being seen as weak and incapable, being 'treated differently', internalized stigma); Negative coping mechanisms being normalized (e.g., drinking, partying, girls, gambling, dark humour, participating in the rumour mill etc.); Lack of consistency in training protocols/policies and realistic training practices for what is expected on the job.

	2c) Expectations assigned to the uniform: High expectations/responsibility being assigned to the uniform being overwhelming (feeling a build-up of pressure on UFRs shoulders especially during uncertain times); Harm/hate towards the uniform (specifically what the uniform represents symbolically); Lack of humanity in the uniform (UFRs seen as 'superhuman') **2d) Performances (individual and collective) as part of the larger institutional habitus:** *Collective performances* (Adhering (un)consciously to uphold the habitus of UFR institutions (ideologies, belief systems, values etc.; The idea that with power (the uniform) comes great responsibility; Responding to different (often traumatic) situations daily that require different expectations (always experiencing high adrenaline); Challenges of shift work; *Individual performances* (Feeling overwhelmed due to workload and lack of time for rest/restoration; Becoming de-sensitized to experiencing traumatic situations/experiences, leading to compassion burnout; Lack of care for the body after being exposed to traumatic situations; Losing faith in humanity, feeling jaded/tarnished by what UFRs have seen and/or are expected to do. **Theme #3: Embodiment of trauma and the uniform (identity)** **3a) Embodiment of trauma:** Repetitive cycles and patterns of trauma; Cumulative trauma becoming a part of who you are (unable to turn it off) leading to feelings of anxiety, panic, losing control, dissociation, hyper-vigilance, hallucinations, triggers, re-living memories, difficult sleeping, night terrors; Feeling like you are not being able to function of handle everything anymore (e.g., feeling numb/needing to escape, anger turning to sadness, dissociating from body and personal life, not being able to find enjoyment in life). **3b) Embodiment of collective uniform:** Taking on UFRs identity (represented and symbolized by the uniform); Letting the uniform define you, not knowing who you are without the uniform (difficult to separate UFR identity from other identities); Feeling the (symbolic) weight of the uniform (the idea that you no longer have personal agency, you have a responsibility); Feeling anxious of identifying as a UFR outside the job while off duty; Positive embodiment of the uniformed identity (feeling a sense of honour, confidence, invincibility, and respect, being passionate and proud to care for community members, a sense of loyalty to organization, a sense of purpose). **3c) Care for body (or lack thereof):** Realizing that the uniform doesn't holistically care about the body beneath; Difficult to truly be mentality and emotionally prepared for the expectations and performances of the job (the idea that the uniform will 'wear down' whoever wears it); Personal loss (the job being just one source of stress that impacts the body outside of personal and/or family struggles); Feeling easily replaceable (i.e., 'just another pair of boots'); Needing more immediate support and emotional coping skills (both on and off duty); Need individual buy in from UFRs to want to care and heal themselves (as well as collective buy in)
Direct quotes from participants:	• "*How [can] you can start to approach conversations to heal that relationship between public and the uniform… because it really it is the uniform, a symbol, and that symbolism of the institution of the man and how that's represented" (SP07)*

	• "*Every day wearing the uniform and that uniform obviously has a huge symbol to it and trying to continue to build relationships with people….not letting that symbol of the uniform kind of like hinder that but like, that's hard to navigate with building community relationships*" (SP04) • *"The higher you get, the more disconnected you get from the actualities of it and the narrower minded you are to just keep climbing the ranks because…they [upper management] just want to keep getting seniority"* (SP11) • *"It is expected right…. You're supposed to be able to handle anything. We're a different breed of people and like we're not"* (SP02) • *"I realized just another set of boots just comes into my spot. Which was eye opening for me like I busted my ass, you know, and pretty much ruined myself doing it"* (SP09)
Guiding research question:	**Q2: How do uniformed bodies practice care for the body? What needs to happen for the body to feel restored? How are leisure practices taken up by uniformed bodies? How might leisure be a form of care for UFRs (if at all)?**
Brief highlights of (working) themes:	**Theme #1: (the need for) Body Restoration (what needs to happen?)** **1a) Physical Restoration:** UFRs need to physically remove the uniform (and the assigned symbolic constructs/meanings) to find meaning of life beyond; Needing a physical break from the expectations/performances of the uniform; UFRs need to find moments of restoration and being intuitively aware of what they need to care for themselves. **1b) Mental/Emotional Restoration:** UFRs needing to disengage (mentally and emotionally) from the uniform (and the assigned symbolic constructs/meanings), to feel safe, cared for, grounded and to decompress and restore compassion; UFRs need to deeply reflect on and process the trauma they experience as a result of the expectations of the job (e.g., intentional acts of debriefing); UFRs want to feel like they can trust and lean on others (feeling supported and cared for both on and off duty); UFRs needing to be aware of their mental/emotional needs; UFRs needing restorative spaces to let go of feelings, frustrations, and emotions that build up and fester and create burnout; UFRs needing to recognize and be aware of when they need to ask for help from others (e.g., therapy); UFRs need to prioritize preventatively restoration (i.e., being intuitive of signs of burnout) rather than reactively (i.e., hitting burnout before recognizing the need for care); UFRs needing to restore productively rather than destructively (e.g., negative coping mechanisms) **1c) Spiritual/Existential Restoration:** UFRs needing time for themselves and space to nurture and care for themselves (i.e., finding outlets for self-care); Feeling rejuvenated, recharging their batteries; Restoring the spirit and the soul; Having an open mind; Feeling free rather than constrained by the uniform; UFRs needing to dissociate from the identity put onto them as a UFRs; UFRs needing to find balance between who they are at work (and how they are expected to perform) and their authentic self/essence; UFRs needing to find meaning and purpose of life beyond the uniform **Theme #3: Leisure as care**

	3a) Leisure as a practice of care: Leisure serving as a space of disconnection (from UFR ideologies, performances, and expectations); Leisure as a space of connection; of intentional and purposeful time, of solitude, of balance, of compassion for the body, of *real* joy **3b) Leisure as a means for healing:** Leisure-based practices of care as a catalyst for healing; A space to connect and be aware of and mindful of the body (i.e., being educated on what your body needs and intuitively listening to the body); UFRs asking questions of themselves as to what it means to *feel* healed? (i.e., feelings of appreciation, gratefulness, peacefulness, and feeling grounded). **3c) Leisure as a site of restoration:** Leisure-based practices of care as a site of restoration (to feel refreshed and find moments to escape); UFRs finding their own personal philosophy of life beyond the scope of the UFR values/belief systems; UFRs finding ways to integrate multiple identities they navigate (i.e., beyond the uniformed identity and integrating the *whole* self); UFRs needing to restore so that they can wear the uniform and perform the expectations of the job (i.e., having mental resilience and being compassionate to *all).*
Direct quotes from participants:	• *"I am going to survive… I have to come back tomorrow, and I can't be broken because if I'm broken then I am going to be of no use to anybody else…it's almost like you put a shield over yourself…like armour. You go in there, you do your job, and you need to come out of it unscathed"* (SP10) • *"[leisure is] important to you because you have that time to recharge…so you have a lot more compassion to either your coworkers, general public, situations that arise and then in turn, it feels like you've emptied out part of your bucket… so that you can take more on"* (SP04) • *"It allows me to have that freedom once that uniform is not on me to be able to be the me that I remember me to be before I got on the job… before I got a new sort of identity implemented onto me based on the profession that I chose to be"* (SP04)
Guiding research question:	**Q3: What recommendations or supports do uniformed bodies need (individually and/or collectively) to support holistic wellness considering their duties/experiences? How can caring for the body be made sustainable? To whom and how can this information be disseminated?**
Brief highlights of (working) themes:	**What needs to happen internally (within the institution of UFR both individually and collectively)?:** UFRs as being willing to critically think about systemic oppression and injustices and how they have created harm and violence against marginalized community groups (as symbolised by the uniform); UFRs needing to be open minded, and willing to listen to different lived experiences and assumptions that community members have endured; UFRs needing to eengage in on-going learning over the course of career to better serve and protect community members and provide individualized care to each individual based on what they need (i.e., not a 'one-size fits all approach); UFRs needing to 'buy in' to paying attention to their mental health and wellness as a preventative rather than reactive measure; UFRs need to be willing to be vulnerable, share their experiences in relation to the mental health struggles that they have experiences as a result of the expectations/performances of the job with other UFRs; UFRs co-creating meaningful relationships with other UFRs based on trust, support, and compassion; Shifting away from the stigmatizing thoughts/behaviours surrounding mental health (e.g., prejudice, discrimination); More focused training and education practices/protocols (e.g., at OPC) on useful/relatable issues/struggles (e.g., mental health, caring for the body, the reality of the job); Re-structuring institutional policies/protocols to better care for the bodies beneath the uniform (e.g., work demands/expectations, staff shortages, awareness/access to (mental) health care

