Still 'Policing the Crisis'?

Black and mixed-'race' experiences of policing in West Yorkshire

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Dedication

For Christopher Alder.

And

My friend Janet Alder-his strong, determined, truth seeking sister and warrior for justice without whom my life would have taken a different path. I am humbled and inspired by her fighting spirit in the face of multiple injustices.

No Justice-No Peace

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Abstract

Black people in Britain have historically been over policed and under protected. Legislative and policy intervention in the past three decades has not brought about any significant change and, as evidenced by the post-August 2011 riots research, those racialized as Black still have low levels of confidence in the police. Contemporarily, most of what is understood in the field has emerged from statistical analyses of survey and statistical data on stop and search. Qualitative understanding is limited to the experiences of young people across Black and other ethnic minority groups. Within the existing research there is scant attention given to the racializing processes which shape police encounters.

This research, grounded in a Critical Race framework, seeks to prioritise the stories and counter- stories of those marginalised by racializing processes. Based on semi structured interviews with twenty individuals who identified as Black or Black and white mixed-'race' the emerging counter-stories enable an understanding of 'race' and processes of racialization in police/citizen contact. This thesis examines both police initiated and citizen initiated contact and analyses 'race' contextually as it intersects with class, gender and Black masculinities.

It illuminates how the whiteness of the police institution and processes of institutional racialization and racism, evident within contemporary policing practices, shapes police encounters. Further, it proposes that an activist agenda which makes racism visible can contribute to disrupting power structures and surviving racist affects.

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Terms of Reference

Black

The term Black is used in this research to refer to the experiences of people of African descent. Further, this is the term that participants used to describe their own identity. This term also signifies the ascribed identification based on skin colour which makes 'race' meaningful in the context of the police encounter. This usage draws on the 'Fact of Blackness' (Fanon, 1986) which forces the subject of police attention to confront themselves through the white gaze (Yancy, 2008).

Mixed-'race'

The term mixed-'race' is used to refer to participants of mixed parentage where one parent was of African descent where participants had used this term to describe their own identity.

Chapter 1 Introduction

'The antagonism between Blacks and the police has been a consistent and primary factor in the process of race formation which has shaped Black settlers in Britain into a political community'

(Gilroy, 1987:140)

The focus of this thesis is on the ways in which Black and mixed-'race' people experience policing. Through the accounts of both men and women, from a diverse range of social and economic backgrounds and ages, it takes an intersectional approach to understanding how 'race' intersects with other oppressions/identities in the context of police contact. The research troubles dominant, binary frameworks which serve to make 'race' 'invisible' through its erasure (Tate, 2016), thus making 'race' incidental to other explanations-most prevalently class. Drawing from a Critical Race Framework, which develops knowledge from the position of racialized voices, it contributes a counter story to dominant state narratives centred on a 'race'-relations agenda, which obscure racism as an explanation for discriminatory policing.

Black communities in Britain have evidently been over policed, through 'sus' in the 1970's and 1980's and subsequent stop and search provisions under PACE from 1984 onwards (Hall et al., 1978, Gilroy, 1987, Bowling, 2008), and under protected as identified by the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report (Macpherson, 1999)*. Stop and search continues to disproportionately target Black men (Bowling and Phillips, 2007, Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2010, Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2013, Dodd, 2016, Ministry of Justice, 2011, Home Office, 2014) and recent research finds that Black people are three times more likely to be restrained through the use of Taser (Gayle, 2015). Further, Black people have lower levels of trust and confidence in the police and are less likely to approach them for help following experiences of victimisation (Yarrow, 2005, Sharp and

Atherton, 2007). Reform measures in the post-Macpherson period[1] have not brought about any significant change (Rollock, 2009). This is reflected in the findings of the research carried out following the August 2011 riots, in the aftermath of the police shooting of Mark Duggan in Tottenham, which suggests that concerns about police treatment were a factor in the riots, particularly for Black people (Lewis et al., 2011).

This chapter reflects upon the construction of Black criminality in Britain. It argues that a race-crime nexus has emerged. In particular, it examines the debates surrounding processes of racialization and criminalisation in the post-war period from a 'race' relations perspective. It considers post-war migration and troubles the notion that Black presence and the problematisation of Black presence is limited to the post-war post-'*Windrush*' era. Situating belonging in the context of nation it considers the concept of Britishness and its construction as 'white' in positioning the racialized other outside of Britishness through a racialized conception of crime.

Further, it considers the evidence that we are still 'Policing the Crisis'. Drawing on Hall et al (1978) *Policing the Crisis,* it argues that Black people, men in particular, continue to be cast as the folk devil in multiple fears around crime and criminality. It looks at the research surrounding drug crime, in relation to trans-Atlantic responses to the 'war on drugs' and policy and policing responses to the 'gang' problem. It argues that, as with the 'mugging' label in the 1970's, the importation of US labels and concepts to the UK policing context are imbued with racial meanings that are absorbed into its usage. Further, this analysis reveals that the persistence of stereotypes of criminality are not supported by evidence; however, they continue to inform police responses to Black men. It is from this context that the chapter identifies the research questions to be addressed and situates them within the literature from which they emerge. Through a Critical Race Theory framework, this research will address the following questions; How do 'Black and mixed-'race'

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[1] Post-Macpherson is used here and throughout to refer to the time period following the publication of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report in 1999 and up to the present day. This period is significant in the context of the report finding that the Metropolitan Police (and by extension the police service) are institutionally racist. A finding which prompted significant reform measures in the police and other institutions, in particular the proliferation of the equality and diversity agenda (chapter two) which has contributed to rendering 'race' and thus racism invisible.

people experience policing? Have experiences of policing changed post-Macpherson? Do the police implement policing differently in response to 'Black and mixed-'race' people? And, is 'race' the only explanation? How do intersectional oppressions change the nature of the relationship between the police and 'Black and mixed-'race' people?

1.1 The Race-Crime Nexus; defining and policing the 'colour problem'.

To facilitate an understanding of the race-crime nexus it is necessary to understand the construction of Black people as the cause of the 'colour problem' in the British domestic context. The arrival of the *Empire Windrush* at Tilbury Docks in 1948 carrying 493 passengers from the Caribbean islands (Phillips and Phillips, 1998), two thirds of whom had served in Britain during World War Two (Ward, 2004:124), is viewed as a watershed in British migration history. The 1948 Nationality Act conferred British Citizenship upon Citizens of the British Commonwealth, which granted right of entry and abode in the United Kingdom. This legislation facilitated the domestic need for migrant labour to support in the post-war rebuilding of Britain and supported the political aim of maintaining a united British Commonwealth in the context of de-colonisation (Law et al., 2008:3).

However, scholars have argued for a break in the narrative which positions Black Britain as a post-war phenomenon, with the *Empire Windrush* as the focus for the white gaze, and therefore the signifier for the beginning of the 'colour problem' (Perry, 2015, Hesse, 2000). These narratives present a 'deficient and myopic accounting of the historical genealogy context and implications of post-war Caribbean migration' (Perry, 2015:14). A longer historical trajectory of Black presence in Britain shows that both settled Black presence, and the notion of a 'race relations' problem attributed to that presence, is observable long before the arrival of the *Empire Windrush* in 1948. Liverpool is thought to have the longest traceable history of Black settlement which can be traced for ten generations (Bourne, 2014:147). Many ex-servicemen who had served Britain in World War 1 settled in England, particularly in the port towns. Following the First World War, Cardiff's Black community increased from 700 in 1914 to 3000 by 1919 (Ibid:139). Whilst thousands of Black serviceman fought and lost their lives in World War One, this history is not broadly acknowledged; Bourne, addresses this in *Black Poppies*

(Bourne, 2014). It is the decision of these servicemen to make England their home, particularly seamen, following WW1 which explains this increase in the Black population in the port towns and cities of England.

These communities, mostly Black seamen in the ports of Liverpool and Cardiff , came under sustained attack in 1919 following the return of demobilised white soldiers opposed to their employment and relationships between Black men and white women (Fryer, 1984, Rowe, 1998). Black men in the streets of Liverpool were being attacked regularly. One such attack, which resulted in the stabbing of a 'West Indian' migrant John Johnson, provoked a revenge attack by eight of his friends. Police seeking those involved in the attack raided a boarding house used by Black seamen, violence ensued and two police men were shot, one slashed and one had his wrist broken. Wotten, ran from the house pursued by two police men and a lynch mob of a reported two to three hundred strong crowd hurling missiles. The mob tore him from the police and threw him in to the water at Queens Dock to cries of 'let him drown' and pelted him with stones. His corpse was later pulled from the water; however, no arrests were made (Fryer, 1984:300, Bourne, 2014:151). The police failure to pursue the perpetrators is a prescient warning about the under protection of Black people that was later to manifest following the death of Kelso Cochrane in 1958 and Stephen Lawrence in 1993.

Similar lynch mobs were at work in Cardiff and according to reports in the Western Mail, police efforts were focused on preventing the white mobs from damaging property (Fryer, 1984:307). Indeed, a racialized response to the riots led to accusations of unfair treatment from within established Black communities. Following the riots in Cardiff, Dr Rufus Leicester Fennell, described as a 'leader' of Cardiff's Black community, complained to MPs and the Home Office about the unfair way in which voluntary repatriations were being handled and accused Cardiff police of prejudice against Black people in their supervision of the departure process (Ibid:309). Further the refusal to allow Black troops to take part in London's victory celebrations in July of the same year added insult to injury. In an editorial response to this Hercules, the General Secretary of the Society for Peoples of African Origin, wrote in the Africa Telegraph, 'the supineness of the Imperial government during the race riots drives home the fact that they approve of them, that they are in line with Imperial policy' (Ibid 315-6). The failure of the police and state to respond

appropriately to the attacks confirms that the 'race relations' problem was not seen to be caused by the white racists mobs, but by the presence of the Other'

There is evidence that all newcomers have experienced some degree of hostility on their arrival (Panyani, 1996). Britain has been described as 'a nation of immigrants and their descendants' (Ward, 2004:116). However, Miles claims that the migration of the Irish and the Jews, both groups who were classed as a separate 'race', were not seen to produce a 'race relations' situation in Britain (Miles, 1984). Miles's claim does not hold up to scrutiny in consideration of the history of the Irish as British Colonial subjects and the racialization of Irish migrants as the 'racialized outsider' (Virdee, 2014:24), similarly argued by Ignatiev, in the US context (Ignatiev, 2008). Prior to the arrival of the post-war migrants from the Caribbean, Britain and 'Britishness' was already racialized and it had been throughout the colonial period. The Pan-African Congress in 1945 opened with a full day addressing the 'colour problem in Britain' (Perry, 2015:51), illustrating how the problems faced by Black Britons were viewed as part of a global Black empowerment agenda. However, in the post-war/post-colonial period there was a shift from the 'politics of 'race' as Empire to the politics of 'race' as Nation' (Hesse, 1997:92-4). The arrival of the *Empire Windrush* served as both the point at which 'race'-relations became part of the national post-colonial project and as a symbol for 'nationalist fears of the white racist imagination' (Ibid: 98).

Nationalist fears came to the fore following the 1958 'riots' in Nottingham and Notting Hill. Similarly to the 1919 'riots', they were the result of Black migrants being subjected to attacks by whites. Unlike later 'riots', in which racist policing was a factor (Scarman, 1981, Keith, 1993), the role of the police in the 1958 riots was to protect the Black community from attack (Miles, 1984). Further, Miles argues, in stark contrast to accounts of later riots, that there is no recorded evidence of hostility between the police and the Black community at this time (Ibid). This claim contrasts with Fryer's (1984) account, based on analysis of newspaper reports of the day, he shows that Nottingham's Black community felt that the police were biased in their dealings with them (Fryer, 1984). Further, Fryer's account evidences the police under-protection of the Black community, concluding that the police 'already hostile to Black people…had offered no effective opposition to either the fascists or their teenage dupes' (Ibid: 380)

Racialization was the product of the structures and practices employed by the media and the press at this time (Miles, 1984:255); reference to cultural attributes of welfare, spongers and sexual vice contribute to the formation of the race-crime link (Ibid:259, also see Gilroy, 1987). The riots came to be seen as an inevitable consequence of 'race' difference. The narratives surrounding them reflecting a 'white angst' about Black presence and the erosion of security in the neighbourhood and the home (Perry, 2015:113). However, as demonstrated in the earlier 1919 riots, the seeds of the 'colour problem' caused by the presence of the Other had already been sown.

The political construction of a 'race relations' problem paved the way for successive legislation limiting immigration at a time when managing decolonisation sensitively was a key political concern. The 1958 riots, which were essentially attacks on Black citizens by whites, were interpreted racially and the link made between unrestricted commonwealth migration and the 'race' problem (Solomos, 1988:33). Immigration legislation passed in 1962 introduced controls on Commonwealth immigration through the introduction of a work voucher scheme. Further controls were imposed in 1968 with the Immigration Act which introduced the concept of 'patrials' thus, extending immigration control to those without a parent or grandparent who was either a citizen of or born in the United Kingdom. Implicit in the provisions of the legislation was the desire to prevent any further increase in non-white British citizens; this had the effect of creating a 'white Britain policy' (Solomos, 1988:40). The introduction of 'race relations' legislation in the same period created a dichotomy whereby discrimination within Britain was legislated against as the means to manage sensitive international relations, whilst codifying racism within immigration provisions (Bowling, 2002, Gilroy, 1987, Phillips and Phillips, 1998). Gilroy extends the argument to theorise an inextricable link between the politics of race and the concept of national belonging and homogeneity. For Gilroy, the nation is presented in reference to the biological and cultural in the usage of phrases like the 'Island race' and 'Bulldog breed'. In this argument it is the obviousness of difference and the dilution of the once homogenous 'national stock' that is defined as a threat to the British way of life. Banishing them back to from where they came becomes desirable and a legitimate response to the threat that is posed to the nation (Gilroy, 1987:44), as expressed in Enoch Powell's infamous *'Rivers of Blood'* speech.

The 1968 Race Relations Bill (later the 1968 Act) was the catalyst for Enoch Powell's oft cited *Rivers of Blood* speech, in which he called for an end to immigration as the solution to the 'race relations' problem that had been constructed around the presence of Black migrants. He declared of the imminent Race Relations legislation;

> *Here is the means of showing that the immigrant communities can organize to consolidate their members, to agitate and campaign against their fellow citizens, and to overawe and dominate the rest with the legal weapons which the ignorant and the ill-informed have provided. As I look ahead, I am filled with foreboding; like the Roman, I seem to see "the River Tiber foaming with much blood (Powell 1968 cited in Powell, 2007).*

Powell was forced out of the Conservative Shadow Cabinet in the aftermath of his inflammatory speech. Despite the Conservative Party distancing the speech from their official party politics, the speech had a significant impact on the politics of race relations and immigration discourse (Hillman, 2008, Bowling, 2002). For Gilroy, the speech was indicative of a new form of racism that defined Black communities as a threat to legality, the 'alien wedge', serving to link them inextricably with criminality (Gilroy, 1987:85). Powell's insistence on the existence of an' imagined community' (Anderson, 2006), to which the Black immigrants were a threat, positioned them as in opposition to 'Britishness'. The lasting impact of Powell's rhetoric became evident in the wake of the August 2011 riots, forty three years later, as Historian David Starkey declared that Enoch Powell's prophecy of Burning Britain had come true and that the 'whites have become Black' (Quinn, 2011). Implicit within Starkey's statement is the assumption that rioting is not a white thing to do. Further, failing 'multiculturalism' was identified as the problem and limiting immigration and Human Rights the desired solution (Hirschler, 2012). The revelation of the race-crime nexus gives rise to the research questions surrounding black and mixed-'race' peoples experiences of policing contemporarily (see above- questions one, two and three). It suggests that black and mixed-'race' people, through processes of racialization which link them to inherent criminality, are policed differently. This research seeks to understand how racialized discourses shape the experiences of those who are constructed as criminal, in response to the questions that have emerged.

1.2 Still 'Policing the Crisis'?

In the context of the increasing fear about 'race relations' and cultural proclivities towards criminality, *Policing the Crisis* (Hall et al., 1978) was the first sociological study to include an explicit analysis of the racialization of police/Black relations, it contributes to an understanding of the construction of the race-crime nexus and how young Black men became the 'enemy of the state'. The authors argue that the period in which the 'mugging' panic occurred was characterised by a 'crisis of hegemony', which is manifest in the response to 'mugging' (Ibid: 217). Through an analysis of the media and judiciary response to 'mugging' the authors show how the young Black man became a convenient scapegoat in order to legitimate a law and order response, to mugging directly, and also more broadly, to address the fears surrounding social order manifest in strikes and other forms of protest from the late 1960's. The media used the term 'mugging', imported from the US context, to describe street robbery. Positioned as a new strain of crime, an old offence was given a new label with an already established racialized meaning. In the resulting moral panic young Black men were cast as the folk devil. In the wake of the 'crisis' the terms 'mugging' and 'Black crime', as argued by Hall, became 'virtually synonymous' (Hall et al., 1978:217).

In response to the claims made in *Policing the Crisis*, Lea and Young (1984), argued that 'we must accept that crime is a pressing problem, for the poor and for the Black community' (Lea and Young, 1984:108, see also, Hallsworth and Young, 2008). They claim that Black people commit a higher rate of crime to which the police respond all too readily, which increases their perception of the link between race and crime; the two are mutually reinforcing processes (Ibid: 165). In response, Bridges and Gilroy (1982), argue that the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) release of street crime statistics to the media, upon which Lea and Young draw, was a 'deliberate political intervention' in the wake of the *Scarman Report*. The Left Realist approach was accused of giving 'intellectual support to racist stereotypes' (Bridges and Gilroy 1982:34). The racist stereotypes that coalesced around the image of the 'mugger' are a central point in the trajectory of the development of the race-crime nexus. It was through 'mugging' that Black men were constructed as criminal and the resulting race-crime nexus continues to inform and produce contemporary fears surrounding Black men's criminality.

The discriminatory policing of young Black men is a sustained factor in the negative relationship between the police and Black communities. Whilst the moral panic surrounding the 'mugging' phenomenon has left its mark on the ideological imagining of young Black men, there is evidence of new and multiple fears which have fixed the link between young Black men and particular forms of criminality. Similarly to the 'mugging' label, as argued in '*Policing the Crisis'*, more contemporary fears have in common that they have been attributed labels imported from a US context, with racially inscribed meanings which shape understandings of risk and legitimise control. One example is the 'war on drugs' originating in the US Nixon administration, a war in which 'the enemy is racially defined' (Alexander, 2012:98, Welch, 2007). For Chambliss, it is not a war on drugs but a 'war on people of colour' (Chambliss, 1995:105), systematically destroying the lives of both Latino and Black communities (Ibid: 108). It has served to create a 'new racial caste system' which permits the segregationist policies of the Jim Crow era under a new name (Alexander, 2012:180-1).

Similar effects can be seen in the policing, criminal justice processing and imprisonment in relation to drugs offences in the UK. Eastwood et al, find that drugs laws are a key driver of disproportionate representation of Black people in the criminal justice system (Eastwood et al., 2013). The rates of drug offending are not reflected in proportionate stop and search, arrest and convictions for whites. However, studies have shown that white people are more likely to engage in drug use (Alexander, 2012; Sangster et al 2002 and Stevens 2011 cited in Eastwood 2013:15). It is also the case that there is insufficient empirical support for the stereotype that Black people are more likely to be involved in drug dealing offences. (Ibid: 16). The policing of drugs offences is heavily racialized; searches for drugs are disproportionate for Black, Asian and mixed-'race' people. Black people are searched at a rate 6.3 times higher than whites, Asians 2.5 times higher than whites and mixed-'race' people are searched for drugs at twice the rate (ibid:12). This is reflected in their disproportionate arrest and charges brought for drug possession. A 'war' against Black people that began in 1970's US has shaped British consciousness on drugs and drug use and sustained the link between Black and mixed-'race' people and drugs. This image is proliferated in media reproductions of 'drugs, gangs and yardies' (Gabriel 1998, cited in Cushion, 2011). Yardies is used in the UK context to refer specifically to Jamaicans who are involved in drugs and

violent crime-this specifically UK racialization arose from the police focus of Operation Trident in 1998 to respond to what they referred to as 'Black on Black' shootings which at that time were largely understood to be perpetrated by Jamaican gangs. As argued by Murji, these specific racialization's are 'coded through culture' (Murji 2009); they serve to Other the migrant body as being in conflict with British values thus strengthening the race-crime link.

As was evident in the mugging 'crisis', the gang concept highlights the risks associated with transposing the US label to a British context because of their different 'social, cultural and political histories' (Philips 2012: 54). As argued by Alexander (2008),

> *'Despite widely recognized problems in the definition, understanding and measurement of 'gangs', the mythical American 'gang' has travelled across the Atlantic largely intact, and arrived fully formed on the streets of Britain's cities - or at least in the imaginations of the press, politicians and policy makers' (Alexander, 2008:11)*

The concept carries with it racialized connotations which are evident in the media use of the 'gang' label in response to violent crime committed by Black youth (Ibid). Utilising the word 'gang' in the press and political and policy responses creates the risk of events which are not 'gang-related' being defined as such (Marshall et al, 2005:7), further contributing to the perception that there is a gang epidemic. Further, informal peer groups are at risk of being labelled as gang members even when they are not involved in criminality (Bullock and Tilley, 2002:23).

Williams and Clarke (2016), through an analysis of the ethnic profile of people registered to police 'gang' lists in three cities of London, Manchester and Nottingham, found that the 'gang' label is disproportionately applied to Black and Asian minorities when compared with the size of the Black and Ethnic Minority 'BAME' population in the area and the number of white people listed as 'gang' members. They conclude that 'the gang construct is racialized to Black and Brown men' (Williams and Clarke, 2016b:10). This is not reflective of their involvement in violent crime; however, of concern is the shift from myth-making to policy-making (Alexander, 2004), evident in the law and order response.

The law and order response to the 'gang' concept is evident in the use of Joint Enterprise principle to secure conviction by association (Bridges, 2013, Williams and Clarke, 2016b). It is no coincidence that young Black men in

particular are significantly over represented in Joint Enterprise convictions (Crewe et al., 2014) The 'gang' ideology further consolidates the stereotype of violent Black masculinities, which shape police responses to them. Further it constitutes them as a threat; the fear of the potential 'gang' member contributing to an increase in the perception of risk in the police encounter. It can be argued that this perceived risk pre-empts and justifies the use of force, including lethal force (Pemberton, 2008).

The literature suggests that we are still 'Policing the Crisis'. The threat to law and order, perceived in racialized terms, is reflected in multiple 'moral panics' which reflect the race-crime nexus. As is evident in the drugs and gang example, the Black body, mostly male, still represents the ultimate threat to law and order and continues to represent the folk devil in a multitude of 'moral panics'. These images of the Black drug dealer and the Black gangster proliferate in the media (Cushion, 2011) and legitimate a law and order response through the war on drugs and the police focus on young Black men in the perceived gang crisis[2]. It is in response to the evidence, which suggests that we are still 'Policing the Crisis', that research questions one and three emerged; How do 'Black and mixed-'race' people experience policing? And, Do the police implement policing differently in response to 'Black and mixed-'race' people? Further, it is the Black male that is implicated most significantly as the folk devil. An intersectional approach to understanding this problem will address how 'race' intersects with gender and masculinity in constructing the Black, male, criminal stereotype (research question four, above).

Resistance to racist and racialized police responses and the ways in which these responses have served to further the race-crime link will be considered in the following section.

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[2] The more recent phenomenon of Asian communities as 'suspect', which has gained momentum in the post-9/11 period concerning the Asian gang ALEXANDER, C. 2004. Imagining the Asian gang: ethnicity, masculinity and youth after 'the riots'. *Critical Social Policy,* 24**,** 526-549. And most significantly concerns around terrorism which has had a significant impact on the policing of Asian communities. . Space does not permit full discussion but this should be acknowledged. For full discussion see PARMAR, A. 2015. Policing British Asians. *In:* EL-ENANY, N. & BRUCE-JONES, E. (eds.) *Consent, Resistance and Justice: Race and Policing in England and Wales.* London: Runnymede, WEBSTER, C. 1997. The construction of British 'Asian'criminality. *International Journal of the Sociology of Law,* 25**,** 65-86, WEBSTER, C. 2004. Policing British Asian Communities. *Hard Cop, Soft Cop: Dilemmas and Debates in Contemporary Policing***,** 69-84. PANTAZIS, C. & PEMBERTON, S. 2009. From the 'Old' to the 'New' Suspect Community: Examining the Impacts of Recent UK Counter-Terrorist Legislation. *British Journal of Criminology,* 49**,** 646-666.

1.3 Resistance and Riots

The increasing African Caribbean community in England following the arrival of Windrush and the subsequent racialization of relations and representations occurred in a global context of the abolition of slavery, de-colonisation and Black empowerment. The Pan-African movement was gathering momentum with a focus on decolonisation, independence for African nations and the unity of Black people across the globe. Pan-African ideology was represented in global movements in the Caribbean Islands, America, England, France and the movement's key protagonists were instrumental in the demands and rise of the American Civil Rights Movement (Angelo, 2009). The Black Power movement and subsequently the British Black Panther Movement (BBPM) in Britain took its ideological lead from the United States and the emergence of a specific movement was mobilised following visits to the UK of influential Black power activists including Martin Luther King in 1964, under whose instigation Campaign against Racial Discrimination (CARD) was formed, and later Malcolm X which led to the formation of Racial Adjustment Action Society (RAAS) with Michael X at its helm and later Black Panther, Stokely Carmichael (Angelo 2009, Bunce & Field 2011 and Sivanandan 1982). However, its 'roots were 'specifically UK', shaped by the context of post-coloniality and the treatment of non white migrants in the hostile 'mother country'(Wild, 2015:42).

One significant event in understanding the politicisation of Black Caribbeans in the UK is the murder of Kelso Cochrane in Notting Hill in 1958. The murder of an innocent man, on his way home from a hospital appointment, was blamed on the police lack of response to white fascist activity in the area which had been evident in the earlier riots (Wild, 2015:35). For some, the 'riots' of 1958, and the murder of Kelso Cochrane, forced their return to the Caribbean. Wild, argues that Kelso Cochrane's death 'was to extinguish their belief in a benevolent mother country or that they were British in any meaningful way'(Ibid:35) . For others it was the catalyst for the evolution of solidarity in the face of oppression. 'Kelso Cochrane's death provided Black Britons with an opportunity to retool the injured Black body as a grievable subject and citizen'(Perry, 2015:129). Cochranes murder, and the police response to it, was the catalyst for the assertion of a politics of Black Britishness, which transformed the immigrant trope into one of 'disenfranchised citizen' (Ibid:129). This shift was at the heart of resistance to racism which relied upon the assertion of citizen rights.

The Labour governement was elected in 1964 following a hard fought election campaign along immigration lines. Peter Griffith's Smethwick campaign, which notoriously ran under the slogan, 'If you want a nigger for your neighbour, vote labour', was condemned by the Labour Party. However, further restrictive immigration legislation followed under the Labour Governement which, according to Sivanandan, had taken racism out of the market place and institutionalised it; 'at local and national levels 'race' became a site of struggle for power' (Sivanandan, 1982:18). The Race Relations Act was introduced in 1965 to outlaw racial discrimination in public places (the provisions of the Act were later extended to include indirect discrimination and discrimination in housing and employment RRA 1976 & 2000). Ironically one of the figures associated with the British Black Power Movement (BBPM), Michael X, was prosecuted for incitement to racial hatred in the year of its inception (Ibid:17). The statutory bodies that were established in the wake of the legislation, including the Race Relations Board (responsible for investigating complaints under the Act) and the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants, were responsible for the disolution of immigrant grass roots organisations as statutory bodies moved into their areas of work and enlisted support of communities and existing groups such as CARD. This led to militants severing links with organisations (Sivanandan, 1982). The militants needed somewhere to direct their energies, the anti-immigration lobby was on the rise and 1967 saw National Front candidates stand for the Greater London Council elections. Inspired by the Black Power movement in the US, and Stokely Carmichael's visit to London in 1967, Obi Egbuna formed the Universal Coloured People Association (UCPA) . The smell of revolution was in the air globally and the following year, 1968, has been termed 'The Year of Revolt'. The government's fear that the Black communities of Britain would rise up,as had happened across the Atlantic, was apparent when, following the speech that inspired Egbuna to form the UCPA, Carmichael was advised to leave the country earlier than planned and was banned from returning (Bunce and Field, 2011:392).

The British Black Panthers were formed in 1968, when, following irreconcilable ideological factions within the UCPA, Egbuna resigned as chairperson and announced that he was forming the British Black Panthers . There were several British groups that associated themselves with the Black Power Movement at this time, which led to several publications which dealt with Black

politics both at an academic and a grassroots level. When Egbuna was imprisoned the following year the Black Panther Movement shifted its focus from ideology to action based in communities (Ibid), and involved itself in the struggle for community based action around education, employment and police brutality. A defining moment in the Black Power movement was its support for the Mangrove Nine. The Mangrove restaurant in Brixton had become a hub for the Black community and the police had raided it several times. In protest at the perceived aggressive policing a group of people marched , according to campaigners, to 'expose the racist brutality that Black people experience at the hands of the police' (Organised Action in Self Defence flier 1971 cited in Angelo 2009: 24). Police clashed with protesters and charges of assault, incitement to riot and possession of an offensive weapon were brought against nine Black protestors (Phillips and Phillips 1998, Angelo 2009). Throughout the course of the trial British Black Panthers protested outside of the Old Bailey. The Mangrove Nine were acquitted in what has been held up as a defining moment in the history of the Black Power Movement in Britain. Whilst the ideology of the British Black Panthers had a transnational focus based around the US , citing slavery, class conflict and state oppression, its action was based in local communities with a strong focus on police brutality (Angelo, 2009:29). The Black Power Movement in Britain formed an intrinsic part of the wider development of the pan-African identity globally, united through resistance to oppression.

The link to a wider global movement is evident in the adoption of a Rastafarian identity amongst second generation African Caribbean's in the UK . Undoubtedly some of the earlier immigrants came to the UK with Rastafari beliefs; however, this did not translate into a Rastafarian movement amongst second generation Black Britons until much later (Murrell:179). According to Campbell, in order to escape the cultural assault of the racism and ethnocentrism of the society, young Black people searched for avenues of self expression and development, and one of the most compelling aspects was that of the Rastafari philosophy which gave them a sense of pride in being Black (Campbell 1985:186). Many were attracted to the politicised 'conscious' lyrics of reggae music which, promoted globally by Chris Blackwell, had developed an international appeal. Artists such as Bob Marley, Peter Tosh and Burning Spear sang of global oppression of the Black man, slavery, and

colonialism; the message was to fight the powers of 'Babylon'-the 'Western political and economic domination and cultural imperialism'(Murrell et al., 1998:1).

The popularity of Rastafari amongst second generation Black Britons is significant to understanding both resistance and policing. Rastafari was viewed as a threat by the establishment. John Brown's government commissioned report, '*Shades of Grey*', focused on the 'Police/West Indian Relations' on the Handsworth estate in Birmingham. Brown claimed that the problem could be located with 'a couple of hundred "hard-core" Dreadlocks'. He went on to claim that they formed 'a criminalised subculture' in Handsworth, that they lived in squats and that the majority of them were unemployed. He positioned them as a threat, claiming that, 'apart from the specific crimes for which they are responsible, they constantly threaten the peace of individual citizens Black, brown and white' (cited in, Gilroy, 1982:160). Perhaps Brown meant to say criminal? However, this syntaxical error resulted in at least one truth in his argument; the report, accompanied by a BBC documentary with the same title, linked the the outward expression of Rastafari, 'plaiting their hair in locks and wearing gold, green and red woollen hats'(ibid), with criminality. Rastafari had indeed become criminalised, compounded by John Browns contribution, the widespread media coverage and the adoption of his findings by the police themselves (Campbell, 1985, Gilroy, 1982). Further, the link between Rastafari and marijuana use was drawn upon to make links between Black communities and drugs (Gilroy, 1982).

On the 2nd of April 1980, St Pauls in Bristol saw the first riots of several to follow in that decade. The riot followed a police search of a café, frequented by Black youths, looking for cannabis and alcohol. The incident was perceived to be an 'unjustified and unprovoked police attack' by both Black and white residents of the St Pauls area (Reicher, 1984:8). The St Pauls riot, as it is referred to in popular terms, marked the beginning of a series of riots in this decade, though it is the Brixton riots a year later that are the subject of the *Scarman Report* (Scarman, 1981). The riots of the 1980s took place within the context of fragile relations between the police and Black communities and, although the causes of the riots were complex and not attributable only to Black rioters, they were reported, analysed and

historically located as 'race riots'[3].   Rioting was not a new phenomenon in Britain, there is evidence of protest riot and insurrection throughout British history (Bagguley, 1991, Benyon and Solomos, 1987, Keith, 1993, Rowe, 1998, Rudé, 1995, Bagguley and Hussain, 2008). Although previous 'riots', including those in 1919 and 1958, had been constructed as evidence of a 'race-relations' problem, the race-crime nexus established in the decade before the 'riots' of the 1980's came to define second generation Black Britons as fundamentally opposed to the values of Britishness- the 'alien wedge'.

The Scarman enquiry into the Brixton riots in 1981, concluded that the riots were an outburst of anger by Black youths, attributable to the structural conditions in inner city areas such as poor housing, unemployment and racial prejudice. A climate which created a 'predisposition towards violent protest' (Scarman 1981). Scarman, found evidence of discriminatory stop and search being used against Black people and recommended that the 'sus' law be scrapped. Locating the source of discrimination with individual officers, as opposed to an institutional problem (chapter two), Scarman, recommended the inclusion of diversity courses in police training, making discriminatory behaviour a sack-able offence and increased recruitment of Black people into the police service (Scarman, 1981). Further, the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 (PACE) was introduced with the aim of balancing police powers. Ironically it is the power to stop and search conferred by PACE, that continues to be the source of much tension contemporarily, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

In spite of the criticisms of Scarman, based on the over reliance on police reports of events, a failure to grasp the concept of institutional racism (Keith, 1993:77), and the pathologising of Black deviance through familial stereotypes (Gilroy, 1987:104-106), the enquiry forced the police to confront their own practices for the first time in its history. However, the Broadwater Farm riots four years later

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[3] An analysis of the events and proposed causes of the riots in detail is discussed at length elsewhere BENYON, J. & SOLOMOS, J. 1987. *The Roots of Urban Unrest,* Oxford, Pergamon Press, BENYON, J. A. 1984. *Scarman and After: Essays Reflecting on Lord Scarman's Report, the Riots, and Their Aftermath,* Oxford, Pergamon Press, GILROY, P. 1987. *There ain't no black in the Union Jack,* London, Hutchinson, KEITH, M. 1993. *Race, Riots and Policing: Lore and Disorder in a Multi-racist Society,* London, UCL, ROWE, M. 1998. *The Racialisation of Disorder in Twentieth Century Britain,* Aldershot, Ashgate, SCARMAN, L. J. 1981. The Brixton Disorders 10-12 April 1981. London: HMSO.

in October 1985 suggest that Scarman's recommendations did not have a significant impact on improving the experiences of policing for Black people. Tensions in the Broadwater Farm estate, between the police and the community, escalated following the death of Cynthia Jarrett in a police raid on her home in connection with the arrest of her son. During the raid she either collapsed or, as claimed by Cynthia Jarrett's family, was pushed by a police officer. In the riots that followed PC Keith Blakelock was stabbed to death. The then Police Commissioner, Sir Kenneth Newman, vowed to authorise the use of plastic bullets and CS gas in response to future incidences of disorder; a significant point in the move towards a law and order policing agenda (Rowe, 1998:135-61). This time the government was not interested in the reasons for the riots and there would not be an enquiry. The media set about drawing its own conclusions, fuelled by the law and order response, thus relying upon the 'racialized notion that cultural proclivities of Black people were the crucial factor in developing conflict with the police…' (Ibid: 144).

The riots which occurred in the West Yorkshire area are significant in understanding the research site. The Bonfire night 'riots' in Chapeltown in 1973, 1974 and crucially in 1975, culminated in the critical injury of two police officers , the arrest of several 'rioters' and the detention of four young men- two in Borstal and two in a detention centre (Farrar, 2002) . These events occurred in the period following the 1972 trial of two police officers, Inspector Ellerker and Sergeant Kitchener, who hounded David Oluwale to his death in the River Aire, in a sustained campaign of racist violence (Long, 2010, Aspden, 2007). Further, evidence submitted by the Leeds United Caribbean Association (UCA) to the Parliamentary Select Committee in 1972 expressed concerns around the 'harassment' and 'intimidation' of Black youth, wrongful arrest and police brutality. This led to the conclusion that, 'policemen have every Black person under suspicion of some sort and for that reason every Black immigrant here in Leeds mistrusts the police, because we think that their attitudes are to start trouble, not prevent it' (Farrar, 2012:73). Similarly to the other riots of the 1970's and 1980's, on Bonfire Night 1975 the young Black people of Chapeltown were fighting back against their treatment by the police. As with other areas of the country, Chapeltown in Leeds saw further 'riots' during the 1980's.

Keith, highlights the importance of context, location and geography of the locality in which the 'riot' occurred (Keith, 1993). It is not the aim to address the

causes of the riots here, rather to understand how they relate to the construction of the race-crime nexus. Acknowledging that these discrete histories shape understanding of the riots and the specificities of the racialization of communities is important to understanding how the riots were positioned locally, particularly in relation to understanding space and the racialization of space. In relation to the research site of West Yorkshire, the area of Chapeltown in Leeds, which has been the site of several riots, has through its mis-representation become known as a space of criminality and sexual deviance (Farrar, 2002, Carrington, 2009), or what Keith calls a 'no go area' (Keith, 1993:214). Leeds managed to avoid the extent of the 'rioting' that occurred in other areas of the UK in August 2011. There were small pockets of disorder resulting from the shooting of a local man in the Chapeltown area but, through the efforts of local youth workers and a prevailing sense of community, evident in a peace march, more significant 'riots' were avoided (Farrar, 2012, Clifton, 2012). However, it is acknowledged by Farrar (2012) that the police maintained a heavy presence in the area.

The Guardian and the LSE undertook a collaborative study in the wake of the 'riots' (Lewis et al., 2011). In stark contrast to government and media response, '*Reading the Riots*', indicates that there was an element of protest inherent in the 'riots'. They reject the simplistic explanation that the 'riots' were purely based on criminality, and highlight their complexity in terms of participants, behaviour and motivations which make it impossible to reduce the 'riots' to a particular demographic or causal factor. Structural factors such as unemployment and cuts to services and benefit payments were cited in *Reading the Riots* as causal factors, and a high proportion of respondents, eighty five per-cent, said that policing was an important or very important factor in the 'riots'. At the heart of this was a lack of respect and discourteous treatment as well as perceived unfair and discriminatory targeting for stop and search and aggressive treatment when stopped (Lewis et al., 2011).

Another causal factor cited in *Reading the Riots*, was the shooting of Mark Duggan and widespread deaths in police custody. Whilst the extent to which the death of Mark Duggan in Tottenham can be directly linked to the 'riots' nationally is questionable, deaths in custody and following police contact are evidently a factor in understanding the relationship between the police and Black communities. Further, anecdotal evidence suggest that the police may have used violence towards a sixteen

year old girl at the scene of a peaceful protest outside of the police station, which triggered the rioting in Tottenham (2011, Brown, 2011). Whether or not the truth of this claim is established, Symeon Brown argues that the readiness of the community to believe the 'rumour' reveals the extent of the distrust towards the police (Brown, 2011).

Morrell et al, analysed the involvement of young people in the riots across a typology of behaviours and range of movement between the identified behaviours. The authors conclude that the young people involved were motivated by either the prospect of something exciting to do, the opportunity to acquire free goods or a chance to get back at the police. The latter was motivation was expressed outside of London as well as inside London, though not always linked to the death of Mark Duggan, the attitudes and behaviour of the police in the local area was a consistent theme in the motivations for involvement (Morrell et al., 2011).

The Riots Communities and Victims Panel was set up by the coalition government to look at how and why the riots occurred. The panel collected data through a call for evidence, visiting 24 areas and speaking to both riot affected and non-affected people, and carried out a neighbourhood survey with a sample of 120 people. The final report of the panel recognises that high youth unemployment is a problem that contributes to a lack of hope. However, it locates the blame within families, blaming poor parenting, a lack of personal resilience and character, rather than the failed economy (Riots Communities and Victims Riots Communities and Victims Panel, 2012:7). The panel's report accepts that there is a lack of trust in the police; however, it is framed as a damaging perception as opposed to a genuine concern rooted in lived experience. This framing continues in the panel's claim that there are evident 'myths' about death in police custody. It states that 'many people expressed the view that it was mostly Black men who had died in police custody when, in fact, it is overwhelming white men' (Riots Communities and VictimsRiots Communities and Victims Panel, 2012:102). In support of their argument the panel cite evidence from the *Independent Advisory Panel on Deaths in Custody*. There had been 294 deaths in police custody between 1 January 2000 and 31 December 2010, Black men accounted for 16 of the total and only 3 out of 11 deaths whose primary cause was restraint (Ibid). When this evidence is considered critically, a total of 27% of all restraint related deaths were those of Black men. This raises significant concerns about disproportionality with consideration to their

representation in the population; Black people make up 2.8% of the UK population (Office for National Statistics, 2011:6). This interpretation of the data would suggest that the concern of the Black community in regard to custody deaths is a legitimate one worthy of further consideration, as discussed further in chapter two.