	services available); Re-structuring the hierarchical, power-over ranking system to invite more justice-oriented and relational ways to lead and mentor UFRs; Working on re-building trusting relations between 'white shirts' (upper management) and UFRs on the road; **What needs to happen external (outside the institution, in community, both individually and collectively)?:** Creating more individualized support for family/friends that support UFRs off duty; UFRs finding 'safe' spaces in the community to connect with other UFRs to both listen and share what they are feeling based on their lived experiences (i.e., what has worked for them to care for their body); Having a representative/agency/organization outside the confines of work that UFRs can 'safety' and conveniently access care for their mental well-being (taking into account confidentiality); Finding ways to create more awareness and education for community members on the personal toll and struggles UFRs experience as a result of the job; Creating space for community-based leadership (between UFRs and non-UFRs) built on compassion, empathy, and relational understandings in mind; Thinking through a re-dress of the uniform (the assigned symbolism/meaning) to work towards healing broken community relations. **Needed efforts for dissemination:** Dissemination of this work as coming from individuals who have lived experience of being UFRs (relatability), people that are respected within the UFR culture (credibility) to make it more personal and useful; Sharing the lived experiences and stories told by uniformed bodies (narrative sovereignty); Disseminating this work with multiple UFRs at the table (i.e., different uniforms, upper management); Finding meaningful/useful ways to disseminate this work beyond academia (i.e., journal articles/conference presentations).
Direct quotes from participants:	• *"I think it's I think it really comes down to education and awareness…taking that action to go 'I need to come off the road, I need to go home, I need to take a shift off I need to go to the gym. I need to go see a counselor'" (SP05)* • *"I think to me, it boils down to the most intrinsic form of communication and I think that's open, honest, intellectually honest conversations…if you want to have some change, you have to have those honest conversations that are going to be uncomfortable…we need people to be willing to have those hard conversations, I think it starts at the top [with upper management]" (SP07)* • *"There are systemic issues that need to be recognized and addressed…those are things that need to happen…the strongest way to do this is to do it together" (SP01)*

Appendix J. Race-focused Narrative Storytelling Semi-structured Interview Guide

Interview #1:

*This focus group will act as an orientation to the research project (including going over information letter and consent form) and an introduction of all participants

Student researcher provides participants with an executive summary of the conversations that highlight the working themes from the data analysis process of this research study. Participants will be given time to review the executive summary and the following questions/probes will structure the audio-recorded focus group

1. Tell me about your story
    a. What motivated you to want to become a first responder?
    b. What inspires you to continue to work as a first responder in the community?
2. What does it mean to identify as a first responder, wear the uniform, and serve and protect the community?
    a. How do you navigate your uniformed identity when you are off duty with friends and family?
    b. What expectations and/or pressures do you feel comes along with wearing the uniform?
        i. Particularly in a time where racial justice is front and center in matters to do with persons in uniform, how, if at all, do you feel these expectations/pressures may be different for you as a POC?
    c. How do community members/civilians respond to you when you are wearing the uniform?
        i. What does the uniform symbolize and represent to the individuals you seek to serve and protect in the community?
            1. What, if any, challenges come along with the symbolism of the uniform when you are working to serve and protect the community?
3. Tell me about the broader culture of being a first responder?
    a. Tell me about the training practices and protocols you have experienced?
        i. Do you feel they have helped prepare you for what it means to wear the uniform and perform the expectations of the job? the job?
    b. Tell me a bit about the hierarchies or rank of uniforms that exist within the culture of first responders?
4. In what ways, if any, is mental health discussed in your workspace?
    a. What does it mean to be mentally prepared to perform the expectations/duties of the job?
        i. There are many ways we can think about and take up resilience, what does it mean to be resilient you?
    b. How do you support your own mental well-being while on duty AND off duty?
        i. What does care for your mental/emotional well-being look like?
        ii. What are some 'safe' outlets for you to care for your body holistically?
    c. What does it mean to heal or restore the body from the stress and trauma it endures while wearing the uniform?
5. Tell me what leisure means to you?
    a. How do you take up leisure practices while you are off duty?

b. What are some feelings and emotions that come up for you while engaging in leisure?
c. What leisure outlets do you find to be the most healing/restorative for your body?
d. What does leisure practices off duty allow you to do and be in that space?

Give executive summary handout

Interview #2:

Student researcher provides participants with an executive summary of the conversations that highlight the working themes from the data analysis process of this research study. Participants will be given time to review the executive summary and the following questions/probes will structure the audio-recorded focus group

6. What are your initial reactions to the themes presented from the data of this project?
    a. What, if anything, would you add to this theme on the institution and culture of UFR?
    b. What, if anything, would you add to this theme on mental health care and support?
    c. What, if anything, would you add to this theme on leisure as a practice of care, a means of healing, and a site of restoration?
7. What might be left unsaid from the broader conversations that you're hearing as you read responses from the other focus groups?
8. What, if anything, is missing based on your experiences? Are there any gaps in understanding that you can identify?
    a. What do you think is needed to fill these missing gaps?
9. As a BIPOC first responder, how do these themes either relate or differ from your own understandings and experiences?
10. Tell me about your lived experiences as a BIPOC first responder within the institution of policing (predominantly white, hegemonic, white supremacy)?
11. Tell me about your lived experiences as a BIPOC first responder while working with individuals in the community from different racial backgrounds?
    a. What, if any, challenges do you face building relationships with community members while wearing the uniform?
12. What would it mean, and look like, to heal the broken relationships between first responders in uniform and community members/civilians?
    a. What would need to happen to begin healing these relationships?
    b. If we were to re-dress the uniform, how could we do so in a way that fosters care, compassion, and healing for both the body that wears the uniform and the community members/civilians they aim to serve and protect?
13. What recommendations or supports do you feel you need (either individually or collectively) to support your holistic wellness, both on and off duty? How can these recommendations and supports be sustainable?
14. How do we, as a collective, disseminate this information and research? Who needs to hear this? How can we make this information accessible to the community of UFR?