Whilst the evidence suggests that the rioters themselves did not consider the riots 'race riots' (Lewis et al., 2011), it is evident that 'race' cannot be completely ignored in a post-'riots' policing context, where mistrust of the police amongst Black communities has been linked to the 'riots'. Klein makes the claim that 'unrest is an opportunity for reviewing the relationship between the state and wider society' (Klein, 2012:127). The events of August 2011, and the findings of the research into their causes, raise important questions about the power of the police. It is from this literature that the research takes the impetus to address policing from the perspective of the policed Other in the post-Macpherson era, through addressing the research questions (one, two and three-above). Further, it is evident that 'race' is not the only factor which shapes these experiences. Drawing from the context of the 2011 riots and previous riots discussed here, the fourth research question considers whether 'race' is the only explanation for discriminatory policing. This question necessitates analysis of racialized experiences through a class and gender lens.

1.4 'Race' and intersecting oppressions

This research develops a Critical Race Theory of Policing which addresses intersecting and hierarchical oppressions in the 'matrix of domination' (Hill-Collins 2000), thus revealing the ways in which oppressions/identities intersect with 'race' to shape interactions in the particular context of police contact. As argued by Dottolo, 'the isolation of one identity as a unified or monolithic category can result in essentializing across multiple differences, overlooking important relationships and distinctions based on other identities and dimensions of power' (Dottolo and Stewart, 2008:50). This section addresses the multiple differences which intersect with 'race' to shape the experiences of Black and mixed-'race' people, with particular attention to mixed-'race' identity, class and gender. It is this context which informs the intersectional analysis to follow in chapters six and seven.

Aspinall and Song argue that, 'the process of category identification happens without the consent of the observed' (Aspinall and Song, 2013:79). The example of

the police shooting of Mark Duggan, which triggered the 2011 riots discussed above, is an example of the ways in which the skin is attributed meaning in social contexts. Whilst it is not known how Duggan conceived of his own identity, his mother is white. However, the media coverage of his shooting by the police and the academic analysis in their wake have described him as Black (Bridges, 2012, Lewis et al., 2011). The shooting of a man with a Black and a white parent came to signify the enduring problematic relationship between the police and Black residents in Tottenham, a symbolic location for the police/community relation since the 'riots' and murder of PC Blakelock in the 1980's.

Whilst there is a burgeoning literature surrounding the identity formation of mixed-'race' Britons (Aspinall and Song, 2013, Small, 2002, Song, 2015, Song, 2011, Song and Aspinall, 2012, Ali, 2003), there is very little research which seeks to understand their experiences of discrimination, particularly in the criminal justice context. Some scholars have suggested that mixed-'race' people encounter less discrimination because they appear phenotypically closer to whiteness. Bonilla-Silva argues, that in the US context a tri-racial system is emerging, through which 'multiracials' will become honorary whites (Bonilla-Silva, 2004:933-4). Similarly, Yancy (2006) predicts that non-Blacks will align with the dominant groups, leaving Black people to stand alone in the fight for racial equality (Yancy, 2006). In the UK context, Aspinall and Song (2013), did not find that there was anything 'inherently distinctive' about the racism suffered by their mixed-'race' participants. The racism they encountered from white people was not because they were mixed-'race' but because they were non-white. On this basis they conclude that for those whites engaged in racist behaviour, they may not be aware of the persons mixed-'race' identity, and even if they were it would not be of consequence (Ibid:124). As Shirley Tate argues, 'The one drop rule….emerging from enslavement which insists that African descent makes one Black in perpetuity irrespective of mixing, stops this possibility of extension ['towards whiteness']' (Tate, 2015:15).

Whilst the language of the 'one drop rule' may have more salience in the US context, UK research finds that Black and white mixed-'race' participants' can object to being mono-racially identified as Black when they feel unable to identify as white (Aspinall and Song, 2013). This was also present in the accounts of participants in this research, there was an assumption that in the context of police contact mixed-'race' participants would be identified as Black. As Alice said;

> *I think that's why I identify myself as Black because my dad…always said to me it doesn't matter that your mums white and your dads Black and you yourself your half and half . People always see you as Black and he was right. I've never been called you half caste this or you white this. It's always been you Black this or you Black that. That's why I identify myself as Black because that is how I'm seen and treated*
>
> *(Alice, 38, mixed-'race', female)*

Suki Ali cautions against essentialising discourses of 'race' through the language of biological hybridity (Ali, 2003:11). However, in relation to this research, mixed-'race' is the term that participants used to describe themselves. In relation to their experiences of police contact they were ascribed Blackness, as recognised by Alice. Further, when a police officer is unable to establish the individual's self-reported ethnicity they rely upon the 6 +1 IC classification. The options for recording ethnicity using this system are limited to 'mono-racial' categories such as 'Black'. From this perspective, in the specific context of police contact, those who identify as mixed-'race' have Black identification attributed to them along with the racialized discourses which position those racialized as Black as criminal.

Black people are disproportionality represented in the lower socio-economic groups, and remain disproportionately resident in 'deprived' areas (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2011) (Barnard and Turner, 2011). Black African and Black Caribbean (alongside other ethnic minority groups) children are twice as likely, than white children, to live in poverty. (Platt, 2007, Platt, 2009:7). Disproportionate unemployment has been a long-term problem for the Black community in Britain. In the period October 2011- September 2012, 44.1% of young Black people (16-24 years old) were unemployed in comparison to 19.9% of their white British peers (Office for National Statistics, 2013). 'Race' inequalities persist in the education system, the impact of this on the life-chances of young Black people, in particular boys, is significant despite government strategies to redress the balance (Gillborn and Rollock, 2010:147).

Bridges (1983) argues that the structural position of Black people in the UK economy positions them in the 'urban wasteland' and it is this position that brings them in to frequent contact with the police and subjects them to harsh policing regimes (Bridges, 1983:31-32). Indeed the evidence suggests that social inequality increases the groups considered 'police property' (Loftus, 2009a:159, Reiner, 2010). The police express 'class contempt' to the visible poor who are both police

adversary and evidence of what is wrong with society (Loftus, 2009a-183). Whilst Loftus focuses on the white working class in her analysis, for Webster, 'contempt can lead to the criminalization of the Black and white working class, and the condoning of middle-class crime. The effect is to reinforce and reproduce class hierarchy' (Webster, 2008:294). It can be argued that this further racializes crime, placing it at further proximity to whiteness, as revealed in Starkey's claim, following the August 2011 'riots, that the white rioters had 'become Black' (Quinn, 2011)

In recent decades there has been an increased upward mobility across Black and other Ethnic Minority groups (Virdee, 2010:87-89). There has also been a shift in spatial mobility with ethnic minority communities moving up the housing ladder (Harrison and Phillips, 2010:22). With consideration to Bridge's (1983) argument, that it is their position in the urban wastelands that brings Black people in to contact with the police (Bridges 1983: 31-32), it can be expected that the middle class experience of policing will be equal to that middle class whites. There is no empirical research to draw on in this regard. Chigwada-Bailey argues that 'a Black person of professional standing will still be treated with the same suspicion as those in the lower classes' (Chigwada-Bailey, 2003:46). Anecdotal evidence in the news media, regarding prolific stop and search of high profile Black people, for example the Archbishop of York's revelation that he had been stopped and searched eight times (Dodd, 2000, The Telegraph, 2010), strengthens Chigwada-Bailey's assertion. Further, this research offers some empirical support for this position in chapter six.

There is some evidence that the police consider Black women's colour before their gender and as a result are treated aggressively (Kennedy, 1992:135), on the assumption that Black people are aggressive, excitable and more difficult to handle (Graef, 1989, Erfani-Ghettani, 2015).Commonly held stereotypes impact on the way the police treat Black women. Stereotypes of Black women have proliferated in the public imagination. The pathologised myth of the 'angry Black woman is pervasive, entrenched, dangerous and fundamentally directly contradicted by evidence (Walley-Jean, 2009:82); however, it continues to effect police responses to Black and mixed-race' women[4]. In the context of criminal justice it is argued that

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[4] The 'angry Black woman' stereotype has proliferated media and popular culture WALLEY-JEAN, J. C. 2009. Debunking the Myth of the" Angry Black Woman": An Exploration of Anger in

women are treated as aggressive, and the 'angry Black woman stereotype affects their experience of policing both as suspects and as victims of crime. Research has established a link between the stereotypic view of Black women and partner justification for domestic violence (Gillum, 2002:80) , as well as police not responding to Black women's reporting of domestic violence on the basis that they do not need protecting (Mama, 1993). The welfare mother and the strong Black woman stereotypes are particularly evident in the contemporary UK context (Tate 2015:2). Britton (2000), shows how racialized assumptions effect Black women's experience of policing. One respondent recalls an occasion when her daughter was the victim of an attack at a funfair, the victim shouted to a nearby police officer for assistance; the woman's shouting was mistaken for aggression and she was wrongly arrested (Britton, 2000a:704). As reflected in the words of an 'African-Caribbean' woman 'you either say something and be termed violent or you say nothing and be termed as arrogant' (ibid).

There is very little empirical evidence pertaining to Black women's experience of the police. Chiqwada carried out interviews with ten women in prison; eight felt that the police had no respect for Black women and the women reported that police harassment was a problem along with unwarranted checks on immigration status (Chiqwada, 1989:101). However, the age of this data is problematic in determining its relevance to contemporary experiences. This is a crucial absence in knowledge, particularly as the police are the gateway to the criminal justice system. Black women are significantly over represented in the UK prison population (Chiqwada, 1989), and their experiences of prison, as those outside of prison, are compounded by the intersection of 'race' with gender and poverty; 'their triple jeopardy' (King, 1988).

Young African American Women. *Black Women, Gender & Families,* 3**,** 68-86.. The 'angry, Black woman' stereotype was generally applied to working class African American women, however the stereotype has become so entrenched that it is applied to women across society; even the wife of the US President, Michelle Obama ADEBAYO, O. 2012. The Myth of the Angry Black Woman. *The Voice,* [Online]. Available: http://www.voice-online.co.uk/article/myth-%E2%80%98angry-black-woman%E2%80%99 [Accessed 30/01/2012], HARRIS-PERRY, M. V. 2011. *Sister Citizen: Shame, Stereotypes, and Black Women in America,* Connecticut, Yale University Press..

Stop and search data records the ethnicity of the person stopped but not their gender (College of Policing, 2015, Ministry of Justice, 2013b). Earlier analysis of British Crime Survey data finds that foot stops on women are negligible (Clancy et al., 2001:122), however, the age of this data should be noted. In the case of vehicle stops, Black women, like Black men, are more likely to be stopped than their white peers (Bowling and Phillips, 2007:947). Further, there is some evidence that frustration with stop and search does affect young women. One rioter interviewed after the August 2011 riots stated, 'there's not one police officer I feel like I like,"…"They're normal like us but yet they treat us like we're shit. Do you know how many times I've been stopped and searched? I'm a girl' (Topping et al 2011).

Critical Race Theory facilitates an analysis of the operation of 'race' in the enduring problematic relationship between the police and Black people at the intersection with other oppressions. This challenges wholly class based explanations for discriminatory policing which serve to erase 'race' and racism. Further, it interrupts the evident silence surrounding Black and mixed-'race'. The fourth research question, which asks, how do intersectional oppressions change the nature of the relationship between the police and 'Black and mixed-'race' people?, draws in part from the finding that women's experiences of policing warrant urgent empirical research.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

This chapter has addressed the emergence of the 'race'-crime nexus. Drawing on histories of the problematisation of Black presence, through 'race-relations' discourse, it shows how 'race' and crime became inextricably linked. The review of the literature finds that there is an absence of a significant body of empirical work to understand Black and mixed-'race' experiences of policing contemporarily, thus establishing the justification for the research questions addressed.

Chapter two troubles the notion of policing by consent, arguing that the emergence of the police in the interests of controlling the Other has created the conditions for contemporary neo-colonial policing. The chapter focuses on the extant literature to analyse the ways in which Black communities are over-policed, it inevitably analyses the literature on stop and search.

In chapter three, the methods used to address the research questions are discussed, the research design, sampling strategy and ethics are explained and researcher positionality analysed reflexively in relation to Critical Whiteness Studies and researcher privilege. The subsequent four chapters develop an empirical account drawn from the narratives of participants and develop a counter-story to the dominant narrative.

Chapter four analyses processes of racialization and considers the ways in which stereotypes shape the experience of police contact. It analyses the construction of the Black body as suspect in the police/citizen encounter and addresses the continuing significance of 'race' in the post-Macpherson policing context.

Chapter five goes on to consider participants' experiences of police responses to victimisation. It analyses the racist affects of inadequate responses to victims of crime, illuminating an under-researched aspect of Black and mixed-'race' peoples experiences of policing.

Chapters six and seven draw on intersectional approaches to address the relationship between 'race' and other oppressions in police/citizen contact. Chapter six offers an intersectional analysis of 'race 'and gender which addresses Black and mixed-'race' women's experiences of policing, an area that is absent in existing research. These experiences are compared with male participant's accounts to offer some insight into the operation of subordinate Black masculinities and femininities in police/citizen contact. Chapter seven considers class and citizenship, through the experiences of Black professionals and recent migrants, it argues against wholly class based explanations for the over-policing of Black communities.

Finally, chapter eight concludes that policing, in the post-Macpherson era, is still racialized and racist. Through racializing processes the Black body present the ultimate threat to law and order. Drawing from Derrick Bell's claim of the permanence of racism (Bell, 1992), it suggests an alternative to colour blind approaches which make racism invisible. It suggests that the permanence of racism can be challenged through CRT interventions which give racialized voices priority over dominant 'state' narratives.

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the construction of the race-crime nexus through an analysis of the historical trajectory of Black presence and settlement in the UK. Drawing on histories of migration and the politicisation of immigration, the chapter has addressed the core themes arising from a review of relevant scholarship. It finds that the politicisation and racialization of immigration is evident long before traditional narratives, which position the decade following the arrival of the *Empire Windrush* in 1948 as the point from which the 'colour problem' became evident in political and media discourse. Through an analysis of attacks on the settled populations in the ports of Liverpool and Cardiff in 1919, it is evident that the 'colour problem' was already established. Further, the police response can be interpreted as exclusion of the Other from police protection.

It has been shown how the race-crime nexus emerged. Drawing on Hall et al's (1978) seminal work, '*Policing the Crisis'*, it located 'mugging' as the point at which young Black men were inextricably linked with criminality. Through an analysis of contemporary racialized fears, including the 'war on drugs' and recent responses to the 'gang' problem, it is argued that contemporarily we are still policing the crisis, represented in the presence of the racialized other. This is reflected in the discriminatory policing of Black and mixed-'race' people. The antagonism evident in police/Black relations, as Gilroy argues in the opening quote, 'has been a consistent and primary factor in the process of race formation which has shaped Black settlers in Britain into a political community' (Gilroy, 1987:140). Resistance to racism is a necessary response in the lives of Black people and communities and has been a factor identified with several riots from the 1980's. The denial of racism as a factor in official responses to the 2011 riots, outlined in this chapter, evidences the silencing of racism as an institutional problem locating the blame with Black communities for their own racist treatment.

Phillips and Bowling advocate a shift in criminological understanding, towards a new empirical conceptualisation of the issue predicated on minority perspectives (Phillips and Bowling, 2003). This research seeks to contribute to that shift through empirical research grounded in Critical Race Theory (chapter three) to develop understandings of the relationship between the police and Black

communities, from a Black perspective, whilst recognising the relationship between 'race' and other oppressions and identities-class and gender.

This chapter addressed the literature which contextualises intersectional oppressions. The class position of Black people is used in academic literature to explain their disproportionate representation in policing and criminal justice processes (Bridges, 1983, Jefferson, 1993). Through an analysis of the socio-economic position of Black people in society, it is evident that structural 'race' inequalities prevail. However, there is a burgeoning Black middle class which, if wholly class based explanations are sufficient, creates the expectation that there would be an improvement in experiences of policing amongst the Black middle class. Currently, there is insufficient empirical evidence to support or dismiss this assumption; however, anecdotal evidence would suggest that it is the latter.

 Further, this chapter has found that the experiences of Black and mixed-'race' women are largely absent from the policing literature. There is some anecdotal evidence that suggests Black women experience unfair policing (Britton, 2000a, Chiqwada, 1989, Chigwada-Bailey, 2003), and that this has a gendered dimension particularly in relation to domestic and sexual violence (Mama, 1993). This research contributes some knowledge to these evident absences through an intersectional analysis of 'race', class and gender.

The following chapter will focus on explanations for police racism with a focus on disproportionality in stop and search, deaths in police custody and cop culture and will assess contemporary research on Black and mixed –'race' people's experiences of policing.

Chapter 2 Policing the Racialized Other

"The new police were invented as an 'urban prophylactic' against the normative practices of the Other"

(Brogden and Ellison, 2013:152)

The role and function of 'the police' is crucial to understanding how and why they operate in the way that they do and how this impacts on the Black/police relation. Reiner's (2010) definition of the distinction between police and policing is useful here, " 'police' refers to a particular kind of social institution, while 'policing' implies a set of processes with specific social functions" (Reiner, 2010:4). A specialised police body represents only one way in which society is policed and policing functions are carried out by a range of bodies. For the purposes of this chapter, and indeed this research, the term police is used in reference to the state police service and policing to refer to the functions carried out by the police under British statute.

Orthodox understandings of the development of the police service in England are premised on the notion that the police were a necessary response to the problems of order brought about by industrial and urban revolution (Reiner, 2010:40). The purpose of the first police force, London's Metropolitan Police, was to prevent crime and disorder and to provide an alternative to military repression (Reith 1956). These accounts, based on an uncritical reflection of 'Peelian principles', described a police service 'derived not from fear but almost exclusively from public co-operation with the police' (Reith, 1956:140); a police force that operated with the 'consent' of the people it served. The historical integrity of these accounts has been interrogated through revisionist accounts of policing history and the emergence of contradictory accounts that argue the Metropolitan Police were created for the purpose of controlling the burgeoning working class (Emsley, 2008, Reiner, 2010). According to revisionist histories, the working classes, who have always been the focus of social control through policing, were opposed to the new police viewing them as a 'plague of blue locusts' (Storch and Engels, 1975). These

accounts trouble the notion that the working classes, or those considered 'police property', have ever consented to policing. Indeed, there is evidence of opposition to the 'new police' from their inception.

If the notion of policing by consent is in fact an 'invention' in 'policing textbook history' (Lentz and Chaires, 2007:73-4), it pervades in political and policing discourse. Confidence and consent in the police was a central concern of the two most significant inquiries into policing, those by Lord Scarman following the Brixton riots in 1981 (Scarman, 1981), and Lord Macpherson after the failed police investigation into the murder of Black teenager Stephen Lawrence (Macpherson, 1999). The consent of 'minority' communities was a particularly pertinent concern for Lord Macpherson (Ibid). In the wake of the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report* finding, that the police were institutionally racist, it was recommended that a Ministerial Priority be established for all Police Services 'to increase trust and confidence amongst minority ethnic communities' (Ibid: 375).

It is argued that the policing diversity agenda, which emerged to address the recommendation of the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report*, represents a 'subtle renegotiation' of the principle of policing by consent (Rowe, 2004:145). Inherent in policing diversity is the notion that different publics require different responses to deliver equality of outcomes (Ibid). One of the policy responses, partly introduced to' improve police-public relations', and also to 'reassure' the public in response to fear of crime (Crawford, 2007:144), was the roll out of the Neighbourhood Policing model with a localism agenda (Quinton and Morris, 2008). The purpose of neighbourhood policing was to deliver three aims, 'police visibility, community involvement in identifying local priorities, and collaborative problem-solving with partners and the public (Ibid: 7). More cynically, Neighbourhood Policing is described as a 'concession to satisfy the public's unattainable expectations for police performance' (Crawford, 2007:144). Further, the aims of policing are in conflict with the principle of consent. As Henry (2007) states, 'control and law enforcement will always remain a fundamental aspect of policing… this can often not be achieved in a consensual manner, even if community participation makes it more palatable' (Henry, 2007:105).

Despite the problem that Henry (2007) identifies in acquiring consent, the 'Peelian principle' continues to be cited as a core principle underpinning police

practice contemporarily. In her 2015 speech announcing a review of deaths in custody, Home Secretary Teresa May said;

> *In 1829, when Sir Robert Peel founded the Metropolitan Police, he declared that the police must maintain a relationship with the public 'that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public are the police'. Those words state very clearly that in this country we believe in policing by consent and it's a principle I know every officer, every chief constable, and every PCSO subscribes to and believes in. (Home Office, 2015).*

Despite this insistence on the myth of consent it remains problematic. Firstly, because there is little evidence that all sections of community have consented equally to policing (Storch, 1975). Further, the claim that the police are the public is questionable; in the context of an increasingly diverse society the police remain predominantly ethnically homogenic and do not represent the diversity of the communities that they serve (Fielding, 1999, Stone et al., 2000b, Holdaway, 1997, Home Office, 2015).

If the analysis of the emergence and purpose of the police is reframed within a postcolonial perspective, it can be argued that the police service was never intended to meet with the needs of diverse citizens. In fact its origins are in the control and oppression of the Other. The development and formation of state policing in England cannot be understood without reference to what Cole (1999), calls 'imperial linkage' (Cole, 1999); that is the impact of colonial histories on the policing systems in the 'mother countries'. In this analysis it is both the target of policing, the Other or the native, and the systems of policing informed by 'imperial linkages', which continue to shape the discriminatory policing experience in 'the domestic colonies' (Sivanandan, 1982). Bowling, et al (2004) draw on the community policing and paramilitary policing models to analyse discrimination and abuse of power in policing across four jurisdictions, Australia, Britain, South Africa and USA. In all jurisdictions they identify a common pattern, that the community policing model, which could be aligned with 'Peelian principles' in the British context, is used for 'middle class, wealthy, suburban white populations', whilst paramilitary policing is used in poor, Black and minority ethnic areas (Bowling et al., 2004:6). The public order function of the contemporary police can therefore be understood through an analysis of 'the centrality of colonial conquest and imperial legitimation to

institutional development in Victorian England' (Brogden, 1987:5). Brogden and Ellison, contend that state policing as we know it would have taken a different form if not for the creation of the Other (Brogden and Ellison, 2013) (Brogden and Ellison, 2013:1 54). This re-telling of the historical narratives that have developed around the birth of the modern police, with the inclusion of previously omitted perspectives, reveals that the notion of a police service developed on the principle of policing by consent is an 'invention'. Instead, the police function of exercising control over the Other implicates the police service in racist practices shaped through 'imperial linkages' (Cole 1999:88).

This chapter offers critical analysis of the ways in which racist policing is evident in contemporary Britain with a focus on the ways in which Black communities are targeted for over-policing. First, it will address the persistent problem of disproportionality in Stop and Search, evaluating explanations for this disproportionality in the policing literature. It will go on to consider the use and abuse of police force and disproportionate Black deaths in police custody; this concern is manifest in the accounts of the 'rioters' following the police shooting of Mark Duggan in 2011. It follows with an analysis of the concept of institutional racism and its rejection in Scarman and re-definition and acceptance by Macpherson, evaluating the changes that occurred in the British police following the Macpherson recommendations. Cop culture as an explanation for institutional racism will be considered in relation to changing cop culture(s) and the policing diversity agenda.

Finally, it considers the research on race and policing and identifies prescient gaps in understanding the problematized police/community relation from the perspective of the racialized other. It argues that there is a gap in understanding Black and mixed-'race' peoples experiences of policing, and that the limited contemporary knowledge is focused on a broader sample of 'Black and other Ethnic Minorities (BME)' which masks the specificities of racism(s) for all ethnic groups. Further, the experiences of Black victims of crime are neglected in understanding victim experiences, insofar as only racially motivated hate crime is focused upon in the literature, whilst broader victim experiences are not analysed through a 'race' lens. In consideration of these issues, this chapter positions this research as a necessary contribution to the existing gaps in empirical knowledge about Black and mixed-'race' peoples experiences of policing in the Post-Macpherson era.

2.1 Stop and Search

The discriminatory use of stop and search powers has proven to be one of the most damaging factors in the relationship between Black people and communities and the police (Bowling and Phillips 2002). Stop and search is an investigative power for the prevention and detection of criminal activity with the primary purpose of enabling police officers to 'allay or confirm suspicions about individuals without exercising their power of arrest' (Home Home Office, 2011 para 1.4:5). There are a number of legislative provisions for stop and search; however, the majority are carried out under Section 1 of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 (PACE). The Police and Criminal Evidence Act was enacted following the repeal of 'sus' powers after Lord Scarman identified the unregulated use of stop and search, particularly in regard to Operation SWAMP[5] as a trigger for the Brixton riots. The introduction of PACE was intended to provide a balance of police powers with accountability, increasing trust between police and the communities they serve (Jones, 2011:698).

Discretion is considered a necessary element of operational policing affecting decisions about patrol areas, what incidents to investigate, whether to stop and search a person and also when not to take any action or 'turn a blind eye'. The use of discretion to stop and search under PACE powers relies upon the interpretation the legal test of 'reasonable grounds for suspicion'. The code of practice governing stop and search (Code A), revised in 2014 and effective from March 2015, stipulates that:

> *… (i) Firstly, the officer must have formed a genuine suspicion in their own mind that they will find the object for which the search power being exercised allows them to search …. (ii) Secondly, the suspicion that the object will be found must be reasonable. This means that there must be an objective basis for that suspicion based on facts, information and/or intelligence which are relevant to the likelihood that the object in question will be found, so that a reasonable person would be entitled to reach the same conclusion based on the same facts and information and/or intelligence. (Home Office 2014 para 2.2)*

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[5] Operation SWAMP directly preceded the 1981 Brixton riots. Brixton was patrolled for a week by plain clothed police officers, acting on instruction to stop and question anyone who looked suspicious. In the course of the week 943 people were stopped, and 118 arrested. Of those that were arrested over half were African Caribbean (Bowling and Phillips 2002:139-40,Gilroy 1987)

Further, it is required that the officer will be able to explain their suspicion on the basis of the grounds specified in the code of practice.

Of even greater concern are powers which allow police officers to carry out a stop and search without suspicion. Section 60 of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (1994) allows for stop and search to be carried out in a designated area, where there is a reasonable belief that violence has or is likely to occur. Unsurprisingly, in this context, the power has been used disproportionately towards Black people; in 2014 *The Guardian* reported that Black people were 23 times more likely to be targeted (Taylor, 2014). A review of disproportionality in the use of Section 60 powers by the Equality and Human Rights Commission (2012) found that some police forces were unable to explain why particular ethnic minorities were stopped more than others (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2012). More recently, in 2015, the Supreme Court rejected an appeal challenging the lawfulness of section 60 powers (Stop-watch, 2015). According to Bowling et al (2004), where there is the greatest police autonomy and discretion 'abuse of power is most discriminatory' (Bowling et al., 2004:8). Further, it is the least senior officers who have the most discretion as they are on the streets making decisions daily (Wilson 1968 cited in, Reiner, 2010:85), this is problematic for addressing unfair policing. Discretion makes police behaviour difficult to control. Stop and search is, by its nature, low visibility. Also, the power itself, with its focus on reasonable suspicion, is ill defined and subjective and subject to policing priorities (Sanders and Young, 2008:285-6).

Research over the past four decades has consistently evidenced that Black people see themselves as targets for discriminatory stop and search, are more likely to report experiencing rude or aggressive treatment when they are stopped and are more likely to be arrested following a stop and search event (Jefferson and Walker, 1993, FitzGerald and Sibbitt, 1997, Bowling and Phillips, 2007, Barrett et al., 2014, Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2010, Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2013, Dodd, 2016). The discriminatory application of stop and search under the infamous 'sus' powers, in the weeks preceding the Brixton riots in 1981, are routinely cited in reference to the causal factors. Thirty years later, following the 2011 riots, and decades after the scrapping of the 'sus' law, stop and search

continues to be cited as a cause of hostility between the police and young black people (Lewis et al., 2011, Holdaway, 1981).

Black people are on average, significantly higher in some geographical areas, six times more likely to be stopped and searched under PACE, S1 powers than a white person. Those who self-identified as Asian or mixed are two times more likely to be stopped and searched (Ministry of Justice, 2013b). As highlighted by Stop-Watch, if white people were stopped and searched to the same extent this would result in an additional 1.2 million stop and searches each year (Stop-watch, n.d). The Equality and Human Rights Commission (2010), used official data to analyse trends in stop and search and considered the data in relation to two measures, disproportionality and excess stops; that is how many more stops and searches are carried out on Black people than would be carried out if they were stopped and searched at the same rate as white people. In addition to highlighting disproportionality, the report concludes that many stop and searches carried out under PACE, S1 are unlawful, disproportionate, and discriminatory in their application; ultimately having a damaging effect on the relationship between the police and the community (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2010). Earlier research has explained the unlawful application of stop and search through 'reasonable suspicion' being misunderstood by individual officers, and the legal grounds not being established on the basis of information and evidence (Quinton et al., 2000, Bowling and Phillips, 2007:939, Lustgarten, 2002:616). However, as highlighted by Bowling and Phillips, there is no criminal penalty for unlawful application of stop and search powers and it is this absence of penalty that allows stop and search powers to be exercised without accountability (Bowling and Phillips, 2007:939) .

Several commentators in the criminological and sociological field, as well as successive governments, and the police service themselves have attempted to make sense of disproportionality. Two key approaches are evident, 'the apologists' perspective and 'the abolitionists' (Bowling and Phillips, 2007:937). The most simplistic and unsubstantiated claim is that Black people simply commit more crime. This claim is rooted in the criminalisation of Black communities and perpetuated by a series of moral panics that cast Black people as the folk devil, from mugging (Hall et al 1978), to the more recent media obsession with drugs, violent crime and gangs, as discussed in chapter one. The criminalisation of the Black

community has led to the racialization of policing and the police community relationship. A cursory glance at the statistics would suggest that this has increased racial profiling in police stop and search. This argument is viewed as simplistic by (Waddington et al., 2004), who argues that disproportionality in statistics alone is not sufficient evidence of targeting on behalf of individual officers. Miller et al (2000) compared the number of stop and searches to the 'available population' i.e. those who use public spaces, in places where, and at times, when stop and searches take place. The research identified stop and search 'hotspots' in five police force areas and profiled the available pedestrians and drivers in each area using cameras and observers (Miller, 2000:16). The researchers conclude, on the basis of the profiles recorded, and comparison with resident profiles and stop and search data, that the data on resident populations is not a good indicator of the populations available to be stopped and searched. The authors claim that, within the available population, white people are more likely to be stopped and searched disproportionately and that Black people are in some cases over represented and in some cases under represented (ibid vi).

Waddington (2004), building upon Millers approach, carried out research in Slough and Reading with similar mixed findings. In addition to profiling the available population, Waddington argues that implicit in the targeting thesis is the notion that ethnicity is easily definable. He claims that diversity within and between ethnic groups is a 'veil of ignorance' that limits the capacity for targeted stop and searches (Waddington et al., 2004-1). Whilst it would be obtuse to claim the ability to establish precise ethnic identity at a passing glance, as Waddington points out, the author does not establish how this point counters the existing evidence that those who are disproportionately represented in stop and search either self-identify as Black or have this identity attributed to them in police recording procedures.

The evidence on disproportionality in stop and search is reviewed by (Bowling and Phillips, 2007), in order to assess the claim of police discrimination. The authors consider four comparators; the resident population, the available population, crime rates and stop and search hit rates (i.e. how many stop and searches result in arrest) and conclude that 'availability' is not a neutral criterion. The extent to which a particular ethnic group is available is dependent on structural factors such as unemployment, school exclusion, homelessness, employment in night/shift work patterns (Ibid: 946). Further, the criteria does not consider time

spent in public places on a general level but relates to areas where stop and search powers are more extensively used (Ibid). The question of whether stop and search hotspots are also crime hotspots inevitably arises. Research by Miller et al, shows that areas with a high resident population from 'BME' communities are targeted for stop and search, even where local crime rates did not appear to warrant the intrusion (Miller, 2000). This lends additional weight to Bowling and Phillips (2007) argument that the impact of disproportionality, when combined with existing racism, prejudice and stereotyping, along with the use of police discretion, form racial discrimination in stop and search process. For Bowling and Phillips, the evidence provides a '…prima facie case that discrimination is at work in the use of stop and search powers' (Bowling and Phillips, 2007:959).

The discrimination argument is extended by Choongh (1998). Choongh, argues that the police deliberately operate two sets of processes, the official criminal justice processes and a second tier which begins and ends at the police station. The latter operates within a social disciplinary model in which arrests take place without reliance on factual or legal guilt, and not for the purpose of crime detection, but for the purpose of reproducing social control and maintaining police authority. According to Choongh (1998), arrests take place without any intention of further action or prosecution. By identifying 'police property' for attention for this purpose, those that have been deemed to require such treatment are reminded that they are under constant surveillance. This set of processes can intersect with the official criminal justice processes but the police have a preference for subjecting its targets to a system outside of crime control and due process models in which the police control the parameters (Choongh, 1998:625). Just under 10% of stop and search results in arrests, this is roughly the same proportion across all ethnic groups, (Stop-watch); however, the data reveals that 6.2% of white suspects enter the criminal justice system following a stop and search compared with 11.3% of Black people (Bowling and Phillips, 2007:951-3). This may be explained by the evidence that Black suspects are less likely to be cautioned and more likely to be charged following arrest (Gus John John, 2003). An analysis of the literature shows that not only is stop and search used to disproportionately stop Black people, which is an illegal use of power, but that the impact in terms of criminalising Black communities and the erosion of trust and confidence in the police is disproportionate to the benefit it has on reducing crime.

In an attempt to improve police accountability for stop and search, and trust and confidence in the police, the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report* recommended that police officers record all police stops and searches and record the reason for the stop, the outcome and the self-defined ethnicity of the person subject to the stop and search (Macpherson, 1999: R61). This recommendation was piloted in Leicestershire Constabulary, Metropolitan Police, Suffolk Constabulary and West Yorkshire force areas, and included both urban and rural areas with a range of ethnically mixed populations. The impact of the pilot was evaluated through a series of interviews with police officers, extensive observation of patrols, public opinion, and police statistics of recorded stop and search (Bland et al., 2000). The pilot revealed that stop and search was under-recorded and that officers recorded selectively, particularly where a search did not follow a stop. The pilot considered the recommendation that self-defined ethnicity is recorded, this proved problematic in some cases where the individual stopped did not understand the reason for being asked and potentially viewed it as further evidence of racism. In terms of the impact on police practice, the evaluation found that some officers in all forces had changed their 'mind-set' and would think more carefully about stop and search and providing appropriate information to the individual stopped. However, the authors describe this evidence as having 'symbolic value'. Some officers saw it as an 'imposition' with negative implications for policing practice (Ibid), those in this group would be unlikely to change their behaviour as a result of the recommendation.

Members of the public did see some value in being provided information about the stop, not least of all the officers details in case of the need to complain. However, being fairly treated and given a good reason for the stop is still the most important factor in increasing trust and confidence in the police in their utility of stop and search powers (Bland et al., 2000:92-5). Stone et al (2000) evaluated the public's experience and views of stop and search and their views on the recommendations of the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report*. The evaluation concluded that, whilst the form may go some way to improving accountability, respondents indicated that the most important factor in determining trust and confidence in the police is how the individual is treated by the police officer, including a respectful attitude and legitimate reason for the stop. Black people are more likely to report unsatisfactory treatment by the police. Stone et al conclude that the form will only be effective in addressing public trust and confidence in

police if the two go hand in hand (Stone et al., 2000a:54). In March 2010 the requirement to record stop and account incidents was abolished in an attempt to cut police paperwork and bureaucracy.

The voluntary 'Best Use of Stop and Search' scheme was announced in parliament by Home Secretary, Teresa May in 2014. This re-introduced a recording requirement to assess how the legal test of 'reasonable suspicion' was used. In compliance with the scheme, participating forces would be required to record the outcome of stops (Home Office, 2014). Further, community participation in the reform programme was proposed as a measure of improving transparency and accountability. Participating forces would allow members of the public to accompany police officers on patrol. In addition, a community trigger was introduced which, in the event of a large number of stop and search complaints, would place a responsibility on the police to explain how the powers were used (Ibid). Other measures to improve transparency included the addition of stop and search data to crime maps and the inclusion of stop and search data in HMIC annual inspections (Ibid). All forty three forces in England and Wales signed up to the scheme in 2014, thirteen forces were suspended from the programme in February 2016 for failing to adhere to the requirements (Dodd, 2016). This is instructive of the difficulties inherent in limiting or making accountable discretion in policing. Similar issue of discretion in police officers interpretation of legal tests are evident in relation to police use of force as the next section will reveal.

2.2 Force and Lethal force

> *The greatest fear most English people seem to have for their children, is that they'll be abducted or molested by paedophiles or something…but I fear for my son's safety at the hands of the police. These people are supposed to protect us …all of us. What am I supposed to tell him? Don't go out because the people we're expected to trust, the people governed to uphold the law, might kill you? What kind of life is that for a young man?*

 (Caribbean Times, 3 April 1997 cited in Bowling and Phillips 2002:131)

The shooting of Mark Duggan by the police was the trigger for the August 2011 riots in Tottenham. First-hand accounts of the riots found that mistrust of the police was most acute amongst Black respondents and many referred to specific incidents of people who had died in police custody or as a result of police raids (Lewis et al., 2011:19). Further, Black people are disproportionately represented in restraint

related deaths in police custody. This concern was reflected by the United Nations (1996), that 'among the victims of deaths in custody are a disproportionate number of members of minority groups' (Jasper, 1998:178). They went on to cite concerns that police brutality also ' appears to affect members of minority groups disproportionately', and that when these allegations are reported they are not properly investigated and the police officers involved are not 'appropriately punished' (Ibid). There is convincing evidence, powerfully represented in the above quote from the Caribbean Times, that death in police custody is an instrumental factor in determining the nature of the relationship between the police and Black people; a relationship marred by suspicion and distrust.

The police are empowered to use force by Section 117 of PACE, in exercising the powers conferred by the Act (HMSO, 1984). The common law principle of reasonable and necessary applies. This subjective assessment, based on what the 'reasonable man' (i.e. jury) would deem reasonable and necessary, again relies upon police discretion. There is evidence to suggest that, when the 'suspect' is Black, racialized stereotypes of hyper-masculinity and/or criminality impact upon this assessment. The case of Roger Sylvester is used to illustrate this point here. The family of Roger Sylvester called the police for help as Roger was in mental distress. Two officers attended initially and found Roger naked in his front garden. They called for backup and within minutes another six officers arrived and in total eight officers brought Roger Sylvester to the ground, handcuffed and restrained him. He was then taken to a psychiatric unit in a police van, on arrival up to six officers are said to have continued to restrain him for twenty minutes. Roger collapsed, stopped breathing and never recovered consciousness, he died a week later (IRR, 2003). The inquest in to the cause of death ruled that Sylvester had been 'unlawfully killed'; however, no charges were brought against the police officers in this case[6]. Sadly the case of Roger Sylvester is not unique or a one-off event. There are several high profile cases of deaths in police custody where excessive use of force is a factor in

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[6] The aim of the inquest is to establish the facts of the death, and not to attribute blame to any individual for the death. Possible verdicts, which can apply to deaths in police custody, include: natural causes, accidental death, suicide, lawful killing, and open verdicts (where insufficient evidence prevents any other verdict). Inquest verdicts are subject to a civil burden of proof which is lower than in criminal cases and it is based on the balance of probability. However in the case of unlawful killing or suicide verdicts the standard of proof is in line with that in the criminal courts, beyond all reasonable doubt (Home Office 2002)

the death of the victim, and where an inquest has reached a verdict of unlawful killing. Further compounding the lack of trust is the perception supported by personal and community experience that when things do go wrong police officers are not held to account for their actions.

Christopher Alder died in police custody in Hull in 1998 after being arrested outside of Hull Royal Infirmary. Christopher was captured on CCTV walking to the police van in handcuffs. However, on his arrival at Queens Gardens Police Station, a short five minutes away, the CCTV footage showed him being dragged unconscious out of the van with his trousers around his ankles. He was dragged into the custody suite where he was dumped on the floor and left to choke on his own blood (audibly on CCTV) whilst police officers stood around chatting and joking. Further, evidence of racist 'monkey noises' could be heard on the CCTV recordings, these were made by one of the officers present in the custody suite after Christopher's death and whilst he was still lying on the floor (Dodd, 2002). An inquest found that Christopher Alder had been 'unlawfully killed' (Wainwright, 2000). Charges of manslaughter and misconduct in public office were brought, however, the trial collapsed when, on the basis of conflicting medical evidence presented by the prosecution, the presiding judge decided that the police officers had no case to answer (Wainwright, 2003). The loyalty inherent in the 'cop culture' results in a closing of ranks when things go wrong and as stated by IRR the chain of command becomes a chain of cover up (IRR, 1991:2). The roll call of deaths in similar circumstances is too long to examine fully[7]. However, the cases of Roger Sylvester and Christopher Alder illustrate the lack of accountability for the use of force inherent in the system. This reinforces the message that Black and mixed-'race' have justification to fear for their live at the hands of the state, and that the police will 'get away with it'. Awareness surrounding these issues is growing contemporarily through the Black Lives Matter campaign (#BlackLivesMatter), originating in the US in 2013 and gaining momentum in the UK context through its online presence.