Appendix K. Reflection Phase Prompts

Kemmis et al. (2014)
This document will be disseminated to the PAR research team to assist with the reflection and data analysis phase of the research project.

Now is the time to reflect: to analyse, synthesise, interpret, explain and draw conclusions. We want to discover what happened: to review what has happened in relation to your felt concern, to reconsider the opportunities and constraints of our situation, to review the achievements and limitations of our first changes in practice, to consider their consequences by thinking about: *anticipated* and *unanticipated* effects, *intended* and *unintended* effects, and *side effects.*

It is important that we collaboratively bring our narrative accounts of what happened, and our emerging reflections, into the conversation that constitutes our shared public sphere. As we share our experiences of what happened, we continue to engage in communicative action with each other as we strive for intersubjective agreement about the ideas and language we use as we share our accounts of what happened, that we strive for mutual understanding of one another's perspectives and points of view, and that we strive for unforced consensus about what each of you, and all of you, should do next. In this communicative space, we will explore the critical questions of

1. Whether or not what we set out to do is reasonable, or if some of these ideas turned out to be unreasonable
2. Whether the actions that were taken were productive and sustainable (in relation to providing care for UFRs), or whether, in some ways, they turn out to be unproductive or unsustainable; and
3. Whether your relationships with others in the situation are just and inclusive—or whether they turn out to be unjust (unreasonably limiting others' opportunities for self-expression, self-development or self-determination) or excluding

Further prompts for reflection may include questions like these:

- How does our account of my action compare with what we planned to do? What was our perception of events? What were the perceptions of others involved and affected?
- Did aspects of our practice change in the ways we wanted them to? How? Why?
- What were the anticipated and unanticipated effects? Intended and unintended effects? Side effects? What caused these effects?
- What were the constraints? Why?
- What educational issues arise from what we have noticed? Has the situation become more educational? Which aspects of the situation have changed most significantly in relation to my felt concern? Which aspects seemed most resistant? Can we now think of another approach that might be worth trying (at some point)?
- Did our understanding of our practice improve? How? Why?
- Have our working conditions changed? How? Why?
- Is there evidence of agreements, disagreements, and changes in the interpretation and use of new ideas about how to approach the felt concern among people in the public sphere?

- What changes in practice architectures (cultural-discursive, material-economic and social-political arrangements) have been made to accommodate our actions?
- What are the points of resistance, and how might these be negotiated?
- In what sense were changes in aspects of our practice in and around my felt concern an outcome of my own deliberate changes in practice?
- In what ways did existing practice architectures in our setting turn out to be a source of resistance to my proposed changes in practice? What is the appropriate action to take to negotiate, mitigate, or confront this resistance?
- What tensions and connections are there among the practice architectures in our work? Which are of most immediate interest and concern? Which would it be most productive to work on?
- What further changes could be taken to alleviate any conflicts and what resistances do we anticipate? How can we involve others in these changes?
- What rethinking of the felt concern is necessary?
- What re-planning is necessary?
- What further or alternative actions may be appropriate or feasible?
- What should our next action steps be? How can I best align my efforts with the efforts of my co-participants in the public sphere?
- How does our interpretation of what is happening justify in educational terms our proposed action?

We are now at the point of decision: What will we do next? Will we modify our felt concern? Will we modify our first action step and try again? Go on to a second step from this first one? Or will we strike out in a new direction?

Appendix L. Letter of Appreciation

University of Waterloo

Date *(Insert)*

Dear *(Insert Name of Participant),*

I would like to thank you for your participation in this study entitled "Opportunities for Redress: (thoughts on) re-imagined relations on uniformed bodies, restoration, and leisure". As a reminder, the purpose of this study is to unpack toxic relations of power within UFR cultures, and understand how leisure, care, and restoration is taken up by individuals who are uniformed.

The data collected during interviews will contribute to a better understanding of what recommendations or supports are needed to support the holistic wellness of UFR in light of taxing duties and responsibilities. As well as, to understand to whom and how this information can be disseminated.

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee (REB #43039). If you have questions for the Committee, contact the Office of Research Ethics, at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or ore-ceo@uwaterloo.ca.

For all other questions contact Jaylyn Leighton at jjleight@uwaterloo.ca.

Please remember that any data pertaining to you as an individual participant will be kept confidential. Once all the data are collected and analyzed for this project, I plan on sharing this information with the research community through seminars, conferences, presentations, and journal articles. If you are interested in receiving more information regarding the results of this study, or would like a summary of the results, please provide your email address, and when the study is completed, anticipated by November 2022, I will send you the information. In the meantime, if you have any questions about the study, please do not hesitate to contact me by email or telephone as noted below.

Jaylyn Leighton

University of Waterloo
Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies

jjleight@uwaterloo.ca

Appendix M. Information on COVID-19 In-person Research Protocols

Principal Investigator: Jaylyn Leighton, *Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies, Faculty of Health, University of Waterloo, Email: jjleight@uwaterloo.ca*

Study Title: Opportunities for Redress: Re-imagining Relations for Uniformed Bodies, Restoration, and Leisure

With the global COVID-19 pandemic, Canadian public health authorities have strongly recommended that everyone (especially individuals at high risk or in contact with individuals at high risk) avoid visiting certain businesses and workplaces and take additional precautions including those outlined in this letter. Please read the following statements carefully and feel free to ask questions if anything seems unclear.

The location for this research is at FF *in Southern Ontario,* under the jurisdiction of Waterloo Region Public Health. We are putting in place safety precautions to reduce exposure to COVID-19, but the risk of exposure can still exist. We ask that you follow public health directives, as well, for the safety both of participants and researchers.

COVID-19 can result in severe illness, medical expenses, loss of income and death. If you are feeling unwell or experiencing any potential COVID-19 symptoms, then please stay home and notify a member of the research team that you cannot attend the study session. Examples of potential COVID-19 symptoms are noted at the end of this document.

Because the researcher may need to be closer to you than the recommend 2m distance, the following safety protocols must be followed:

- The day before your study visit a member of the research team will ask you to answer questions for a required COVID-19 screening assessment.
- On the day of your visit, a researcher will conduct the screening again prior to the study visit.
- Please wash or sanitize your hands upon arrival. Hand sanitizer will be provided.
- Please wear a mask or face covering. Masks will be provided if required.
- Avoid touching the face with unwashed hands.
- Avoid physical contact with other individuals to the extent possible.
- Advise a researcher if you believe a safety measure is not being taken, or that safety is at risk.
- If taking public transit for this visit, please follow all guidelines from the transit service and public health, such as face masking/covering and hand sanitizing.
- Consider using the washroom before leaving home. Notify the researcher of any washroom needs; washroom capacity is limited to allow physical distancing.
- Provide your personal contact information for contact-tracing purposes.
- Attend the study visit alone, or if needed, bring only one support person/parent. The support person must also follow the protocols outlined above.