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[7] For further discussion of deaths in custody and roll call of names see; INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS 1991. *Deadly silence: black deaths in custody,* London, Institute of Race Relations, IRR 1991. *Deadly silence: black deaths in custody*, Institute of Race Relations, ATHWAL, H. & BOURNE, J. 2015. *Dying for Justice,* London, Institute of Race Relations.

There is considerable evidence to suggest that following a death in police custody the victim is depicted as deviant or criminal and/or having displayed violent or aggressive behaviour towards police officers, in many cases later proven untrue. This was the case following the deaths of both Roger Sylvester and Christopher Alder (Pemberton, 2008). This framing of the victim as dangerous and the police officer as in danger detracts attention from the role of the police and apportions the blame on the victim and legitimises the police response by presenting the victim as a threat, in the case of Black victims this further serves to embed racial stereotypes '…ascribing to Black people stereotypical characteristics of extraordinary strength and dangerousness' (Ward and Coles, 1998:109). Pemberton (2008), employs Corrigan and Sayers (1985), concept of 'state talk'-the discursive processes which state servants use to misrepresent the dangers inherent in their job to legitimize often coercive interventions- to show how the phenomenon of manipulating identities has a wider ideological function. It serves in the maintenance of hegemony and the prevention of the unravelling of the legitimacy of state apparatus (Pemberton, 2008:238). Victims are often portrayed as being under the influence of alcohol or drugs or displaying signs of mental illness. These stereotypes of deviant behaviour, 'drug addict' and 'schizophrenic', commonly applied to Black people can have fatal consequences and prevent the recognition and treatment of certain illness by police officers. 'Because 'drug addict', 'drunk' and 'schizophrenic' are the labels police attach to Black people, they can overlook quite serious and potentially fatal diseases such as pneumonia, hypothermia and sickle cell anaemia' (IRR, 1991:16).

Paradoxically, for Dyson and Boswell (2006), it is the illnesses that the police fail to recognise that they use to justify disproportionate Black deaths in custody. Dyson and Boswell (2006) present revealing case study evidence from the UK and the US to show how the commonly held belief that sickle cell anaemia only affects 'African-Caribbean people' has led to it being used as an explanation for the disproportionate number of Black deaths. Arguing that the Black body has been portrayed as diseased, and therefore prone to death from asphyxia, Dyson and Boswell present convincing evidence that sickle cell has been misused in explanations for death in custody where the victim is from an 'African Caribbean' background. Through citing sickle cell disease as a contributing or complicating factor, attention is drawn away from the role racism plays in disproportionality and in the use of force and restraint (Dyson and Boswell, 2006:22). The evidence

overwhelmingly supports the assertion that institutional racism is the cause of disproportionate use of force and resulting deaths in police custody, through racialized stereotypes which construct the Black body as a threat, force is at once justified as 'necessary'.

2.3 Institutional Racism

The concept of institutional racism is rooted in the Black power movement. Hamilton and Carmicheal, argue that racism 'permeates society on both the individual and institutional level, covertly or overtly' (Ture et al., 1992). However their conceptualisation, as argued by Anthias, 'stems from the structural features of a capitalist society and involves the class domination of whites over Blacks…', rather than speaking to a 'collective failure' of an organisation to address the needs of particular groups through 'colour blind' approaches (Anthias, 1999:2.5). The definition of institutional racism, as it pertains to understanding police racism, has been subject to analysis in both Scarman (1981) and Macpherson (1999).

The first inquiry into issues of racism in policing was Lord Scarman's Inquiry into the 1981 Brixton Riots. Scarman recognised the complexity of the social political and economic factors of the day and the resulting frustrations and conceded that, whether the police were to blame or not, the riots 'arose from police action' (Scarman, 1981;3.110:45). Scarman paid considerable attention to the loss of confidence and mistrust in the police and policing methods, particularly amongst the 'ethnic minority communities' of Brixton and found the riots to be '… an outburst of anger and resentment by young Black people towards the police' (ibid: 134). However, Scarman vicariously denied that Britain was an institutionally racist society, laying the blame with a few 'bad apples';

> *It was alleged…that Britain is an institutionally racist society. If by that it is meant that it is a society that knowingly, as a matter of policy, discriminates against Black people, I reject the allegation. If, however, the suggestion being made is that practices may be adopted by public bodies as well as by private individuals which are unwittingly discriminatory against Black people, then this is an allegation which deserves serious consideration, and where proved, swift remedy* (Scarman, 1981 para 2.22:11).

Scarman's recommendations included a focus on increasing police recruitment from 'ethnic minority' communities through positive action, improved community relations training, the weeding out of racist police recruits in the recruitment process,

introducing disciplinary processes and improving police accountability (Scarman, 1981). Some of Scarman's recommendations were implemented but evidence suggests that this was piecemeal and at the discretion of the force, this resulted in a failure of the enquiry to institute wide scale reform (Benyon, 1984).

Evidence suggests that the police reluctance to accept the criticism mitigated against substantial change. Sim (1982) argues that in the weeks following Scarman's report the Metropolitan Police Service launched a backlash supported by sections of the mainstream press. The Metropolitan Police Service released street robbery statistics to the media and for the first time they were broken down by ethnicity, according to the police the majority of perpetrators were young Black men (Sim, 1982:60-5). This was a deliberate strategy to establish a law and order need to undermine Scarman's criticisms of operational policing, in particular operation SWAMP and use of 'sus' powers (Solomos, 1993).

Stuart Hall's (1999) analysis of the period between the *Scarman Report* and *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report* concluded that 'very little seems to have changed. Relations between Black communities and police have continued to be a catalogue of disasters, marked by mistrust, prejudice and disrespect, often leading to tragedy' (Hall, 1999:188). One such tragedy was the murder of teenager Stephen Lawrence and the subsequent failed police investigation that led to the Stephen Lawrence Enquiry. One of the outcomes of the hard-won and lengthy enquiry was a new definition of institutional racism as;

> *The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantages minority ethnic people'* (Macpherson, 1999:6.34).

The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report was critical of the way in which Scarman's earlier inquiry had acknowledged unwitting and unconscious racism, yet failed to locate this within the idea of 'institutional racism' (Souhami, 2007:69). Macpherson, most significantly, determined that the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) was institutionally racist by the terms of the above definition. The finding was not well received by the MPS or by police services nationally. Foster et al (2005) found that police officers across forces demonstrated misunderstanding of the concept of institutional racism and, though the enquiry made it clear that it was not

branding individual officers as racist, they resented the label (Foster et al., 2005:93). Whilst Foster et al (2005) argue that there is little evidence that this causes a barrier to fundamental change it is portrayed as inducing anger and defensiveness amongst police officers and has the unintended consequence of creating a stigma which inextricably links racism with individual behaviour. In contrast Lea (2000) argues that this definition fails to explain how police behaviour derives from institutional practices, in omitting to do so Macpherson is not always able to show that racism is institutional as opposed to individual (Lea, 2000). Macpherson's definition could arguably provide a defence for racist behaviour at an individual level. As Anthias states,

> *This could be interpreted as exonerating the formal structures of the police force and of society, and of watering down the definition of racism within the police to make it acceptable to all. If all are guilty, then none are guilty; if all individuals are unwittingly racist, then the formal policies are not racist as such: it just happens that way!'(Anthias, 1999:2.7)*

Both institutional, in the context of Macphersons definition, and overt racism are problematic for the police service and the communities that they serve. Hall (1999) views Macpherson's failure to mention individual racism as a barrier to reform. Claiming that reform is only possible when officers are held directly accountable for both witting and unwitting racism through penalties which impose on job retention, promotion, pay and retirement (Hall, 1999:196). The lack of accountability for racism is reflected in the lack of rigour applied to the IPCC's investigations into complaints of racism. In the eight year period, from their establishment as the investigatory body, out of 7963 complaints of racism only 1% were upheld and investigated (Evans, 2014). This need to be urgently addressed to improve accountability.

The equality and diversity agenda gained significant momentum in the public sector following the publication of the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report*. The public sector equal opportunities agenda draws its reasoning (and consequently policy) from racialized and 'race' based discourses which legitimate 'race', 'monolithic racial identities' and the 'Black Other' (Hylton, 2005:84). In the aftermath of Macpherson the language of 'diversity' has served to perpetuate colour blind racism (Ahmed, 2012), making 'racism's touch' invisible within institutions of white power (Tate, 2016). These critiques of the diversity agenda are borne out in

the evident failure of the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report* to institute any real change as evident in the evaluations of policing in the Post-Macpherson era.

Foster et al (2000) carried out research between 2002 and 2004 in four policing areas and conducted 1267 face to face interviews with police officers across the ranks, a postal survey to 98 ACPO officers and staff and 133 postal surveys to 133 police authority members and staff. The research also included a detailed examination of operational policing in all four areas, a case study of murder investigation in London and research into ethnic minority communities experiences of policing. The research concluded that there have been some improvements following the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report* particularly in relation to engagement with ethnic minority communities, recording of hate crime and the overt use of racist language. The research found that some police forces still used terms deemed inappropriate, such as 'coloured' and 'half caste', but that this was rarely in most forces. One of the forces researched used inappropriate language routinely and this went unchallenged along with other more pernicious examples of racist language. One officer issued a description of a Black suspect with white hair stating 'he looks like a pint of Guinness' (Foster et al., 2005:36). The review concluded that, in spite of good intentions of police officers, 'certain groups still receive an inappropriate or inadequate service because of their culture or ethnic origin (Foster et al., 2005:ix). Further research, a decade after the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report*, concludes that;

> *In light of the continued failings by the police service in relation to Black and minority ethnic recruitment in general and the disproportionate number of Black people to be found in the annual statistics on stop and search in particular, it is difficult to conclude that the charge of institutional racism no longer applies* (Rollock, 2009:7).

The findings of this research, drawing on Black and mixed-'race' experiences of policing (chapters four to seven), draw concordant conclusions.

2.4 Cop Culture and the Policing Diversity Agenda

The stubborn persistence of racism within the police service has been attributed to a deeply engrained and persistent distinct occupational culture. As argued by Shearing (1981) the values embedded in the police culture act as subterranean processes in the maintenance of power (In Reiner 1985: 87). Cop culture literature is grounded in Skolnick's (1966) work on the police personality, which develops as a response to

both danger and authority in the nature of police work and a pressure to get results. Police see crime fighting as their core role and as such police culture is characterised by a sense of mission and an elevated priority on crime fighting and action focused response (Reiner, 2010, Holdaway, 1983, Loftus, 2009a). In the police culture literature, suspicion and cynicism derive from a need to be alert to danger and crime; they are the 'thin blue line' that safeguards social order (Reiner, 2010:120). The policing terrain is socially mapped out to establish those who pose the biggest threat to the police. These groups, who are ' low in power and status' (Reiner, 2010:25) constitute 'police property' (Lee, 1981). Stereotyping is embedded in mapping the terrain and relates not only to Black and other 'ethnic minority' groups but those on the margins of society (Lee, 1981, Webster, 2008, Loftus, 2009a, Reiner, 2010). It is argued that stereotyping is an essential part of operational policing and that 'cop culture' offers a way of coping with the occupational dangers and strengthens group loyalty (Paoline, 2003:203, Waddington, 1999). However, this is problematic because stereotyping is expressed through jokes and banter, including the use of derogatory and offensive language (Smith, 1985, Holdaway, 1983). Waddington claims that racist language and stereotyping by police officers does not have an effect on policing practice (Waddington 1999:109). This claim is countered by the findings of the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry* which finds that, 'in the police service there is a distinct tendency for officers to stereotype people. That creates problems in a number of areas, but particularly in the way officers deal with Black people' (Macpherson, 1999:6.50). Similarly, HMIC (1997) concluded that 'there is a direct and vital link between internal culture in the way people are treated and external performance' (HMIC 1997 cited in Bowling et al 2002:162). There is evidence to suggest that following the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry* overt racist language and stereotyping continues contemporarily in the safety of 'white spaces' (Loftus, 2009a, 2003).

The growth in literature surrounding cop culture in recent times recognises that it is not a monolithic, static phenomenon and varies between police roles, geographical spaces and specialism (Chan, 1996, Reiner, 2010, Cockcroft, 2013, Loftus, 2009a). There is in fact a plurality of cop cultures (Cockcroft, 2013). Further there has been a shift in light of the equality and diversity agenda and globalised policing (Cockcroft, 2013, Chan, 1996, Loftus, 2009a, Loftus, 2009b). Nevertheless, there are core features of police culture that have remained untouched

and continue to be pervasive both in the UK and identified globally. These traits are associated with a masculine police ethos, such as 'suspiciousness, cynicism, pessimism, conservatism and a thirst for action' (Bowling and Sheptycki, 2011:26). Reiner proposes that it is plausible to assume that an increasing number of women entering the police may have the effect of diluting the 'masculine ethos' (Reiner, 2010:134), though Loftus found scant evidence that this was the case (Loftus, 2009a). The insecurity of the loss of white privilege in the face of an increasingly diverse police force and a focus on 'recognising and respecting diversity' of the publics (Ibid:60) led to 'ressentiment'- an 'entrenched sense of resentment which becomes directed against those who possess desired goods or values' (Ibid:82). In the case of the police, a public that have a new set of expectations based on a widely publicised reform agenda which has the potential to interrupt white male privilege. This threatens the maintenance of white heterosexual male dominance from which the police draw their power. This is evident in the expressed concerns of one of Loftus's research participants, that 'the white, heterosexual, male officer is becoming a 'dying breed' (Loftus, 2009a:76).

Stereotyping of Black and mixed race people within cop culture has served to racialize the relationship between white police officers and their Black colleagues (Bowling, 2002, Holdaway, 1997, Lea and Young, 1993). Ethnic minority, in particular Black, police officers have historically been consistently under-represented in the police service as compared to their representation within the national population. Only 1% of police officers currently serving are Black. Between 2007 and 2011, the percentage of police officers from an ethnic minority background rose from 3.9% to 4.8%; however, the rise was accounted for by 1.9% rise in Asian police officers and 1.3% defining ethnicity as mixed. The percentage of Black police officers remained at 1% with no increase during this time (Ministry of Justice, 2011:76). Both Scarman (1981) and Macpherson (1999) recommended positive action strategies to stimulate recruitment from ethnic minority communities. As pointed out by Cashmore (2002), the fact that Macpherson made the same recommendation as Scarman eighteen years previously is indicative of the little progress that had been made in the interim (Cashmore, 2002:328). Research into the experiences of serving ethnic minority police officers consistently reveals experiences of racism from colleagues in the form of racist banter and stereotyping (Cashmore, 2001, Holdaway, 1996, Smith, 1985). Further, evidence from *The Secret*

Policeman documentary aired in 2003 demonstrated that, four years on from *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report*, racism had not been eradicated from the recruitment process. Endemic and consistent racism is a barrier to recruitment for potential recruits from ethnic minority communities. Stone et al's (2000) research garnered the views of those from an ethnic minority background on police service careers. The research involved 32 focus groups with a total of 290 respondents between the ages of 18 and 30 from a range of ethnic minority backgrounds, age groups and geographical areas. The research found that the expectations of the respondents were similar to the actual experiences reported by serving police officers. There were some positive responses in terms of the type of work carried out by the police and the potential to help and support communities. However, this was overshadowed by the perception that ethnic minority police officers would experience racism from both colleagues and members of the public, isolation in a white dominated environment, and concerns that potentially racist colleagues may not be supportive in threatening environments encountered in the course of police duties (Stone et al., 2000b). There remains a clear consensus in the literature that police officers from Black and Ethnic Minority backgrounds do experience racism and this prevents recruitment from under represented communities (Fielding, 1999, Perrott, 1999, Stone et al., 2000b, Dodd, 2013, Holdaway and Barron, 1997, Holdaway and O'Neill, 2006, Martin, 1994, Cashmore, 2002, Cashmore, 2001).

Targets for increased recruitment of police officers from 'ethnic minority' backgrounds has simplistically focused on the assumption that a representative police force will necessarily improve confidence and trust in the police; however, the evidence is ambiguous drawing into question this assumption. Cashmore conducted interviews with serving ethnic minority police officers, he found that such attempts were considered by some officers to be 'window dressing', outwardly representing an improved image whilst not achieving any real change.(Cashmore, 2002). Further, concerns were expressed about the quality of recruit that would result from an active recruitment campaign. One officer felt that current ethnic minority police officers were ambitious and career focused and had to be to endure the 'stick' from colleagues. Another police officer interviewed highlighted the police/Black relation as preventing recruitment, 'the police have never recruited from these inner city estates around here. You'll never get them to join. They just don't like the police around here. I know, I'm from around here myself, so I got it

first-hand. You can't believe how much any kid has to put up with if he wants to join the police'. (Cashmore, 2001:332). There was some support for a recruitment policy, however, one officer complained that he was often asked to go on recruitment campaigns to support recruitment of ethnic minority officers; he explained, 'I just want to be a police officer' (ibid:338). This statement suggests that ethnic minority police officers being held up as role models to potential recruits also impacts on their ability to just be a police officer. They perceive that they will always be seen as the 'Black' police officer or the 'Asian' police officer.

Cop culture is a barrier to reform in the police service. As Skolnick suggests in his seminal work on police culture, legal and formal rules on police behaviour are mediated through the organisational structure and perspective of the police (Skolnick, 1966 cited in Dean, 1995:346). Training offers only temporary liberalising effects and racism may increase with prolonged service (Reiner, 2010:131). Further, research shows that there is a resistance to and resentment of the policing diversity agenda. Instead, police officers seek out new 'white spaces' where they can 'resist and subvert' the diversity agenda (Loftus, 2009a:64-5).

Whilst there is a developed body of research surrounding cop culture along with ethnographic insights into the operation of cop culture in relation to police work (Holdaway, 1983, Loftus, 2009a, Smith, 1985), there is little empirical work which excavates racialized experiences of policing. This observation is particularly pertinent to the post-Macpherson context as will be addressed in the following section.

2.5 Policing Black People

Throughout the 1980's the disproportionate representation of Black people in the criminal justice system had become 'the single most vexed, hotly controversial and seemingly intractable issue in the politics of crime, policing and social control (Reiner 1989 cited in Norris et al., 1992:207). Police research revealed that the police drew upon racialized stereotypes in their classification of the populations they policed (Holdaway, 1983, Graef, 1989, Cain, 1973) Further, there was evidence of overt racism directed at ethnic minorities (Smith, 1985, Holdaway, 1983). Much of the academic research focuses on addressing racism through explaining disproportionality in stop and search (Norris et al., 1992, Willis and Britain, 1983,

Waddington et al., 2004, Miller et al., 2001, Miller et al., 2000, Miller, 2000, Quinton et al., 2000`). The publication of the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report* into the Metropolitan Police handling of the investigation into the racist murder of Stephen Lawrence sent shockwaves through the police service. For the first time in policing history it was recognised that the Metropolitan Police Service had a problem with institutional racism. Lord Macpherson's recommendations were the catalyst for reform nationally.

The absence of empirical research into the Black experience of policing in the United Kingdom after the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report* is remarkable. The small body of empirical research focuses on a sample drawn from a broader 'ethnic minority' sample (Jefferson and Walker, 1993, Sharp and Atherton, 2007, Britton, 2000a). There is no research which focuses on the specificities of Black experiences. Further, the literature in the post-Macpherson era evidences a shift toward analyses of the impact of the implementation of the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report* recommendations and discussions of 'race' which were evident in the earlier literature are superseded by analysis of the institutional processes. This observation is supported by Kapoor, 'since the publication of the Macpherson Report in 1999, it is possible to trace a trend whereby any minimal attempt to address racially structured 'processes, attitudes and behaviours' has been subsumed by a drive to remove the language of race altogether' (Kapoor, 2011:2). The rejection of race in the analysis of policing in the post-Macpherson period is problematic as the systems which uphold white supremacy are still in place. Further, the 'race'-crime nexus is firmly entrenched and is central to understanding the policing of Black communities. The colour blind approach to understanding policing denies the existence of racialized power relations in the police encounter; it 'implies no real relations between races and implies that it is meaningless to search for equality and justice between races' (Law, 2010:70).

Another possible explanation is an evident shift in the focus of the policing literature, particularly following 9/11 and subsequent 'terrorist' attacks in London in 2005. Asian communities in the UK have increasingly become the focus of both the police and the academic agenda, for example (Webster, 2004, Webster, 2012, Choudhury and Fenwick, 2011). As argued by Pantazis and Pemberton, 'political discourse has designated Muslims as the new 'enemy within'—justifying the introduction of counter-terrorist legislation and facilitating the construction of

Muslims as a 'suspect community'(Pantazis and Pemberton, 2009:646). Further, in the context of increasing concern about global security, research in global policing and security has developed as a significant research area (Bowling, 2010, Bowling and Sheptycki, 2011).

The police focus on Black communities has not shifted from Black to Asian communities. Disproportionate stop and search continues to be problematic and as evidenced by Parmar, the anti-terror agenda has resulted in an increased stop and search of Black people (Parmar, 2011). This evidence and the paucity of research in this field, suggests a renewed focus on Black and mixed-race experiences of policing is necessary. The extant evidence finds that the police abuse their powers when dealing with Black people. For the police, Black people constitiute a criminalised sub population and 'race' has meaning during encounters between the two groups (Britton, 2000a:701-3). The participants in Britton's (2000) research were volunteers for a Help on Arrest scheme, with the stated aim of challenging racial discrimination in the criminal justice system. Britton's research seeks to understand how personal experiences of policing impact on perceptions of the police. Her research methodology is focused on the volunteer's perceptions of the relationship between ethnic minorities and the police. Britton's research seeks to move away from explanations that position the 'Black community' perpetuating negative perceptions about police and policing an approach which only serves to trivialise concerns about policing as 'myths'. Britton shows that personal experiences are more significant than rumour in forming opinions about the police.

This is a consistent finding in Sharp and Atherton (2007). Drawing upon a US study (Brunson and Miller, 2006), Sharp and Atherton (2007) use a qualitative interview approach to develop an understanding of the impact of police misconduct on people from ethnic minority groups. The research focused on respondents age 15-18 with a high level of social exclusion and reported encounters with the police. In the interests of balance, the author points out that 7 of the 47 respondents were from middle class areas. The research concludes that over exposure leads directly to lack of trust and confidence, there is a widely held belief that most officers are motivated by racist beliefs and that whilst this view is based in part upon shared understandings transmitted through the community this is reinforced by the experience of the young people themselves. It is this personal experience that leads them to believe that the police abuse their powers and disproportionately target

young people from Black and other ethnic minority backgrounds (Sharp and Atherton, 2007:753-4).

Those from ethnic minority groups who find themselves repeatedly targeted for police attention develop strategies in order to manage such encounters, such as not objecting to the encounter, 'I don't argue no more' (Sharp and Atherton, 2007:755). They have also developed strategies for or managing their own experiences as victims of crime and this is one that actively excludes the police (ibid:755). There is little evidence surrounding Black experiences of policing in the context of victimisation. Yarrow (2005) addresses the experiences of young Black men as victims of crime and finds, similarly to Sharp and Atherton (2007), that young Black men lack confidence in the police; this is in part explained through perceptions of police racism. Most of the young Black men in Yarrow's research, who had reported crime, were overall dissatisfied with the police response and a section of her sample concluded that regardless of the severity of the crime, they would not contact the police-preferring to manage victimisation through taking measures to protect themselves (Yarrow, 2005). This is particularly acute in cases of racist victimisation (Bowling, 1999). Sharp and Atherton conclude that rebuilding the trust of ethnic minority communities is the challenge that faces the police service today' (Sharp and Atherton, 2007:760).

This is supported in Barrett et al (2014), who conclude, on the basis of mixed methods research into 'BME' perceptions of the police that whilst positive experience can improve perceptions, negative experiences can 'damage views or reinforce negative pre-conceptions' (Barrett et al., 2014). As shown in Britton's study, views based on personal experiences are the most difficult to change (Britton, 2000a:700). It would be reasonable to conclude that the only way to do so is to change the nature of the police encounter providing a more positive personal experience. Barrett et al (2014) posit 'mutual and respectful communication' between the police and various 'BME' communities as a way of improving perceptions of the police. However, it might be expected that, in light of the evidence presented in Sharp and Atherton, that young Black and Ethnic Minority people avoid the police (Sharp and Atherton, 2007), this may not solve the problems of trust and confidence in the police until their experiences of policing on the streets improve, opening up the space for communication.

2.6 Conclusion

Drawing on the extant literature, the aim of this chapter was to outline some of the key themes in relation to understanding how Black and mixed-'race' people experience policing and, in doing so, to situate this research within the literature. One of the key themes to emerge is the centrality of the principle of consent in political and policing discourse. This chapter has troubled the basis of consent as an aim in securing the confidence of 'minority communities'. It has shown that the police, from their inception, have not had the consent of all communities. Rather, the emergence of the police can be understood as a measure to control the Other influenced by 'imperial linkages'. This is contemporarily manifest in the profiling of populations against the risk they pose to the police, which relies upon markers of otherness. In this context, phenotypical symbols of difference continue to be meaningful in the construction of the criminal Other (chapter one).

Stop and Search and police use of force are disproportionately used against people racialized as Black. The chapter looked at competing explanations for unfair policing. The review of the literature has examined the debate on the persistent disproportionality in Stop and Search and concluded, on the basis of the evidence, that despite the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry* and subsequent policing reforms, there is evidence of persisting institutional racism, facilitated by a rank and file 'cop culture' which seeks to resist and subvert the 'diversity agenda' (Loftus, 2009a). Further, the shift to language of diversity results in the erasure of 'race' making it more difficult to challenge through its invisibility (Tate, 2016, Ahmed, 2012). A review of empirical research suggests that in the post-Macpherson period there is a dearth of literature which addresses the experiences of Black and mixed-'race' people with the police. This research seeks to contribute to that limited body of work.

The following chapter will address the methods used during the research.

Chapter 3 Methods

The most unsympathetic thing you can do is think you have empathized with those of a radically different background. You can easily end up hurting them.

(Delgado, 1996:13)

The research set out to understand how individuals and communities racialized as Black experience policing in an unequal society. *The findings of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report* (Macpherson 1999), that the police are 'institutionally racist', instituted a programme of reform across the police and other institutions grounded in the new language of 'diversity' (Ahmed, 2012). Twelve years later, frustration with the police, particularly in relation to stop and search, was cited as a causal factor in the riots following the shooting of Mark Duggan in Tottenham in 2011 (Lewis et al., 2011). In the light of this finding, it seems apt to develop knowledge about Black and mixed-race' people's experiences of policing in the post-Macpherson policing era from minority perspectives (Phillips and Bowling, 2003). These experiences are broadly absent in the extant literature from the late 1980's onwards, as addressed in chapter two.

This research was designed to address the following questions;

1) How do 'Black and mixed-'race' people experience policing?

2) Have experiences of policing changed post-Macpherson?

3) Do the police implement policing differently in response to 'Black and mixed-'race' people?

4) Is 'race' the only explanation? How do intersectional oppressions change the nature of the relationship between the police and 'Black and mixed-'race' people?

This chapter discusses the methodological approach taken; a Critical Race – Grounded Theory framework (Malagon et al., 2009). This takes the principles of Critical Race Theory and uses them to inform a Grounded Theory method (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). It also reflects upon the positionality and power of the researcher

in relation to the phenomena under investigation, and to the research participants. Further, it addresses the utilisation of a Critical Race Theory (CRT) framework, developed in the work of Black scholars (Crenshaw, 1995, Delgado, 1994, Bell, 1991, Bell, 1992, Matsuda, 1987, Matsuda, 1989), by a 'white' researcher. It goes on to address some of the methodological issues encountered in the course of the fieldwork, including accessing participants, in particular young people in the 16-24 age range, and concludes that this absence worked to the advantage of the research. This is followed by a discussion of the analysis of the interview data in the Grounded Theory tradition, and a reflection on the ethical considerations involved in researching a sensitive topic with the potential to reproduce racist injuries, it outlines the measures taken to ensure that the research was conducted in an ethical manner.

3.1 Critical Race-Grounded Theory: Black Ontology and Epistemologies of Ignorance

One of the most significant ethical, epistemological and methodological challenges was my choice to use Critical Race Theory (CRT) as a framework for the research. This approach, developed through Black scholarship, is located within a Black ontology premised on the understanding that 'society is fundamentally racially stratified and unequal, where power processes systematically disenfranchise racially oppressed people' (Hylton,K. 2014:23) . The approach taken blends Critical Race Theory (CRT) as a 'theoretical tool' with a Grounded Theory method as adapted by Malagon (2009). The Critical Race-Grounded Method is advocated as one which;

> *Draws from multiple disciplines to challenge white supremacy... It allows CRT scholars to move toward a form of data collection and analysis that builds from the knowledge of Communities of Color to reveal the ways 'race', class, gender, and other forms of oppression interact to mediate the experiences and realities of those affected by such oppression.*
>
> (Malagon et al., 2009:264)

It was this claim that resonated most explicitly with the aims of the research, to challenge the white supremacy of the police institution from a 'minority perspective (Phillips and Bowling, 2003). Traditional scholarship has worked from a position of 'white ignorance'. Mills (2007), argues that the legacy of systems of white supremacy has implications for social cognition-'white ignorance', which have not been analysed. Mainstream scholarship has been 'indifferent to the possible cognitive consequences of class, race or gender situatedness (Mills, 2007:13).

Acknowledging the ways in which the legacy of white supremacy serves to reproduce racial inequalities, through a white 'epistemology of ignorance', is essential to challenging mainstream knowledge which reproduces inequality. As Ladson-Billings (2000) argues, Critical Race Theory is 'one paradigm in which racialized discourses and ethnic epistemologies or the liminal perspective may be deployed… to reveal the ways that dominant perspectives distort the realities of the other in an effort to maintain power relations that continue to disadvantage those who are locked out of the mainstream. (Ladson-Billings, 2000:263). This renders Critical Race Theory an ideal framework for understanding Black and mixed-race' peoples experiences of policing, knowledge of which is dominated by white institutional perspectives which seek to make 'race' invisible.

Critical Race Theory developed in North America through the work of Black scholars, notably Derrick Bell, Marie Matsuda, Kimberle Crenshaw and Richard Delgado (Matsuda, 1987, Matsuda, 1989, Bell, 1991, Bell, 1992, Crenshaw, 1989, Crenshaw, 1995, Delgado, 1994, Delgado, 1996). It was developed in the legal field to challenge racial inequalities in jurisprudence and, as stated by Hylton, '…in challenging one of the most symbolic bastions of white privilege and power, the legal system [they] have developed a trans-disciplinary tool from which to oppose the hegemonic influence of the Eurocentric and predominantly white establishment'(Hylton, 2009:24). It is this claim which renders Critical Race Theory a relevant framework for research which poses a challenge to the white power of the police institution.

Derek Bell, one of the founders of Critical Race Theory, takes a standpoint of 'racial realism' (Bell, 1991). Bell positions racism as an endemic part of life, which cannot be attributed simply to the prejudices of individuals. He claims that, *'This mind-set or philosophy requires us to acknowledge the permanence of our subordinate status. That acknowledgement enables us to avoid despair, and frees us to imagine and implement racial strategies that can bring fulfilment and even triumph'* (Ibid: 373-4). This position shapes the emergence of Critical Race Theory in the US context, moving away from a paradigm which understands racism as the behaviour of individual perpetrators which can be eradicated, to that of an 'endemic and deeply ingrained' system of inequality which directly shaped systems of power, including the legal system. Critical Race Theory emerged through the use of the

power of the courts by legal scholars to address the effects of racial oppression (Crenshaw et al., 1988).

Critical Race Theory understands 'race' through the 'social constructionist tradition' (Hylton, 2009:27). As acknowledged by Warmington, the conception of 'race' as biological fact is largely refuted in the academy (Warmington, 2009:282). However, Omi and Winant are critical of the position that it is an ideological construction. This fails to acknowledge the 'salience' of 'race' which has been enforced as a 'fundamental principle of social organisation and identity formation' (Omi and Winant, 1993:5). Critics of Critical Race Theory, notably Appiah (1992), favour a move away from 'race'; it is claimed that it risks esentialising 'race' and proposes the alternative concepts of ethnicity and culture (Hylton, 2009) Omi and Winant, drawing on their earlier racial formation approach, advocate a Critical Theory of 'race' which recognises how racial categories are framed through 'historical context' and social construction inherent in 'racially defined' interactions (Omi and Winant, 1993:6). This critical approach opens up the space for opposition to racist oppression, as Hylton argues, 'the opportunity for 'race' to be redeployed by Critical Race Theorists to assert the power of social groups is one worth taking' (Hylton, 2009:28).

Whilst it has been argued that racial oppression is different in the US, therefore, CRT is not useful in a UK context (Kaufman 2005, discussed in Chakrabarty et al., 2012), there is a growing body of work that utilised the Critical Race Theory over the last decade. This includes Kevin Hylton's work on 'race' and sport (Hylton, 2009), and a body of work in the field of education research (Gillborn et al., 2012, Rollock, 2007, Rollock et al., 2014). In 2012 a special edition of *Race Ethnicity and Education* (Volume 15, Issue 1) focused on Critical Race Theory in England. Further, Martin Glynn's study of Black men and desistance from crime is evidence of its utility in the field of British Criminology (Glynn, 2013). The first UK based, international conference on Critical Race Theory was held in 2009, the terms 'BritCrit' was proposed during the conference proceedings (Gillborn, 2011). This research positions itself within this emerging 'BritCrit' research tradition.

Research grounded in Critical Race Theory is broadly premised on five tenets; 1) it foregrounds race and racism in the research 2) Challenges dominant ideologies and research paradigms which explain the experiences of racialized

people 3) a commitment to social justice, 4) making experiential knowledge central to the research and 5) taking a trans- disciplinary approach (Hylton, 2009, Delgado and Stefancic, 2001, Solorzano and Yosso, 2002). Critical Race Theory is a framework rather than a method. Nevertheless, it advocates for the importance of the counter-story in challenging dominant ideology. The counter-story interrupts dominant discourses, based on 'majoritarian stories', which are grounded in white privilege. The majoritarian story 'silences' the experiences of racialized bodies and reproduce negative stereotypes (Parker and Lynn, 2002:29). Research which is based on 'epistemologies of ignorance' (Scheurich and Young, 1997, Sullivan and Tuana, 2007) reproduce racist assumptions. The counter story which draws from experiential knowledge 'names racist injuries and identifies their origins' (Solorzano and Yosso, 2002:27). 'The interviewing process can be pulled together to create narratives that can be used to build a case against …discriminatory practices' (Parker and Lynn, 2002:11). Further, the counter-story gives racialized participants a voice, allowing them to become 'empowered participants' (Solorzano and Yosso, 2002).

In centring 'race' and racism, Critical Race Theory unveils whiteness, informing critiques of systems of white supremacy which uphold the 'racial contract' (Mills, 1997). There are some challenges inherent in the white researcher drawing on a Critical Race Theory framework, whilst possessing white privilege. However, as recognised by Matsuda, it is neither possible nor practical to develop a 'random ability to see all points of view'. Instead, she advocates choosing to 'see the world from the standpoint of the oppressed' (Matsuda, 1989:9). This standpoint of 'multiple consciousness' (Ibid), facilitates an intersectional understanding of the oppressions which work with 'race'. This research addresses the intersection of 'race' with class and gender.

The dominant colour blind ideology, through which an 'absence of visible signs of discrimination creates an atmosphere of racial neutrality that encourages whites to believe that racism is a thing of the past (Bell, 1991:374), is challenged through this research. It makes racism in the police visible through a counter-story which interrupts the dominant colour blind ideologies proliferated by the diversity agenda (Ahmed, 2012, Tate, 2016).

This research has a commitment to a social justice agenda through its contribution to knowledge, which challenges dominant ideologies surrounding 'race', crime and policing. Further, it recognises the way in which oppressions are organised in relation to 'domains of power' (Collins, 2000). This analysis centres 'race' through an understanding of the difference between 'race', class and gender as the source of oppression, which challenges dominant Marxist accounts of policing which rely on class based explanations to understand racist policing.

The Critical Race Theory of policing which emerged from the data, grounded in experiential knowledge of research participants, draws from multiple disciplinary perspectives. The research is positioned from a sociology/criminology perspective but draws on influences in Philosophy (Mills, 1997) and Black Feminist approaches (Tate, 2015, Tate, 2016, Collins, 2000, Collins, 2004, Ahmed, 2007b, Ahmed, 2007a, Ahmed, 2012) , Critical Victimology (Walklate, 2007) and Law (Hudson, 2006, Matsuda, 1997), amongst others; some of these works are also grounded in a multi-disciplinary approach.

The Critical Race-Grounded Theory framework uses a Grounded Theory method. Developed by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, the Grounded Theory method challenged the prevailing view that quantitative enquiry was the only way to conduct systematic and reliable social research (Bryman, 2012, Charmaz, 2000). Glaser and Strauss, in *The Discovery of Grounded Theory,* define the approach as the 'discovery of data systematically obtained from social research' (Glaser and Strauss 1967:2). This seminal text identifies the processes required for generating theory which is grounded in the data; key features of the method are theoretical sampling, memo-writing and a constant comparative method of analysis. In this process 'data collection, analysis, and theory stand in reciprocal relationship with each other' (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). The Grounded Theory method has been adapted by Charmaz (2006), amongst others, through a constructivist approach, described as one which 'places priority on the phenomena of study and sees both data and analysis as created from shared experiences and other sources of data' (Charmaz 2006:130) . Social justice research, through a constructivist approach to Grounded Theory which addresses 'context, positions, discourses and meanings', can develop theoretical understandings of power, oppression and inequalities' (Charmaz, 2011:362) .

One of the criticisms of the traditional Grounded Theory approach is that it expects that the researcher to suspend a priori understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. This is the critical departure point for the adapted Grounded Theory approach which is framed within a Critical Race perspective. From this perspective the ontological assumptions about racial stratification and white privilege cannot be suspended. A Black ontology will shape what is observed to some extent; however, as argued by Malagon et al (2009), the theory emerges from the data and not the theoretical framework. The theoretical framework is an advantage for anti-racist researchers, as ' we use the synergy between CRT and Grounded Theory in our research as we connect everyday life experiences of People of Color to systemic processes of oppression' (Malagon et al., 2009:263).

Further, the Critical Race-Grounded Theory approach advocates abductive reasoning rather than inductive logic (Malagon et al., 2009). As explained by Blaikie, 'An 'abductive strategy produces understanding based on 'thick' descriptions and social scientific concepts that have been derived from everyday concepts and accounts' (Blaikie, 2009:105). The reflexive nature of the abductive inquiry (Blaikie, 2009, Malagon et al., 2009), which involves moving back and forth through the data, developing thoughts about explanations and then testing these through the constant comparison with other data (Charmaz, 2006:103-4), allows for the emergence of theoretical understandings 'grounded in the participant's world view' (Bryman, 2012:401). It is the prioritization of participant's 'world view' which makes this method suitable for the development of a Critical Race Theory of policing, through a counter-story of Black and mixed-'race' participant's experiences. The challenges of working within this paradigm for a white researcher will be discussed reflexively in the following section.

3.2 Reflexivity: Researcher positionality and white privilege

The research was borne from my commitment to anti-racism; however, it was useful to reflect upon the writings of philosophers of 'race' to consider my positionality at the outset. This aided my understanding of the power dynamics produced through both my position as a researcher and through 'racial' difference. As argued by Mills, we can, in our own conscious mind, be anti-racist and committed to eliminating racism whilst reproducing it through our unwitting subscription to an 'epistemology of ignorance' (Mills, 1997). Whiteness has been theorised as the

normative position against which all others are defined. Dyer succinctly claims 'whites are not of a certain race, they're just the human race' (Dyer, 1997:3). This position of white privilege or white supremacy, which Mills describes as 'the unnamed political system that has made the world what it is today' (Mills, 1997:1), continues to reproduce itself regardless of intention because it is not seen as 'whiteness' but as the norm (Dyer, 1997:10). It is from a position of alterity that Fanon (1986) argued, ontology does not allow for an understanding of Black existence in a 'colonised and civilised' society, 'not only must the Black man be Black, he must be Black in relation to the white man' (Fanon, 1986:110); a relation that does not work conversely. The 'racial contract' (Mills, 1997) others the non-white for the purposes of maintaining white privilege; not all white people, including the researcher, consciously subscribe to this contract but all benefit from it.