We will be collecting personal contact information that we must retain and will use only to follow up with you or support contact tracing if you (or your support person) may have been exposed to COVID-19 at the research site. Contact information will be stored securely and separately from research data, then destroyed as soon as permitted by public health. To reduce

the possibility of COVID-19 exposure, especially if study procedures cannot maintain 2-metre distancing, we have implemented the following safety procedures recommended by our Safety Office and public health:

- regular handwashing and use of gloves by all research team members,
- availability and use of hand sanitizer for study participants and researchers,
- sanitizing of high-touch surfaces and shared equipment,
- increased cleaning of washrooms and other shared spaces,
- scheduling and limits to reduce occupancy in buildings and laboratories,
- floor markings and signage to encourage physical distancing in shared spaces,
- wearing of face masks/face coverings, and
- where necessary, use of face shields, lab coats, goggles, and plexiglass barriers.

Please do everything you can to follow these health-related procedures and directives, to protect yourself and others. A face mask will be provided for you if required.

If you feel that you are unable to wear a mask or you are from a vulnerable group with respect to COVID-19 (e.g., an older adult; underlying medical conditions such as heart disease, hypertension, diabetes, chronic respiratory diseases, cancer, etc.; or a compromised immune system), please discuss your participation with the research team before consenting. You are under no obligation to participate and nothing will happen if you change your mind about participating in the research.

You are invited to attend in-person research study visit(s) on a voluntary basis. At any time, you can stop participating or withdraw from the study by notifying the researcher. As noted above, your information will be held for the time required by public health authorities for contact tracing purposes.

Please sign and date this form if you acknowledge and accept the information outlined above about risks of COVID-19 exposure and the related safety measures in place and are willing to come to participate in the in-person research study visit(s). By signing this document, you confirm that you have read the information above and had an opportunity to ask questions; you are not waiving your rights or releasing the investigator(s) or involved institution(s) from their legal and professional responsibilities.

Please bring a copy of this letter to the study visit(s). A copy will be provided upon arrival if you cannot print it at home. A copy will be given to you for your own files. Thank you for your interest and participation.

□ I acknowledge:

- I am not experiencing any potential COVID-19 symptoms, including new or worsening cough, shortness of breath or difficulty breathing, temperature equal to or over 38C (100.4F), feeling feverish, chills, fatigue or weakness, muscle or body aches, new loss of smell or taste, headache, gastrointestinal symptoms (abdominal pain, diarrhea, vomiting), or feeling very unwell.
- In the last 14 days, I have not travelled outside Canada, tested positive for COVID-19, had close contact with anyone who has any of the symptoms listed above (or is a

confirmed or presumed case of COVID-19), or been advised by public health to remain in self-isolation.
- I will complete a screening assessment before each study visit: https://covid19checkup.ca

Name of participant/support person: ________________________________ (print name)

Signature of participant/support person: _____________________________

Date: ___________

Researcher name: _________________________________ (print name)

Researcher signature: ______________________________

Date: ___________
Version date: 2 October 2020

Study Title: _________________
Date: ________________________
Time: _______________________
Information for Contact Tracing

Participant:

Name:
____
__________ (required)
Please print name
Phone:
____
_________ (required)
Email:
____
__________ (optional)

Support person:
Complete only if applicable
Name:
____
__________ (required)
Please print name
Phone:
____
_________ (required)

Email: ____ (optional)
This information:

- will not be stored with the study data,
- will always be securely stored,
- will be used only if requested by public health to provide this information for COVID-19 contact tracing purposes, and
- will be held only for the time required by public health authorities.

Version date: 2 October 2020

Appendix N. Conceptual Dictionary of Terms.

Concept:	Definition(s):
Race	"Something we see, it is a social construct that shapes how we understand and exist within distorted laws, polices, and practices" (Omi & Winant, 2016)
Racism	"The theory and practice of applying asocial, civic or legal double standard based on Ancestry (Race), and to the ideology of such a double standard" (Mowatt, 2019, p. 17) Mowatt (2021) conceived racism in three parts: (1) "to create and maintain socio-political division (and to prevent collective organising and action), (2) "to create and maintain Whiteness as a functionary position based on a colour metaphor as Blackness/"Negro" is for criminality, Red/"Indian" is for savagery, White is for dominance", and (3) to create and maintain slavery (forced work conditions) to ensure a steady flow of production; separation within and between divisions of labor and ownership; and the furthest maximisation of revenues for personhood, profits, and property claims" (p. 46).
Whiteness	"Constitutes "institutional discourse and exclusionary practices seeing social, cultural, economic, and psychic advantage for those bodies racially marked as white" (McDonald, 2009)
White Supremacy	Overarching political, economic, and social system of domination, rather than the actions or intentions of individual white bodies (DiAngelo, 2018) "Unnamed political system that has made the modern world what it is today" (Mills, 1997, p. 122)
Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs)	PWIs are those institutions whose histories, policies, practices, and ideologies center whiteness or the white majority (https://www.igi-global.com/dictionary/redesigning-ge-language/68120)
White fragility	White fragility coined by frames the reaction that White folks have to conversations of race and racism as 'fragile' (DiAngelo (2018).
White saviorism	White saviorism is rooted in paternalism, that Black people need caring for because they are inherently incapable, less intelligent, less progressive, unsophisticated, poor and savages (Selam Debs, https://www.selamdebs.com/antiracism-guide)

Appendix O. Interrupt(ing) and Grappling with Race, Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs), and White Supremacy

In this appendix, I offer further reflections on the interruption (Dawney, 2013) I experiences in this work as I grappled with race, PWIs, and white supremacy. While engaging with this work, I knew that I could not speak to the experiences of UFRs, inclusive of the institution of policing, without deeply reflecting on systemic racism and oppressions. After engaging with reflective conversations with my committee members during my final dissertation defense, we collectively came to the decision that this section was necessary and important and requires and needs to be more deeply embedded in critical theories of race. These learnings will be important for future writing's on this work and so I use this appendix as a note to my future self, and other scholars who are taking a deeper look at UFRs through a lens of race and systemic racisms. I begin by discussing critical theories of race and intersectionality as a guiding framework before offering a race-focused content analysis related to this work. To conclude, I offer reflections on my own grappling on race, PWIs, and white supremacy as it relates to this work – in its current form as well as the futurities of this work.

Critical Theories of Race

CRT (guided by Delgado & Stefancic, 2017, Ladson-Billings, 1998, Lee & Lutz, 2005, Omi & Winant 1993, 2013) considers notions of hegemony, identity, essentialism, and stratification to question race as a construct and what it means to be racialized by society. Racial segregation that is used to categorize individuals based on race perpetuates and normalizes systemic and structural racism (e.g., political disempowerment, overcriminalization, health and financial inequities, etc.) (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Formations of race are embedded within social/public discourse to reinforce race as a framework for 'othering' (Lee & Lutz, 2005). Tenants of CRT that were useful for this project include: normalized racism, material determinism, and differentiation of race through race as a social construction (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017).

Omi and Winant's (1993) critique of race is useful to think of race beyond skin colour to expose how racialization is never apart from skin colour. Race, therefore, is a political and economic project that becomes a manifestation of different social, political, and economic agendas (Omi and Winant, 1993). As a result of processes of racialization, systemic inequities, oppressions, and discriminations are used as reproductive forces, impacting the positionality of "othered" bodies in education, government, criminal justice, health care, places of employment, and beyond (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Lopez, 2018; Omi & Winant, 1993). Race and racialization also intersect with processes of capitalism to drive materialism, politics and material gain to elite whites and capital gain to the working-class (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). As a result of white racial dominance, institutions (e.g., criminal justice, education, government) are situated in Eurocentric, white, heteronormative states of power (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). This creates ample opportunities for bodies that "fit" within the scope of what has been socially prescribed as superior, while dehumanizing, displacing, and marginalizing "othered" bodies (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Lopez, 2018).