The foundations of theorising on whiteness can be found in the work of W.E.B DuBois (1936). DuBois argued that white labourers embraced the dominant racial identity, rather than to strive for class based identity in common with freed Black slaves, as adopting a white identity, or 'becoming' white, provided social and economic benefits; a 'public and psychological wage' (DuBois 1936 cited in Twine and Gallagher 2008:8). The construction of the racial category 'white' has been analysed in the contemporary surge in literature emerging from Critical Whiteness Studies. This body of work highlights the complexities inherent in the category 'white' and its relation to systems of oppression. Both Bonnett (1998), and Ignatiev (2008), argue that the British Working Class and the Irish in the USA, respectively, were excluded from the category 'white' and have emerged through a process of 'becoming' white (Bonnett, 1998, Ignatiev, 2008). This suggests that whiteness, as argued by Wray, is a 'flexible set of social and symbolic boundaries that give shape, meaning and power to the social category white' (Wray, 2006:9). Precisely because it is everywhere, whiteness is very hard to see (Lipsitz, 1998:1) and is particularly invisible to those who 'inhabit' whiteness (Ahmed, 2004). The necessary 'marking' of whiteness , through Critical Whiteness scholarship, exposes 'the ways in which whites have created a form of 'humanism' that obfuscates their hegemonic efforts to treat their experiences as universal and representative' (Yancy, 2012:7).

As a white researcher, the Critical Whiteness literature has widened my understanding of my own positionality and white privilege. Such awareness and

reflectivity on my own position, in relation to the research participants, is essential to developing knowledge from minority perspectives (Phillips and Bowling, 2003). I have taken the approach advocated by Matsuda and chosen a standpoint of 'multiple consciousness', defined as a 'deliberate choice to see the world from the standpoint of the oppressed' (Matsuda, 1989:9). Whilst I benefit from the 'racial contract' (Mills, 1997), I do not subscribe to it. This 'multiple consciousness' allows for the revelation of '…some of the boundaries that are blurred between the 'observer and the observed' including those that 'characterize racial oppression' (Duncan, 2002:96).

Critical Race Theory 'asks the researcher to operate in a self-revelatory mode' (Ladson-Billings, 2000:272), it was also expected that participants would question the motivation behind the research. The rationale for adopting the Critical Race lens is borne out of an experience that changed my own perspective on 'race' and racism, in the police and created within me a passion for resisting inequality, which drives my work. In 2001 whilst an undergraduate in Criminology I spent a day observing proceedings in Teesside Crown Court. What appeared to be a badly argued medical negligence case transpired to be the trial of five police officers for the manslaughter of Christopher Alder, who died in police custody in Hull in 1998. It is my position that justice did not prevail for Christopher in this case. The Crown Prosecution Service's case was marred by the presentation of conflicting medical opinions. The Judge himself declared that he had never seen anything like it in a prosecution case before (Peter Herbert QC in, , 2004). Further, they failed to consider evidence of 'monkey noises' made by a police officer and audible on the camera footage because it could not be attributed to an individual officer (Dodd, 2002). After the prosecution had presented their case the Judge ruled that the defence had 'no case to answer', based on the conflicting medical opinions about the cause of death. My interest in the case developed into campaign work. I trained in immigration advice and support and later moved my energies into an equality and diversity role with the police with the naïve reasoning that what you cannot change from the outside can be changed from within. I was sorely disappointed in my inability to affect anything more than a tick box approach, hastening my return to work in the asylum and immigration field. My personal passion, borne out of these experiences, is what has inspired me to invest my energies in the pursuit of human rights and working against racism.

My own personal experience of a working class background, teenage pregnancy and experiences of lone parenting have, arguably, positioned me at earlier points in my life history on the 'boundaries of whiteness' (Wray, 2006). These experiences of oppression have aided the development of empathy for the oppressed and the attainment of 'multiple consciousness' (Matsuda, 1989). In relation to the participants I am an outsider researcher; however, within the institution from which some of my 'white privilege' is endorsed I am an insider, outsider. This reflexivity is important to situating myself within the research, and recognising the power relations inherent in the research relationship; it also takes account of how working in a self-revelatory mode can be a way to build up trust (Ladson-Billings, 2000, Hunter, 2005).

The issue of researcher 'race' arose during the fieldwork. It is acknowledged that perceived 'racial' difference can affect what a Black research participant is prepared to disclose to a 'white' researcher (Edwards, 1990, Aitken and Burman, 1999). Edwards, in discussion of her own position as a white researcher interviewing Black women, found that rapport was easier to establish once the researcher acknowledged the difference in structural position within the interviewer/participant relationship (Edwards, 1990:486). The benefits of recognising the multiple identities that all participants in a research relationship occupy, including 'race', but also recognising gender, class and the professional relationship, has been recognised (Aitken and Burman, 1999:277, Gunaratnam, 2003). Rather than attempting to subvert this risk with methodological strategies, such as interviewer matching, Gunaratnam (2003) advocates 'actively searching out and valuing the complexity and richness that comes with the mess' (Gunaratnam, 2003:104).

The necessity of revealing my background and the reasons for my interest in the area of study become apparent throughout the initial interviews. I was initially reluctant to reveal my background and personal interest in the area of study. I anticipated that this revelation would influence the experiences that participants chose to share during the interviews. The perception that participants had when I did not work in a 'self-revelatory' mode is evident in Janice's comment;

> *I really do credit you and no offence because sometimes it can be misconstrued, but can you really empathise with that situation when you are ... I think it's quite touching that people are still doing work on behalf of Black communities that haven't got a voice, but we've still got these areas in*

> *Birmingham and Liverpool. Liverpool was seriously segregated, where its whites, Blacks and mixed-'race' children somewhere along the line.*

(Janice, 38, Black, British, female)

This quote illuminates the perception that as an outsider researcher I was perceived to lack empathy because of my white privilege. Janice, in this interview, aligned me with the other side in her conception of a racially segregated society. Reflecting upon this interview revealed that it was necessary for me to reveal my personal interest in the area of study in order to build up trust. In subsequent interviews I asked participants if they would like me to explain why I was interested in the area of study. My initial concerns that this revelation would lead participants to the prioritisation of negative experiences of policing in their narratives was countered by the inclusion of an additional question in the interview schedule, 'Have you had any experiences that were different to the good/bad ones that you have described?' The decision to work in a more explicit, 'self-revelatory mode' established a level of trust from the outset and interrupted some of the power relations between the researcher and the participants. Participants in subsequent interviews appeared less hesitant in sharing their experiences. This is one way of embracing the 'complexity and richness' that comes with the 'mess', that social differences produce in research interviews, as Gunaratnam (2003:104) advocates. Further, within a Critical Race Framework these differences operate to challenge epistemologies of ignorance through informing the 'knowers' [researcher] relationship to knowledge and knowledge production' (Ladson-Billings, 2000:266), serving to empower marginalised voices through the research agenda.

The following section will address how I accessed my participants and some of the difficulties I encountered along the way. It will also consider how I used the interview method as a research tool.

3.3 The qualitative interview as a research tool

The research was conducted using qualitative, semi structured interviews. Qualitative research tools are described by Denzin and Lincoln (2000) as, 'the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials…that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals' lives' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:3). Interviewing is often referred to as a 'conversation with a purpose' (Burgess, 1988); the purpose of the conversation, in the context of this research, was

to give research participants a voice and to access their stories and experiences of policing. Key to research within a Critical Race Theoretical framework is 'the centrality of experiential knowledge', accessed through the story and the counter-story, in order to tell the stories of those 'whose experiences are not often told' (Solorzano and Yosso, 2002:26-32). I decided to use semi-structured interviews as they allowed for the exploration of the key research questions with some flexibility and responsiveness to the exploration of unplanned/unscheduled issues, and the freedom of the participant to share their own stories whilst remaining focused on the specific topic of interest. As argued by Matsuda, *'storytelling creates a tension between a tale of oppression and a tale of innocence leading to only two possible conclusions: someone is lying, or someone is deeply deluded' (Matsuda, 1997:51).* This method lends itself well to research which aims to understand the experiences that people racialized as Black have when they encounter the police, the history of which has been characterised by a dominant police narrative and denial of stories of oppression from Black and mixed-'race' people.

The participants were initially asked some demographic questions followed by the opening prompt, 'Can you remember your first experience of police contact?'. The interview schedule was used in order to guide the participant through a set of key themes to be explored, which ensured that the interviews with all participants were, to an extent, systematic and that the themes explored were comparable between interviews. The first prompt was effective as it opened up the interview from the participant's first experience and so, in some of the interviews, a chronological account of experiences of policing developed organically throughout the conversation intersecting with life histories. Where follow up or clarifying questions were asked, I tried to do this in an open manner to minimise the risk of leading or predetermining responses (Patton, 1990:295). On reflection upon the interviews, and after listening to the transcription of audio recordings, there were times when this was not achieved, as in the following example from Janice's interview. Janice was expressing her confusion as to why the police do not perform their roles appropriately when they sacrifice their interpersonal relationships for their job;

> *They sacrifice a lot for their jobs so you know sacrifice not being able to interact with people and to not mix … so why would you sacrifice that and then not go the full mile… you don't really have many friends outside of the police force they're your boys they're your family you know it's a family unit.*

(Janice, 37, Black, British, female)

I followed this with the question '*Maybe that's part of the problem?*'. Following my interjection Janice went on to say '*…probably that's part of the problem all boys all girls together in our little private club you know*'. My response, on this occasion, reflected my own assumptions about the phenomena under investigation, and prompted Janice to respond to my understanding of the problem. These observations in transcribing the initial interviews provided the opportunity to reflect on the interview technique, and give more thought to how I responded, so that such instances happened less often in subsequent interviews. Further, interviews were transcribed verbatim, including all interviewer questions and responses. I was then able to be alert to the context of the interviewer comments in the analysis of the interview transcripts.

3.4 Sampling

The decision about who to sample was based on a review of the existing literature (chapters one and two). This revealed that the understanding of the ways in which Black and mixed-'race' people experience policing in England is limited by the paucity of studies in this area. Further, there is a broader 'Black and Minority Ethnic (BME)' focus within the existing research (Sharp and Atherton, 2007, Britton, 2000a). The three places in the West Yorkshire Police force area with the highest Black and Black and white mixed-'race' populations , according to 2011 census data, were selected for sampling. These were Leeds with a Black population of 3.5% and a mixed white and Black 1.5%, Bradford with a Black population of 1.8 and a Black and white mixed population of 1.1% and the Kirklees district which has a Black population of 1.9% and Black and white mixed population of 1.4% (ONS 2012). Twenty participants took part in the research interviews. They were selected on the basis that they self-identified as either Black or Black and white mixed-'race', were aged sixteen or above, were resident in the West Yorkshire police force area and had experience of police contact. The type of police contact was not specified in the call for participants, this was important as the researcher was interested in a wider understanding of police relations with citizens and communities rather than a focus on one particular form of police contact such as stop and search or arrest. This approach resulted in a breadth of participant experiences in a range of contexts; the three most significant contexts for police contact were as victim of crime, police

initiated contact and contact with the police as volunteer or paid professional. I travelled outside of the West Yorkshire police force area on one occasion to meet with a participant who had previously resided in West Yorkshire but due to his experiences with the police had moved out of the area. Participants reflected a diverse range of age, socio-economic and objective class categories as well as gender and national identities. They were as follows;

- Eric, 32, Black, African male

- Phillip, 45, Black, African male

- Alice, 38, mixed-'race', British born, female

- Robert, 27, mixed-'race', British-born, male

- Janice, 37, Black, British-born, female

- Kenneth, 38, Black, African, male

- Levi, 50, Black, British-born, male

- Marcus, 44, Black, British-born, male

- Charles, 40, Black, African, male

- Shawn, 39, Black, British-born, male

- Samuel, 45, Black, African, male

- Jean, 40, Black, African, male

- Thomas, 55, Black, British-born, male

- Andrew, 41, mixed-'race', British-born, male

- Bianca, 25, mixed-'race', British-born, female

- Lee, 23, mixed-'race', British-born, male

- Carol, 49, Black, British-born, female

- Earl, 54, Black, British-born, male

- Derek, 46, Black, British-born, male

- Cynthia, 42, Black, British-born, female.

One of the ways in which I recruited participants was through the distribution of leaflets. I took leaflets and posters advertising the project to trusted informal gatekeepers such as barber shops, food stores, Black businesses associations, elders groups, established sports clubs and youth and community centres in the selected sample locations. I had not anticipated the way in which a seemingly innocuous leaflet might be perceived by the reader. On one occasion, I was interviewing a participant in the café area of a Local Authority managed 'One Stop' service. I had left some leaflets with reception on the way into the building. During the interview the manager approached me and his response to the leaflets was captured within the interview transcript;

> *It's probably not something we'd really want to advertise within the centre it's just we do have the PCSO's coming here and do a surgery from here and so, and with it being... and we've had people requesting...Is it for a PhD yea we've sort of turned down people before but good luck with it anyway.*

Following this interruption I thought about the entrenched nature of the negative perceptions surrounding the relationship between the police and Black people. A poster asking people to talk about their 'experiences of policing', wording that I assumed was neutral, could be read as confrontational. This was not a desirable project for the Local Authority, who managed the centre, to be associated with, and had the potential to disrupt the Police Community Support Officer (PCSO) surgeries held at the centre. This led me to reflect on the potential for discomfort and even fear for small local businesses. I made the decision not to approach any more local small businesses to display the poster or leaflets. I approached formal gatekeepers, youth workers, Youth Offending Teams (YOT's), Local Authority Black staff networks, NHS, colleges and student groups. I attended events held during Black History Month, although I did not always feel it was appropriate to raise my research in these forums. I played it by ear and responded to opportunities as they arose, remaining sensitive to the environment, and taking care not to intrude on the purpose of the meeting or event.

The growth of social media has opened up a new space to reach potential research participants. The *Independent* (2015) reported, Facebook is now used by half of the worlds' internet users and that 65% of users check the site at least once per day (Buchanan, 2015). I developed a Facebook page for recruitment purposes, this contained both text and audio versions of the project information using the same

text as the recruitment leaflet, it included contact details for my university email address and a designated research contact number. There are no guarantees of anonymity on social media, with this in mind the research page was not linked to personal social media accounts. In order to protect the privacy of interested persons I added the following warning to the page and audio file, '*if you 'like' this page other Facebook users will be able to see that you have done so. If you would like your interest in this research to remain private please contact me on the above email or telephone number.* I shared the page with my contacts and it was subsequently shared through their networks. Additionally, I 'tweeted' details of the Facebook page. It received a total of fifty- five 'likes' and attracted several enquiries by email. I responded to email enquiries including full project information and biographic questions. This resulted in the recruitment of two research participants. This is not a significant number; however, the time invested in setting up the page and maintaining it was low compared with the time spent attending events and meetings and leafleting over a sixteen-month period, with the recruitment of similar numbers of participants. A systematic review of Facebook as a recruitment for tool in health research concluded that samples recruited were 'similarly representative' of those recruited using more traditional recruitment methods (Thornton et al., 2016) , leading to the conclusion that Facebook can be both 'effective' and 'cost-effective' (ibid). Further, the page offered the opportunity to keep participants updated on the progress of the research in a relatively unobtrusive manner through bi-monthly status updates. One of the disadvantages of the Facebook page, for a regionally focused project, is its potential for global reach. The analytics show that some of the posts reached over two-hundred and fifty people (Facebook 2013), however this was not necessarily in the West Yorkshire area and enquiries were made from areas outside of West Yorkshire and as far as the US.

The selection of participants was made by asking those who expressed an interest some brief questions about how they would define their own ethnicity, which area of West Yorkshire they lived in, and if they had an experience of police contact that they would like to talk about in a face-to-face interview. Selected participants would then receive a copy of the project information sheet either by email or by post and a follow up call made by the researcher to clarify any questions and arrange an interview. A primary consideration was the location of the interviews. Participants assisted in locating a suitable public space in which they felt

comfortable talking about their experiences. Interviews were held in community centres, libraries, pubs, cafes and participants work places.

I had hoped to speak to some young people in the 16-24 age group, this proved a challenging age group to engage in research. I attempted to reach young people through youth workers, sports clubs and youth offending services as well as local colleges. The staff working within the organisations, or in research terms 'the gatekeepers', are identified within the literature as being instrumental in establishing the credibility of the researcher and to facilitate access and allow for a relationship of trust to be built between the researcher and participants, particularly for hard to reach/hear and 'socially excluded groups'. (Emmel et al., 2007). Conversations with gatekeepers, in particular youth workers in both Leeds and the Kirklees district, revealed that young people had become tired of speaking with researchers who entered their lives and safe spaces, made promises of interaction, collaboration and the potential for change, and took their views and experiences away with them and did not communicate the outcome of the research. In one of the research areas this had been the case for research conducted with young people by the police and this was flagged by gatekeepers as a potential trust issue for young people in that area. Both Clarke (2008), and Sukarieh and Tonnock (2013), find that the failure of previous research to effect social change is a significant issue pertaining to 'research fatigue' in over researched communities (Clark, 2008, Sukarieh and Tannock, 2013).

Due to the nature of my involvement with anti-racist campaigning, particularly in relation to deaths in police custody, I had personal experience of speaking to lots of people about their experience of the police. Previously friends and acquaintances who knew of my opinions would often approach me in social contexts to share their experiences of the police. I knew that many people had experiences to share; however, I did not anticipate how difficult it would be to recruit participants to share their experience in a research context.   Recruiting participants posed many challenges, not least to my PhD timetable as the estimated fieldwork period of ten months extended to sixteen months at which point I had to make the decision to stop actively recruiting research participants due to time constraints. Constraints, including time, are acknowledged in Strauss and Corbin (1998), 'sometimes the researcher has no choice and must settle for a theoretical scheme that is less developed than desired' (Strauss and Corbin, 1998:292). I had at this point interviewed twenty participants of a proposed sample of thirty. Most of the

sample was recruited through snowballing techniques, both on social media, and through research participants and networks. The aim of using purposive sampling was upheld to some extent with the selection of participants based on criteria that they were Black or mixed-'race', and having had an experience of policing in West Yorkshire from those who expressed an interest. Further, when the final participant, Cynthia, made contact with the project I had already decided to stop interviewing. I had initially proposed to interview at least five women, and so I continued with the final interview with the purpose of developing perspective of Black women in relation to policing.

The difficulties I had in recruitment had an effect on the type of data I was able to access and, to some extent, changed the focus of the research in a way that I feel was ultimately beneficial to the project. The older participants were able to refer to experiences across a longer span and in the context of a broader life history. The resulting data offered a rich and in-depth account of experiences of policing across the past five decades, which could be analysed across the life course, and in comparison to experiences of younger participants, allowing for answers to the research question, *'How have these experiences changed post-MacPherson*?', to emerge from the participants stories. However, it should be borne in mind that the research on experiences of policing is sparse, and the voices of young people, who are in the age groups most likely to experience police initiated contact such as stop and search, should have the opportunity to tell their counter-stories to the dominant narratives which positions them as the problem. This gap presents opportunities for future research.

3.5 Analysis

Immediately after each interview a full verbatim transcript was produced including laughter, pauses and hesitation markers (uhms, erms, etc.). Participants were sent a copy of the transcript and were encouraged to confirm that they were happy with the content and offer comments, thoughts, or suggestions in the spirit of co-construction of knowledge. This was usually followed-up by an email or telephone call from the participant to clarify any outstanding points or to confirm that they were happy with the content. Some participants did not follow up. Where this was the case I assumed that they were happy that the content of the transcript was an accurate reflection of the interview. Initially, I read through the transcript and

manually coded the interviews line by line. Coding is described as 'a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data' (Saldaña, 2012:3). The process of line by line open coding, an 'important first step' (Strauss and Corbin, 1998:179-80), helped me to develop my first impressions of what I was reading. I gave each line of text a code in the margin and highlighted sections of the text which were potentially significant. I used in-vivo coding where there appeared to be some value in retaining the participants own words; in-vivo codes are 'symbolic markers of participant's speech and meanings' (Charmaz, 2006:55). I then moved on to 'axial coding', making links between categories and concepts which elevated the initial codes to a higher abstract and conceptual level and enabled me to gain insights into the processes at work within the incidents described. This 'construction of data through interaction' (Emmel, 2013:26) is not a neutral or objective process. As a researcher I was aware that my own assumptions about the 'phenomena and what 'constitutes data' (Mason, 2002:148), shape the codes emerging from the data and the processes of knowledge production through 'interpretive' and 'reflexive' analysis (ibid).

After the initial open coding I uploaded transcripts to CAQDAS (Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software). I selected the *Nvivo* programme because it was developed with a Grounded Theory approach to data analysis in mind. Additionally, I was able to access training in using the software which supported me to use the programme efficiently. I repeated the line by line coding for the first five interviews to ensure that the insights I had gained from the initial coding were consistent with those gained from coding with *Nvivo*. I then coded the remaining transcripts in *Nvivo* to enable me to use the data management capabilities of the software. For Welsh (2002), *Nvivo* has the advantage of allowing the researcher to carry out a quick and accurate search of all of the data for all instances of a 'particular usage'. However, weakness in this function was found when different words were used in the transcripts to refer to the same thing, 'in order to achieve the best results it is important that researchers do not reify either electronic or manual methods and instead combine the best features of each' (Welsh, 2002:9). Concerns about the use of software in the analysis of qualitative data include fears that the software will impose or ascribe something to the data. Crowley (2002), claims that these perceptions as myths and, whilst acknowledging that the use of

software will have an impact on shaping the analysis, points out that current software does not 'have artificial intelligence'; it is to a large extent up to how the researcher chooses to use it (Crowley et al., 2002, Mason, 2002). *Nvivo's* ability to manage large amounts of data was useful for the purposes of this research. However, it was, as recommended by Welsh, complemented with 'manual scrutiny' (Welsh, 2002).

The writing of theoretical memos is the 'bedrock of theory generation' (Glaser, 1978:83) in the Grounded Theory tradition. The following example from a memo on 'Belonging' illustrates the early stages of analysis which involved thinking about the initial codes 'Immigrant', 'British', 'Home' and 'Racism';

> *The ability to compare the experience with police forces in countries outside of the UK appears, in this small sample, to result in a more positive perception of the British police… One participant acknowledged the existence of racism but did not see it as a problem in terms of his own priorities as he felt that he would be given the opportunity to 'prove himself' when stopped and questioned as long as he complied. The same respondent also planned to return to his country of origin at some point in the future, this seemed to be instrumental in his lack of concern about policing, comparing this to the choices of second and third generation Black British people he said 'I don't exactly call this place my home so I think I have a choice, an alternative' (interview 4). This observation suggests that an analysis of data that draws upon ideas of citizenship and belonging could be relevant at a later stage in research and with the collection of more data the feasibility of this will become apparent.*

This memo served to crystallise an emerging idea, form a basis for comparison of other codes, and inform the theoretical sampling strategy. Based on this memo, and comparison with subsequent interview data, 'belonging' emerged as a theme in understanding participant's experiences with and perceptions of the police.

In the Grounded Theory tradition, theoretical sampling is, 'the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects codes and analyses data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop a theory as it emerges' (Glaser and Strauss 1967:45). Through this iterative process ideas are refined (Charmaz, 2000). Ideally this process continues until theoretical saturation is reached. This occurs when no new data emerges from the theoretical sampling to illuminate the properties of the category, therefore 'redundancy is the primary criterion' (Lincoln and Guba, 1985:202). The time constraints on a PhD project may limit the degree to which it can be asserted that theoretical saturation was reached. Applying the more general term 'data saturation'

to their research, Guest, et al, concludes, at the end of the analysis of sixty interviews, that data saturation had occurred for the most commonly occurring categories after analysis of twelve interviews; they claim that at this stage the codebook was fairly complete and stable' (Guest et al., 2006:78). Further, purposive sampling can be assumed to garner a sample with some commonalities, in this case where a degree of homogeneity is assumed the data would be expected to reach saturation more quickly (Ibid:76). There was some homogeneity in the sample for this research to the extent that participants' were recruited on the basis that they identified as Black or mixed-'race' and had some experience of contact with the police. Similarly to Guest et al (2006), there were no significant new codes emerging from the data after analysis of around thirteen interviews. To this extent, I can claim that the data was saturated sufficiently to allow for the development of some theoretical claims.

Glaser and Strauss advocate the identification of a central or core category, this category 'consists of all the products of analysis condensed into a few words that seem to explain what research is all about' (Strauss and Corbin, 1998:146). I identified 'racialization' as the social process that integrates all of the categories of analysis. Whilst the analysis foregrounded 'race', intersectional analysis is central to the assumptions of Critical Race Theory. When analysing the data I referred to Matsuda's practical suggestion for understanding and troubling the ways in which oppressions are connected, I asked 'the other question' (Matsuda 1996: 64-65);

> When I see something that looks racist I ask, 'Where is the patriarchy in this?' When I see something that looks sexist, I ask, 'Where is the heterosexism in this?' When I see something that looks homophobic I ask 'Where is the class interests in this?'(Matsuda, 1997).

This enabled me to make connections between multiple oppressions in the analysis whilst foregrounding 'race'.

3.6 Ethics

The opening quote of this chapter, *'the most unsympathetic thing you can do is think you have empathized with those of a radically different background. You can easily end up hurting them' (Delgado, 1996),* succinctly captures the ethical concerns I had about conducting outsider research. Particularly with consideration to the sensitive nature of the topic and with consideration to my absence of experience of policing

through white privilege. This section will consider the measures I took to avoid harm to participants.

I had previously conducted research into, and been involved in campaigns around, deaths in police custody. Further, I had a previous career in advice, support and legal representation which had involved inadvertently dealing with outcomes of policing. I felt that I had a familiarity with the research area which would allow me to design the research in such a way as to avoid harm to participants as far as possible. However, the way in which Black and mixed-'race' people have been policed historically is, as well as in some cases physically violent, a form of 'spirit murder' (Williams, 1997), towards both individuals and whole communities. Recalling these experiences, I acknowledged, would inevitably be painful for some participants and have the potential to be intrusive, 'reopening old wounds' (Patton, 1990:355). I considered the practical ways in which I would manage this in the application for ethical clearance from the University of Leeds ethical review panel. This included thinking about my previous caseworker experience, which involved interviewing people seeking asylum in the context of eliciting their personal and often traumatic experiences in support of their claim. I drew upon the strategies I had developed in this context to plan sensitive questions that would allow research participants to share their stories in their own time. I often included statements to reassure research participants that they did not have to answer any questions or respond to any prompts that they were not comfortable with. In longer interviews, I checked participants comfort levels and the need for a break. These small practical steps were an important part of a wider consideration of guidance provided by the British Sociological Association (2002) which I considered in the design of the research.

The qualitative interview is inevitably a hierarchical interaction shaped by the dominance of the researcher's agenda in the interaction (Wise 1987 cited in Gunaratnam 2003:88). In consideration of this power-relation in the interview context a number of measures were taken to give the research participants some control over the interview and experiences they opted to disclose. Prior to their agreement to take part in the research potential participants were provided with an information sheet, either by post or email; this was also available as an audio file on the project Facebook page. Consistent with the BSA guidelines, the information provided to participants explained the research without the use of jargon or

sociology/institute specific language to render it 'meaningful to participants' (British Sociological Association, 2002, point 16). Participants were offered the opportunity to clarify any outstanding questions prior to agreeing to participate. At the start of the interview I checked that participants had read and understood the information sheet. I explained that participants would have access to the interview transcripts and would be given the opportunity to read the interview transcripts, agree or make changes to them, or withdraw from the research within a specified timeframe. All participants agreed that I could record their interviews on a portable recording device and I took supplementary notes of important or follow up points. The MP3 files were uploaded to a password protected computer and deleted from the portable device. In the interests of maintaining confidentiality, participants were given a pseudonym and their personal details stored separately in a password protected spreadsheet.

One measure that I had taken was to offer a small incentive of £5 to research participants plus travel costs where necessary. The decision to offer this amount was in line with principles of a nominal incentive. The amount offered was not enough to influence the participant's decision to take part, or have any effect on the benefits of payments of participants who were not in employment, but offered some recognition and served as a small thank you. However, the interviews took on average about ninety minutes, the time taken and the investment made by the participants in sharing their very personal and at times harrowing stories of police contact left me feeling overwhelmed with gratitude. Although their contribution cannot be measured in terms of monetary value, offering the voucher left me feeling embarrassed at times. In future research I would not offer an incentive/thank you in this way as at times it felt insulting.

Whilst I cannot change the impact of my outsider researcher status, my ethical standpoint and epistemological and methodological approach, as discussed throughout this chapter, allowed for sensitive data collection and a systematic and rigorous process of analysis which foregrounded 'race' and allowed for the emergence of theory from participants experiences. Participation will result in some impact through the dissemination of research findings to the police and stakeholders nationally, and at a local level in West Yorkshire. There is scepticism as to the extent to which this will result in changes to policing; however, it is another avenue through which racialized voices may be heard. Further, as will be discussed in

chapter five, there is some evidence that participation facilitated an unburdening of the racist affects of policing.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter considered the ontological and epistemological position of the researcher, and subsequently the research design which sought to facilitate the telling of counter-stories in relation to the experiences that Black and mixed-'race' people have when they encounter the police. It explained the reasons for the decision that I took as a 'white' researcher to utilise Critical Race Theory, a framework which was developed and utilised by Black scholars. Through the reflexive journey, it illustrated the ways in which outsider researchers negotiate their own position in relation to how participants view them, and how the researcher views themselves in order to build relationships of trust. I feel extremely lucky that participants shared their very personal stories with me and I am grateful to them for this. This placed a great measure of responsibility for interpreting their accounts appropriately, with sensitivity, and in such a way that my participants would agree with my findings and that they would see some useful outcomes from the research.

The careful and detailed analysis, completed through the adapted Grounded Theory method and documented throughout this chapter, has produced a counter-narrative to the official and dominant discourses which frame Black and mixed-'race' people as the criminal Other in relation to their contact with the police. It provides new insights into the ways in which Black and mixed-'race' people both experience and perceive the police, which will contribute to knowledge, inform future research, and provide some recommendations for the police and other institutions in the light of the failure of the Macpherson recommendations to institute meaningful change.

Chapter 4 'Babylon remove the chain, now they're using the brain': The pervasiveness of 'race' in the post-Macpherson police.

> *I continue to live my body in Black within a culture where Blackness is still over determined by myths and presuppositions that fix my body as a site of danger... It is the reality of mundane white racist communicative performances-resulting in consequences that I somatically bear-that reveal the continued efficacy of the historical force of white embodied ideology*
>
> *(Yancy, 2008:59)*

The finding of the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report*, that the Metropolitan Police Service are institutionally racist, brought about a significant programme of reform for the police service and other institutions on a national scale. The police were for the first time brought under the provisions of the Race Relations Act which places a duty upon them to provide a fair and equal service, to prevent discrimination and to promote good race relations. This posed a challenge for the racist element of cop culture (Loftus, 2008, Loftus, 2009a). However, the efficacy of the reforms has been limited in this regard (Rollock, 2009, Foster et al., 2005, Loftus, 2009a). In 2014 Doreen Lawrence claimed that, despite the 'policing diversity' reforms, the 'police attitude hasn't changed'. The police still think that they can 'get away' with racism (2014). How do Black and mixed-'race' people experience policing? What impact does this have on their relations with police as individuals and communities? And, have their experiences changed as a result of the policing diversity reform agenda?

This chapter will consider these questions through the counter stories of research participants. It will draw upon the work of 'race' scholars to argue that dominant systems of white supremacy (Mills, 1997, Mills, 2007) fix the Black body as a 'site of danger' (Yancy, 2008). The danger perceived, read through phenotypical signs of 'race', is reflected in the experiences of over-policing from childhood through surveillance, stop and search, trivial arrests and excessive use of force. As argued by Ahmed (2012), the changes that have been affected in the aftermath of the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report*, widely referred to as the diversity agenda, are 'symbolic' and not felt by those who are seen to embody diversity (Ahmed, 2012). Further, the diversity agenda, which positions the institution as the 'host' to diversity, serves to embed whiteness (Ibid: 43-5).

Drawing from the counter-stories of Black experiences of policing this research challenges the colour blind approach to 'race', proliferated through the diversity agenda, in the post-Macpherson police service. It finds that the 'absent presence of race' (Apple, 1999) makes racism's touch 'invisible' (Tate, 2016). Racism's affects are felt whilst its existence is denied.

4.1 'Planting the seed of fear'

To treat children as suspect runs counter to popular narratives of innocence and vulnerability. However, as argued by Bernstein, these narratives were developed in relation to the white child (Bernstein, 2011). This observation is reflected to some extent in recent research carried out in the US which concluded that, Black boys are not afforded the privilege of innocence from which their white peers benefit, they are often perceived as older than their age and seen to have a greater culpability for their actions than their white peers (Goff et al., 2014). This would appear to have some salience for racialized children's experience of the police in a UK context.

A striking feature of interview participant's accounts was the prevalence of police initiated contact in childhood. The contexts in which police contact was experienced in childhood ranged from an awareness of persistent police presence, being stopped by the police in childhood and early experiences of arrest during the teenage years. The available research does not specifically address childhood experiences of policing; however, this research suggests that Black and mixed-'race' children are treated as suspicious. Participants recalled being stopped by the police and asked questions whilst engaged in day to day activities, such as walking to the shop, playing in the street with friends, or going to and from school. Participants were drawn from a diverse age range and their experiences were dispersed across five decades, nevertheless this feature of participant's experiences of policing was evident across all age groups. Both Marcus and Bianca described similar experiences of being stopped by the police in childhood, two decades apart;

> *I was probably seven or eight my brother was probably ten or eleven and we had a bag with fish and chips in it and we got stopped [laughs] and searched and they took our fish and chip shop [bag]...*(Marcus, 44, Black, British, Male, 44).

> *I was stopped on my bike by a police officer and asked questions such as 'is this your bike?'… 'Can you prove it's your bike?'… 'Well have you got a receipt on you?' [laughs]. What a ridiculous question. 'Well I'm going to have to radio in to the station to see if this checks out'.*

> (Bianca, 25, mixed- 'race', British, female).

The laughter in both of these extracts highlights the absurdity of the police suspicion of young children, who were not overtly misbehaving, or engaged in behaviour which the police could interpret as breaking the rule of law. Equally disconcerting is the lengths to which the officers went in order to establish the truth of the accounts provided by the children. Through this suspicion, play and innocence is disrupted by unnecessary checks which intimidate -*'planting the seed of fear'*. Further, the age of criminal responsibility, the age at which a 'child' is deemed responsible for their actions, is ten years old in the UK. In Marcus's case, he had not reached the age where he could have been a crime suspect before his first experience of being treated as such.

Reminiscent of the experiences of overt racist harassment manifest in *'Nigger Hunting in England' (Hunte, 1966)*, and the '*Hounding* 'of David Oluwale to his eventual death in 1960's Leeds (Aspden, 2007), Levi describes being approached by a police car whilst walking down the street when he was around nine years old;

> *The police pulled up in a car, called me a coon and told me if I ever ran away from them they'd run over my legs. I was a little kid and I was pretty sort of like wow*!
> (Levi, 50, Black, British, male)

The use of racist language coupled with the threat of physical violence conveys white power through identifying the target as the policed Other. This experience made the child feel 'afraid'; however, given his young age he was not able to attribute meaning to the encounter until his adult years.

> *Its only as time passed on you would realise what it was about. They was actually planting the seed of fear in the children while they're young. You know it's only as time pass on and you look back and you say wow…It's a deep thing this power thing.* (Levi, 50, Black, British, male)

Levi described his experience as confusing and running counter to the way he had been brought up to 'respect them' [police]. This confusion that he describes is also reflected in several of the interview participants' accounts who explain how the behaviour of the police was inconsistent with their expectations. These expectations

were developed through being taught about the role of the police at school or being brought up by parents to believe that the police were people to be respected;

> *'Don't forget we were taught at school I gotta trust Mr Bobby. By the age of fourteen/ sixteen you did not trust Mr Bobby [laughs]. ...What you read about, what your friends told you about, you hear it every day on the news something untoward because of Mr Policeman' .*
>
> (Thomas, 55, Black British male)

For participants, the teenage years were the point of exposure to this incongruence, as illuminated in Thomas's account, through a 'social disciplinary' model of policing (Choongh, 1998) which serves to remind those who are considered 'police property' that they are under constant surveillance.

This 'strategy of control' (Holdaway, 1983) is effected even before the age of criminal responsibility and continues through stop and search, and police responses which are perceived to be overly punitive, including unjustified arrest and use of force which is not proportionate. Twelve out of twenty research participants spoke about their experiences of arrest. For the majority of these participants their first experience of arrest occurred in the early teenage years. This is a significant number given that most of the research participants were 'law abiding citizens' and did not engage in what the police might identify as a criminal lifestyle. Phillip, a 45-year-old African man who came to the UK as a young child, recalled his first arrest at the age of '*about thirteen or fourteen*'. Phillip recalled that he was '*shoulder barged'* by another '*white'* teenager resulting in a fight. A passing policeman grabbed both parties by '*the scruff of their neck'* arrested them and took them to the police station in a police car. No charges were brought and Phillip was returned home to his parents later that day. Phillip was a recent migrant and was one of the only Black children in the town where he lived. The police failed to take into account that Phillip had been the victim of an unprovoked attack to which he had reacted. As the perpetrator was white, the threat that is fixed in the Black body rendered him suspect (Yancy, 2012:ch.2). Following the incident the police frequently parked in the street where Phillip lived, he recalled '*when I walked past they'd say to me 'are you keeping out of trouble?' which was clearly an indication that they were keeping an eye on me you know'* (Phillip, Black, African, male 45). Yancy, analyses the Black body as the site of an 'imagined Africanist persona' through which the white police officer nominates 'a priori suspicion of the Black body' (Ibid:48-9). Despite being released without charge the police made Phillip

aware that they knew who he was and that they would be watching him. His Blackness made him a conspicuous presence in a white space.

This research suggests that it is not only Black boys whose childhood is denied through racialized police contact. Bianca, a mixed-'race' female, described the shock she felt at being arrested at the age of thirteen. She attended the police station with her mother to report being assaulted by an adult on her way home from school;

> *I'd been attacked by this woman… and I'm sat in a cell. Whoa, what? She attacked me, I'm like thirteen and I'm sat in the cell. And she was sat in the cell as well but she's an adult. I just felt that they made that assumption that what she [a white, woman] was saying was how it happened; therefore this thirteen year old child is a criminal.*

(Bianca, 25, mixed-'race' British, female)

Bianca highlights the assumption that the police made about her propensity to criminality. This reflects the findings in the subsequent chapter, which illuminates how the racialized victim of crime is often blamed for their victimisation and they are denied victim status. This is particularly pertinent when the offender is white, as in Bianca's case. Bianca was later released and the charges that had initially been made against her were dropped. However, the experience had a significant impact on her perception of the police. There is a dearth of research into the experiences of racialized women and girls; Bianca's experience suggests that the privilege of innocence was denied to her in the same way as the Black boys in Goff's research (Goff et al., 2014). These racialized and sometimes criminalising experiences in youth set the foundations of the relationship with the police.

4.2 Racialized policing: 'It's them against us'

Disproportionality in stop and search is the focus of research which seeks to explain the problematic relationship between the police and Black and mixed-'race' people (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2010, Bowling and Phillips, 2007, Delsol and Shiner, 2006, Lustgarten, 2002, Parmar, 2011, Russel et al., 2013, Scarman, 1981, Macpherson, 1999). In the West Yorkshire police force area the disproportionality ratio when PACE powers (requiring 'reasonable suspicion') are invoked is 1:1.4 and 1:1.3 for Black and mixed 'race' people (Stop-Watch, 2014b). Being stopped by the police is a common experience in the research participant's accounts. When the police stop an individual and they have a legitimate reason for

doing so, this is accepted; participants expressed that 'they deserved it' if they had been speeding or completing an illegal manoeuvre. Although participants regarded these stops as legitimate they are still symptomatic of institutional racism. An analysis of BCS data by research action group *Stop-watch* in 2014 found that Black people reported higher levels of car stops, this disproportionality could not be explained with reference to other demographic factors (Townsend, 2014). Stops are problematic when the person being stopped does not believe that the police have a legitimate reason for doing so, unfortunately for police and community relations this is the most frequent perception.

There is an evident normalisation in the lives of heavily policed populations. The extent of contact was expressed in Earl's recollection of his teenage years;

> *If we go into the city centre we are being stopped, if we're walking from school we are being stopped, if we are out after a certain time we are being stopped, wherever we go we seem to be being stopped so it got to a stage where I no longer saw police because I see them so regular.*

(Earl, 54, Black, British, male)

Whilst frequency of contact through stop and search reduces with age being stopped by the police was still experienced by older participants, albeit occasionally and whilst driving rather than on foot. The changing frequency is attributed to lifestyle changes such as no longer driving at night or having children in the car. Andrew explained;

> *Once I hit my 30s going forward, there wasn't that when you are out and about driving your car. Some of those social activities as well I'm not out and about late at night... that frequency is just not there now because I'm busy ferrying my kids around to their sports activities* [laughs]. Dads taxis.
> (Andrew, 41, mixed-'race', male)

A decline in night time social activity or nightshift work, which creates availability to be stopped, is used by Andrew to explain this decline. However, Bowling and Phillips (2007), argue that availability is not a neutral criterion through which disproportionality in stop and search can be solely understood. Structural inequalities to an extent determine availability for stop and search through area, unemployment or employment in night time work and school exclusion (Bowling and Phillips, 2007:946-948). Andrew, is a professional male who, through upward mobility, has moved from the racially othered area he grew up in to an area he described as white'. Further, his work is now during the day time. For both of these reasons he is less likely to be available to be stopped by the police in places where

the population are considered 'police property' (Lee, 1981). Structural position and its intersection with 'race' will be considered further in chapter seven; however, this may go some way to understanding why Andrew had not experienced a car stop for a number of years, whilst for some other participants car stops still happened albeit less frequently with increasing age.