Learning CRT was both useful and necessary for this project on uniformed bodies working as UFRs to ensure I (a person in a white body) am aware of systemic harms and oppressions affected by race and am not performing white fragility[61] (DiAngelo, 2018). I took up

[61]**White bodies will often (un)consciously engage in systems of complacency that perpetuates harm and further oppresses equity-deserving folx.** DiAngelo (2018) describes white fragility to be a *defensive response by a*

CRT as a way to see how race, racialization, and racial formations are maintained by institutions of power that govern UFRs, more pertinently policing, and are used as a government-sanctioned mechanism to govern, control, and place bodies. The realities of such discriminatory processes for equity-deserving folx are demonstrated through acts of over-surveillance and criminalization that serve 'the school to prison pipeline' and limit opportunity and mobility for devalued bodies (Maynard, 2017). CRT asks me to consider why and how police systems were created in Canada -- to protect the private and human property of wealthy European settlers (Maynard, 2017). It also asks me to consider the role police systems have played in the displacement and enslavement of Black and Indigenous communities (e.g., residential school systems, slavery, systems of criminalization) and how performances of governance continue to be utilized as a tool of anti-Blackness and colonialism (Maynard, 2017). Police officers who serve as UFRs are (un)consciously trained to serve as actors of state power by re-enforcing criminalization efforts and enacting corporeal punishments that have real implications on the lives of Black, Indigenous, and racialized people (e.g., systemic violence and killings) (Maynard, 2017).

Intersectionality as a Theoretical Framework. Intersectionality has its roots in Black liberatory, feminist scholarship dating back to the 19th century anti-slavery and women's right's movements (activists such as Sojourner Truth and other contemporary Anglo-Black feminists) (Rice et al., 2019). Intersectionality (coined by Crenshaw in 1989) articulates how layered labels of identity (i.e., racialized, gendered, classed, etc.) are mutually shaped and interrelated through global forces of colonialism, capitalism, and cultural configuration, etc. (Rice et al., 2019). Labels of identity do not work in isolation, rather they work in relation to the power associated with processes of subjectification (i.e., racializing, gendering, classing) (Rattansi, 2005; Lopez, 2018). As Audre Lorde famously said in 1982 speech, *Learning from the 60s,* "we do not live single issues lives" (). As disability activist expressed, ableism, coupled with white supremacy, supported by capitalism, underscores by heteropatriarchy, has rendered the vast majority of bodies to be "invalid" (Berne, 2015). Intersectionality as a theoretical framework, "offers a way to mediate the tension between assertions of multiple identities and the ongoing necessity of group politics" (Crenshaw, 2006, p.16). For this work, intersectionality as a theoretical framework places emphasis on the multiple axes of power and difference that shape the position of UFRs and members of the public in relation to state governance (Brah & Phoenix, 2004; Rice et al., 2019).

Intersectionality exposes how labels of identity become a part of a political process (Rattansi, 2005) – the idea of identity politics. Identity politics are most commonly taken up in liberal discourse as a labelling of bodies according to their assigned positionality to which social power is used to exclude bodies of difference (Crenshaw, 2006; Ganza, 2019). However, theorists have critiqued the idea of identity politics, saying that it "conflates or ignores intra group differences" (Crenshaw, 2006, p. 8) and frames identities and positionalities as static (Rice et al., 2019). Instead, Crenshaw (2006) explores the various ways identities of race, gender, and class intersect to shape the structural and political properties of state-sanctioned governance that often perpetuates harms and violences.

Intersectionality is intended to change the way we think rather than an end in itself (Carastathis, 2016). I see intersectional theories as necessary to expose the macro-level structural and cultural configurations that privilege and essentialize some identities/bodies over others (Crenshaw, 1991/2006, McCall, 2006). As well, I see intersectional theories as useful to consider

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white person when their whiteness is highlighted or mentioned, or their racial worldview is challenged, whether this response is conscious or otherwise.

how identity labels are constructed to re-enforce processes that oppress and marginalize equity-deserving folx (Crenshaw, 1991/2006, McCall, 2006). As said by Rice and colleagues (2019) intersectionality "as a cultural theory requires a deep commitment to decolonizing, anti-racist, feminist, and other liberatory scholarship and movements" (p. 409). I take up intersectionality as a theoretical framework (in alignment with critical theories of disability) to engage with wide-ranging issues of power, positionality, difference, and unequal power dynamics that are evident in this work (Rice et al., 2019). I align with Rice and colleagues (2019) positioning of intersectionality as a "gathering place" – a place that offers insights into the interrelationship between difference and inequity rather than personifying fixed categories of identity (p. 417).

Using intersectionality as a theoretical framework helped me consider the differing structural and political impacts of identity on the lived experiences of UFRs taking up work as uniformed bodies. I took up intersectionality as a theoretical framework for this work in two ways. First, it helped me identify the multiple meanings, symbols, and ideologies assumed by UFRs to position their bodies as being racialized, gendered, and classed. An intersectional lens helped reveal the shared ideologies of UFRs to show how they are politically useful and positioned in relation to broader social structures and geopolitical processes (Rice et al., 2019). Likewise, an intersectional lens was used to investigate the complexity and messiness of the lives, relationships, and structures maintained by institutions of power that governs UFRs[62] and the public (Rice et al., 2019). Second, intersectionality as a theoretical framework helped me better understand other sites/locations where the institutions of power that govern UFRs intersect to forward political agendas (Crenshaw, 2006). As UFRs become subjects/actors of the governing institution, they are located within overlapping systems of state power and oppression. Intersectionality was useful then to frame the multiple interactions of race, gender, and class in relation to government-sanctioned institutions of power that govern the mobility, placement, and livelihood of bodies. Intersectionality, therefore, offered opportunities to identify the corporeal harms that are enacted on UFRs by the governing institution (e.g., dehumanization, lack of genuine care/support, etc.). It also exposed the disciplinary performances (e.g., acts of control and surveillance) executed by UFRs as uniformed bodies that propagate feelings of social and political distrust and unrest through acts of violence, criminalization, and displacement.

Race-focused Content Analysis

As I collected the data for the racialized-specific analysis, I was keenly aware of the fact that I did not have Black bodies represented in this work. To bridge this gap, as well as to mindfully not place additional burden on Black police officers who are likely shouldering a lot of equity-work and trying to self-preserve, I sought out public discourse that was taking up this conversation. Here, I discuss two recent, highly publicized media relations that took up dialogue on the fractured relationship between justice-oriented equity work (#defundthepolice) and policing within a Canadian context. First, in 2021, *CityNews Everywhere* (Toronto), did a media segment, *EXCLUSIVE: The truth about being a black police officer*[63] (conducted by journalist Donnovan Bennett), with the intention of gaining unfiltered perspectives on the lived experiences of Black officers "who feel torn between the colour of their skin and their uniform" (Bennett, 2021). Bennett (2021) opens up dialogue with three Black Toronto Regional Police

[62]Institutions that uniform bodies are symbolized by various uniforms (e.g., law enforcement, paramedics, fire fighters), correctional officers. For this work, I am interested in understanding the experiences of the uniform, broadly speaking (regardless of the specific uniform), while acknowledging any tensions that arise within.