To carry out a lawful stop and search under PACE officers are required to have reasonable grounds for suspicion based on objective factors e.g. intelligence or a description of the person carrying the object of the search (HMSO, 1984). It is perceived that the police use '*excuses*' to constitute grounds for a stop. Lee recalled an occasion when he was walking with a Black friend [this instance was outside of the WY police force area].

> *They said that they were looking for two lads who'd done a burglary. Not sure I believed it…It was my area. I think if there was a burglary I would have heard about it … and they would have had to have had a description of two guys, 6ft 4, one Black, one mixed 'race', I don't think there's that many pairs going round like that in the area.*
>
> (Lee, 23, mixed 'race'. British, male)

The perception that the police use excuses justifying stop and search echoes findings of (Sharp and Atherton, 2007:754). Further, Lee and his friend stood out as 'bodies out of place' in an area that he described as having a few Black families but not a '*massive community*'; in spaces which are racialized as white the Black body can only be read as a 'site of danger'.

Police powers to stop a car are subject to less guidance than stop and search powers and therefore less scrutiny. The Road Traffic Act simply states 'A person driving a motor vehicle on a road must stop the vehicle on being required to do so by a constable in uniform' (Road Traffic Act 1988; sec 163.1). Jean reflected on the times he has been stopped whilst driving and could not recall an occasion when he could understand why he had been stopped. Further, on one occasion the officer in question gave a fault with the car as a reason for the stop;

> *Every time I have been stopped in my car I don't see why they have stopped me. This guy [police officer] who told me that my exhaust was hanging down… I just agreed with him but there was nothing wrong with my car".*
> (Jean, 40, Black African Male)

The views expressed by research participants illustrate how their experience of being stopped by the police, whether as a pedestrian or whilst driving, is felt as racism. This is compounded when the individual identifies themselves as being a

'law abiding citizen' or 'not doing anything' and when the police explanation simply does not make sense. In these circumstances the individual is forced to consider how their 'race' is seen by others, in particular the police. Lee shared how stop and search encounter had an effect on his awareness of 'race';

> *At the time I was a bit shook up and I was really confused because I really wasn't causing trouble at that time and I can remember that probably changed my perception …. it gave me an awareness of how I thought other people might see me.* (Lee, 23, mixed-'race 'male)

As argued by Fanon, when seemingly rational explanations cease to make sense the individual is forced to encounter themselves through the eyes of another (Fanon, 1986).This finding is contrary to the police view that Black people play the 'race'-card to their advantage in their dealings with the police (Loftus, 2009a:47-8).

Despite its eminence in the political and academic debates surrounding police and community relations, the issue of stop and search was unremarkable in most of the interview participants' accounts. In several of the interviews it was expressed as an afterthought or following researcher prompting. One explanation for this is the normalisation of police presence and contact within heavily policed populations. There were other experiences that were central to participants desire to take part in the research; notably, as discussed in the following chapter, unfair and unjust experiences with the police as the victim of crime or when abusive or police misconduct was evident in police contact through unwarranted arrest or use of force.

The use of reasonable force is permissible by the police (or any citizen) in the prevention of crime or to carry out a lawful arrest (Criminal Law Act 1967, sec 3). Further the police are empowered under PACE Section 117 to use 'reasonable force' in exercising PACE powers. However, reasonable is not defined in any meaningful way and is subject to the police officers assessment of the risks inherent in the situation they encounter. It is this assessment that is crucial to understanding disproportionate use of force in respect of those racialized as Black. Dominant stereotypes of Black people which link them with crime, violence, mental illness, lower class background and hyper-masculinities, discussed in chapters six and seven, justify the police perception of an elevated risk of harm and subsequent interpretation the necessity of force (Gilroy, 1987, Gilroy, 1982, Pemberton, 2008, Institute of Race Relations, 1991, Ward and Coles, 1998, Walley-Jean, 2009, Russell-Brown, 1998, Collins, 2004). Participants frequently recalled experiencing

excessive use of force and in some cases brutality in their dealings with the police. Marcus recalls being arrested at the age of fourteen;

> *I got stopped by the police and the policeman says 'well where are you going?' and I said 'I'm just going home, I live on [name] road just up there' and he punched me … and he threw me in the back of the van and I got taken to the police station.* (Marcus, 44, Black, British, male)

At the time of his arrest Marcus did not know why he was being so violently arrested when he was simply walking home. When his parents complained Marcus was interviewed at home along with his whole family '*as though we'd done something wrong'*. The police also claimed they did not know of his arrest and he was accused of gaining access to and locking himself inside of a police cell. As is evident in several cases of police brutality, the police close ranks and justify their own behaviour through blaming the victim.

Another example of harsh treatment was offered in Earls reflections on growing up in a racially othered area of West Yorkshire. Earl recalled that he and his friends had been throwing snowballs at a bus when the police pinned him up against a wall;

> *I think the way the police dealt it was well over aggressive and the fact that I was twelve… And the way they pinned us to the wall and spoke to us and dealt with us was just atrocious.* (Earl, 54, Black, British, male)

Both of these experiences occurred in a time when police brutality as a means of 'justice on the streets' (Weinberger, 1995), was largely accepted. There is evidence of a shift in the way that the police use force in contemporary Britain; older research participants acknowledged that there has been a shift in the way that the police are 'allowed' to treat young people;

> It *probably wouldn't be allowed today, but back in them days it was a lot harsher, you know. The police did give you a kick up your arse and the police did grab you roughly and throw you about a little bit'.*
>
> (Thomas, 55, Black, British, male)

> *I think in 2014, if a young person was dealt with a police officer like that he would be reprimanded.* (Earl 54. Black, British, male)

Police brutality is no longer an accepted norm as the evidence suggests that it was in earlier periods (Institute of Race Relations, 1979, Hunte, 1966) However, the disproportionate use of force in the arrest of Black people is still evident. It could be suggested that the introduction of PACE provided a justification for the use of force

without any clear legal principles which define either the concept of 'necessary' or 'reasonable'. The evidence suggests that the police explanations for their interpretations of necessary and reasonable, even when death occurs as a result, are generally accepted by the investigating body (currently the IPCC), the Crown Prosecution Service and if a case reaches a court of law accepted by the judge. This is evident in the absence of prosecutions against police officers following a death, despite a number of unlawful killing verdicts, for example in the case of Christopher Alder. As highlighted by Athwal and Bourne, there has been no convictions of police officers following a Black death in custody (Athwal and Bourne, 2015:45).

As argued by Yancy (2008) in the opening quote, the Black body is fixed as a site of danger. It is this danger which is manifest in phenotypical signs of Blackness that legitimates excessive use of police force to control and punish the dangerous body. Andrew recalled a particularly memorable car stop which he described as '*harrowing*';

> *My Mrs was in the car to the side of me and then me little one, my daughter was in the back... next thing you know a car sped around... it sped around the cul-de-sac, and it drove right up to the front of me and four, what can be described as burly white men jumped out and grabbed me and dragged me out of the car and told me to get over the car and put my hands over the car, padded me down, checked all under my car, tyres, checked in my car, checked in the back, asked me who was in the car with me.... it was an unmarked car that kind of came so I didn't know what were going on. ...*

(Andrew, 41, mixed-'Race', British, Male)

After subjecting Andrew and his family to this unnecessary ordeal the officers in question further inconvenienced him by imposing a requirement for him to produce his car documents at a police station. Andrew said, '*They made a point of giving me a producer as well*'. As expressed in this extract, this measure which inconveniences the subject of police attention, is retributive, communicating that the lack of evidence does not prove an absence of criminality. Retributive measures, outside of crime control and due process, serve as a reminder that those considered 'police property' are under surveillance (Choongh 1998).

The British police pride themselves on the fact that they are not routinely armed unlike their American counterparts. However, there has been an increasingly militarised approach to policing developed around the control of the Other (Fekete, 2013). One of the measures in this increasing militarization is the police use of Taser. As with other measures of control, Black people are more likely to be

subjected to the use of Taser. Black people are three times more likely to be the subject of Taser use; between 2010 and 2015 12% of all discharge of Taser were towards Black people. The statistics also raise concerns about the increasing use of Taser against children (Gayle, 2015). Described as 'less-lethal' force its increasing availability and consequently use has resulted in the Taser being attributed as a factor in restraint related death (Bunyan, 2015).

One research participant described his experience of being incapacitated by a police officer using this method. Derek had attended his former partner's home, the home of his children, after she had called him to express concern that armed police were at her house looking for a suspect. The address was a linked address for the police because of Derek's son's previous involvement with the police. Derek felt that the visit was unwarranted as his son was serving a prison sentence at the time, he described what happened when he challenged the police about their attendance at the property;

> *All of a sudden I get jumped by all five officers, so they've jumped me and I'm going like this 'what do you think you are doing?', 'what do you think you are doing?', 'what you doing'? All of a sudden one of them says 'let him go' and they've all backed off yea, and the man stood there and shot me in the chest with the Taser gun and dropped me to the floor…*

The deployment of a Taser is legally justifiable by trained officers when there is an assessed threat of serious violence. Derek's account, that he was outnumbered five officers to one, suggests that the use of Taser in this situation was not in response to the threat of serious violence. Derek continued;

> …one of *them there he's going put your fucking arms out, put your fucking arms out. And in my head I'm saying how the fuck do you expect me to do that when he's still got his finger on the trigger yea, I can't fucking move what the fuck do you expect and I'm saying all of this in my head, I said it three times, that's how long this man had his finger on the trigger.*
>
> (Derek, 46, Black, British, male)

Here Derek reflects that the police officer kept his finger on the trigger for much longer than was necessary in order to incapacitate him. Smith, argues that the use of a Taser in a coercive or punitive manner amounts to torture which constitutes a breach of fundamental human rights (Smith, 2009).

Derek recalled that it was a wet day and after being incapacitated he was on the floor in handcuffs, he asked to be stood up. This request led to verbal abuse from one of the police officers as recalled below;

> *look at you, the fucking big man sat on the floor begging to be picked up*
> *right, I tell you what if you were my dad I'd be fucking ashamed of you, you*
> *are a fucking disgrace to this world, you're horrible, you're an awful person.*

This exchange which draws upon stereotypes of Black masculinity (chapter six), shows a police officer degrading the 'suspect' and in doing so asserting the white power of the state embodied in the symbols of authority; the uniform and tools of restraint. This empowers the individual police officer to use force against those considered a threat. These examples further illuminate the affects of 'racisms invisible touch' (Tate, 2016). Whilst the majority of participants did not recollect experiencing overt and visibly manifest racism in the behaviour of police officers, for example in the use of racist language, they were able to identify the 'everyday racism' (Essed, 1990) inherent in their experience through comparison with the experiences of their peers and friends.

Shared understandings within communities are based on common experiences. This is reflected within the research findings, several participants shared stories of others e.g. friends and family to demonstrate the common experience. It is this shared experience that converges with personal experience to both validate and reinforce the perception that Black and mixed-'race' people cannot trust the police. One respondent expresses the significance of shared experiences;

> *my own combined experiences but also the experiences that friends have*
> *also told me… they've all kind of added up together to make me think*
> *actually, you know, I don't know if I trust you.*
> *(Robert, 27, mixed-'race', British male)*

In addition to recalling the shared experience of friends and acquaintances, some drew upon the experiences of people who they did not know but had been made aware of through news and media reporting of high profile policing incidents. This finding is consistent with the findings of *Reading the Riots* (Lewis et al., 2011), in which participants drew upon their knowledge of and empathy with high profile cases to express their anger at police. Participants in this research made reference to high profile cases including Mark Duggan, Christopher Alder, and the murder of Black teenager Stephen Lawrence. Alice spoke about feeling happy when high profile cases were in the media because it made her experiences appear more believable to those who had not experienced them;

> *my white friends don't understand how I feel but when they highlight it on*
> *the news you sort of feel happy that is out there so people do know that it*
> *[racism] does exist. (Alice, 38, mixed-'race', female)*

It is also evident that these shared experiences reveal to the policed that their experiences are different to comparative groups, in particular white friends and acquaintances. One respondent, a Black male, said;

> *Listening to a lot of other people's stories you realise, especially when you've got a lot of Black friends and you've got a lot of white friends, you start to think well why are all the Black friends having all the problems whereas the white friends don't? (Marcus, 44, Black, British, male)*

The view that white friends have different experiences to the Black participants was articulated in several of the interview responses. Several participants referred to comparisons between their own experiences and the experiences of their white friends as reflected by Robert and Lee;

> *I've got white friends who've never ever been stopped and questioned by the police that look a lot more dodgy than I do. (Robert 27, mixed-'race' male)*

> *It was as profound speaking to white people who hadn't been stopped and searched. I think that was as enlightening for me as speaking to Black people. (Lee, 23, mixed-'race', male)*

These shared experiences and the comparison in and between peer groups serves to not only reinforce a 'communal narrative' but crucially to unmask the everyday racisms that are felt but not seen.

4.3 Expectations and Perceptions

A clear theme within all participants' accounts, without exception, was the perceived existence of police racism. The extent to which they understood it to be a problem for them as individuals varied based on personal experience and level of exposure to routine over-policing. This perception was particularly pertinent for those who were residents of, or had grown up in, racially othered spaces. However, even for those with minimal police exposure, their understanding of the common experiences of Black men was acknowledged with reference to high profile media cases. For example, some participants drew upon the experiences of others to express their understanding of police racism. This is evident in Cynthia's reflections below;

> *I think being involved with [support organisation] has helped me [to understand] as well because I become aware of police complaints from different service users. Not necessarily of individual police or west Yorkshire police…but like physical happenings in the station where I've gone to the*

> *playhouse and I've watched plays about Black men or young Black men in prison, how they've been treated, how they've been isolated, how they've been cruelly treated, how they've been neglected.*

(Cynthia, 42, Black, British, female)

Cynthia is disabled and spends long periods of time at home. She accesses support services targeted at 'BME' communities and as a result has developed her understanding of how police racism impacts on the lives of people racialized as Black, although she did not recall any personal experiences which had impacted on her as an individual. This understanding, developed through contacts, high profile cases and the media, has the potential to make people question how the police might treat them in the future (Britton, 2000a).

The influence of high profile cases is evident in Kenneth's account. Kenneth had experience of stop and search after his arrival in the UK in his mid-twenties and also described unsatisfactory police response to his experience of victimisation. Nevertheless he described police and policing in the UK as 'heaven', this is discussed further in chapter seven. He reflected on the high profile case of the police shooting of Mark Duggan;

> *The only thing that has affected me is the Mark Duggan case in London ... Until now nobody is brought to justice...If they have seen him doing something bad they should have arrested him, not shoot him to death... So why they could have done it is something I don't understand. So it makes you begin to wonder are these people just out to kill who they don't like sometimes. (Kenneth, 38, Black, African, male)*

It is not only personal experiences which have an impact upon perception and trust in the police but the awareness of unfairness in policing. However, experience was the most significant factor in determining individual perceptions of the police.

For the majority of participants their experiences of the police, both in the context of seeking assistance and as a suspect, were overwhelmingly negative. This had a damaging effect on their willingness to approach the police service and their expectations when they did. Returning to Bianca's arrest when she reported an assault, discussed earlier in the chapter, here she reflects upon how her expectations of the police changed following her treatment. This extract further evidences the potential of positive 'community narratives' to improve perceptions of the police;

> *[I] didn't expect that to happen to me, didn't expect that of the police... we'd grown up from primary school, told that they're here to look after you and serve and protect you and my first experience, I was taken in. And before that I'd never really seen them do any good for me... To sit in the cell and*

think okay well you know maybe I'm in here because I've had this fight but remember that time when they helped...I've never had that comparison to sort of weigh it up so I feel a bit abandoned by the police.

(Bianca, 25, mixed-'race', female)

These early dissonances between the expectations that police officers are trustworthy as advocated through the education system and the subsequent negative experiences irreparably damage perceptions of the police. Further when there is no evidence of positive policing through the experiences of family and community networks to redress the balance, this confirms the personal negative experience as being reflective of their treatment of those racialized as Black.

Racism was generally perceived by participants to be a problem of individual racist police officers as reflected in the oft made comment 'but *they're not all like that*'[racist]'.Several participants made reference to one police officer that they could remember because they were good and therefore the exception to the rule. Bianca recalled one police officer who worked in her community when she was a child who engendered the trust and respect of the community;

He was the police officer who would sit down with you and say...you tell me your version of events ...which is so rare. He used to come into our school, show his face, we all knew him, we all called him [nickname]. That's obviously not his real name but he let us have that relationship with him. I think he retired and that was the only decent police officer that I've ever known. (Bianca, 25, mixed-'race', female)

'Community policing stresses policing with and for the community rather than policing of the community' (Tilley, 2008:376). Although 'community policing' is criticised for being ill defined (Punch 2000:61) and unamenable to forms of policing 'organised around a central paradigm of organisation and control (Bennett, 1994:108), Bianca's reflection highlights the importance of the police communicating with communities in developing trust and confidence in the police service. It was the police officers willingness to be part of the community that shaped Bianca's view of him as a '*good*' police officer. Bianca continued;

I've never reported a crime to him or been arrested by him or anything like that he was just very present. Always at carnival and he did the full shebang at carnival. He did J'ouvert morning where you come out in your pyjamas so he'd let the whole community see him in his pyjamas. He was with us. (Bianca, 25, mixed-'race', female)

Conversely for Samuel, the majority of police officers were good with a few bad ones who would not treat citizens fairly; '...*they still have bad tomatoes in there.*

Maybe the bad tomatoes are fewer than the good tomatoes' (Samuel, 45, Black, African, male). Samuel had been in the UK for around eleven years, since his mid-thirties. This may explain his willingness to believe that there are more good police officers than bad ones. Immigrants report more positive perceptions of the police more generally (Bradford et al., 2016) as will discussed in chapter seven.

Those participants who had a generally more positive perception of the police had had experiences of police contact outside of the 'suspect' context, including direct and regular contact with the police through work or acquaintances and friends. This aspect of familiarity led to more favourable perceptions for Janice who described a relationship of mutual trust and respect which allowed her to negotiate with police officers to the benefit of her service users. Similarly for Carol having an acquaintance who was a police officer increased her trust in the police more broadly. Carol described the officer as a 'role model', she was able to draw upon her personal contact as an example of a good police officer, *'he's really fair, he's open, he's lovely, he's gentle*, to confirm her perception that not all police officers were the same. It may be significant that these two participants were female professionals without an offending history. Their experiences of being suspect, though present through respectively a mistaken arrest and a car stop that was perceived to be unwarranted, were not as significant as some of the other participants. The intersectionality of 'race' with gender will be explored further in chapter six.

Despite the 'policing diversity' agenda post-Macpherson, changes in policing are not evident to communities being policed. Participants overwhelmingly expressed that the outward manifestation of policing such as violence and racist language are less frequent; however, *'It hasn't changed for the better, it's just different'* (Marcus). This difference is expressed in the accounts of Thomas and Levi, both were over the age of fifty and reflected upon the changes in policing over their lifetime. Their accounts expressed a perception that the police would use their power through the criminal justice process to hinder life chances. This constitutes a psychological beating if not a physical one;

> *No they don't beat you like they used to do but they do other things that you may as well, you feel like you may as well have been beaten.*
>
> *(Thomas, 55, Black, British, male)*

The police literally couldn't wait to get you. I can name some...actually a few other experiences are coming to mind where police had me up in cells and beat me right. Nowadays they won't do that they would more use the system, lies deception and get you convicted. So they've literally replaced the cosh with some cunning words and a conviction.

(Levi, 50, Black, British, male)

The perception that the police are corrupt erodes public confidence and trust. The belief that police corruption is widespread or endemic is found to be more prevalent amongst those for whom personal police contact has been negative and frequent, as opposed to people whose experiences are positive and infrequent (IPCC, 2012a). It is therefore unsurprising that a number of research participants expressed the view that the police are corrupt. This was not just a perception based on high profile media cases of recent years, such as the Hillsborough inquiry, or rumour and conjecture. There were examples in participants accounts which suggest that the police officer/s involved in their case did behave inappropriately and in some cases attempted to subvert due process in criminal justice system.

There is not one straight forward definition of police corruption however the IPCC define police corruption as ' the abuse of a role or position held, for personal gain or gain for others' (IPCC, 2010:168). Charles raised serious concerns about a police force outside of the West Yorkshire area where he had been for a night out, which would appear to fit with the IPCC's description of serious corruption through 'attempting to pervert the course of justice' and 'provision of confidential information…' (Ibid). Charles witnessed a fight in which some of his friends were attacked by what he described as a 'gang'. A number of serious assaults occurred including some injuries inflicted by weapons. Charles gave a statement to the police the same night and upon his return to West Yorkshire he had a visit at his home, as did his friends who were also witnesses, from the perpetrators of the assaults. They threatened Charles with his life if he said anything else to the police about the incident. Upon reflection Charles concluded that they must have got his address from the police;

The police is not an organisation you can trust with your life. No way [emphasised] because they are human being like you. How do you expect those guys to get the information where we live...? The information came out of the police station. (Charles, 40, Black, African, male)

There were other examples of perceived police corruption evident in participants' accounts. Levi recalled being unfairly charged with assaulting three police officers. Through what Levi referred to as a '*culture of corruption*' in which those outside of the system are seen as '*game just for their police records*'. The police were perceived to, regardless of whether the charges are right or wrong, '*just fit it up and pass it through*'. He recalls that the statement he gave to the police was not reflected in the statement that was to be presented to the courts;

> *Lisa: Okay, so there was something different in...*
>
> *Levi: Something ... [laughter] it was hard to find the bits... I was saying "Where's the bits I put in? Where's my contribution to this statement?".*
>
> (Levi, 50, Black, British, male)

The police case against Levi was unsuccessful; however, police officer solidarity which remains a core element of cop culture (Loftus, 2009a) is a barrier to accountability. In Levi's case he took a complaint to the then relatively newly established IPCC. He recalls that the police were not cooperative with the IPCC investigation and lost evidence tapes from the police van. His experience of the IPCC was a positive one, he was kept up to date and his complaint was investigated and dealt with to his satisfaction, resulting in some disciplinary action against the police. Levi was unable to recall what action was taken however he reflected '*I dare say the Independent Complaints Commission has got their own problems but the job that they do when they do it right is an important one*'. Establishing accountability for police conduct is indeed an important role. Levi's experience does not reflect the expectation that other research participants had of the police complaints process. Several participants expressed that they would not pursue a complaint, it was understood that the police would lie, close ranks to cover for each other or that a complaint would result in retribution against the complainant. This view is supported by research carried out by the IPCC (2012) into confidence in the complaints process, 40% of respondents from 'ethnic minorities' feared police harassment if they made a complaint, compared to 17% of white participants (IPCC, 2012b). This lack of accountability leads Black and mixed-'race' people to live 'altered lives' in response to systems of institutionalised white supremacy evident in unaccountable racialized and racist policing.

4.4 Altered Lives: Living with police presence

For Black and mixed-'race' people, most significantly but not exclusively for those who live in racially othered spaces, the extent and nature of police presence in their lives necessitates conscious strategies which manage both their over-policing and under-protection. Participants spoke about three ways in which they managed their contact with the police; compliance, resistance and avoidance. Further the unburdening of shared experiences form communal narratives which offer some protection through informing the strategy of avoidance.

Compliance with the police is a common strategy in managing police initiated encounters. One of the reasons participants gave for this compliance was when it was in instances that they viewed the police initiated encounters as legitimate and a consequence of their own actions. When a car stop was initiated for motoring offences such as speeding or performing a manoeuvre that was not permitted, participants did not express perceptions of unfairness on the part of the police. Here Carol compares the way in which she felt differently about being stopped for a clear and valid reason and another occasion when she was stopped and asked whether she owned her car;

> *There was once I was stopped before but I did see a reason for that, because I did do a turn that I really shouldn't have been doing. I was a little bit lost and I was looking for somewhere at this turn and I thought oh I wonder, where am I, and they stopped me. But I thought that was valid so that wasn't a problem. But it was just about the car [stop], that was the one that I thought, and the way he said it, it does make you wonder doesn't it. Is it racism, because of race or…you do wonder that.*
> *(Carol, 49, Black British female)*

On both occasions Carol complied with the police; however, the perceived validity of the police encounter is significant in understanding trust and confidence in police.

Participants expressed that they would comply or had previously complied with the police, even when the contact was deemed to be unfair or illegitimate. The power that the police have is threatening and it is perceived that they are not accountable for its use;

> *When you are stopped by the police, there is first of all fear that comes in to you. You feel that you are under threat even though you know you haven't done anything. So at that time it is not easy to remember that you can challenge that person who is stopping you cause they are powerful and, you know, you don't want to cause any trouble. You don't want to irritate them,*

> *you don't want too upset them, to cause any trouble because you know*
> *they've got the powers to do whatever they want.*
>
> *(Jean, 40, Black, African, Male)*

This extract captures the experience and reflections of several of the research participants. Compliance was the most frequent response to police initiated contact. The fear that the police inspire enhances their power; it enables them to behave with impunity as they '*don't have anybody to answer to'* and 'it is very rare that they are challenged' (ibid).

 Jean's perspective of police initiated contact here is different to the experience that he had as a member of a police scrutiny panel. Scrutiny panels engage a panel of community representatives with the aim of providing transparency around policing. They review, in particular, issues which impact on marginalised communities such as investigation of hate crime and stop and search guidance. Jean had found the police officers he encountered in this volunteer capacity to be friendly and cooperative with the volunteer panel, a perception that was not reflected in his experiences with the police in traffic stop encounters. There are differences in police culture between those in managerial roles and those who occupy the lower status roles, such as police constables, who also do most of the 'dirty work' (Reiner, 2010). When police officers are promoted to the senior ranks they adopt a more 'formal ideology of policing', that is more aligned with the values of society (Cockcroft, 2013:80), rather than the rank and file cop culture premised on isolation , solidarity and suspicion (Reiner, 2010:122), facets which may be challenged by community consultation and scrutiny panels.

 Taking part in police and community consultation was one way in which both Jean and Earl were able to challenge racism. Earl had been involved in 'riots' which occurred in response to over-policing in his community in the 1970's, he reflected upon how this had changed his approach to tackling unfair policing;

> One *thing you have to accept, police are a necessary entity within society.*
> *You need to have them, so rather than fighting them trying to get fair*
> *policing and correct policing I figured that being around the table was a*
> *better way of dealing with them than fighting with them cause you end up*
> *getting locked up. (Earl, 54, Black, British, male)*

Similarly to Jean's account above, Earl's experience of rank and file officers was different to his experiences with more senior ranking officers involved in the community consultation work that Earl does. Whilst he has managed to form some good working relationships (though he stressed that this was not friendship) with

more senior police officers, the respect he has gained from higher ranking police officers is seen as a threat to the rank and file;

> *I've had to take out grievances against police officers. Because I'm speaking to their boss the rank and file officers think that I think I'm great…We had one a couple of years ago shouting me down in the street saying 'you think you're smart, you think that because you speak to my boss that I can't do this and that'… I'm like wow, at the end of the day you are damned if you do and you are damned if you don't.*
>
> *(Earl, 54, Black, British, male)*

This extract illustrates the ways in which the rank and file police officers, within traditional conceptions of 'cop culture', distinguish categories of people who have the potential to either support and align with police values or to challenge them. Both Earl and Jean might be considered 'disarmers' with the capacity to 'neutralise' police work (Reiner, 2010:124-5) or 'challengers' through their roles which allow them access to information about the police (Ibid; Also, see Holdaway 1983).

Less frequently participants recalled challenging the police officer in an individual capacity; however, the view that this is a risky strategy for those considered 'police property' was acknowledged. Marcus recalled an occasion when he challenged a police officer who had pulled him over in his car for the second time. The police officer claimed that he had pulled him over for taking a junction in the wrong lane, Marcus knew the road well and reflected that it was the police officer who had been in the wrong position to turn;

> *I said to him 'if you want to do anything lets go to the police station. I've got time to go up there now. Let's explain to your sergeant what's actually happened here'…and he was the one that said after that 'oh well no it's alright we've got to go somewhere else' [laughs]. But at that point I was willing … if you can say that I've done something wrong lets go and sort it out.* (Marcus, 44, Black, British, male)

Despite Marcus's victory on this occasion the authoritarian approach of the police officer left Marcus feeling as though the officer had tried to bully him into agreeing that he had taken an illegal manoeuvre because *'I'm [police officer] right because I've got the badge'.*

Challenging an authoritarian police response often results in the police officer switching the blame on the challenger. Bianca recalled an occasion when she, along with a number of other people, challenged police officers who were assaulting a Black man on the floor outside of a pub. The situation escalated and resulted in the

police using crowd control measures and CS gas to deal with the crowd who had gathered and were objecting to the police treatment of the man. Bianca was finally arrested when she objected to being pushed. Bianca noted that another Black friend was arrested alongside her; her two white friends who were also engaged in the same behaviour were told to 'move on'. Further, charges of assaulting a police officer were brought against Bianca's friend, she expressed the view that these were fabricated charges brought in retaliation; similar concerns are reflected in earlier research (Agozino, 1997:79).The case went to court but was thrown out on basis of CCTV evidence which disproved the police officers version of events.

Challenging the racism inherent in the police and the criminal justice system through activism and legal redress is also considered a risky strategy. Thomas is involved in an ongoing challenge to the imprisonment of his son on charges which were brought under 'joint enterprise' legislation. This legislation allows more than one person to be charged with the main offence through association. Ironically this provision which enabled the killers of Stephen Lawrence to be prosecuted almost two decade after his death has been used increasingly to target racialized young men (Bridges, 2013, Williams and Clarke, 2016a). Crewe et al (2014) argue that over 11 times as many Black/Black British prisoners are serving a prison sentence under Joint Enterprise compared to the proportion of Black/Black British people in the general population (Crewe et al., 2014). The challenge that Thomas has brought has led him to move out of the area for fear of becoming a police target;

> *I am not in a hurry to go back to [town] to live, partially because I know I would just get grief from the police for standing up, speaking out, saying whatever we want to say. And that's sad that …*

(Thomas, 55, Black, British, male)

The campaign against Joint Enterprise has had recent success in the Supreme Court ruling, in *R v Jogee (appellant),* that Joint Enterprise principle has been applied incorrectly (Bowcott, 2016), this makes it possible for some of those convicted under Joint Enterprise to appeal. Such victories, in the face of racialized criminal justice processes, would not be possible without the activism of people like Thomas. However, challenging the system places those considered 'police property' in a risky position as Thomas illuminates.

The racial affects of persistent, negative police contact were further evident in the course of the interview with Thomas when two police officers on patrol

passed by the window. Thomas visibly froze and stopped speaking at this point. This prompted him to explain his visceral response to the visible presence of the police;

> *I'm always aware when the police pass me you know what I mean. And that comes from being a kid and growing up with that [police] attitude. Even though I've been out of being arrested and all of them sort of things probably for the last ten, eleven years, but yet I still have that conditioning within myself... so when does that leave ya?* (Thomas, 55, Black, British, male)

The long lasting effects of consistent, negative policing on the Black body and psyche is acutely evident here. Thomas's response to the visible presence of police officers, albeit on the other side of a window, is damning illustration of spirit murder (Williams, 1997) resulting from a lifetime of being imagined as the perpetual 'suspect.'

Avoiding the physical geographical space where the police had a persistent presence was a common strategy amongst participants. Andrew, who had grown up in a racially othered area, described moving away to avoid the routine nature of police presence and encounters that he had experienced through largely car stops in his earlier years;

> *I think you build up a level of resilience and just keep yourself out of the way. And that's probably one of the reasons I've kind of chosen the route that I've chosen and I don't live in the close Black community, I live in an affluent area, I stand out like a sore thumb on my street.*
> (Andrew, 41 Black, British, male)

Andrew would rather have the experience of being a body out of place, as acknowledged in his claim that he '*stands out*', than to experience the day to day presence of the police in a community that is considered 'police property'. Whilst both Thomas and Andrew took extreme measures to avoid persistent police presence there is evidence that people strategize to avoid the police in their more routine day to day activities by avoiding particular places or people (Brunson and Miller, 2006). This strategy was reflected upon in Roberts account;

> Y*ou see lots of police around the train station and things like that which sometimes makes me think I want to get the coach instead of the train* [laughs]. (Robert, 27 mixed-'race, male)

Whilst Roberts comment was a little tongue in cheek it illustrates the racist affect of being a 'suspect' body when occupying public spaces.

This research uses the term 'communal narratives' to describe the shared experiences of the police which are transmitted inter and cross generationally and

form collective understandings of how 'race' operates in the context of police contact, for both individuals and communities. Communal narratives of policing serve two functions, an individual unburdening in a safe space and protection. For the latter function it can be argued that communal narratives of policing therefore form part of the arsenal of strategies developed to live with the reality of living with racialized policing. The protective function of communal narratives is evident in parents and grandparent passing down their experiential knowledge from generation to generation;

> *I've drilled it into my kids you will be treat differently because you are Black and I've always told them that. My dad told me that and I didn't believe it, I thought no it can't be just because I'm Black, but having experienced it I do believe it and I've passed it on to my kids. I've taught them that you will be treated differently you will be arrested and you will be charged and it will affect you in later life.* (Alice, mixed 'race' female, 38)

> *I've got a lot of grandkids and you know other people's kids who's around us and I find myself in a situation sometimes telling kids not to trust Mr Bobby, not to believe what they say. And that is sad because I shouldn't have to say that..., I should be able to be normal and say you know what if you're stuck go and have a word with them, they'll put you in the right direction and I can't say that, I can't say that, I really can't say that [emphasis]. I don't want to say that. (Thomas, 55, Black, British, male)*

Here, Thomas laments not being able to pass on '*normal*' expectations of the police to subsequent generations. He recognised in his interview that this makes them more vulnerable to both encountering the police and not having experience of how to manage the encounter and not availing themselves to the protection of the police. This produces racist outcomes which prevents Black and mixed-'race' people from having recourse to equal protection. For the police these communal narratives are simply evidence of anti-authority pathology (Sanders, 2005:161); for those on the receiving end of racialized policing they inform and protect against the very real racial affect of over policing and under protection.

The psychic toll of encountering systemic racism through the experiences analysed in the previous sections, is expressed viscerally in participant's accounts. Both 'frustration' and 'anger' were frequently recalled responses to encounters with the police. This was compounded by unequal power relations and the perception that there was nothing that the subject could do. Robert described an '*antagonising*'

encounter with British Transport Police in which they confiscated a valid travel pass;

> *I felt that they were accusing me. It was like they had all the power and they were very happy that they had all the power and there was nothing I could do. And I think they quite enjoyed that to be honest.*
> *(Robert, 27, mixed-'race', British, male)*

This powerlessness is felt during the encounter when compliance is a necessary strategy, as discussed above, and in the aftermath of the encounter. The subject is denied their rights through the lack of police accountability and is forced to adapt their perception of the police and to see themselves through the eyes of the white state. The denial of equal protection and justice, that Cacho, terms 'racialized rightlessness' (Cacho, 2012), has a significant psychic toll and even in cases where the initial encounter could be considered minor, the experience of 'racialized rightlessness' compounds the racial affect. This is also evident in relation to victim's experiences of minor crime analysed in the following chapter.

Following Derek's restraint using the Taser and the way that the police officer abused him whilst on the floor he made a complaint to West Yorkshire Police. He met with a senior police officer and the investigating officer decided that his complaint did not have any basis. Derek referred his complaint to the IPCC and they failed to answer the questions he raised about his treatment. He had recently spoken with the elected Police and Crime Commissioner (PCC) and the issues he raised were ongoing. The physical and psychological affects of both the encounter with the police and lack of recourse to justice were evident in his recollection;

> *It's affected me. Firstly like I said the way that I feel about the police. And secondly it affected me in that particular way in terms of self-medicating [with alcohol]and dealing with it. And not being able to sleep and you know sitting up at night smoking sugar loads of cigarettes and all that kind of stuff. It had a proper effect on me. (Derek, 46, Black, British, male)*

This honest and emotive account excavates the trauma exacted upon the individual by these 'white racist communicative performances ' (Yancy, 2008) even as the colour blind 'policing diversity' agenda continues apace. Derek expressed that he would not be happy until he had exhausted all avenues of complaint;

> *Mentally I've dealt with it but now it's like, you know what, the fight continues. I may never get anywhere with it but until I feel satisfied in myself that Derek, you have done everything you can and there is nothing else you can do then I will leave it there.*

The importance of police accountability in healing the trauma of racist affects is evident here, though this extract reflects the lack of faith that Black and mixed-'people' have in official processes to get redress for police mis-behaviour. The justification for the exercise of police powers is necessity, in response to a threat to law and order. The police are not held accountable for their actions directed at those who embody this threat through 'race' (Yancy, 2008, Yancy, 2012).

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has drawn upon the experiences of interview participants to offer counter-stories to the dominant narratives. These counter-stories powerfully excavate the persistence of 'race' and racisms in the police institution through surveillance, stop and search and the threat of force and illuminate their persistence in the post-Macpherson policing context.

Racialized policing begins in childhood, and has the potential to interrupt childhood innocence through the criminalisation of young people and exposure to police questioning about their activities even before the age of criminal responsibility, 10 years old in the UK context. An analysis of the experiences of participants' across generations shows that this has not changed in response to the 'policing diversity' agenda. Surveillance and control was evident in foot stops, visible police presence and through arrest in early teenage years, an experience which was common in participant's accounts. As articulated by Levi, these experiences serve to '*plant the seed of fear*' at an early age.

This chapter analysed participants experiences of being 'suspect' through stop and search and car stops, arrest and police use of force. It has demonstrated the ways in which racialized stereotypes permeate the 'police imagination' and argued that this is significant in understanding the over-policing of Black and mixed 'race' people. Police use of stop and search, directed at Black and mixed-'race' people, shapes the individual and community perception of the police negatively. Disproportionality normalises stop and search, as illuminated through participants' accounts, so that it becomes a routine and expected part of life and therefore unremarkable. Further, negative experiences of arrest and the perceived disproportionate use of force are common in participants' accounts. This alters the way in which people live their lives, through strategizing to avoid police contact and complying with the police, even when their attention appears unjustified or unfair.

This shapes Black and mixed-'race' peoples' use of public space and for some their choice of area of residency as well as their willingness to avail themselves to the police for protection, as will be analysed in more depth in the subsequent two chapters. Further, it has traumatic, psychic affects on Black and mixed-'race' people both as individuals and communities.

Community narratives are important in understanding how Black and mixed-'race' people manage these experiences. Sharing their experiences with white peers, who have less and different experiences of policing, illuminates racialized policing. Further, shared and common experiences with other Black and mixed-'race' people both confirm perceptions of racism and serve a protective function through warning others of the risks of contact with the police. This finding is useful in challenging the police perception that anybody who claims that their treatment is racist is using the 'race' card (Loftus, 2009a).

The importance of space is evident throughout the chapter, it was central to understanding police practices of surveillance and control of othered populations in spaces which had acquired the shape of the bodies that inhabited them (Ahmed, 2007b:156). Presence in both white spaces and racially othered spaces had different consequences for Black and mixed-'race' people in terms of extent and frequency of police contact. Whether they are present in white spaces or racially othered spaces Black and mixed-'race' people are 'suspect'.

Levi's words, used in the title of this chapter encapsulate the findings of this research in answer to the question 'Has policing changed in post-Macpherson policing context?' Reflecting on the way in which he had experienced police contact over the course of his lifetime he stated; '*Babylon remove the chain, now they're using the brain'*. For those racialized as Black, their experiences of policing may have changed but different does not mean better. Racism in the police service has largely been made invisible, through the proliferation of a 'policing diversity' agenda which does not do what it says it will. The diversity agenda is 'symbolic', its commitments not experienced by those who embody diversity (Ahmed, 2012), as shown in counter stories presented in this chapter. It serves to obscure 'race' and 'racism' through the erasure of the language of 'race' and in relation to police service presumes to have dealt with the institutional racism revealed through the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report*. It is no longer common for police officers to single out those racialized as Black for a beating or overt racist language, not in

plain sight at least.   However, this does not reassure individuals or communities or increase their trust in the police. Racial affects are felt in the fixing of the Black body in the police imagination as 'suspect' which results in their over-policing.

The next chapter will turn its attention to the under-protection of victims of crime through racialized police encounters.