[63] Full segment can be found here: https://toronto.citynews.ca/2021/02/24/the-truth-about-being-a-black-police-officer/

Officers on their thoughts and feelings on the physical alteration Toronto Raptors President, Masai Ujiri, experienced after the championship game in 2020 (see https://www.espn.com/nba/story/_/id/29705461/altercation-officer-happened-black).

Using this situation to spark dialogue with Black police officers, Bennett (2021) discussed a juxtaposition between the two roles that Black police officers serve as part of the system and part of the Black community. To start the interview, Bennett (2021) highlighted the necessary conversations happening around racial disparities and felt systemic oppressions at the hands of uniformed institutions of power (i.e., policing) that govern human life. Deputy Chief Marc Andrews (Peel Region) responded by saying,

> We need to understand there is historical reasons why Black people find themselves in the situation they are in. Systemic racism isn't a myth, it's a fact. I have been here 59 years, I have been Black the whole time, I don't need anyone to tell me about what systematic racism is and how it impacts your life. I have had it impact my life, but I am also confident that we are moving in the right direction and that the work I have done, and that Korissa and Brandon are doing and are doing in the future will move that ball forward.

Bennett (2021) further probes the police officers to reflect on their lived experiences of systemic racial oppressions performed by the institution of policing (specifically, the systemic murder of George Floyd). In response, Constable Brandon Bridge (Peel Region) said, "The George Floyd incident, it hurt. As a Black man, it hurt." Similarly, Deputy Chief Marc Andrews (Peel Region) said,

> Part of the burden of being a police officer and a Black man in a world that is difficult to navigate for Black men and difficult to navigate for police officers… the fact is, I was a little angry because I knew in my heart that Masai was treated differently because he was a large Black man and had the mistake been made it could have been rectified almost immediately and it wasn't. It reinforces the need for us to do what we are doing. And part of it is presence our presence helps to bend that moral arc to where it should be, not where it is.

Constable Korissa Williams (Peel Region) added to this dialogue by saying,

> We are in a position where we see both. I can only imagine if that my dad or my son. I understand the human aspect of that, loosing someone in that kind of manner. I also see the other side as a Police officer when we are trying to enforce the law and keep everybody safe…. Yes, it was a terrible incident that happened (referring to the murder of George Floyd), but it also exposed what is also part of the policing environment.

Bennet (2021) went on to discuss with the police officers their thoughts and feelings towards upstream justice-oriented movements (specifically, #defundthePolice). Constable Korissa Williams (Peel Region) shared, "the defund the police thing is hard to speak about because people aren't in our position… they don't see what we see. They don't have to deal with what we have to deal with on a daily basis." Deputy Chief Marc Andrews (Peel Region) deepened this dialogue by saying,

> When I hear defund the police, what I hear is that the community wants other social services strengthens which ironically is what we the police at leadership levels have been advocating for years. I go on parade, and I say to our young people how many of you

> joined the police because you want to be a frontline mental healthcare worker. I have never seen a hand go up yet. They want to help, but they did not want to be frontline mental health care workers which is the fact of what we are…We respond to absolutely everything, homelessness, drug addiction, unknown problems, everything defaults to the police service that's because all the social service agencies have not been strengthened and given the capacity and capability to respond appropriative in our service, in our communities. As our community has grown, the police become a catch all for everything. What I hear when I hear people say defund, I hear strengthen all the social service agencies so we can have the right response, at the right time, in the right way.

As highlighted in this quote, and the lived experiences shared with me by UFRs a part of this study were, it is evident there is a lack of adequate and supportive training practices to equip UFRs with the tools to cope. Specifically, as the public continues to deal with various, and often co-morbid, mental health challenges while navigating the brokenness of the mental health system, police officers are often called to distressing situations to offer frontline, acute support. Yet, as shared by many UFRs including those highlighted in this exclusive interview, there continues to be major disconnect between what UFRs are expected to be/do. This discourse was not only relevant to the current research study in terms of holding space to hear the lived experiences of Black police officers as they navigate their complex intersecting identities, but it was also useful for me to listen and better understand what racialized UFRs believe will be meaningful in re-dressing the uniform by healing the fractured relations between UFRs and the public. As Constable Korissa Williams (Peel Region) said, "we are in this together. We shouldn't be divided. Division is where we falter, and we are not as strong."

Second, in 2020, the Toronto Star released, *Heartbroken and Conflicted: Canada's Black Police Officers opens up about George Floyd's death and anti-racism protests*[64] by Dougals Quan. The article provides direct quotes on the lived experiences of Black police officers in Canada. Here, I share some of the quotes that stood out to me in relation to this research project, including:

- "It's sometimes hard being a Black police officer. I feel as though I may be viewed as a 'sell out' in the Black community especially if I don't publicly speak out against the injustices, I see in the world dealt by the hand of law enforcement. At the same time, I worry about not being accepted by my colleagues if I speak out against police brutality" (Arjei Franklin, Windsor Police Service)
- "I watched an assassination. I watched a murder at the hands of law enforcement, a profession I love and cherish, against a member of my community. As a Black female officer, mother of two young Black children, I just felt in an instant so much good work literally was wiped out in that moment, so many good partnerships. As a Black female, I hear the protests. I see it. I'm in pain just as much. But I really do believe we can do better collectively. It can't all be fixed through protest. There needs to be a real push on the inside." (Stacy Clarke, Toronto Police Service)
- "It's very hard not to put yourself in George Floyd's position. It could easily have been me…We're trying to mend it, not only hold people accountable. How do we use this as an educational piece so it doesn't happen again?" (Carl Cartwright, Inspector, Ottawa Police Service)

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[64]https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2020/06/07/heartbroken-and-conflicted-canadas-black-police-officers-open-up-about-george-floyds-death-and-anti-cop-protests.html

- “I say this whole heartedly. Ninety-nine percent of the people I work with are good men and women police officers. It’s the low percentage are the ones who make it hard for the rest of us… It’s an ‘us versus them’ mentality. We need to make people realize we’re approachable” (Ray Wilson, Edmonton Police Service)
- “You can denounce the actions of that officer and still be pro-police. You can denounce the actions of the rioters and looters and still be pro-protest” (Alex Charles, Vancouver Police Department)
- “There’s still a lot of work that need to be done to diversify the upper ranks of public safety agencies” (Jacquieline Edwards, Correctional Service of Canada and President of the Association of Black Law Enforcers)

In this article, Sebestien Lavoie, RCMP Sergeant Major, BC, said, “what does the way forward look like for those who have chosen a profession perceived by so many as oppressive, abusive, and self-serving?” It is my hope that the current research project can be a steppingstone toward answering this question. Institutions that govern UFRs are in need of re-dress in such a way that they understand the history of relations have embedded themselves in subversive ways that still act inequitably on racialized citizens. *All* community members deserve to be served and protected. I believe that the best way to move forward is together, by having uniformed bodies, particularly white UFRs, being more educated and aware of the faults, violences, and harms of the system and state power, and use their position of power to take on an active role as change agents in ensuring *all* bodies are cared for in the community. To do so, in the next section I offer a deeper analysis of the dialogue highlighted in this chapter thus far to make a case for the ways in which UFRs and the public experience parallel tensions and reckoning with systemic harms.

Grappling with White Supremacy and Systemic Oppressions

To immerse myself in this necessary interruption, I took time to listen and read the work scholars taking up critical race theories (CRT), feminism, and intersectionality to do anti-institutional, anti-Black racism, and anti-colonial advocacy work. I also read into social science scholars who are making justice-oriented calls of action towards well-to-do social services (i.e., policing) to not remain “divorced from the everyday realities of Black and racialized individuals and communities…in the pursuit of social justice and service to humanity” (Giwa et al., 2021). I wanted to better educate myself so that I could step back into this work as a co-activator (Berbary, 2022)[65] to advocate for *all* bodies that are systemically oppressed, including those who step into laborious care roles as UFRs. I returned to previous conversations with my supervisor, Kimberly, to reflect on how the bodies who are uniformed through relations of power become actors of the institutions they pledged to serve also experience harm, trauma, and violence. I learned from this work that individuals who take on labourous UFR roles are also underserved and impacted by the traumas they encounter and embody while existing as labouring bodies under processes of capitalism. I wanted to better understand the role that the uniform could have in healing the broken, fractured relationships among UFRs and the public. I also wanted to better understand justice-oriented movements (i.e., BLM and #defundthepolice, in particular) that continue to advocate for restorative justice. I recognize that this work is much larger than the scope of this dissertation. Yet, I take on this work in the hopes of ensuring no *body* is left behind.

In efforts to engage with this interruption in a way that was useful, I knew it was necessary to connect with UFRs who are navigate intersectional identities. My supervisor,

[65] https://www.instagram.com/tv/CCUdfibAe6M/?igshid=YmMyMTA2M2Y%3D

Kimberly, encouraged me to think about how the felt oppressions faced by UFRs (i.e., lack of agency, mental health support, lack of caring relations, etc.), is even more felt by racialized UFRs. As such, my intention with the Race-focused analysis was to facilitate connections across intersectional identities and materialize opportunities for human collectivity (Ramasbramanian & Wolfe, 2020).

I approached conversations with racialized UFRs through an ethic of care (Tronto, 1993) to hold space for the telling of stories that suspend my prior cultural beliefs and address questions of white supremacy, capitalism, state power, privilege, erasures, harm, oppressions, violence, collective action, and systemic change (Ramasbramanian & Wolfe, 2020). I engaged with the lived experiences shared with me by racialized UFRs in efforts to address the tensions I felt around a lack of representation (of racialized UFRs within the scope of the current study) and a lack of accountability by the institutions of power that govern UFRs. In particular, I was interested in understanding the complexities of racialized UFRs experiences as they navigate relations of power (thread one), cultural habitus (thread two), and the expected performances and symbolic representations of the uniform (thread three) alongside their racialized identities. These conversations were held in relation to existing conversations dominated by white UFRs. I connected with three UFRs (Gill, Melody, and Bowen) who identify as Black, Indigenous, or a racialized person and held space for conversations that aim to address my felt tensions in relation to racial injustice and UFR labour and grappling with state power, white supremacy, and systemic oppressions.

A tension that came from this interruption was dialogue on government-sanctioned power and white supremacy. I exist in a white body and my whiteness is, and has always been, a symbol of complacency within systems that continue to perpetuate harm, trauma, and violence to equity-deserving folx. As such, I have come to recognize that my whiteness has afforded me certain privileges that are not afforded to others. After a preliminary presentation of this work, I received feedback from Dr. Lisbeth Berbary, who encouraged me to move away from using my identity apologetically, and instead step into my whiteness with vulnerability. As Audre Lorde famously said in a keynote address at the National Women's Studies Association Conference in 1981, "I am not free while any woman is unfree, even when her shackles are very different from my own." In alignment with scholar Robin DiAngelo (2018), I believe we, as a collective humanity, *all* have stake in doing work that supports anti-racist efforts to advocate for equity, inclusion, diversity, and justice. In efforts to address systemic racism and create change, leisure scholars Arai and Kivel (2009) said,

> …to get to the root of systemic change we need to acknowledge the existence and power of white hegemony and racism… that makes explicit the power and ideologies underlying individual action, and the policies and practices of social institutions…. To balance examination of individual agency with a critique of the institutions and structures that perpetuate racism (p. 409).

Similarly, DiAngelo (2018) said, an intentional interruption of racism work means to: "minimize our white defensiveness, demonstrate vulnerability, curiosity, and humility, allow for growth, stretch our worldview, ensure action, build authentic relationships and trust, interrupt privilege-protecting behaviour, interrupt internalized superiority" (p. 144). The dialogue presented in the current section aims to grasp the nature of white supremacy, state power, systemic racism, and other forms of felt systemic oppressions. The intention of this is to better understand the history

of existing racial hierarchies that have been used strategically to oppress some bodies over others within state-sanctioned institutions of power, inclusive of the institution of policing.

I was encouraged by Dr. Mullings, my external examiner, to reflect on another tension that came up for me in this work. This tension is a questioning of *why* FF, the community partner, was only able to recruit white participants (UFRs) for this work to share their stories and lived experiences. If Black, Indigenous, and racialized people do not feel safe to participate and engage with the values of FF (i.e., care for self and well-being), where do they go for help? Are there community spaces available for Black, Indigenous, and racialized UFRs to access 'safety'? Are there programs available that can speak to their individual and collective racial and cultural needs? Future writings and dissemination of this work will consider where racialized UFRs are going to find healing from taking on and navigating the expectations assigned to being a UFR.

I used Appendix N: Conceptual dictionary of terms, as an outline of ideas that were useful to inform my interpretive analysis in relation to the lived experiences shared with me by racialized UFRs. This table highlights the definitions that were most useful for my own growth in relation to this work while recognizing that other scholars may take up different definitions of these terms. In 2021, Dykstra and Storm discussed that a divergence from white body supremacy cultural norms requires a stripping of rank and class privileges, a shedding of the amour that is inherited unconsciously as white ways of being, to enter a place of unknowing where all bodies can meet with carrying experiences of racialization. It is with this in mind that I approach the remainder of this section by speaking to white supremacy[66], state power, and systemic oppressions in relation to institutions that hold power (most pertinently, policing).

Scholars who take up CRT assert that although racial categorization has no biological significance, race has material consequences in the lived reality of all people as a mobilized set of privileges and punishments (Omi & Winant, 2016). As such, Mullings (2012) posits that racialized peoples have different lived experiences because of colonialism and imperialism. In

[66]To better understand white supremacy, it was useful for me to take up McDonald's (2009) explanation of whiteness as being "more useful to explain what whiteness does" (p. 9) and Ahmed's (2007) phenomenological work that locates whiteness as a consequence of Euro colonial racialization, which shapes "what it is that bodies 'can do,'" (p. 153). In 1993, Frankenberg discussed that analytic attention on whiteness in centered on "the production and reproduction of dominance rather than the subordination, normativity rather than marginality and privilege rather than disadvantage" (p. 236). As a condition of being (i.e., whiteness being linked to culture, nation, religion, gender, sexuality, language, ethnicity, body, neurotypicality/neurodivergence, and other social markers), whiteness can inform our place and displacement in a given space, our comfort and discomfort in a given situation, the ways we experience belonging and alienation, our knowledge of how to act and react, and how we understand ourselves in relation to others (Kempf, 2020). Within white supremacy cultures, systems of structural power privilege, centralize, and evaluate white bodies as a group becoming the norm (DiAngelo, 2018). Those who are positioned within the norm (i.e., white bodies) and are afforded more privilege and power as they directly benefit from a system that confers advantages to whiteness, while equity-deserving groups are labelled as a deviation from that norm (DiAngelo, 2018). Uniformed bodies who are handed state power (as Bowen said, "I'm being handed this responsibility") and are afforded certain privileges over others on the basis that they perform the desired expectations of the larger PWI. PWIs were built to center white bodies over other bodies and are rarely questioned as functions of whiteness operate as a silent force of state power from within. As activist and author Ta-Nehisi Coates (2015) says in their book, *Between the World and Me,*