Chapter 5 The Racialized Victim of Crime and the Police

[The ideal victim is]…a person or category of individuals who, when hit by crime, most readily are given the complete and legitimate status of being a victim. (Christie, 1986)

Police responses to Black and mixed-'race' peoples experiences of victimisation have been broadly overlooked, with the exception of (Yarrow, 2005). This is despite Black, mixed-'race' and Asian people being at greater risk of victimisation than white people (Ministry of Ministry of Justice, 2013b). There has been some focus on experiences of racist victimisation (Bowling, 1999), particularly in the aftermath of the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report.*   However, victimisation more broadly has been researched through 'generalist frameworks of understanding' underpinned by a white perspective (Walklate, 2007, Spalek, 2006). The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry interrupted the white perspective for a short time, having a 'galvanic impact' in relation to the treatment of victims in the criminal justice system (Rock, 2004:410). One outcome of the recommendations of the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report* was the amendment of *The Victims Charter* (now known as the Code of Practice for Victims of Crime) to give greater consideration to the handling of victims and witnesses, particularly with regard to the victims of racially motivated crime. The *Code of Practice for Victims (2013)*, which applies to all police forces in England and Wales, enshrines entitlement to services provided under the code to a person who has 'made an allegation' that they have experienced criminal conduct. The victim should be treated with respect, sensitivity and professionalism and without discrimination (Ministry of Justice, 2013a:1). As this chapter will argue, the experience for Black and mixed-'race' victims of crime often falls short of these principles.

There is a growing, influential body of work concerned with the relationship between the treatment that citizen's experience at the hands of the police and the impact of subsequent trust in the police on legitimacy and ultimately consent for policing and cooperation with the law, which is used to understand the impact of police responses to victimisation and satisfaction with the police. Tyler's procedural

justice thesis is premised on the notion that fair, respectful treatment that follows established procedures will increase the legitimacy of police authority. Legitimacy encourages compliance with the law. Further, it increases satisfaction with the police, crime reporting and assisting the police in crime investigation (Tyler, 2003a, Tyler, 2006, Tyler and Huo, 2002, Tyler and Lind, 1992, Sunshine and Tyler, 2003, Barkworth and Murphy, 2016, Kristina, 2009, Murphy, 2015). However, procedural justice is considered to be less effective at establishing police legitimacy in 'ethnic minority' communities (Murphy, 2013, Murphy and Cherney, 2012, Murphy and Cherney, 2011). Bradford, et al, argue that social identity operates as a 'social-psychological bridge' between perceptions of fairness and legitimacy (Bradford et al., 2014). For those who are already the Other their sense of belonging is either confirmed or undermined by the police response to their victimisation (Ibid. see also Holdaway, 1996:44)

This chapter will, through the counter-stories of victims of crime, consider how Black and mixed-'race' people experience policing when they initiate contact to request police services. Drawing on critical approaches to victimology it argues that through the process of institutional racialization in the operation of police decision making, and legitimisation of white fear, Black victims of crime 'fall outside of the normative imagery of theory and practice' (Walklate, 2007:53). Therefore, the Black victim of crime is not the 'ideal victim' and will not be afforded the complete and legitimate status of being a victim (Christie, 1986, van Wijk, 2013). This is evident through procedurally unfair policing, victim blaming and ultimately the denial of victim status.

A Critical Race Theory (CRT) framework is applied to participant's experiences of police responses to victimisation. Through an analysis of these experiences it will be argued that the absence of fair treatment for Black and mixed-'race' victims of crime has a significant effect on their trust and confidence in policing and their willingness to avail themselves to the protection of the state, hitherto explained through disproportionality in stop and search. Through under protection 'secondary victimisation' occurs at the hands of the state. Further, as argued in the previous chapter, in the context of the 'policing diversity' agenda, 'race' has become invisible in the police institution which is considered contemporarily more 'tolerant' (Tate, 2014). This has brutalising racist affects

(Williams, 1997 , Tate, 2014, Yancy, 2008) which, particularly in the context of minor crimes, can trump the effects of victimisation.

5.1 Becoming/un-becoming the victim

The process of becoming a victim is an 'emergent process of signification' (Rock, 2002:17) which involves the individual perception, the response of the public, the media, and criminal justice agencies. The police are significant actors within this process as they are often the first person a victim of crime will come in to contact with.   One of the factors implicated in the police response to the victim of crime, whether they decide that the crime is a 'real crime' and therefore that the victim is a 'real victim', is the severity of the crime. Research suggests that police officers conceive of their role primarily as crime fighters. Within a 'crime hierarchy', incidents which do not require the performance of the crime fighter role or tasks which involve paperwork and customer service are not considered as proper police work, despite such tasks forming a large part of the day to day reality of policing work (Holdaway, 1983, Loftus, 2009a, Smith, 1985). The decision to act upon a reported crime is also influenced by the perceived worth of the victim. Worthiness is assessed in relation to socio-economic, structural and demographic factors (Loftus, 2009a) as well as the legitimacy and deemed innocence of the victim (van Wijk, 2013, Christie, 1986). This section will reflect upon participants' experiences of reporting crime to the police and illuminate the process of becoming a victim.

A courteous, concerned and understanding approach to the victim gives the impression of professionalism and greatly impacts on victim satisfaction (Brandl and Horvath, 1991). However, the outcome is more significant for the victim of crime than procedural fairness for satisfaction with policing (Kristina, 2009). This is reflected in Samuels's experience. Following a minor traffic collision with an uninsured driver, Samuel contacted the police to report the accident and the damage caused to his car by the other driver who left the scene of the accident. His initial impressions of the police response were positive;

> *These staff who I talked to on the phone were willing to help, please come in I will be there, I went to the police station they inspected the car… he [police officer] was really nice.* (Samuel, 44, Black, African, male)

As a recently arrived migrant the initial positive contact was Samuels's first encounter with the British police. However, 'what *happened after that [initial*

report] was a different story'. Following the initial report of the incident the police failed to update Samuel on the progress of the investigation. Samuel persistently called and left messages and after five months of not getting a response from the police he gave up and contacted a local councillor. Even though the incident was minor, Samuel described feeling angry and frustrated at the police failure to communicate with him. His expectations of the British police based on their international reputation were high. Samuel expressed that he would not have been surprised if this had happened in Denmark where he had lived previously because he felt that, in their understanding of diversity, they are *'way behind where this country is'*. This statement which expresses knowledge of the 'policing diversity' agenda suggests that public knowledge of the diversity agenda creates an expectation of fair treatment. This may increase the affects of victimisation when these expectations are not realised and the victim is forced to consider racism as the reason for the police response (Tate, 2016).

Contrasting positive expectations of police responses to victimisation and competing knowledge of negative policing, for example the police as institutionally racist (Macpherson 1999), shape expectations and subsequent satisfaction of the police encounter for victims. For Samuel, his expectation in his first encounter with the British police was that they would respond by completing a thorough investigation of the crime and that he would be treated fairly, this perception was, in part, based on his knowledge of the diversity agenda. Janice, who was born and resident in the UK from birth, expressed more satisfaction with the police in relation to minor crimes. Janice did not say that she expected an investigation when she was the victim of minor crimes, but was satisfied that the police provided her with the service that she needed, for example on one occasion a crime number for her to claim on her insurance. The police carried out this task in a compassionate manner and gave her the support that she needed;

> *I've had like burglaries I've had criminal damage to my car probably cause of the area that I live in. And I think they've been nice and open minded and you know compassionate. Even with like family situations, like I lost a family member once and the support that they gave my family at the time was huge you know. As a victim of crime they will support you.*

(Janice, 38, Black, British, female)

Janice's perception contrasts strongly with Samuel, who had an expectation that the police would investigate and find out who had crashed into his car and punish them

appropriately. Perhaps, this can be explained by Samuel's short time in the UK at the time of the incident. Recent migrants appear to have a more favourable perception of the police than those who have been in the UK for a longer period of time, particularly when compared with British born Black and mixed-'race' people, as discussed in chapter seven (see also, Bradford et al., 2016). When this favourable perception is called into question by treatment that does not meet their expectation those perceptions are brought into doubt. This suggests that, in relation to petty crime at least, British born participants had lower expectations that the police would catch the offender and bring them to justice so this was less important.

In the latter part of the above extract, Janice describes receiving police support when a family member was murdered. Following the police investigation there was no conviction for the murder. Janice described feeling that the police *'didn't do right by us'*. The support that the family had received was not as significant, in the victim's family member's evaluations of the police, as their failure to convict anybody in respect of the murder. This sense of injustice was further compounded by the perception that the victim was not considered the 'ideal victim' as he was perceived by the police as a *'wrong un'*. The construction of the 'victimological other' (Walklate, 2007:53) will be analysed in the following section; however, Janice's story demonstrates how, regardless of compassionate treatment towards the victim's family, the failure to convict the killer communicates that he was undeserving.

According to Maguire, a 'mythology' has grown up around the investigation of crime which captures 'both the real and the symbolic importance of successful criminal investigation' for the legitimacy of the state, which is premised on its ability to protect its citizens (Maguire, 2011:433). In reality the police do not investigate all crimes that are reported. Factors influencing the decision to investigate can be based upon local and national policing priorities (Tilley, 2008) as well as the perceived worth or power/lessness of the victim (Loftus, 2009a). This means that the victim expectation of the police response is in contrast to the categorisation and prioritisation of crime that occurs at an operational level and with a preference for proper police work which is action focused (Reiner, 2010, Loftus, 2009a, Holdaway, 1983). When the police do not appear to prioritise evidence gathering it communicates to the victim that they are not being taken seriously;

> *I thought they could have done more to catch up with those criminals because they just do it with impunity ... the only thing that will have caught them is cameras and the police trying to investigate. Maybe because they know they don't bother with it like shoplifting and things they just do it, continue to do it.* (Kenneth, 35, Black, African, Male)

When asked why he thought the police did not bother, Kenneth acknowledged the prioritisation of more serious crimes as a factor. However, this did not reconcile his perception that the police did not do enough to help him as a victim of crime.

> *I don't know maybe because they are overworked or something they are dealing with major crimes like terrorism and things like that so they don't even bother with little crimes but all crime are crimes.*

Further, as Kenneth's account reflects, knowledge about the extent of CCTV coverage in a 'surveillance society' creates an expectation that criminals can be easily caught through access to camera footage. Kearon (2012), proposes that surveillance technologies have the potential to undermine police legitimacy. Whilst he does not relate this analysis to victims specifically, his position that 'unrealistic cultural assumptions' about the capabilities of technology can challenge the legitimacy of the police (Kearon, 2013), is borne out in participant's accounts

This is further evident when Robert was assaulted in a public space where CCTV was in operation. Initially when he reported the assault the police attended his home and took a statement. Robert felt that he was treated well and that the police 'were very keen to get his side of the story'. This gave him the impression that the incident would be investigated. However, he described several weeks of *'chasing them up'* to be told that the perpetrator had been *'cautioned'*. Robert questioned the action that had been taken following his report;

> *I said [to the police] did you check any CCTV ... and they just kind of put me on hold and came back and said "oh no there wasn't any CCTV" which I took to mean that they hadn't actually bothered to look.*
>
> (Robert, 27, mixed-'race', British, male)

The perception, expressed by Robert that the police are not honest about the steps they have taken to investigate a crime is also reflected in Charles account.

Charles was the victim of a scam when he bought a laptop he was offered outside of a shop, after handing over the cash he discovered the bag contained bottles of lemonade rather than the laptop he had been shown earlier. Charles viewed the CCTV with the consent of the shop owner. However, when he requested that the police view the CCTV to identify the perpetrator the police officer told him

'*"there's no camera in [shop] because I sent somebody there already and there's no camera in there'* (Charles, Black African, 40 years). Charles viewing of the CCTV enabled him to challenge the actions taken by the police to investigate the incident. The dishonesty in the initial police contact left the victim sceptical about whether the subsequent police updates reflected an honest account of the investigative process. Charles reflected that his 'foreignness' could have led to the police assumption that he didn't understand the British system and therefore he could be afforded a lesser service. As argued by Bradford et al, procedural justice or a perceived lack of, can communicate either belonging or un-belonging in the context of marginalised social identities (Bradford 2014). For non-British born Black people, even when they are naturalised British citizens as in Charles case, signs of foreignness can operate to racialize the police response thus communicating un-belonging and the individual's relation to state power (Ian Loader and Mulcahy, 2003).

Keeping victims of crime updated on the progress of their case is one of the standards set out in the Code of Practice for Victims of Crime (Ministry of Justice, 2013a) and has been attributed to improved satisfaction with policing and perceptions of procedural fairness (Kristina, 2009, Wells, 2007). When the police fail to keep victims informed this contributes to the perception that they are not being taken seriously. Kenneth, expected that the police would keep him informed of the action they were taking in regard to the theft of his bike, this expectation was not met;

> *I thought they were a little bit relaxed with the issue … they said they were going to be getting in touch every week they never did. I went after two weeks, it's like they've almost forgotten the case… she told me the person that was in charge of the case was not there… I should either come back or they would write to me, which they never did until after three weeks. That was when they wrote to say they closed the case.*

 (Kenneth, 38, Black, African, male)

The way in which these routine procedures are carried out with an absence of care for the victim further compounds the perception that the victim is not taken seriously. Further, when the police wrote to Kenneth his name was misspelt in the letter; this was a cause of consternation as he had provided his name, correctly spelt, when he reported the crime. Ahmed, argues that through a name 'the stranger becomes a stranger because of some trace of a dubious origin' (Ahmed, 2007b:161).

This mistake produces racist affects, compounding the experience of victimisation for the racialized Other.

Bethan Loftus's ethnographic research finds that victims in deprived areas are seen as less deserving (Loftus, 2009a). Eric had a similar experience to Kenneth following a break in at his flat, which he described as being in a '*deprived area*'. He reported it to the police with the expectation that they would investigate, or provide reassurance as he was left feeling vulnerable. Following the initial visit Eric did not have any further contact from the police to inform him of the progress of the investigation or the outcome;

> *The only thing they did was send someone from the crime scene [investigation] he came and took my fingerprints and that was the end of it. I didn't hear anything apart from a letter offering me support from the victim support line.* (Eric, 32, Black, African, male)

In both Kenneth's and Eric's case the crime was at the bottom of the hierarchy of relevance. 'Rubbish crimes' (Grimshaw and Jefferson, 1987); a bike theft and house burglary respectively. As stated by Eric, crimes which, for the police, constitute a '*paper exercise*'. As the experience of both Kenneth and Eric shows, if procedurally fair policing is not evident in police responses to victimisation the victims will feel that they have not been taken seriously. They are constructed as the non-victim; 'undeserving, as communicated through the police response. The racist affects of being constructed as the undeserving 'victimological other' (Walklate, 2007:53) are discussed in the following section.

5.2 Victimological othering and justice denied

The racialized victim is the 'victimological other' (Walklate, 2007), linked inherently to criminality through discourses of 'race'. Black and mixed-'race' victims of crime are, through these processes of racialization, on the blurred boundary between victim and offender. Their experiences of victimisation are shaped by this racialized positon in relation to the police institution. 'Secondary victimisation' occurs through racialized responses to the victim as suspect, blame-worthy or an unworthy witness.

Research finds that victims of crime are commonly handled with 'scepticism', particularly in relation to theft and burglary (Loftus, 2009a:110). This scepticism which research participants interpreted through police behaviours

conflicts with the clearly expressed expectation that the police will validate their victim experience. Further, for the racialized victim of crime this scepticism has racist affects as demonstrated in Eric's reflections;

> *When I got burgled I was a suspect already rather than them trying to establish I was a victim. Nobody reassured me that you've been a victim of crime, they started asking me questions. Who do you think it was? Why did you take so long [to call the police]?* (Eric, 32, Black, African, male)

Eric was made to feel like the *'perpetrator'* instead of a victim. This gap between Eric's expectation and the police response forced him to reflect upon his Otherness, '*I think that's when I realised we were different*'. Eric goes on to express this both in terms of cultural knowledge and 'race'. Explaining his perception that he would have been treated better if he had been dealt with by a Black police officer he described Blackness, in similar language to DuBois (1903), as the '*line that divides us*'. Further, Eric perceived that cultural knowledge would negate at least some of the power relations which determine the police response to victimisation, '*somebody might have a crown on his head but if we are from the same colour or same kind of like background... that knowledge cuts barriers*'. Evident in this reflection is the ways in which the police response communicates to the victim their relationship to authority (Tyler and Lind, 1992), the extent to which they are seen to belong (Bradford et al., 2014, Bradford, 2014) and forces them to confront 'race' and racism through their perceptions of unfair policing (Holdaway, 1996).

The expectation that the police will provide reassurance, framed in the popular imagery of the police response to the 'ideal victim' (Christie, 1986) is frustrated when the victim is disbelieved, questioned about their knowledge of the crime or their lifestyle. This is perceived by the victim to indicate that they precipitated their own victimisation or indeed deserved it. Victim blaming was recalled in Janice's account of what she felt was a failure on the police behalf to convict anybody for the murder of a family member, as discussed in the preceding section. Janice described how he was positioned in relation to the perpetrator;

> *He was a criminal I'm not going to deny it. Not a vicious vindictive criminal but he was not somebody they went to arrest without maybe ten or fifteen officers present because he wasn't going to give them an easy time.*
> *(Janice, 37, Black, British, female)*

Here, the victim/offender dichotomy in the positioning of the victim as somebody who was known to the police and considered a threat by them makes him less

worthy of the victim label. Further, his criminal record does not define him wholly for the family;

> *He was respectful at home, a good family member loyal, loving, and caring. He had a criminal history but uneducated, big in build, bit of a bully to other people and he wanted a better life for himself; whichever which way it came. Whether that was morally right or wrong that was his cross to bear but as a family member he was perfect in every way.*

His criminality is located in the structural; a lack of education and a desire to improve his own life which led to offending. Whilst the person the family suspected of killing him was able to prove his respectability;

> *The person who did kill him was a nice law abiding citizen. Really good references from teachers, police officers, doctors. Good friends in high places and he [victim] was never going to win.*

In Christie's (1986) concept of the 'ideal victim', the 'she' is weak, is engaged in respectable activity, is not in a place where the event could be precipitated and the offender is both physically dominant and unknown to the victim (van Wijk, 2013, Christie, 1986). Janice's description, which fits with the stereotype of the '*big Black man*' (see chapters four and six), is instructive of the ways in which a victim who is both criminally active and considered a threat by the police, is considered in relation to the 'ideal victim' image (ibid). Through the process of becoming/unbecoming a victim they are constructed as undeserving, this construction is unlikely to engender sympathy for the victim or an urgent and vigorous investigation.

The process of racialized victimological Othering is most evident when a request for assistance results in arrest. Alice recalled her first memory of the police at the age of five or six;

> *My dad got attacked by three white guys. They were attacking my dad. We were crying and screaming and the police came and they were arresting my dad and my dad was sort of like protesting saying they've attacked me. But it was my dad they got down and the floor and arrested, the next time I saw my dad was in prison.* (Alice, 38, mixed-'race', British, female)

The event Alice recalled was three decades ago at a time when the police were routinely engaged in the racist harassment of Black people (Hunte, 1966;Relations, 1979 #24:also see chapter one). It might be assumed that with the increasing focus on the victim within the criminal justice system in the wake of the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report* (Rock, 2004, Macpherson, 1999) as evident through the 'Victims Charter' (Ministry of Justice, 2013a), that the victim would not be at risk of

arrest in the contemporary policing context. Participant's accounts suggest that this is not the case.

Levi was able to recall two occasions when he had been the victim of an attack in a long running dispute with neighbours. Levi recalled one occasion when somebody threw bricks at him and when the police were called, *'I'm the one that gets arrested'*. On the second occasion Levi had a verbal altercation with a neighbour who then drove his car onto the pavement and into Levi. Levi smashed the car window and when the police arrived he was arrested for criminal damage whilst the perpetrator was not questioned. On this occasion a friend had filmed the incident on his phone; however, the police refused to accept this as evidence to corroborate his version of events. Levi could be described as a 'delinquent victim' (Miers, 2000), though Levi does not consider himself in these terms he recognises that the police do. When asked if he would approach the police for help he responded, '*I believe my address is literally Blacklisted*'. This leads him to believe that the police would not help him and would approach him as a suspect. This illustrates how the victim-offender dichotomy, the assumption that the individual can either be one or the other but not both, shapes police responses to victimisation.

When the victim of crime has a history of previous contact with the police or a name that the police recognise through family association they become removed from the constructed ideal of the deserving victim. Alice was 'known' to the police, as discussed in chapter four. She recalled an occasion when a stranger knocked on her door to ask for help as her boyfriend was being attacked nearby. Alice called 999 and requested that the police attend. Following the call Alice waited at least an hour for a police officer to arrive, despite her stating it was an emergency situation. A police officer knocked on the door an hour later and was told that the reason for the delayed response was that they recognised her name;

> T*he policeman actually said "oh we heard your name and we thought oh". That's exactly what he said to me yea. "We thought here we go" that's exactly what he said.* (Alice, 38, mixed- 'race', British, female)

This victim/offender dichotomy serves to exclude victims of crime from receiving the services to which they are 'entitled', to use the language of the *Code of Practice for Victims (Ministry of Justice, 2013a)*, and diminishes public perceptions of procedural fairness in their dealings with the police.

Whilst the victim/offender dichotomy is evident for 'known' persons regardless of 'race', the victim/offender dichotomy is useful for thinking about racialized policing. Black and mixed-'race' people are 'known' as one body, 'THE BLACK BODY' (Gordon, 2005:105) and through criminalisation processes they are always suspect. Regardless of whether the individual is implicated in crime, the 'victimological other' (Walklate, 2007:52) is 'known' on the basis of 'race'. Notions of innocence which predicate the label 'victim' are reserved for the 'white', woman who inhabits the ideal victim status. This is further reflected in Eric's account;

> *I think if a white cop comes to a Black person house you're a suspect. You're guilty even before you know like they've asked the questions. They don't ask questions to ascertain who you were they ask you questions so they can catch you out. (Eric, 32, Black, African, male)*

These insights highlight the way in which the racialized victim is the 'victimological other', fixed through racialized discourses of criminality, in distant proximity to the image of the 'ideal victim' (Christie, 1986).

When a Black or mixed-race' person is victimised, the white voice is often the one that is heard. The *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report* found that, in relation to racist incidents, Black victims were, time and time again 'turned into' perpetrators, and that the white version of such incidents was 'all too readily accepted by police officers' (Macpherson 1999:45.11). Marcus called the police when his neighbour began to kick down a fence he had erected in response to a boundary dispute. The police arrived and immediately went to the perpetrator and asked them what had happened. Marcus asked the police officer to speak to him as it was he that reported the incident and he was met with an accusation that he was questioning police authority. Marcus recalled;

> *In the end I had to say to the police man, you know, do you realise I am actually the victim here and you are protecting the person that has actually committed the crime, and I want to know why you've actually done that.*
> (Marcus, 44, Black, British, male)

This extract further illuminates the racist affects of 'unbecoming' the victim, through the denial of victim status. Common stereotypes associated with, in particular, Black men led to unfair treatment and unsatisfactory responses when they reported being the victim of crime.

Shawn recalled how the police treated him on an occasion where his car had been hit by a 'Caucasian, middle aged woman' (participant's description) and she drove off. The reason the driver gave to the police when they traced her number plate was that she felt threatened. Shawn recalled the follow up call from the police officer;

> *I'm like what she felt threatened? I didn't even approach her, I didn't even see her, I didn't get to speak with her. So he goes [police officer] 'well I can't tell you what she said to me but she said something that I can't repeat to you over phone'. So to me, I thought okay yea, so she's seen a big Black guy, felt threatened even though it's the middle of [a busy area], broad daylight, there's gonna be cameras everywhere .(Shawn, 39, Black, British, male)*

The white female perpetrators fear of the '*big Black man'* was a factor in the police failure to take further action against a woman who had driven away from the scene of an accident. In the 'police imagination' racialized common sense understandings of the Black male stereotype legitimate white fear.

> *I find it totally out of order, you know how the police handled it as well. They didn't even tell me if it was something she could get done for or if I could pursue it further. For me that's not justice. I wasn't happy at all.*

Shawn's experience is not unique. Several participants recalled an occasion when the police failed to follow up the report of an offence or closed the case on the basis that no further action could be taken when the offender was white and female; the most 'deserving' of victims. Several research participants expressed that if it had been them the police would not have failed to act, this perception was expressed by Shawn;

> *I'm fairly sure, if it was the opposite way around, me leaving the scene of an accident, I'd have been prosecuted for doing that.*
> (Shawn, 39, Black, British, male)

The evidence suggests that Shawn's assessment is correct, Black men in particular are the 'symbolic assailant' (Skolnick:45-50). Disproportionality in stop and search, arrest rates and sentencing continue to be problematic for, in particular, Black men, as discussed in the previous chapter (Choongh 1998, Miller 2000, Miller 2010, Bowling and Phillips 2008).

In a similar case, Phillip recalled being hit by a white female when passing a junction. She left the scene of the accident and Phillip followed up with a report to the police. No action was taken against the driver, like Shawn, Philip expressed that if he had been the perpetrator the police would have taken action against him;

> *If it was me as a Black man … they would have done something about it. They wouldn't have let me off at all.* (Phillip, 45, Black, African, male)

Phillip followed up with an official complaint in which he outlined the views presented above. In the context of the policing diversity agenda there is an awareness of 'race' and some sensitivity to complaints of racism, if only manifest in concerns about being labelled as racist (Foster et al., 2005, Loftus, 2009a). Phillip's complaint was followed up with a visit to his home by a senior police officer to discuss his concerns though no action was taken against the offender, a symbolic gesture to allay fears of racism, perhaps? The tokenism of the visit is acknowledged by Phillip, 'that *was a bit of a courtesy that we had a commander came in his uniform with all his badges*. The complaint did not result in any action against the hit and run driver, 'white fear' legitimates the police response in 'a world that sees them [Black men] as violent' (hooks, 2004:45).

The increased policy and police focus on domestic abuse in recent decades, though still 'not good enough' (HMIC, 2014b), constructs notions of victimhood as belonging to the 'innocent' female victim. It can be argued that a Black man who is the victim of violence at the hands of a woman is positioned at distant proximity to the 'ideal victim' image. Phillip recalled a situation when he called the police during a physical attack by a former partner;

> *I ran out of the flat and she went back in to get a knife to come attack me [laughs] and I called the police, because she's done it once before with stones to destroy my car. And this time when the police came, they went into her to flat to try and calm her down, only for her to say I assaulted her and the police ended up arresting me…I thought the police came to protect me because I was the one who was being attacked.*
> (Phillip, 45, Black, African, Male)

As stated by Phillip 'I think the police saw it as their duty to protect the woman'. Phillips distance from the 'normative imagery' of the victim (Walklate, 2007:126) led to the assumption that he was the aggressor;

> *Even though she is about six foot tall very big and I'm five foot… and when I was interviewed I remember the police officer saying well she said you are a boxer'.*

The power of the popular discourses of Black criminality which construct the Black male body as threat, in this case compounded through sporting prowess, and the

proximity of the female victim to innocence (Christie, 1986)[8], produce the victim as suspect through the process of becoming/unbecoming.

The police rely upon witnesses in order to investigate crime and secure convictions. Several participants recalled experiences of helping the police with their enquiries. Phillip reflected on the police attitude when he helped them with enquiries about a serious crime that had occurred in his neighbourhood;

> *I mean it's different isn't it in different circumstances. Interviewing people to help the police as opposed to you being you know the assailant or a victim so you can assist the police by being their witness or you can be the persecuted or prosecuted.* (Phillip, Black, male, 45)

However, this experience is not always positive dependent on the position of the witness. Alice recalled an occasion when the police called at her flat looking for two crime suspects. Alice did not know the men that the police were looking for. They had escaped from the police close to her house and the police believed that one of them had sustained an injury in escaping, as there was blood outside close to the entrance to Alice's block of flats. She described being questioned for a long time by the police officer, who made her feel as though she had *'done something wrong'* ;

> *What's happened is they've chased a car two Black guys have got out of the car they've run off. What they think has happened is one of them has gone on to a garage roof and fallen and badly hurt himself and they've... what was the word he used "deliberately come to my house to seek help".*
>
> (Alice, 38, mixed- 'race', female)

Despite Alice's insistence that she did not know who the people were and they had not come to her flat the police made repeated visits to Alice in pursuit of the two men. Here, Alice explains how she understood there assumption through reference to her 'race';

> *I don't know why they would come to that conclusion, like they would because I'm the only Black person in this block ... he goes [police officer] 'all the other families are polish and he hasn't been to see them. He's obviously come here you need to tell us where he is'.*

The assumed belonging to an 'imagined' (Anderson, 2006) Black community of the Other, identified and homogenised through the 'skin' (Fanon, 1986, Goldberg, 2009, Gordon, 2005), positions all Black people as in opposition to the law. This 'criminalised sub group' (Britton, 2000a) cannot be relied upon to cooperate in the

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[8] Although the extent to which this is the case for Black women is analysed further in chapter six.

interests of crime investigation and they must therefore be suspect. This was particularly evident in the experiences of victimisation in racially othered spaces.

The racialized 'victimological other' (Walklate, 2007) occupies a 'liminal space of alterity' (Ladson-Billings and Donnor 2009:372). This marginal position is communicated through their treatment when they call the police for help, particularly when they are present in racially othered spaces. Marcus recalled calling 999 to request an ambulance and police attendance for one of his tenants who had been hit over the head with a hammer. Help was requested to an address in a racially othered space, an area with a significant ethnic minority population that has been framed in the media as crime-ridden and dangerous. After waiting almost an hour for the ambulance a police officer arrived. Marcus asked the police officer where the ambulance was as he was concerned for the deteriorating health of his tenant. Marcus recalled the exchange with the police officer;

> *I'm like 'where's the ambulance'. 'Oh the ambulance aren't gonna come til we tell them to come'. I was like 'you what?'. I said 'there's a guy in there he's been hit with a hammer'. So he goes 'you've got an attitude problem haven't ya'. I said 'hang on a minute, we phoned you nearly an hour ago, you've just turned up and you're telling me I've got an attitude problem. You better go in and have a look at this guy', so he went in and he goes 'fucking hell get an ambulance down here straight away'.*

 (Marcus, 44 Black, British born, male)

This exchange highlights the way in which stereotypes of Black male aggression come to the fore when the police are challenged by the racialized other. Marcus's frustration at having to wait for an ambulance for a man who was seriously injured was read as an attitude problem. Further, the reason given for the delay in dispatching an ambulance was rooted in the racialization of space. Marcus was told, *'we've [police] got to come because its [area]. We've got to come and verify that everything's alright for the ambulance ...'*. Spaces with a significant ethnic minority population are considered to be dangerous (see, chapter seven). As such the people within these spaces do not fit with the image if the 'ideal victim'. The response to their calls for help is to treat them primarily as a threat. This is reflected in the refusal to send medical assistance to a man with serious injuries without first conducting a risk assessment of the threat posed by the Other. It serves as a reminder that the community resident in that space is 'suspect'; both as individuals and communities they are the 'victimological other'.

This section has illuminated, through the counter-stories of victims, how processes of racialization construct the 'victimological other' and other occurs through the white, heterosexual, male lens and it is against this norm that other forms of victimisation are evaluated. The following section will address the consequences of the construction of the victimological other for police legitimacy and consent and the impact on the individual victim of crime.

5.3 The racial affects of victimological othering

If perceived fair treatment enhances the legitimacy of the police, improves satisfaction with policing (Tyler, 2003b, Tyler and Huo, 2002, Tyler and Lind, 1992, Kristina, 2009) and improves the emotional response to victimisation and policing (Barkworth and Murphy, 2016), a failure to provide fair treatment both precludes satisfaction with the police and improved quality of life following victimisation. This research suggests that minor crimes have a more significant impact on victims, when fairness is not evident in the victim's treatment by the police. One way in which this is evident is the victims desire to understand why their victimisation was not taken seriously;

> *I would also like to revisit this case [minor hit and run-2006] and try to hear what they have to say. I'm not really looking for an apology but asking them what the way forward is going to be. What lessons have you learnt? You know. What are you going to do differently so that someone else does not have the same experience?* (Samuel, 45, Black, African, male)

For Samuel, who had been the victim of a collision with an uninsured driver, the effects of what he perceived to be unfair treatment were still being felt eight years after, what would be considered a minor incident. Not being taken seriously on this occasion led to feelings of confusion and the desire to understand what had happened. These emotional responses to victimisation and procedural unfairness in police responses to victimisation impact on quality of life and recovery from victimisation (Elliott et al., 2014, Barkworth and Murphy, 2016). This is evident in Marcus's reflection on the police treatment of him in various contexts when he was treated as suspect when he was the victim of crime and when the police ignored his evidence as a witness to a crime;

> I *don't know what I've done in my time but I don't think that my word means anything and if it doesn't I wanna know why... maybe I need to put in a freedom of information. I don't even know if you can do it or not, but I'm*

> *going to see if I can try, and send it off to the police and find out if they've got anything on me. Why, why are things happening like this*?

(Marcus, 44, Black, British, male)

When racialized relations force the Other to view themselves through the 'white gaze' (Yancy, 2008), it serves to reproduces power relations. Further, when Black and mixed-'race' people are forced to consider that 'race' is the reason that they do not have access to justice, they are burnt by the 'whiteness' of the institution (Rattansi, 2005, Fanon, 1986:109-117).

The damage to the 'victimological other' in interactions through which they are forced to confront the 'racial-epidermal schema' (Fanon, 1986), constitute 'spirit murder' (Williams 1997). For some research participants the burden of racial affects was evident in their motivation for participation in the project. This is particularly apparent in Shawn's account;

> *I just wanted to get it off my chest because I was so, so annoyed I was fuming with them. I was fuming, fuming. And as I say, I'm not of that nature I just take things with a pinch of salt usually but thinking that's not on that, that's just not on, just not on... so yea, really, really glad that I had the opportunity to air my feelings [laughs].*

(Shawn, 39, Black, British, male)

Here, Shawn is referring to the experience of his victimisation involving the hit and run discussed above. This is a relatively minor experience which occurred a couple of years before the interview took place. This illuminates the burden of racial affects and their consequences for recovery from victimisation. Further, as Holdaway argues, racialized interactions with the police 'partially reconstructs their personal reality and the reality of 'race' with the wider social terrain' (Holdaway, 1996:44).

This realisation about the reality of 'race' in their interactions with the police forces Black and mixed-'race' people to avoid reporting crime to the police. Jansson, finds that Black and people are less likely to report trivial crimes for the reason that it is unlikely the police could do anything about it (Jannson 2006:29). This assessment is evident in participant's accounts, shaped by previous experiences of reporting victimisation;

> *Yea, if it's something petty ill just deal with it myself. Because that was about the first time I reported a police case. I thought they would deal with it but they didn't.* (Kenneth, 38, Black, African, Male)

> *I mean, obviously if it was something serious like if someone had burgled my house or you know if I got seriously attacked or something then I probably would go to the police, but if it was just a minor thing... I'd probably think I can't be bothered with the hassle of dealing with the police.*
>
> *(*Robert, mixed 'race', British, male, 27 years)

Further, participants' strategies included a rationalisation of their reasons for approaching the police for help. A feeling of entitlement to call on the police for help was discussed predominantly in relation to the payment of taxes. Several research participants drew upon this aspect of citizen responsibility to affirm their entitlement to services provided by the police;

> T*he police are there. I pay taxes they've got a role to play... I'm a law abiding citizen and if I need help I'm not one to shy away.*
> *(Eric, 32, Black, African male)*
>
> *That's what we pay for as tax payers.* (Janice, 37, Black, British, female)
>
> *You know I pay taxes and I pay council tax and all the rest of it and if something needs to happen then they need to do it.*
> (Marcus, 44, Black, British, male)

However, the entitlement to policing services did not create an expectation of a satisfactory response. There was there was an expressed reluctance to make contact with the police which suggests that participants would contact the police because they had no other choice and with low expectations;

> *There is no other option; you have to talk to them*
> *(Jean, 40, Black, African, male)*
>
> *Obviously you don't have a choice; you won't go to the army would you? You have to go to the police [laughter] …because at the end of the day they are the only people that you can actually go to.*
> (Charles, 40, Black, African, male)

One statement stood out as contrasting with the accounts of some of the other research participants. Janice, when asked if she would contact the police for help, responded;

> *There isn't one person that I honestly would think if something went wrong that you wouldn't think the first thing is to phone the police regardless of your situation.* (Janice, 37, Black, British, female)

For Janice, the police were the first port of call without hesitation. Whilst Janice had negative experiences of policing in terms of mistaken arrest, her experiences as a victim had been satisfactory. She had relationships with the police in a professional

context which allowed her to build up personal knowledge and trust relationships in that context. Whilst throughout her account she acknowledges police racism, she accepted that as a woman she was able to negotiate her position, as discussed in chapter six. This may explain her willingness to approach the police for help despite her previous negative experiences and her strong awareness of racism and its impact, in particular on Black men.

Both Levi and Marcus, two friends who lived in an area with a significant ethnic minority population, observed that there is a reluctance by Black people to contact the police to report crime;

> *Marcus: I mean I think that's why the police get away with a lot of what they are getting away with cause a lot of Black people or ethnic minorities don't phone the police do they?*
>
> *Levi: I'm guilty of that*
>
> *Marcus: Yea, some things happen and you don't phone the police*
>
> *Levi: You're absolutely right*
>
> *Marcus: So when they look at their official numbers they probably think oh well you know nothing's happening to this cause we've not had anybody complaining or and that's because of the distrust that people have got about the police they won't phone up.*
>
> *(Marcus, 44 & Levi, 50-both Black, British, males)*

The distrust that people have for the police and the failure to contact the police when they need help was also seen to contribute to the stereotype of Black people as anti-police. This was one of the reasons that Shawn expressed would inform his decision to contact the police for help;

> *I'd probably be anticipating their response but I'd still go… I don't see why I should have to change my story or not go at all or try to fit into their stereotype. I'm not going to fit into anybody's stereotype.*
>
> (Shawn, 39, Black, British, male)

Here, Shawn reflects the ways in which opting to contact the police, despite low expectations, can negotiate the production of social identity through police interactions (Bradford et al., 2015, Bradford et al., 2014). Whilst negative police contact can communicate exclusion through racialized responses, choosing to contact the police can be a way of reaffirming individual social identity and citizenship and challenging stereotypes of criminality and anti-police attitude.

For some of the participants, the police were completely disregarded as a source of help and they expressed that they would not contact the police for help regardless of the severity of the incident, this was also reflected in the findings of (Yarrow, 2005). The participants who exercised complete avoidance of the police had in common that they had experienced extended and cumulative negative contact with police over several years and in various contexts or one significant and defining experience which altered their perception of the police. For Derek, the experience of being tasered by the police led him to conclude that he would not contact the police if he was the victim of crime;

> *There might be situations where I'd have to but right now in my head I'm saying whatever it is I would not get in touch with the police. No way, no way. (Derek, 46, Black, British, male)*

Their experiences had shaped their opinion of the police in such a way that the police were considered as a greater threat than the fear or threat of being the victim of crime. Alice had been the victim of domestic abuse, her fear that the police would treat the Black perpetrator more harshly prevented her from contacting the police thus sacrificing her own safety, as discussed in chapter six. 'Race' is a significant factor impacting upon Alice's response to her own victim experience. Prior experiences of the police as racist, position the police as a greater threat than the perpetrator of the act. Aside from feeling that the police would not assist her, Alice demonstrates a fear that the police would over respond to the perpetrator as a Black man, leading to more severe consequences than the victim perceived the act warranted. This fear was also observed by Stark (Stark 2003:184-5).

Research suggests that when, through racist policing, there is no recourse to a legitimate and trusted authority to call upon, victims develop strategies to manage their own victimisation (Sharp and Atherton, 2007:755, Yarrow, 2005) , a step that could lead the victim into offending, as articulated by Derek;

> *[I think] … just become a criminal because you've got legalised criminals out there in the shape of the police, but that's not me and I'm not looking to lower myself to those standards. I've talked about the kind of [criminal] behaviour that my son has got in the past. So let's just say me and this man had a disagreement or this man stole something from me would I ring the police or would I ring one of my sons' friends and say, 'yo, can you come and deal with this for me?'. (Derek, 46, Black, British, male)*

Individual knowledge about their racialized position in relation to the police is disempowering; it excludes the individual from the conventional means to justice

both through processes of 'secondary victimisation' and individual self-exclusion from processes of justice because of a lack of trust.

Reporting a crime to the police is to 'put' the person racialized as Black in a position where they would be treated unfairly because of their attributed 'race'.

> *Why would I put myself there? Why would I encourage anybody to put themselves there? They've give me no reason to believe that I would be treat fairly. They've got this disease, I call it like a disease, where they have this belief that it's okay to treat Black people in the way they do'.*

(Thomas, 55, Black, British, male)

The metaphor of 'disease' is a powerful one which conjures pathologised imagery of poison and contagion. Similarly, Macpherson described institutional racism as a 'corrosive disease' (Mapherson 1999:6.34); 'they', the police in the collective sense, are infected. This is contrary to the police view that people racialized as Black are empowered by the diversity agenda and play the 'race card' to gain power in interactions with the police (Loftus, 2009a). Thomas went on to say '… *it's horrible to have to sit down and tell your sons and daughters and your grandchildren the truth'*. As illustrated by Thomas's extract this disempowerment is felt both on an individual level and by whole communities, 'community narratives' passed from generation to generation, as discussed in chapter four, inform that the police are not an organisation from whom a favourable response can be expected. This disempowerment is evident whether or not the individual is willing to contact the police. Expectations of a less favourable response or fear of being treated as suspect preclude whole communities from the 'service' (Ministry of Justice, 2013a) to which they are entitled. The fear of being victim of crime is less than the fear of the threat posed by the police response. Justice is relational in a system which under protects and over penalises the racialized Other (Cacho, 2012, Hudson, 2006).

It has been argued that procedurally fair policing is not as effective in establishing trust and legitimacy in 'ethnic minority' communities because their opinions are fixed based on their knowledge of social identity and interaction with the state (Murphy and Cherney 2011). This approach risks blaming the 'victimological other' for their failure to trust the police, rather than considering how police behaviour informs these perceptions. This research suggests that people who have a generally favourable response to the police, little previous contact with them in other 'suspect' contexts or having a positive expectation as recent migrants

to the UK can have their perceptions changed by perceived unfair policing in victimisation contexts. When procedural fairness is not evident to Black and mixed-'race' victims of crime, their exclusion from 'white man's justice' is both expected and experienced (Hudson 2006).

5.4 Conclusions

As this chapter has shown, the pervasive discourses of 'race' which position Black and mixed-'race' people as Other, as threat, and linked to racialized discourses of criminality distance them from the image of the 'ideal victim'(Christie, 1986) in the 'police imagination'. The process of becoming a victim is shaped, in part, through these racialized discourses. Discretion in police decision making, about both the nature of the crime and the worth of the victim, opens up a space between the crime report and enactment of the 'entitlements' set out in the *Code of Practice for Victims*, for the victimised to become the 'victimological other'. As reflected in participants' experiences of victimisation, the perception of the victimised that they are a victim of crime creates an expectation that they will be treated as such when they make a report to the police. This is in the context of a justice process that makes claim, in the public domain, to centre the needs of the victim, through their entitlements to 'service' (Ministry of Justice, 2013a). When these expectations are not met it communicates that they are undeserving of victim status and their relationship to the state and sense of belonging is called into question (Bradford et al., 2014).

For Black and mixed- 'race' victims of crime the racialized processes of victim blaming and treatment as suspect damage trust and confidence in the police as a fair and legitimate institution. This has a significant impact on willingness to approach the police and/or levels of confidence in a satisfactory response. This delimits the boundaries of the deserving victim to the 'white, old, lady' (van Wijk, 2013, Christie, 1986) , the denial of victim status excludes the 'victimological other' from support mechanisms reserved for the deserving victim. Further, it disempowers them in the context of feeling safe and protected when they feel that it is '*a waste of time*' contacting the police for help, as when they do they will either be treated as suspect or have their victim status denied. As a result of their racialized position as 'victimological other', they have no recourse to protection or justice.

The impact of police responses to victimisation for Black and mixed-'race' peoples trust and confidence in the police is a currently underexplored area. Over policing is often cited as the main cause of poor relations between the police and Black people. Whilst disproportionate stop and search remains a significant problem, as discussed in the previous chapter, this research suggests that police responses to victimisation are also a significant factor influencing trust and confidence in the police. Victimisation, and the racist affects of police responses to it, extend further than the young Black and mixed-'race' men who are broadly affected by stop and search. Victim experiences where 'race' is a factor in victimisation are taken into account in existing research (Bowling, 1999). However, the 'white lens' continues to be applied to understanding of victim experiences more broadly. The counter-stories in this chapter begin to illuminate new ways of understanding 'race' and processes of racialization in the experiences of victimisation through a Critical Race Theory approach.

These processes of racialization are not fixed, they are fluid. 'Race' intersects with gender, class, disability, sexuality and other subject positions. This intersectionality will be explored in the subsequent chapters, beginning with the intersection of gender with 'race' in the chapter to follow.

Chapter 6 Gendered Experiences of Racialized Policing

The Black male body continues to be perceived as the embodiment of bestial, violent, penis-as-weapon, masculine assertion (hooks, 2004:79).

The preceding chapters illuminate the racist affects of racialized and racist policing. However, themes arising from participants narratives position Black and mixed-'race' men and women's experiences of policing differently. Through a gender lens, this chapter analyses the ways in which gender intersects with 'race' in policing. It considers racialized stereotypes which position Black masculinity pathologically as hyper-masculine, hyper-sexual and hyper-aggressive (Hooks, 2015:87-114, Collins, 2004) whilst Black women are positioned as unfeminine and angry (Collins, 2004, Walley-Jean, 2009). It argues that the proliferation of racialized stereotypes, through reference to hegemonic and subordinate masculinities and femininities are crucial to understanding 'race' and racist policing at its intersection with gender.

There is considerable attention paid to the centrality of masculinity in the contemporary police culture (Reiner, 2010, Holdaway, 1983, Loftus, 2009a, Smith, 1985, Westmarland, 2001). There has arguably been a shift from a homogenous police culture centred on white hegemonic masculinity through the 'policing diversity' agenda (Loftus, 2009a). However, the power of the police institution is derived from 'white supremacist capitalist patriarchy' (hooks, 2004:79) and continues to serve its interests. Police work is dominated by hegemonic masculinity. Powerful white men, i.e. those who derive their powers from the white police institution, are situated more closely to the white supremacist capitalist patriarchy and subordinated masculinities and femininities are required to maintain it (Hill-Collins, 2004).

A comparative analysis of the ways in which Black and mixed-'race' men and Black and mixed-'race' women experience and negotiate police contact in different contexts allows for a relational understanding of how oppression operates at the intersection of 'race' and gender. Intersectional theory contends that men are oppressed by 'race' but privileged by gender (Mutua, 2006:6). Drawing upon the

'matrix of domination' (Hill-Collins, 2000), this analysis highlights how intersecting oppressions of 'race' and gender are organised, in relation to structures of power bound up with white, hegemonic forms of masculinity. The first section argues that Black and mixed-'race' men, whose masculinity is pathologised as hyper-masculine, hyper-sexualised and hyper-aggressive (Mutua, 2006, Collins, 2004), cannot perform a more desirable version of masculinity. Embodied Black masculinity is understood through the 'white gaze' (Yancy, 2008). Through an examination of women's experiences of the police it will be demonstrated that stereotypes attributed to Black women, in particular the 'angry Black women', shape their experiences of police contact both as suspect and victims of crime. However, these stereotypes are not as inextricably tied up in discourses of criminality as those attributed to Black men, which shapes experiences of policing. Drawing on the work of Patricia Hill-Collins (2004), it will argue that Black and mixed-'race' women are able to perform preferred versions of femininity, in some contexts, through recourse to social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). This has the capacity to negotiate 'race' to some extent in the police encounter. It will conclude that Black men are the ultimate threat in relation to the white hegemonic masculinity of the police institution and this is reflected in their experiences of contact with the police.

6.1 The threat of the 'big Black man'

Stereotypes attributed to Black and mixed-'race' men, who are racialized as Black, impact significantly upon their experiences of policing. As racist views are still prevalent in society, it can be expected that some police officers will also hold racist views (Bowling, 2008:612). However, it is not necessary for an officer to consciously hold racist views for their actions to be racist. Dominant negative stereotypes are prevalent in society and are ubiquitous within institutions and the 'police imagination'. The news media has been a key source of constructing public perceptions of Black people and perpetuating racist tropes which link Black people with criminality (Van Dijk, 1991, Law, 2001, Gilroy, 1987, Hall et al., 1978, Cushion, 2011). The 'race'-crime link is gendered and racial images permeate discourses of masculinity (Connell, 2005:75-80). Whilst Black women do have distinct negative stereotypes attributed to them as, discussed in the following section, the image of the 'criminalblackman' (Russell-Brown, 1998) is firmly entrenched in public consciousness (Gilroy, 1987, Gilroy, 1982, Hall et al., 1978).

Not only is the Black male body synonymous with crime it is synonymous with violent crime. Media proliferated moral panics with Black males cast as the folk devil have perpetuated the criminal stereotype in the UK context; take for example the image of the Black mugger (Hall et al., 1978), the Black drug taker and drug dealer (Murji, 1999, Gabriel, 1998) and in more recent times the racialization of the debate surrounding gangs and violent crime (Alexander, 2008, Cushion, 2011, Smithson et al., 2013, Williams and Clarke, 2016b), discussed in chapter one. As argued by Goldberg, the skin 'situates its bearers in racially predicated societies' (Goldberg, 2009). When the 'skin situates the bearer' as the 'criminalblackman' (Russell-Brown, 1998), in conflict with the white hegemonic male police institution, he will be treated as such.

Stereotypes were cited by several research participants as being directly responsible for both their over-policing, particularly in relation to stop and search, and the nature of their treatment by the police. Research participants understood those stereotypes to impact on the police treatment of them as both suspect, a position with which several participants were familiar even when they had not committed a crime, and as victims of crime. In both contexts Black and mixed-'race' men were treated as suspect and as a threat to the hegemonic white masculine authority of the police institution. There were two significant assumptions that the police were perceived to make about Black men. The first, that all Black men are inherently criminal. The second, that their physical attributes particularly height and size along with other factors such as hairstyle signal threat. As argued by hooks, '…the Black male body continues to be perceived as the embodiment of bestial, violent, penis-as-weapon, masculine assertion' (hooks, 2004:79). This perceived embodiment of 'subordinated Black masculinity' (Collins, 2004:187) operates through the 'white gaze' (Yancy, 2008, Fanon, 1986). This is evident in Derek's reflections on the way the police spoke to him following an incident when he was tasered and restrained, as discussed in chapter four;

> *The way they spoke to me yeah, gold tooth, Black man, picky head yeah, they had an impression of me which is why they spoke to me like that*
> *(Derek, 46, Black British-born, male)*

Here Derek acknowledges that meaning given to 'cultural signifiers' such as the styling of hair in particular ways and the wearing of gold teeth, features 'discursively constructed as Black'(Tate, 2015:15) have different meanings to those

who employ them and can be used against them when they are viewed from the outside (Mckenzie, 2015:140).

These perceptions, which attribute hyper-masculine traits to individuals because of their physical attributes, position the Black body as a threat in the 'police imagination'. Andrew reflected upon these stereotypes in his treatment;

> *But then the fact is I'm mindful as well that I'm a big guy as well, 6 foot 2, 6 foot 3 you know [sighs]. So there's all that default stuff about, you know, Black people are aggressive, they're physical, they're violent.*
>
> (Andrew, 41, mixed-'race', British-born, male)

As recognised by Andrew, this stereotype is applied to 'Black people', not just Black men. The attribution of negative stereotypes to women, in particular the 'angry Black woman' stereotype (Walley-Jean, 2009), will be discussed further in subsequent sections. This stereotype can result in the excessive use of police force, as discussed in chapter four. This is manifest in restraint related deaths in custody (Dyson and Boswell, 2006, Guardian, 2012, Institute of Race Relations, 1991, IRR, 2003, Jasper, 1998, Otuyelu et al., 2016, Pemberton, 2008, Ryan, 1998, Smiley and Fakunle, 2016, Ward and Coles, 1998), increased complaints of police brutality (Gallagher, 2015) and recent evidence which suggests that the Taser is being used disproportionately in the restraint of Black people (Gayle, 2015).

Police officers expect Black men to react in non-compliant and potentially aggressive ways towards them (Bowling, 2008). This was expressed in participant's perceptions that the police assume Black men will 'react' aggressively when they are approached. Kenneth described a police officer approaching him whilst he was fastening his jacket on his bicycle outside of his workplace, the officer told him that he had approached him because he was '*behaving suspiciously*'.

> *Kenneth: He just ran up to me so I was a bit shocked when he came and when he explained he was a police officer because he was a plain clothed. Then he explained why he has to come, that the camera picked me up behaving suspiciously [laughs]. I had to identify myself and that's fine. Yea, he was a bit harsh but finally he calmed down when he got my details and went.*
>
> *Lisa: So when you said a bit harsh what do you mean?*
>
> *Kenneth: You know because of the way he approached me he thought I was going to react or something (Kenneth, 38, Black, African, male).*

This assumption on the part of the police officer can result in an overly harsh approach, as experienced by Kenneth. Further, the perception of threat can

potentially result in the pre-emptive use of force which is not 'necessary', therefore illegal, and also constitute a breach of the individual's rights under the Human Rights Act 1998. As discussed in chapter four, Andrew was stopped in his car and aggressively searched by a number of police officers. On reflection Andrew interpreted the police officers aggressive approach as a pre-emptive response on the basis of their 'default' assumptions about Black men;

> *But just to be harassed like that is a bit of a unique experience… thrown over the car and that and the default being that I'm going to react. And, I didn't react in any way. (Andrew, 41, mixed-'race', British, male)*

This pre-emptive approach is another example of the ways in which stereotypes of the 'criminalblackman' (Russell-Brown, 1998) proliferate the 'police imagination', shaping the nature of the police/citizen encounter.

Several participants acknowledged that the police assume that Black people are involved in the supply of drugs. Marcus recalled with some amusement an occasion when the police knocked on his door to enquire about reports of a missing child being held at the property. Marcus assumed that it was a mistake and refused the police officer entry without a warrant, instead he allowed an accompanying paramedic into his house to look for the child. The paramedic confirmed to the police that the child in question was not in the house. She also reported to the police that she had seen a bag of white powder on the kitchen table. The police returned and '*burst into the house'*, Marcus explained;

> *There was a bag of white powder on the kitchen table. I'd run out of washing powder so I'd gone to my mam's house [laughter] … so I put some in to a plastic bag and I tied it up and I brought it back and left it on the kitchen table…He's [police officer] picked this white powder up and says 'what is it', he says 'washing powder', 'yeah' [laughter]. So he says 'how do we know it's washing powder', 'I said well you better take it away and get it forensically tested [laughter] cause I'm not doing your washing for ya'*[laughs*]. (Marcus, 44, Black, British-born, male)*

Marcus expressed obvious humour in his retelling of the event. However, his story highlights the extent to which Black men are associated, both in the public and police imagination, with the 'war on drugs' (Agozino, 2000, Bennett and Holloway, 2004, Murji, 1999). The washing powder was taken away and Marcus heard nothing more from the police regarding the substance. However, such instances serve to perpetuate the cycle of mutual distrust.

'Law abiding citizens', a phrase which appeared several times throughout the interviews, do not expect that they will be treated as a suspect by the police. For several participants the police response to them was a shock. Participants drew upon aspects of their identity to explain why they did not expect to be treated as though they were representative of an assumed Black male stereotype. Personality traits, area of residence, and level of education or being a 'law abiding citizen' were used by participants to create distance from pervasive negative stereotypes. They also expressed surprise that they were treated in the same way that the police would treat somebody engaged in a criminal lifestyle. Andrew reflected on being roughly treated by the police during a car stop;

> *I don't really see that there's much, kind of, questionable ammunition there to go in heavy handed with somebody. This is somebody that.... If I'd got a record of I don't know if I'd got a record of... being armed and having weapons previously and holding a gun or a knife, hey ho yea, yea maybe be a bit more heavy handed. (Andrew, 41, mixed-'race', British-born, male)*

In this extract it is clear that Andrew would have expected the police to react in a heavy handed way, and would accept this to some extent as justified, if he had a criminal record or posed a risk due to being armed. Like other participants Andrew expected that being a 'law abiding citizen' would prevent this kind of treatment at the hands of the police. Unfortunately, as Andrew found out, the embodiment of the 'criminalblackman' (Russell-Brown, 1998) stereotype cannot be negotiated by compliance with the law.

Similarly having personality traits that do not fit with the hyper-aggressive stereotype associated with Black masculinity, does not protect Black and mixed-'race' men from the criminalising effects of the stereotype. This is evident in Shawn's experience, discussed in chapter five, when he was hit by a white female driver who then drove off from the scene of an accident. The woman was traced by the police and she told them that she had fled the scene because she was 'scared';

> *I've never attacked anybody; I've never hit anybody so you know it's out of my character. That is totally out of my character. Anyone that knows me would say that is not Shawn, he would never do that. So to me it was like wow, in this day and age people still assume that because someone's stature and complexion that they're gonna be of a particular stereotype, I was stunned. (Shawn, 39 Black, British-born, male)*

The white, female, driver's perception of him and the police readiness to accept this as a valid explanation for leaving the scene was a shock for Shawn. He had never

before been confronted so starkly with the evidence that expectations of negative behaviour could be attributed to him on the basis of his appearance, despite the anti-racism rhetoric evident in '*this day and age*'.

6.2 Hypo-masculinities and 'race'

There are some identities that intersect with 'race' in such a way as to diminish the hyper-masculine threatening stereotypes associated with Black men. Eric, who described himself as disabled, perceived that the police responded to him differently to the way in which they would respond to a *'typical Black man'*. Perceptions of disability are synonymous with dependence and helplessness which is an antithesis to the characteristics ascribed by hegemonic masculinities (Asch and Fine, 1992:141, Shuttleworth et al., 2012). The identification of individuals as hypo-masculine neutralises the threat attributed to the 'big Black man'. It should be noted that this point is made in relation to visible physical disability, there is evidence, particularly in relation to deaths in custody, that individuals with mental health vulnerabilities are constructed as particularly dangerous, legitimising the use of excessive force (Pemberton, 2008) as was acutely evident in the death of Roger Sylvester at the hands of the state (IRR, 2003).

Eric reflects upon how race intersected with disability, to negotiate embodied Black masculinity, when he was pulled over by the police for a driving offence;

> *Eric: I would call myself a disabled person. And I think I don't look intimidating or a typical Black man. I've got a good speech and good manner from my upbringing. I think they felt sorry for me more than anything else.*
>
> *Lisa: It's interesting that you talk about seeing yourself as different to a typical Black man, what do you mean?*
>
> *Eric: I think when white people describe Black men they say it's a big Black man in that nature where we are deemed to cause trouble at any corner. I don't fit in a stereotype, so some people don't know how to handle me.*
>
> *(Eric, 32, Black, African, male)*

Eric draws on his '*visible*' disability to explain the way that he was treated sympathetically, even when he had committed an offence. He perceived that his treatment was different to that of a '*typical Black man*' who might embody threatening Black masculinity.

Interestingly Eric also draws upon his speech and manner [compliance] as evidence of his good character. Drawing on his upbringing which he perceived had produced his respectable characteristics, he reflected on how, through performance of respectability, he was able to show that he was different to the stereotype. However, as will be argued in the following chapter, signs of respectability can be disregarded or misinterpreted through the inextricable race/crime nexus in the 'police imagination'. The police know how to handle people who they perceive fit into a stereotype that presents them as a threat. When the person they are dealing with does not present as the hyper-masculine stereotype that the police draw upon to determine threat, even when they have committed an offence, they are not treated in the same manner. This thesis can be extended to the treatment of gay men who are attributed 'hypo-masculinity' in the context of a hetero-masculine police culture.

The police service is still dominated by a masculine ethos (Loftus, 2010:8). According to Bernstein and Kostelac, the maintenance of police status depends upon an 'organisational and cultural interest in heterosexism' (Bernstein and Kostelac, 2002:307). This makes it difficult for gay police officers to be open about their sexuality within a patriarchal society which views them as lacking in masculinity (Connell, 2005:143) and an institution that privileges masculine traits. This is particularly difficult for those who are already oppressed in the white police institution through 'race'. This is acutely evident in the case of former MPS special operations officer Kevin Maxwell; in 2012 an employment tribunal held that Maxwell had suffered forty counts of discriminatory treatment on the grounds of 'race' and sexuality (Dodd, 2013). Andrew, who has worked closely with police officers in the course of his employment, recalled his observations of police officers attitude towards a gay colleague who was working in partnership with the police;

> *I remember I was working with [colleague] who happened to be a gay guy. I overheard conversations; police members of staff laughing, trivialising him. I don't doubt for one minute, probably in his company, that they were doing the same about me from a 'BME' group you know*
>
> *(Andrew, 41, mixed-'race', British-born male)*

Andrew expresses the ways in which of oppressions, 'race' and sexuality, work together to produce injustices. This is achieved through the positioning of the othered, the hyper-masculine Black man and the hypo-masculine gay man, subordinately in relation to hegemonic white masculinities of the police institution

Whilst the evidence suggests that 'race' and 'sexuality' intersect to create different institutionalised oppressions for Black, gay police officers, the experiences at the intersection of 'race' and sexuality in citizen contact with the public is under-researched. There is a perception that the police are discriminatory in relation to sexuality as evident in the finding that one in five people who had experienced homophobic hate crime did not report to police, due to an expectation of discriminatory treatment (Hunt and Dick, 2008:4). However, only one research participant talked about their own sexuality as it intersects with 'race' in their experiences of policing. This was perceived to change the nature of the type of contact Black and mixed-'race' people have with the police and the types of crimes that they might be associated with in the 'police imagination' as expressed by Robert;

> *If I was straight it would probably be slightly worse because I think that the kind of crimes they assume a gay person would commit and the crimes that they assume just a straight mixed -'race' or Black man would commit would be different. Perhaps I would be more likely to be singled out and spotted in the first place because of my race or my ethnicity but I guess once they assume that I'm gay or whatever then they might then assume different kinds of crime for me. (Robert, 27, mixed-'race', British-born, male)*

Robert reflected upon how this may have resulted in a more favourable outcome for the frequency of contact with police;

> *I probably might have been stopped and searched more in my everyday life if I was heterosexual. (Robert, 27, mixed-'race', British born, male)*

Drawing on the 'matrix of domination' (Collins, 2000:18), Robert's perception illustrates how intersecting oppressions of 'race', gender and sexuality are organised through the structural domain of racism in the white police institution and the hegemonic power of white masculinity. Robert also expressed, through the narratives of friends, the ways in which the police target 'cruising'.

> *I don't feel that I've been any more picked on because of being gay but I know that a lot of friends do. I know that its cynical but at times they'll [the police] be marching in gay pride during the day time and then at night they go to cruising grounds and arrest loads of people because it's one way of getting the stats up. (Robert, 27, mixed-'race, British-born, male)*

The policing of casual sexual relationships between men is informed by embedded 'police cultural knowledge' of the practice as 'deviant' (Loftus, 2009a:80). For Robert, this represented a betrayal by the police who used their attendance at the

local *Gay Pride* event to perform 'policing diversity' and then followed this with several arrests to get their arrest numbers up.

Hegemonic and subordinated masculinities are demonstrably significant in understanding the intersecting oppressions of 'race' and gender. For Black and mixed-'race' men the perceived criminal, hyper-aggressive threat that they pose, as communicated through prevalent stereotypes, places them as an enemy to the white police institution. Although it is clear that most of these men are not involved in criminal lifestyles, they are treated as though they are suspect. It is only when they are perceived as hypo-masculine , such as in the case of Eric who identified as visibly disabled or Robert who identified as gay, that the Black man is no longer viewed as a dangerous criminal, even when they have committed a crime. Gay men may be considered sexually deviant, and be punished through social control which targets the spaces that they frequent (Burke, 1994, Bernstein and Kostelac, 2002), as Robert opines. However, their perceived hypo-masculinity, viewed through the lens of the heterosexist police institution, does not pose the physical threat embodied by the 'big Black man' stereotype. The following section will go on to consider the notion of subordinated masculinities and femininities in relation to the intersection and organisation of 'race' and gender in the police treatment of Black and mixed-'race' women.

6.3 Black women and the police

Criminology, including feminist criminology, has been criticised for ignoring experiences of Black women (Rice, 1990, Daly and Stephens, 1995). Marcia Rice described this lack of attention as the 'other dark figure of crime' (Rice, 1990:58). The absence of Black women is starkly evident in relation to literature on police and policing in a UK context; the limited and sporadic references to women's experiences of the police in the literature indicate that there is a need for a stronger focus on the treatment of Black and mixed-'race' women by the police. This is particularly acute as young women also report negative policing experiences (Sharp and Atherton, 2007), as is evident in the accounts of women involved in the 2011 riots. 10% of those who appeared in court in connection with the riots were female. However, *Reading the Riots* research suggests that the proportion of women was much higher. Many of the women who spoke to *Reading the Riots* researchers suggested that they took part in the rioting did so because of frustrations with the

police. Only 7% of female participants felt that the police did a good job (Lewis et al., 2011). The issue of stop and search is portrayed in the media and policy responses as creating a problematic relationship between the police and young Black men; however, 43% of the women interviewed had been stopped and searched in the previous year (compared with 78% of male interviewees) (Ibid). This section will focus on the accounts of five female research participants and will explore the intersection of 'race' and gender with reference to how the myth of Black criminality and subsequent threat is evident in Black and mixed-'race' women's experiences of policing.

Racist tropes which portray Black women as 'angry' pervade in the popular media (Walley-Jean, 2009), drawing from a long history of racialized gender stereotypes which have portrayed Black women in negative ways. Racist stereotypes such as the 'angry Black woman' (ibid) and the matriarch, the mammy and the jezebel (Hill-Collins, 2000) position Black women as outside of the norms of white hegemonic femininity. Therefore, similarly to Black and mixed-'race' men, Black and mixed-'race' women become the focus of police attention because of their 'race'. Like men, female research participants also had experience of police contact and arrest at a young age, some in childhood, and are viewed with suspicion on the basis of popular and pervasive stereotypes, even when they are 'law abiding citizens'. Bianca's story of being stopped by the police on her bike whilst playing outside with friends, discussed in chapter four, illustrates the ways in which those considered 'police property' (Lee, 1981) are subject to police control from an early age. There are some differences; for the women who had not been involved in offending behaviour the frequency of contact with the police in day to day routine matters was less frequent than that recalled in male participants' accounts. Even Alice, who was 'known' to the police for a significant period of her life, did not have personal experience of stop and search. Though research suggests that the changing perceptions of female offending is increasing stop and search for young women contemporarily, as highlighted in *Reading the Riots* (Lewis et al., 2011). The difference in frequency of contact and negative experiences of policing for women could also explain the small number of women who approached the project and the nature and length of interviews with female participants. Interviews were shorter on average than those conducted with male participants and experiences of the police more dispersed throughout their narrative.

Unlike male participants' accounts, female participants did not view stop and search as a routine or inevitable part of their lives. However, some of the female participants had experience of being stopped whilst driving. Carol and Janice both recalled being pulled over and stopped by the police. Carol was keen to discuss a recent experience of being stopped in her car without a good reason. Carol is a Black health professional in her forties; her contact with the police over her life course has been minimal and in relation to minor victim experiences which had elicited a satisfactory police response. Carol had one previous experience of being pulled over in her car which she did not object to because she was in an unfamiliar location and had carried out a manoeuvre that was not appropriate. In this context Carol did not question the police response and accepted it as legitimate. The most recent incident occurred late at night when she was driving home from a friend's house with another friend in the passenger seat. Carol recalled being pulled over by two male police officers one of whom asked her if the car was hers. He followed his question with the statement *'because nice cars like this are normally pinched'*. It was this statement that caused Carol to feel uncomfortable about the stop as the police officers alluded to a stereotype that when a Black person is driving a nice car they are doing so through illegitimate means. Carol said *'does he mean that a girl like me [Black] couldn't have a car like that [BMW]?'*. Carol confirmed to the officer that the car belonged to her and she was allowed to carry on with her drive home. Carol made some observations about the police attitude towards her;

> *They were polite; they weren't* rough *at all or nothing. No, they were polite in the way they asked. It's only the sort of the question that he asked that's why I just wondered [if the stop was motivated by racism]. But no he wasn't at all, he wasn't threatening. (Carol, 49, Black, British-born, female)*

This experience is different to the nature of the car stops recalled in male participant's accounts, in which there were examples of the police officers testing participant's attitude to the police in what one officer described to Phillip as '*passing the attitude test*'. This was also evident thorough identity checks described by several male participants, issuing a 'producer' and aggressive restraint and search tactics.

The difference in female and male participants' experience of car stops was acknowledged by female participants. Carol reflected that whilst she was asked to stand outside of the car she complied and was believed when she told the officers that it was her car, they did not ask for proof of identity or make any further

enquiries. Carol and her friend spoke on the way home about how it would have been worse if she had been a man;

> *My friend was saying that, I bet if it was a Black fella he would probably have had a rougher time than me. They probably would have got him out and you know, .asked for ID and some things like that. Because they didn't really ask me .I just said it was my car, t*hat *was it and then off I went.*
> *(Carol, 49, Black, British-born, female)*

Similarly, Janice was pulled over for speeding on the motorway. She was with her boyfriend, a Black man who *'is pulled up every time he enters Yorkshire'*. Janice got out of the car to meet with the police officer who was '*admiring*' the car, She apologised and explained how powerful the car was and that the speed had just '*crept up on her*'. Janice recalls how both her boyfriend and her brother, who she later told of the incident, were shocked that she had *'got away with it'* without any points. Janice discussed with her boyfriend the reasons for the absence of punitive approach by the police officer in question;

> *When I got back in the car he was like 'did you get three points?'. I said 'no'. And he were like 'why? I would have got three points'. And I said 'cause you get out with attitude. I got out and confessed to exactly what I'd done'.. I knew I'd done 82(mph. I knew exactly what I'd done. It's because of his attitude when he gets out the way he dresses, the way he look. So yea there is stereotypes cause he gets pulled and it's the way he looks. He drives with his hood up sat way back, so they're gonna think it's being driven by bloody knight rider, no driver in there. But realistically this is genuinely how people feel that they do get stopped for wrong reasons because I've got a nice car'. (Janice 37, Black, British-born, female)*

Both Janice and Carol's accounts demonstrate that a display of appropriate 'feminine demeanour' (Hill-Collins, 2004:196) when confronted with the authority of the white hegemonic masculine authority of the police authority is advantageous for female participants. Their compliance with the police officer and their compliance with the law, evidenced through the absence of previous offending behaviour, demonstrates that they are not like the threatening 'big Black man' nor are they like the stigmatised working class Black woman who represents the 'least desirable form of femininity' (Collins, 2004:199).

In situations where the police are required to respond to the report of a crime and make a decision about who to apprehend, Black and mixed-'race' women are more likely to be perceived as the offender. Neither Janice or Bianca recalled a history of contact with the police as the result of them committing a crime, nevertheless they both had experience of being arrested in situations of conflict in

which the police incorrectly assumed them to be the aggressor. In both cases the perpetrator of the offence was white. Bianca's experience of being arrested when she went to the police station to report being assaulted by a white woman (chapter four), illustrates the way in which Black and mixed- 'race' women are also assumed to be criminal and treated as such when the police have a decision to make about who to apprehend. Embodied stereotypes of subordinate femininity determine who will be deemed the perpetrator.

This is also illustrated in Janice's account of an incident which occurred in the course of her paid employment as a youth worker. Janice described what happened when, in a professional capacity, she tried to break up a fight at a football match which incidentally had been organised to break down barriers between young people from two different estates;

> *It turned out to be a fight with some Black boys and a white boy who was making racist comments. And they threw him on the floor, started kicking him. I obviously jumped in to try and save him because I knew that my clients wouldn't hurt me so I tried to jump in. By the time the police had got across the football pitch which was quite large they took us all [laughs].*
>
> *(Janice, 37, back, British-born, female)*

Janice was alongside her white colleague at the time of her arrest yet Janice was the only member of staff who was arrested. She was later released at the station when she explained who she was. However, her experience highlights the ways in which 'race' can shape police decision making when they are called to respond to an incident.

The differential treatment experiences by Black and mixed-'race' women in comparison to their white peers can have significant consequences for their life chances, particularly for young women. Alice's first arrest was at the age of fifteen, Alice recalled that on the occasion of her first offence the police charged her without any concern for the impact on her future whilst her white peers were 'cautioned'. During the interview Alice reflected on the longer term impact of this decision and what this communicated to her about her position in relation to the police and to her place in society;

> *Alice: I wish I'd just been a good girl and not had any but you know their treatment didn't help at all. If anything it made me worse, a lot worse*
>
> *Lisa: Why do you say that it made you worse?*

> *Alice: I wasn't worth anything. I wasn't worth giving a second chance. I was kind of written off, that's how I felt. I've spoken to other [white] young girls and they've [police] said [to them] 'we don't want it to affect your future'. I never got that. I didn't matter I wasn't going anywhere anyway. I've got my criminal record and it dates back from when I was fifteen.*
>
> *(Alice, 38, mixed-'race', British-born, female)*

Alice views her treatment as unfair because she had the experience of other young, white women to compare it to. The knowledge that others had been given a second chance through alternatives to prosecution , and that the impact on their future had been a consideration in the decision towards diversion from criminal justice, illustrates 'racism's invisible touch' (Tate, 2016) as it is felt through the actions of the white police institution. Alice knew that she was viewed differently, as not worth the effort. Her future, for the police officers, was already determined by her 'race' towards criminality. It was in fact the police officers decision that determined her path towards criminality which dominated twenty years of her life. Alice is no longer engaged in offending behaviour and is now studying Criminology at University and hopes to use her past experience to help others as a Criminology practitioner in the future. However, her story along with the combined narratives of other research participants illustrate the racial affects of discriminatory policing on the life chances of young Black people.

The ways in which young white women are treated more favourably than Black and mixed- 'race' women, and the potential that this has to have significant life-limiting consequences, is further evident in Bianca's story. She recalled an occasion when she was arrested for protesting the treatment afforded by the police arresting a Black man outside of a nightclub. Bianca recalled that she was in the company of one Black friend and two white friends, all of whom were protesting in equal measure, along with onlookers, to the police behaviour. Bianca and her Black friend were arrested whilst her two white friends were asked to move on and go home;

> *I wish I had the video of the CCTV because you can see it all. My white friends like 'no, what the fucks going on, you can't arrest her, you can't do this, we are sleeping at her house'. And you see arms being waved and my white friend, you could see her physically pushing a police officer out the way. Maybe he didn't feel it or maybe he didn't want to feel it or whatever, but, you know, she pushed him just as [name of Black friend] had this interaction with her officer but she ended up in a cell and [white friend name] was told to move along . (Bianca, 25, mixed-'race', female)*

 Following the incident the police proceeded to press charges of assaulting a police officer against Bianca's Black friend. These charges were later thrown out on the basis of CCTV evidence, to which Bianca refers above, which disproved the police officer's version of events. This proof that the police officer had '*lied*' about what had happened served further to increase mistrust, particularly as the charges could have had significant consequences. Bianca reflected on the potential for the false charges to undo all of the hard work that the young women had undertaken to develop their career prospects;

> *it was ridiculous to hear the stories that had been invented to get [friend] done for assaulting a police officer which in the long run would have been terrible for her, to have that on your record. And you know we are not criminals, we work, we do education like we've been told and we build up our careers. (Bianca, 25, mixed-'race', British-born, female)*

Bianca's story highlights how, even for Black and mixed- 'race' women engaged in an aspirational lifestyle focused on education and career development, their hard work can be jeopardised through their treatment on the basis of racialized stereotypes. Fortunately for Bianca's friend CCTV evidence disproved the allegation of assault made by the police officer; however, her life could have taken a very different turn, as in Alice's case, if the allegation had been upheld. The victimization of Black women as punishment was a concern raised by Agozino (1997), who provides the example of a young girl who was arrested using significant force and subsequently charged with assaulting four male police officers at once (Agozino, 1997:79). In Bianca's narrative, parallels can be drawn with the treatment of Black and mixed- 'race' women by the police when they act to protect Black men from racist policing, as was evident in the case of the Women of Broadwater Farm (Farm, 1989). Racial solidarity both opposes the white patriarchal police institution and transgresses the norms of hegemonic white femininity against which conformity is measured.

6.4 Transgressing white femininity

Feminist criminology maintains that women who break the law are doubly punished. Once for breaking the law and again for transgressing their gender roles (Heidensohn et al., 1985). For Black and mixed-'race' women it can be argued that the stereotypes attributed to them are already in transgression of the norms associated with white hegemonic versions of femininity (Collins, 2000, Collins,

2004, Walley-Jean, 2009). This explains why they are punished even when they have not broken the law, as discussed in the above section; for women defined as criminal 'race' compounds this transgression. Alice was the only female participant who described being 'known' to the police for behaviour defined as 'criminal'. Being 'known by the police' defined her interactions and frequency of contact with them which created a narrative account of police encounters similar to those described by several of the male participants (the majority of whom were not criminally known to the police). This suggests that lifestyle and behaviours impact on Black and mixed- 'race' female participant's experiences of policing to a greater extent than that of male participants, as Alice's experience is notably different to the other female participants' narratives.

Minor criminal charges can escalate to more serious charges because of perceived stereotypes which position Black and mixed- 'race' women as aggressive, particularly when they are 'known' for their offending. This was evident in Alice's account of her arrest during a shopping trip to buy goods for her daughter's birthday party with two white friends. Alice had placed some nappies on top of the pram which she forgot to pay for with the other shopping. She was apprehended by a security officer, the police who happened to be at the shop already intervened and arrested Alice, allowing her two friends to leave with Alice's daughter. Alice became concerned for her daughter and asked if she could make arrangements for her mother or sister to take care of her. Alice recalls not being allowed to make contact with her family;

> *They shoved me straight in the police van and I'm saying 'well can I sort out my daughter and make some arrangements'. They said 'no get in'. So I've kicked the door and as I've kicked the door I've touched his shirt with my foot and it wasn't like I've kicked him but he had a little mark on his shirt. I remember they didn't charge me with theft but they charged me with assaulting a police officer.* (Alice, 37, mixed-'race', British-born, female)

Her frustration at not being able to make arrangements for her daughter was perceived as aggression. As Alice says '*If you are frustrated it doesn't mean you are being aggressive and they always used to say that I was being aggressive and restrain me*'. This incident led Alice to conclude that it didn't matter that she was a woman or a mother, she was treated in the same way that a man would have been treated. What is evident from Alice's account is that she was not charged with the offence for which she was arrested but rather for assaulting a police officer which

resulted in a further conviction and a fine and an order for compensation to be paid to the police officer (Agozino, 1997). Alice was punished for her perceived aggression, rather than theft, the transgression of gender norms carrying a heavier punishment than the minor crime for which the arrest was effected.

There is some evidence that women who do not comply when they are arrested or who challenge police behaviour experience disproportionate use of force in the same way that men do. Gender is not a protection from mistreatment when women are seen to display behaviours attributed to the 'angry Black woman' stereotype, which does not conform to the submissive traits expected of white hegemonic femininity. As argued by Hill Collins, 'just as hegemonic White masculinity occupies the most desired social script, an equally hegemonic Black femininity organized via images of bitches, bad mothers, mammies, and Black ladies coalesce to mark the least desirable form of femininity.' (Collins, 2004:199). Bianca, whose experience of being arrested when she challenged the police treatment of a Black man was discussed at an earlier point in the chapter, described the way in which the police responded to her physically during the arrest;

> *we are being physically pushed now because they're [police] getting closer to us and were all saying 'we are not moving'. 'We can't believe what you've just done to that man it disgusting'. I got physically pushed by an officer so I've turned round and I've said to him, you know, 'don't fucking touch me. 'I think you're fucking disgusting, you devils... have you seen what you've done to that man and he didn't deserve it and you're trying to move us on to where? Where are we going? There's nowhere to go'. And he was just like 'right that's it we'll have you'. And that was it he's twisted my arm up to try and put handcuffs on and took me aside, held me up against the railing... left me there with some other officer.*
>
> *(Bianca, 25, mixed-'race', British-born, female)*

Whilst it can be argued that Bianca was indeed angry, her behaviour was in response to what she, and others, perceived to be the unfair and excessively forceful restraint of a Black man. Bianca expressed a strong awareness throughout her interview, garnered from the media and community narratives, of racism in policing. In this context, a legitimate and humane response to perceived injustice was racialized. This racialization is evident in that her white friends were not treated in the same way as discussed above.

Even when Black and mixed- 'race' women have been treated harshly by the police they understand that the Black female body does not communicate the same

level of threat as embodied Black masculinity. Janice reflected on the way that she is perceived differently because of her gender;

> *As a female I don't suppose I have that threat. I'm not small and I'm not tall and I'm not aggressive and I'm not extremely powerful, which genetically afro-Caribbean males are, and I don't have that aggression.*
>
> *(Janice, 37, Black, British-born, female)*

Janice clearly sees that, although she was arrested and treated differently to white women as discussed earlier, she is not perceived as possessing hyper masculine traits of physical strength and power. Whilst this may be the case when comparing perceptions of Black and mixed-'race' women with that of Black and mixed-'race' men, the evidence suggests that in comparison to white women the perception of strength and power attributed to the 'angry Black woman' is evident. There are several examples of excessive restraint against Black women in which the police relied upon racialized stereotypes to justify use of force, this is acutely evident in the media response to the death of Joy Gardner, following a deportation raid in 1993 (Erfani-Ghettani, 2015, Pemberton, 2008:246). Further, Janice makes reference to ideas of superior strength premised on biology; the ideas which Janice expresses represent the ways in which negative stereotypes can be internalised within racialized groups, through exposure to them in the dominant culture. This internalisation served to 'erase the workings of racial discrimination by keeping Black men and Black women focused on blaming one another for problems' (Collins, 2004:180). Whilst biological explanations for 'race' difference are disproven, the myths prevail in powerful stereotypes. On further reflection Janice goes on to conclude that what is perceived as aggression is the frustration associated with over policing;

> *.the aggression is not directed, the aggression is sometimes because people are sick of it. They are sick of hearing it, it might not have been them that you stopped yesterday but it could have been their brother, it could have been their nephew.* (Janice, 37, Black, British-born, female)

It is the irritation caused by constant harassment from the police and an awareness of its racist affects on the lives of themselves and other men that can cause what is perceived to be an aggressive reaction in police contact. This obvious irritation and frustration when it converges with the images of Black masculinity in the police imagination, communicates a threat, which only serves to compound the stereotype.