> all our phrasing- race relations, racial chasm, racial justice, racial profiling, white privilege, even white supremacy- serves to obscure that racism is a visceral experience, that it dislodges brains, blocks airways, rips muscle, extracts organs, cracks bones, breaks teeth… you must always remember that the sociology, the history, the economics, the graphs, the charets, the regressions all land, with great violence, upon the body (p. 12-13).

talking to my supervisor, Kimberly, she led me to engage with conversations of race beyond skin colour by encouraging me to reflect on conversations of racialization *past* (but never apart from) skin colour (Omi & Winant, 1993). She also encouraged me to reflect on how racist institutions that thrive on complacency, affect us all as we, as members of the public, are socialized into a framework of violence (Henderson-Espinoza, 2022). Institutions of power, inclusive of the institution that governs UFRs, functions through neoliberal capitalism and was built by, and continues to be maintained predominantly by, white men, creating predominantly white institutions (PWIs). PWIs are held together by premeditated media relations that politically exploit racialized bodies (e.g., over reporting of violence in Black communities to aid to a narrative of fearing of the black body) to solidify white supremist ideals (Mulling et al., 2016). As a result, by design, PWIs marginalize the identities, perspectives, and practices of equity-deserving groups, including those who identify as Black, Indigenous, or a racialized person, 2SLGBTQ, fat, mad/crip, disabled, or any combination of other.

Within the context of the current research project with UFRs and their governing institutions, I was interested in better understanding how state power is deliberately deployed to maintain state violence[67]. More specifically, I was interested in unpacking the institution of policing and the ways in which state power is used both on and by UFRs through directive regimes of governance. In efforts to better comprehend what state power is, does, and has the potential to become, I read Mowatt's (2021) book, *The Geographies of Threat and Production of Violence: The State and the City Between Us.* Mowatt (2021) provides a historical account (based in Chicago, IL, United States) of events that make up what he terms 'a geography of threat'. He provides many examples of historical events of state-sanctioned violence that have occurred (and continue to occur), creating intergenerational moral panic (Mowatt, 2021). He says,

> People work and live within the city, but the construct of the city does not serve the people. It breathes and exhales whether the people do or not. In fact, it seemingly thrives off that precarity, the business bustle and the baton beating. The city serves the State. The living city is a product of the exercising of State power to focus potential, whereupon its geographic reach maps the lives and lived experiences of its diverse residents. But the living city is also the location in which State power is exercised upon and through its citizenry, where within its geographic boundaries (and non-boundaries) those same diverse residents are subjected to or protected from the violence of maintaining the social order. Thus, the endeavour here begins with the city as the cultural text of study: how does it feel, how does it function, and what does it mean (in its experience and operation)? (p. 39).

Mowatt (2021) describes state power as operating through the control of production, poverty, and extraction of bodies. Similar to Butler's (1990) theory of performativity, Mowatt (2021) describes members of the public as performing their class, race, gender, sexuality, abilities, and age through state-sanctioned discourse. In order for processes of classification, racialization, and gendering to 'work', the power of material and physical spaces needs to be affirmed (Mowatt, 2021). In other words, the formation and dominance of the state is maintained by political manifestations within various institutions and apparatuses of power to maintain

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[67]Maynard (2017) uses the framework of "state violence" to "draw attention to the complex array of harms experienced by marginalized social groups that are caused by government (or government-funded) policies, actions and inactions" (p. 6)

structural order and social formation (Mowatt, 2021). The institution of policing is one of the state-sanctioned institutions of power that maintains structural order and social formation, by directly governing bodies in relation to criminality, justice, order, and peace. As such, uniformed bodies (more specifically, police officers) become an apparatus of power, a tool of the institution, that maintains the status-quo of state power. Processes of governance maintained by institutions of power do not operate as a "one-time use of force onto its populace to secure the colonial territory," rather, state power is something that "must constantly re-ascribe itself over and over and over and over and over and over…forever" (Mowatt, 2021, p. 184).

In conversation with racialized UFRs, I shared how I take up critical theories to question the institution that governs UFRs, the governance of the public, and my theorisations of bodies being literally and figurately uniformed by state institutions (Merleau-Ponty, 1996). As evidenced above, many UFRs feel that there are certain obligations that they are expected to perform while wearing the uniform in efforts to sustain the cultural habitus of the governing institution, a PWI (Bruce, Roger, Jack, Gill). Yet, what was not discussed as much, or possibly not yet fully acknowledged, are the ways in which PWIs perform and enact whiteness. This dialogue has never, and will never be, just about race. It is important to acknowledge the intersections of white supremacy, patriarchy, imperialism, settler colonialism, and capitalism, as well as intersectional categorisations (class, gender, and race) that all serve state power in some manner (Mowatt, 2021; Mullings, 2012).

By engaging in this interruption, I use this dialogue to expose the harms and violences of PWIs who use state power to limit mobility for equity-deserving folx. As the late bell hooks (1999) said, "we, as a collective body, need to bring forth the voices of bodies on the margins of society to see and create, to imagine alternatives, new worlds" (p. 341). And as author and activist Layla F. Saad (2018) shared, "if you are a person who believes in love, justice, integrity, and equity for all people, then you know that this work is nonnegotiable" (p. 10). In the following section I dig deeper into this dialogue by unpacking privileged UFR discourses in relation to white supremacy, state power and privilege, and felt systemic oppressions that directly impact the lives of UFRs and the public through my conversations with UFRs.

Appendix P. Useful Justice-oriented Resources

Global/Local Upstream Organizations:	Resource and links:
Black Lives Matter	• BLM United States website and resource page • BLM Canada website and resource page • Book: *Policing Black Lives* by activist and author Robyn Maynard • Workshops/Courses: The Anti-racism course and guide with Selam Debs (Local, Kitchener-Waterloo Activist)
#Defundthepolice	• #Defundthepolice United States website • #Defundthepolice Canada website, resource page, and organizations (categorized by Province/Territory)
Waterloo Region Crime Prevention Council (WRCPC) (Friends of Crime Prevention)	• WRCPC website, projects and campaigns, research and reports, community engagements
Waterloo Regional Police Association (WRPA)	• WRPA website, community work, Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion Unit, the 2021 annual report, and other reports and publications
Canadian Mental Health Association Waterloo Wellington (CMHAWW)	• CMHAWW website and Integrated Mobile Police and Crisis Team (IMPACT) website
Interrupting Criminalization (@Interrptcrim)	• Interrupting Criminalization website, Instagram page, publications/reports, • Book: *We do this 'till we free us* by Activist Mariame Kaba
Radical in Progress	• Radical in Progress website and study guides
The Association of Black Law Enforcers (A.B.L.E.) (Toronto, Ontario, Canada)	• A.B.L.E. website and events
Mental Health Related Resources (for UFRs)	• Boots on the ground • Wounded Warriors Canada • Badge of Life Canada • Mental Health Commission of Canada: The Working Mind First Responders • First Responders First • #I'vegotyourback911