For some Black and mixed-'race' women it is possible to negotiate and redefine their position in relation to hegemonic white femininity with recourse to social and cultural capital. Through performing the alternative subordinated Black femininity of the 'Black lady', rather than the 'bitch' (Hill-Collins 2004:139) the negative impact of racialized policing practices can to a limited extent be minimised or negotiated through social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). When Janice was arrested she was able to draw on her professional status as well as her knowledge of local police through her work and she was respected in this capacity. Similarly, when Bianca was arrested as a teenager (chapter four) she was released from custody without charge when a family friend who was a lawyer represented her at the police station. The outcome for the teenager could have been very different if she did not have these resources. The difference in her experience and that of Alice, who was criminalised with life-changing consequences, is evident. Social and cultural capital are resources that can be drawn upon, in some contexts, to reaffirm compliance with gender norms of respectability and preferred versions of (white) femininity (Collins, 2004).

Further evidence for this is found in a recent case of compensation awarded to a professional, Black woman who was subjected to a harrowing strip search after she was the victim of drink spiking in a night club. The woman believed she was treated this way because she was Black. This was confirmed when she overheard a police officer at her bedside tell a colleague 'I think we made a mistake' when they realised that she was well spoken and from Hampstead (Laville, 2015). The woman in question was, after the event, able to draw upon her cultural capital in terms of her accent, area and professional credentials to demonstrate that the police had made a mistake for which she was compensated £37,000. The mistake was not to treat the woman in the way that she was treated, but to do so when she was able to demonstrate that she was not 'police property' (Lee, 1981). Recourse to either social or cultural capital does not protect from over-policing, mistreatment or mistaken arrest, it merely affords redress for mistreatment. If Black women are able to perform, through symbols of respectability, a version of femininity that is more closely aligned to the desired 'hegemonic (white) femininity' (Collins, 2004:193), 'race' can to some extent be negotiated. The following section will address the negotiation of 'race' through femininity in relation to the victim experience.

6.5 Performing deservingness

The victim that represents the 'ideal victim' image and therefore 'deserving' of protection will receive a more satisfactory service from the police than a victim of crime who the police do not class as deserving (chapter five). This is to some extent dependent on the gender of the victim and the extent to which they perform in relation to preferred versions of masculinity and femininity. When compared with the experiences of male participants, female participants expressed least dissatisfaction with their treatment as the victim of crime. This was particularly pertinent when the reported crime was 'low level', for example burglary or theft, and did not result in physical contact or harm. Carol and Cynthia had both been the victim of burglary; both participants expressed satisfaction with the way the police had dealt with their report. *'somebody broke in and pinched the television and then I had to call the police just to report it and they were okay about it, it was nothing, there was no problem. They checked it out; I can't remember whether they found it*… (Carol). For Carol the experience had little impact on her at the time. For Cynthia, the experience left her feeling vulnerable and unsafe. She felt the police response was good as, although they didn't recover her belongings or apprehend the perpetrators, they put her in touch with Victim Support, who helped her to contact the housing association to arrange for the broken lock and door to be fixed.

> *They gave me information. They gave me the number [for victim support] and a crime number. It was them [Victim Support] that worked with the housing association to get the lock and the key and the door sorted out.*
> *(Cynthia, 42, Black, British-born, female)*

Cynthia and Carol were not known to the police on the basis of their offending behaviour, which results in a more favourable response to victimisation.

Criminality which is understood to transgress norms of white femininity, results in a less favourable response. Alice contacted the police for help when there was a violent incident outside of her property (not related to Alice or anyone in her home) and the police failed to send anybody to the scene. When the police officer arrived, sometime after the incident was over, the police officer told Alice '*well we heard your name'*. This is illustrative of the victim-offender dichotomy discussed in chapter five, which discursively constitutes the victim and offender in binary terms, one 'deserving' and the other 'undeserving' (Drake 2015). As argued in chapter five, the construction of the 'victimological other' (Walklate, 2007) through the racialized

link between 'race' and crime positions the Black body as criminal. They are therefore in contrast to the 'ideal victim' image and following victimisation they may be treated as suspect or have to prove their victim status. Further, as can be seen from Alice's story, being known to the police compounds this further through perceptions of 'double deviance' that contrast with desired norms of femininity.

Social structures and ideological stereotypes of the Matriarch, Jezebel and welfare mother combine to create a climate in which Black women are not taken seriously as victims, particularly in relation to sexual crimes including rape (Neville and Hamer, 2001). Eighteen years prior to the interview Alice was subjected to a serious sexual assault in front of her young daughter. She reported the assault to the police; however, she was advised that her complaint was not worth pursuing. She described the way in which the female police officer dealt with her report;

> *She basically said [police officer] 'it'll be his word against yours, they'll rip you apart in court and I don't think it's worth pursuing'. I don't think they took me seriously or took the incident seriously, that's how I felt. They took me up to this rape suite they didn't even examine me or anything.*
>
> *(Alice, 38, mixed-'race', British, born, female)*

Alice, who was criminalised at fifteen, discussed earlier in this chapter, is once again made to feel that she is not worthy of a chance in the eyes of the police. Whether as a suspect or a victim of crime Alice feels that she does not matter enough to be taken seriously. The failure to examine her, despite being in a purpose built facility for dealing with sexual crimes, compounds this perception. Further, the evidence Alice supplied was not pursued, Alice was asked to provide the clothes she was wearing, which she did. However, '*they never did anything with them*'. Alice has been the victim of subsequent crimes in the intervening years and has not reported them to the police, she explained '*I just don't feel there's any point you know, I just don't feel there's any point*'. The perception of women more broadly is that reports of rape are not taken seriously (Westmarland and Brown, 2012`). This is borne out in the police failure to record reported rapes. A recent report found that 26% of sexual offences reported to the police are not recorded (HMIC, 2014a:18). Further, it is evident that views surrounding sexual deviancy shape police 'cynicism' (Loftus 2009). Stereotypes about Black women discursively construct them as sexually deviant (Collins, 2000), this positions them in opposition to the image of the 'ideal victim' (Christie, 1986) when they are victimised through sexual assault.

Similar findings are evident in relation to the police response to domestic abuse. The police have historically been criticised for their failure to take domestic abuse seriously as a crime. It has been considered, from the perspective of a police service dominated by a masculine ethos, as a private/domestic matter or a 'rubbish crime' (Reiner, 2010, Loftus, 2009a). Reforms in relation to police responses to domestic abuse does not appear to have changed how the police view these crimes as a 'crock of shit ' (Loftus, 2009a). Loftus found some evidence of sensitivity to victims at the scene, though the manner of policing informed by 'masculine sentiments' is detrimental to the quality of service women receive (Ibid: 130-132). Women who are experiencing domestic abuse therefore expect that the police will not take their plight seriously and this is cited as a factor in the under reporting of domestic abuse to the police (Mama, 1993).

The fear of racist treatment from the police directed towards the victim or their partner compounds the issue of under-reporting for Black women. Further Amina Mama found that some women had been assaulted or arrested by the police when they called them for help (Mama, 1993). The fear of racism that Mama identifies in her influential research is reflected in Alice's account;

> *I've been in domestic situations, like domestic violence situations, and I just won't report it. Because I know they are more interested in, well this is how I feel and what I perceive, they are more interested in locking Black people up more for being Black not for what they've actually [done]. That's my opinion so I don't want to give them that satisfaction to be honest.*

(Alice, 38, mixed-'race', British-born, female)

Alice's reluctance to call the police highlights how racism intersects with gender to differentiate her treatment from a woman who is oppressed by gender but not by 'race'. Alice is both the victim of domestic abuse at the hands of her partner and a victim of racism in the white police institution which means that as a Black woman she fears that she will not be taken seriously and that her perpetrator will be treated harshly. Again, the 'matrix of domination' (Collins, 2000) is a useful tool here to understand the hierarchy of intersecting oppressions in the context of domestic abuse directed towards women. In this context, the woman is oppressed on the basis of gender as the victim of male partner violence but at the intersection of 'race' she is under-protected by the racist police institution which will also over-police the perpetrator of the violence. Both gender and 'race' intersect across 'domains of power' (Ibid: 287) to leave her without recourse to protection.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the intersection of gender with race in the context of contact with the police. Blackness is a unifying identity in the face of oppression from the white police institution; however, there is not one homogenous 'Black experience' of policing. The data suggests that the experience of police contact for Black and mixed-'race' people is shaped by the intersecting oppressions of 'race' and gender . The 'matrix of domination' facilitates an understanding of how these intersecting oppressions are organised in relation to domains of power (Collins, 2000).

Black women's relationship to the police and their experiences of policing are under-researched. This chapter illuminates the ways in which Black and mixed-'race' women experience policing and finds that similarly to Black and mixed-'race' men that they are over-policed and under-protected. Their experiences are shaped by dominant stereotypes which proliferate in the 'police imagination'. However, the findings of this research suggest that, for Black and mixed-'race' women, their behaviour and lifestyle choices have a greater impact on their experience of police contact than that of Black and mixed-'race' men. Whilst they may come to the attention of the police because of racist stereotypes, it is evident that for some women, non-offending women in particular, performing a desirable version of femininity (Collins, 2004) provides some respite from the racist affects of police contact.

This negotiation of 'race', through the performance of desirable femininity, is not possible for criminalised women. Through Alice's experience this chapter has illustrated that when women do not conform to desired forms of femininity, which includes complying with the law and displaying submissive traits in the face of police contact, they are treated more harshly and their experiences begin to resemble narratives of male participants. They become the frequent target of police attention, are treated harshly and with force and are not protected as victim of crime. It should be noted that this finding is based on the experiences of one participant and should not be taken as evidence of a broader trend. Black and mixed-'race' women's experience of the police are wholly absent from the criminological and sociological literature. These findings based on the experiences of five Black and mixed-'race'

women suggest that this is an area of research which is in urgent need of development.

Both 'race' and gender intersect to produce 'subordinate masculinities' (Collins, 2004) that are essential for the maintenance of the white hegemonic masculinity of the police institution. Dominant negative stereotypes that coalesce to produce the dominant image of the 'criminalblackman' (Russell-Brown, 1998) position him as the ultimate threat to the white hegemonic masculine police institution. Within an occupational culture which prides itself on masculinity and crime-fighting the 'criminalblackman' is the ultimate enemy. As demonstrated in the accounts of research participants this results in their perpetual treatment as suspect even when they are the victim of crime. Whilst 'hypo-masculinity' can be ascribed, as shown in relation to disability and sexuality, there is no alternative version of Black masculinity that they can 'perform' in order to negotiate the impact of their over policing and under protection.

Over-policing has been attributed to social position, the following chapter will analyse the impact of class as it intersects with 'race' in the context of police contact.

Chapter 7 'Race', Class and Belonging

It is power that renders the symbols of inferiorisation effective…
(Anthias, 1999)

It's being a toe-rag that constitutes the crucial generic category ... 'Because they are Black' ought now to read, 'because they are young and male and "rough" working class and Black' (Jefferson, 1993:35)

This chapter will address the intersection of 'race' and class in explaining negative police responses to Black and mixed-'race' individuals and communities. Through an intersectional analysis of participants counter- stories it will challenge the notion that Blackness is incidental to class in the police mapping of populations as their 'property'(Lee, 1981).

It avoids attributing objective class indicators to participants as they were not asked to provide this information and, further, it is acknowledged that 'race' and racism(s) complicate the attribution of objective class indicators. However, participants spoke about their experiences through both a 'race' and a class lens. The language of class was used more predominantly in comparing their experiences to others who were perceived to have more capital, both economic and cultural. In these discussions the comparator was 'white middle class' people or spaces. Whiteness was associated with dominant social status and preferable police treatment. For those who had acquired cultural and economic capital through profession status, they did not reflect that this placed them in a better position in relation to the white power of the police institution. 'Race' disrupts' capital (Rollock, 2014) in negotiating social identity and respectability in the context of police contact.

First, this chapter will address the power of the police institution through an analysis of the class position of the police as an institution. It will go on to analyse the experiences of over-policing in what participants referred to as *'Black areas'*. It argues that 'race' and class coalesce in these spaces to create racially othered spaces, these spaces signify danger and serve to justify an oppressive police presence.

Drawing on the experiences of Black professionals it will illuminate the ways in which 'race' disrupts capital acquired through professionalism. This point underlines the significance of 'race' in participants encounters with the police. It shows that 'race' is drawn upon as a 'symbol of inferiorisation' (Anthias, 1999, Anthias, 1992), constructing the Black professional as a body 'out of place'(Puwar, 2004). Regardless of individual social identity, or context, the 'fact of Blackness'(Fanon, 1986) constructs those who embody it as suspect. Finally, the chapter will analyse the importance belonging in how migrants experience and understand their encounters with the police in England. It will conclude, drawing on the matrix of oppression (Collins, 2000), that 'race' and class are interlocking oppressions; however, in the contact of police contact 'race' is the predominant trigger for imagining the suspect. 'Race' is both the signifier of lower class and of criminality. The 'thin blue line' is not the only colour line which stands between order and disorder in the police imagination.

7.1 Constructing 'police property'

The working class, often conceptualised as a homogenous white mass, was a 'heterogeneous, multi ethnic formation from its inception' (Virdee, 2014:162). However, colonial and post-colonial relations structured the class composition of post-war commonwealth migrants. Post war migrant groups have been fitted into the economic relations which have served to structure and restructure class positions within exclusionary systems of racism (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 2005).

Imperial, colonial and slave histories were invoked throughout participant's narratives in articulating the structural position of Black and mixed-'race' people in Britain and its impact on police and community relations. For example, Phillip spoke at length about the ways in which he perceived histories of slavery and colonialism shape the relationship between Black people and the state contemporarily;

> *Black people have always been the bottom of the white 'race'. The white British dealing with Black people has been one of slavery and colonialism. When they invited Black people over to this country we ended up being housed in poor areas because that is how we've evolved from Africa to the West Indies in poor housing in the slave plantations.*

(Phillip, 45, Black, African, male)

He invokes the notion of 'conditional hospitality' (Bell, 2010:241, Derrida, 2000) here to explain how the presence of Black people in Britain is on the terms of the 'host' nation. The imperial white power determining the conditions under which the other is tolerated. Phillip continued;

> *That's been consistent in keeping down the people of Black 'race' and so when as a result of the shortage of jobs in this country they invited West Indians to come over what you have is a to house them in an area that is no longer desirable. Perpetrating this sense of poverty and lack of education, that is inadequate really. But it's alright for the Blacks because they are not worth anything.*

Philips account is instructive of how tolerance on the 'hosts' terms reproduces white power through the 'racial contract' (Mills, 1997, Tate, 2014). The structural inequalities that are manifest as a result of these power relations positions Black and mixed- 'race' people as 'police property'. 'Race' is not only a sign of criminality, as argued in previous chapters, but also as a signifier of worth, as Phillip states above.

The overrepresentation of Black people in the lower socio-economic groups is a factor in their construction as criminal. As Phillip states, '*The evidence shows that they have no employment and there is no investment in their community* (Phillip). When high crime areas of deprivation are racially othered through the skin of those who inhabit the space (Ahmed, 2007b, Carrington, 2009), the race-link is compounded in the police imagination. Earl reflected on how poverty contributes to both offending and the formation of racialized criminal stereotypes through the intersection of 'race' and class;

> *If I said to all the kids you bring me a bag of dead leaves [in autumn], I'll give you a tenner... do you know how many kids I'd have trailing around here to get a bag of leaves. So it's about money, it's not about being drug dealers. But the police have perpetuated this mentality that all Black people were drug dealers or have the potential to be drug dealers or know somebody who's a drug dealer.*
>
> *(Earl, 54, Black, British born, male)*

Through the example of drug supply, Earl highlights that when Black people do engage in criminality, it is structural inequality rather than a pathological tendency to drug related crime which is to blame. This explanation is accepted more readily for white people, who are not linked with criminality by their 'race'.

Both Phillip and Earl further reflected on the way in which particular crimes, when carried out by white people, are not constructed and policed as a problem relating to the cultural or pathological proclivities attributed to a particular racialized group;

> *Crimes are crimes. It doesn't have to be a stereotypical crime. I mean white people do drugs. There is something about race that police can't seem to put to one side and deal with the crime.*

 (Phillip, 45, Black, African, male)

> *The majority of people buying drugs are indigenous [white] people. I was born and educated here, when I was a kid white kids were sniffing glue doing all of this stuff, not something we engaged in. Alcohol is the biggest drug out there and it is the biggest drug that gets young people involved in other things but they never talk about alcohol but they'll talk about cannabis because cannabis is seen as a Black thing.*

(Earl, 54, Black, British, male)

These extracts provide some insight into how Black and mixed-'race' people conceive of their differential treatment in relation to the evidence that white people are more likely to be drug offenders, but less likely to be targeted for police attention in relation to drug offences ((Eastwood et al., 2013). Through the discursive production of drugs as a 'Black thing', those racialized as Black are disproportionately policed, whilst for white people the problem is located with the individual and not through 'race' as a white thing. This is instructive of the ways in which crime is racialized as not-white. Further contributing to this is the discourses surrounding high crime, deprived estates inhabited by whites who are considered 'police property'. Rather than constructing the problem of crime in these spaces as a 'white thing', they are attributed racialized features in discourses surrounding their incivility (Webster, 2008, Wray, 2006), distancing whiteness from criminality.

For those who are both racialized and classed their position is in stark contrast to the position of the police officer who embodies the power of the white state. Bianca reflects upon the impact that this has on their relationship with individuals and communities who inhabit racially othered spaces;

> *They need to get some Black and ethnic minorities in the police force. They need some women in there; they need to think about taking their uniforms off once in a while. They need to start making themselves relevant, they need to start helping us be able to relate to them. Because you know a lot of the officers that are sent in they come in with their big hats and their handcuffs*

and their batons and you know they're white and thirty and male and from Bramley [upper-working class/white area].

(Bianca, 25, mixed-'race', female)

Here, Bianca draws upon 'race', gender and class (through reference to area) in positioning the police officers who have a presence in her local area, a multi-ethnic community with a local reputation for crime and deprivation, as an oppressive presence. Bianca's suggestion that an increase in diversity of police officers in the force would help to instil confidence is tempered by her subsequent reflections on the barrier that is created by the police uniform and equipment worn about the body such as handcuffs and batons. The role of the uniform in both the embodiment and display of state power was reflected upon by several participants. Here Bianca links the inability of individual police officers to relate to communities to the symbols of authority which reinforce their power over the communities in which they are present.

The police uniform is infused with symbolism which extends beyond the individual wearing it to represent the stability of the state (Holdaway, 1983:46). The wearing of a uniform is one way in which de-individualisation of the police officer occurs and relocates them as an agent of white institutional power. The shift that occurs through the wearing of the uniform is evident in Earls perception that '*police officers... are just like me and you'* until they put on the uniform. '*When they put on that police uniform it gives them a power (Earl).* This power is implied regardless of the social status or class of the individual police officer. The symbols of law enforcement, which can include the police uniform, badge and body worn policing equipment including handcuffs, batons, delineate the boundaries of the state and increase the power of the officer through positioning the subject as subordinate to the superordinate state actor. Earl continues;

It's about how they utilise that power. And we've always argued as long as you are distributing that power equally then we have no problems but if it's disproportionately because we're Black then there is an issue with that.

(Earl, 54, Black, British, male)

As argued by Anthias, power is not '…exercised by all 'whites' over all 'Blacks' but is about the power of the dominant group represented in the state to reproduce its own values and practices on its own terms…' (Anthias, 1999:4.4). Rank and file police officers have broadly been drawn from the working classes, it can be argued

that their individual power in this context is not that dissimilar to those considered 'police property'. The symbols of law enforcement empower the individual officer to draw upon the power of the dominant, institutional white power of the state. This state power is negotiated with individual citizens and groups mapped as 'police property' relationally, dependent upon their perceived power and position (Lee, 1981, Holdaway, 1983, Loftus, 2009a).

When a police officer puts on their uniform, in the eyes of the public, they become the upper class (Farrar, 2012:5). This creates a shift in the individual officer's position, aligning them with the power of the white institution. Lee reflected upon this;

> *If I needed to, not that I should have to or that I want to, If I needed to speak in a more middle class kind of language then I could do that. I could engage with them on their white middle class level. But if I'd never moved out of a working class area and never continued in education, then I guess the way that I talked, the way that I'd act … so class would have an impact as well [on police encounter].*
>
> (Lee, 23, mixed -'race', male)

Lee perceived that the police communicate in a particular way that reflected white middle class language and behaviours. He felt that he would now be better equipped to engage with the police because of the cultural capital that he has acquired through upward social mobility. Further, he would be less likely to have encounters with the police having moved out of a working class area. Whilst it may be true that the police are less likely to be present in areas not defined as 'police property', the experiences of other Black and mixed-'race' men who are upwardly socially mobile, discussed in section three, suggest that cultural capital has a limited effect on police behaviour. As argued by Lea, 'race' is, for the purposes of defining the boundaries of 'police property' a sign of membership of the 'underclass' (Lea, 2000:230).

The above accounts have focused on the intersection of race and class in defining suspect populations, the experience of victims is also shaped through the intersection of 'race' and class. In chapter five it was argued that the racialized victim of crime is often treated as suspect or not deserving on the basis of 'race' which positions them as suspect regardless of context. The intersection of 'race' with class position is reflected in participants understanding of the racialized nature of the police encounter. For example, as discussed in chapter six, Alice was the victim of a sexual assault which she reported to the police around twenty years ago.

At the time the police did not respond to her complaint and no action was taken against the perpetrator. The experience of both the sexual assault and not being taken seriously by the police still takes its toll on Alice. Recent media coverage of the Jimmy Saville abuse scandal[9] has prompted Alice to think about her treatment and she has considered whether to attempt to get justice through reinvestigation of the crime or through pursuing a complaint;

> *I wouldn't be taken seriously because it happened so long ago and there's no evidence, but then you see in the media similar situation and with Jimmy Saville. And, these people are being taken seriously. But they do happen to be white middle class people that are making complaints, they are being taken seriously. Whereas I don't think that they [police] would take me seriously. (Alice, 38, mixed-'race' British, female)*

Alice expresses that she would not be taken seriously because she does not fit with the image of the deserving '*white middle class*' victims of Jimmy Saville. Whether or not the victims of Jimmy Saville were necessarily middle class, whiteness was attributed, through Alice's narrative, to middle class social status. This status, in alignment with middle class white police values, assured that the victims would be taken seriously. Class was also a consideration for Eric, in understanding the police response to him when he reported a burglary. Eric did not use class language, as Alice did; however, deprivation and visible signs of poverty were drawn upon to express the perception that the police did not take him seriously;

> *The police don't really care and don't take people seriously who live in deprived areas because there's a higher crime rate anyway. I live in a deprived area and I was Black. I was getting back on my feet I don't have any fancy furniture. I'd moved in not so long ago so I was just trying to get it all sorted. Some of the walls were not painted and I had a cheap carpet and I think with that they could tell that I wasn't well off and probably wasting their time because I had nothing. (Eric, 32, Black, African, Male)*

Economic powerlessness, as evident through visible signs of poverty, can lead to an unsympathetic response to victims who are positioned as 'scrotes' (Loftus, 2009a:177). Whilst Loftus (2009) draws on examples of class contempt, largely in relation to the white poor, class contempt is felt in Eric's account. This renders the

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[9] Jimmy Saville was a DJ and TV personality from the West Yorkshire area. Following his death in 2011 a number of investigations were launched into prolific sexual offending during the 1960s and 1970s-resulting in the arrest of several other high profile television presenters and DJ's of the era. (Halliday 2014)

victim undeserving and victimises them further at the hands of the state (see, chapter five), both on the basis of 'race' and class. Class renders the victim as unworthy whilst 'race' positions them as inherently linked to criminality, as argued in earlier chapters. It is this intersection of 'race' and class that constructs both individuals, communities and spaces as Other and in need of surveillance and control as will be addressed in the following section.

7.2 Policing in Racially Othered Space

Black and other Ethnic Minorities are more likely to live in deprived high crime areas (CoDE 2013). The residents of these stigmatised neighbourhoods are 'police property' by virtue of both their 'race' and economic and social disadvantage, which has become racialized through processes of economic exploitation of post-war migrant groups. For example, Farrar's (2000) work illuminates how the multi-ethnic area of Chapeltown in Leeds has been constructed as a space of the other, through histories of migration, entrenched poverty and state neglect of housing, proliferation of crime and media narratives of moral decay. This is also found in relation to the notorious 'St Pauls area of Bristol. (Slater and Anderson 2012). The spaces which are inhabited by racialized bodies, though not exclusively or even by a majority in UK context, are constructed as spaces of the Other (Ahmed, 2007a, Wacquant, 2008). The police focus on racially othered spaces is deemed necessary in anticipation of the threat posed by the racially othered bodies that inhabit them.

A common theme in participant's accounts was the significance of post war commonwealth migrant settlement for contemporary structural positioning of Black people in Britain, particularly in relation to their spatial distribution and concentration in inner city area and towns. Through the availability of affordable, but substandard, housing in areas which had reputational association with criminality and previous migrant groups (Lambert, 1970). This is described by Earl whose parents came to England from the Caribbean in the 1950's;

> *Even though the Caribbean's were invited here, Black people in principle were put into [area]. This area already had a bad reputation. Jewish people were here then the Irish came and then the Blacks came and then the Indians came. So it's historically been an area of migration.*
>
> *(Earl, 54, Black, British male)*

Similarly to Phillip above, Earl's reflections illuminate the imperial 'host' mentality of post-war migration, predominantly from the Caribbean in this period. Further, from this perspective, housing Black people in already racially othered spaces was a deliberate strategy in retaining colonial power relations and '*white superiority'* (Phillip) in the 'colony within' (Sivanandan, 1982). Structural racisms have created and continue to perpetuate racially othered spaces manifest in the '*white areas, Black areas and Asian areas',* Janice claimed to exist in her town (Janice, 37, Black, British born, female).

This is not to claim that residents of racially othered spaces are victims lacking in agency. Some participants described these spaces as areas of community, family and cultural ties and places of safety. Janice, a degree educated professional, who could be described as upwardly mobile, continues to live in the area where she grew up and owns a house where she lives with her children;

> *People tend to live where they feel comfortable. And not only that you have local supplies. I wouldn't expect to go to [area] which is a predominantly white area and expect to get some hot pepper sauce or a patty.* (Janice, 37, Black, British born, female)

However, when the 'skin' that inhabits place is not 'white' the space becomes a space of the other (Ahmed 2007:157), signified through the 'sociality of the skin' (Goldberg 2009). The outcome is a prolific police presence which is to be endured by all, including the majority of the residents of the 'reputational ghetto' (Slater and Anderson 2012) who are not involved in crime.

Police presence in racially othered spaces is not perceived to be carried out in the interests of the community, but rather in the interests of controlling 'risky' populations, this is reflected in the following extract;

> *They are here to control us, not to get an idea of what our community is about. They're there as the authority to keep an eye on us. For the majority of us that are not committing crime it's like 'oh just go away, why are you even looking at me?' Even when they drive past and they look at you it's like don't look at me because I'm not doing anything.*

(Bianca, mixed 'race' female 25)

Here, Bianca reflects both on the disproportionate presence in the space she recognises as 'community' but also the attention drawn to individuals, the majority of whom are 'law abiding', whose legitimate presence in the space is brought into

question through the police practice of surveillance. Bianca compared this to the experience of young people in areas which are not the subject of routine police attention; '*white areas*' where young people can '*sit outside in the sunshine*' without causing the police to question their reasons for doing so.

One of the most significant and contested ways in which police attention is manifest in racially othered spaces is through stop and search, as discussed in chapter four. It was posited that Black men in particular are considered suspect bodies and are stopped and searched in this context. This was apparent for both bodies out of place in white spaces and also for suspect bodies in racially othered spaces. In spaces that are already stigmatised through poverty, the Black body at the intersection of 'race' and class is doubly in need of surveillance and control. Lee reflected on the intersection of 'race' and class in understanding the context in which he was stopped and searched;

> *I'm not saying that a middle class Black person wouldn't be stopped. But I would say that a working class white person who dresses in working class... tracksuits say, that's associated with being working class, would be stopped more. But I guess if it was a more affluent area then maybe the police wouldn't be there in the first place at all. And if they were driving through a middle class area would they have stopped to search a kid that wasn't looking really suspicious? Probably not. (Lee, 23, mixed-'race', male)*

As reflected in Lee's account, 'symbols of inferiorisaton' (Anthias, 1992, Anthias, 1999), such as 'race' and class, are exploited to invoke white police power. Visible signs of lower class status, such as clothing (Quinton et al., 2000:20, Stone et al., 2000a:28-9) and having an expected or unexpected presence in racialized spaces, compound suspicion.

Participants who resided in an area that had a higher Black and other 'ethnic minority' population spoke more frequently about an awareness of both heavy police presence in and surveillance of the community. Earl recollected that when he was growing up in the 1970s a heavy police presence was a constant and expected part of daily life;

> *It was a constant, constant living in [area]. Wherever you seemed to turn there was a police officer. If I see a police car or a police officer it didn't faze me because I was so used to seeing them. I got saturated by polic*e.

(Earl 54, Black, British male)

This can be compared with Bianca's reflections on growing up in the same area two generations apart;

> *The area that I live in there's always quite a lot of police presence, whether it be community support officers on foot or on bike or the big massive vans with the cameras on the back patrolling the area.*

(Bianca, 25, mixed- 'race', British, female, 25)

The same themes are evident in both accounts. The prolific and saturating police presence that Earl recollects does not appear to have declined in the intervening years. The proliferation of technology utilised by the state contemporarily is a further layer, identified in Bianca's account, of intensification of the routine surveillance and collation of evidence against 'suspect' individuals and communities (see, O'Neill and Loftus, 2013).

The treatment of whole communities as suspect is understood in class terms in Derek's account. Derek talked about a particularly aggressive armed police search for a suspect in his neighbourhood, in which several households were targeted. Derek compared the behaviour of the police officers to what would be acceptable in a predominantly white middle class suburb;

> *It's up in [area] that I live ... would you go to [area] to do it... Predominantly white neighbourhood, would you go over them men's and do it? I don't think you would because doctors, lawyers, people who's got cash that can fight the police live at that end, yeah. ... We're the lower class, yeah or the dregs of the community yeah so you know or believe that you can treat us and do anything with us...* (Derek, 46, Black, British born, male)

It is significant that Derek is a managerial professional yet he perceives that in the police imagination he is in the lowest class, considered the 'dregs'. The space which he inhabits is lacking in power to challenge police behaviour. For Derek the communities inhabited by those considered the *'dregs of the community'* are an easy target for the police. The upper middle class professionals inhabiting 'white space' and with access to resources which would enable them to challenge the police are not seen to be a target of aggressive police tactics. In contrast, as reflected by both Phillip and Lee's experiences in chapter four, Black and mixed- 'race' bodies in 'white spaces' attract the attention of the police as it is assumed that they are 'bodies out of place' (Puwar 2004). The next section will continue this debate in relation to 'bodies out of place' in professional context.

7.3 Black Professionals-'out of place'

As has been shown, 'race' is a trigger for class assumptions in police interactions with the public. This section will consider the experiences of participants who had professional jobs and/or associated professional or educational qualifications. Similarly, to the participants in (Rollock et al., 2014) participants who had mobilised between working class and middle class status, based on objective professional class indicators, had done so through university education or professional career and their class position was likely to be different to that of their parents. Participants in this research were not asked to position themselves in relation to their own perception of class. However, the way in which participants compared their own experiences with that of white colleagues, and also more generally the experience of the white middle class, is indicative of the complexities inherent in locating racialized bodies within class systems which are racially structured. The resulting dissonance that (Rollock et al., 2011, Rollock et al., 2013, Daye, 1994) articulate, between identity and identification as a professional, occurs when professional status is undermined through racializing discourses which position Black and mixed-'race' professionals as 'space invaders' or 'bodies out of place' (Puwar, 2004). As argued by Rollock et al, 'There is not a straightforward way to be Black and middle class' (Rollock et al., 2013:253). As participants did not refer to themselves as middle-class, professional will be used instead.

Bodies racialized as Black, as discussed in previous sections, are constructed in reference to both lower class status and inherent criminality in the police imagination. Signs of professional status, including being present in the workplace, do little to rupture this imaginary. Some research participants were engaged in employment in which they were required to have frequent contact with the police in professional context. Even in this context participants previewed that they were still viewed as criminal. This is reflected in Andrews's account of his work with the police, which relied upon having a working relationship with individual police officers in specialist roles;

> *In the line of work that I'm in I have a lot of contact with the police but then they first are kind of weighing you up. I know that they'll then go and do the PNC check, check my background, ah he's not got a criminal record and then it's alright we can deal with him now.*

> *(Andrew, 41, mixed- 'race', British, male)*

This reveals the ways in which the lack of trust in the relationship between the police and Black individuals and communities, discussed throughout, traverses class boundaries.

Manifestations of mistrust were expressed both covertly, as Andrew suspected above, but also in more obvious and overt ways. Eric talked about an occasion when the police were called to report a break in at the offices of the local authority building in which he worked. One of the police officers expressed suspicion towards members of staff who were not white;

> *We were a group of mostly Black and ethnic minorities [staff] in our office and a couple of white people. And he said we need to check fingerprints and he looked at us [two members of 'BME' staff] and said if you've got a criminal record we will come and knock on your door [laughter].*
>
> *(Eric, 32, Black, African, Male)*

Though this may (or may not) have been a tongue in cheek exchange, it serves as a reminder that the Black body is always under surveillance and control, even when they are engaged in 'respectable' activity. This is instructive of the ways in which, as argued by Rollock (2014), 'skin colour acts as a form of embodied capital that disrupts and lessens the worth of the cultural capital held by Black middle classes' (Rollock, 2014:4).

There is further evidence to support this point in Janice's account, discussed in chapter six, of being arrested and treated as suspect when she was supervising, in a professional capacity, a youth football match. Janice noted that her white colleague was not arrested, at the time. Whilst she was able to negotiate her professional position on arrival at the police station and avoided being placed in a cell, 'race' disrupted Janice's 'cultural capital' to the extent that she could not have been imagined as a professional, but only as a suspect body in the police response to the situation.

Skin colour is not the only symbol of racialized otherness. Outward signs of un-belonging or 'foreignness', such as accent, were perceived to effect police willingness to respond to calls for help in professional context. Charles is employed in the security industry and is in frequent contact with the police in the course of his work. Charles recalled more than one occasion when he had needed police support in dealing with situations in his workplace and they failed to provide assistance. One

particular occasion stood out when Charles was fearful that somebody would lose their life;

> *There was a massive kick off at least fifteen people was involved,* fifteen people. *Drug dealers you know. It was two of us as a bouncer…they just turned against us. So I called the police. It was a situation where there was a bottle, a knife, everything was involved. So I called the police over the phone, this guy starts asking me my date of birth, where were you born… everything. You can't actually ask me all of those questions when somebody is getting killed in front of me. (Charles, 40, Black, African, male)*

For Charles, his accent provided a reason for the police call handler to establish his legitimacy before responding to his call for help. As found in Hussain and Bagguley (2005) a perceived lack of fluency in English can be a factor in racism and negative stereotyping (Hussain and Bagguley, 2005:418). His professional capacity was not enough to communicate 'respectability' or ensure that police back-up was provided before first proving that he belonged.

Cultural capital embodied in professional status may be drawn upon to confer worth in particular contexts. Returning to Derek's story, discussed in chapter four, Derek made a complaint to the police force following an incident in which he was tasered and restrained by five armed police officers. Derek requested that the officer dealing with his complaint met with him at his workplace, rather than at his home. This was a deliberate strategy in anticipation of the police perception that as a Black man he was a '*hoodlum*' and that he would be treated as such;

> *Their chief inspector or whoever it is that came and spoke to me knows full well fucking hell I'm in deep shit now because this is not a hoodlum from the community, this is somebody who actually has a good standing within the community. I wouldn't say he made any reference to that fact but I could just see it in his body language. I could see it in his approach when he came to meet me. I'm dressed smart, I'm not dressed like some hoodlum, yeah. He was actually quite surprised when I turned up in reception.*
> *(Derek, 46, Black, British male)*

In Derek's account his social position and associated cultural capital as evident in his position within the organisation, the community and his dress becomes a negotiating tool for re-asserting his respectability and affirming the legitimacy of his complaint; situating himself as neither 'police property' nor powerless. This would appear to challenge the evidence presented in chapter six, in which it was argued that Black men do not have recourse to alternative forms of masculinity. However, context is key to understanding the intersection of 'race', class and masculinity in police contact. Here Derek is no longer in the position of 'suspect' or threat

attributed to him through 'race'. He is, in the context of the policing diversity agenda, a potential 'disarmer' (Reiner, 2010:125); a complaint made against the police by a person from a vulnerable group, for example those considered vulnerable to racist policing, being treated particularly carefully. This shifts the position of Derek into a more powerful position in which he can negotiate his class position in relation to the white police institution.

Signs of respectability associated with professional employment may negotiate or neutralise the race-crime nexus in the police imagination where there is evidence of this professional status. Jean described one of several car stops whilst travelling to work;

> *I remember once I was stopped not far from here, by a police officer. He basically wanted to double check to know who I was and I remember that I was wearing my badge from work and then he saw my badge and then he kind of backed up a bit. (Jean, 40, Black African, male)*

When Jean was prompted to expand on the point he went on to explain that the behaviour of the officer had initially been '*apprehensive or aggressive'* but his demeanour changed and he became a little more '*friendly*' when he saw Jean's badge; an outward sign of respectability. As argued by Reiner, mistaking a member of higher status group for police property is a major pitfall of the police and one which is particularly 'reinforced' in encounters with ethnic minority groups 'where the police officer is not as attuned to the signals of respectability' (Reiner, 2010:124).

Signs of wealth associated with successful career have the potential to be misread as a sign of criminality. One area where this is significant is in relation to the ownership of luxury cars. The offence of Driving While Black (DWB) is colloquial for police profiling of Black drivers in US and has made its way into extensive academic research in the US context (Harris, 1999, Lundman and Kaufman, 2003, Russell, 1998). Research from Stopwatch, (based on Crime Survey for England and Wales) found that people from Black and ethnic minority background are significantly more likely to be pulled over. Between 2008 and 2011 33% of mixed Black and white people and 18% of both Black Caribbean and Asian Muslim people reported experiencing car stops compared to 11% of white people (Stop-watch, 2014a). There are several examples in participant's accounts of car stops, also discussed in previous chapters. The purpose, as perceived by participants, was either to confirm ownership of the vehicle or to allay police suspicions of

involvement in criminal activity. Marcus described an incident that occurred with an acquaintance from the area in which he lives;

> *There's a footballer, his mother lives a few streets down from here. He's got a Mercedes, so he went to visit his mother, parked outside her house. When he was driving home, he's driven from [here] all the way to [suburb name] he's pulled up outside his house, he's jumped out of his car and when he's got out of his car three other cars have come and he's got a gun at his head. Now some police officer has seen him driving down the road and mistaken him for a drug dealer and they've followed him in his own car all the way to his house and when he's got out of his car on his own drive he's got a gun to his head. (Marcus, 44, Black, British, male)*

Marcus's account provides further evidence that Blackness cannot be reconciled with the legitimate ownership of luxury items in the police imagination. Research conducted in Oslo finds that the combination of dark skin and driving a BMW precipitates stop and search (Sollund, 2006). Further, for the suspect, the armed police response suggests that his ownership of the car was associated with violent or drug-related crime. Further evidence that the capital associated with professional success is disrupted by 'race' (Rollock, 2014).

The potential for professional Black or mixed-'race' people to risk their professional status and acquired cultural capital through contact with the police is greater than for professional white people. As evidenced throughout, they are subjected to oppressive police practices which can provoke or necessitate a response. Such challenges to the police can have long-term damaging consequences on career prospects. Bianca reflects upon this, *any sort of encounters with the police that go badly, it's basically ended my career for the sake of running my mouth to a police officer.* This has implications for the ways in which both individuals and communities can resist oppressive police practices, having on impact on the capacity for solidarity in the face of oppressive policing. As Andrew said, *I'd rather just keep away. I've got too much to lose. House, investments, family, kids. I don't want police beating down my door.* He reflected on how this could be perceived by others;

> *Some of the Black community will probably say it's a little bit sad really. I kind of see it as I've got bigger fish to fry in my agenda, my own family. And being part Black is just one part of my identity. I'm not willing to take them risks. (Andrew, 41, mixed-race, British, male)*

Andrew reconciled this with reference to the work that he does in a professional context and how that might provide him with a channel to address some of the harms caused by oppressive policing. But to openly challenge the police, was

considered too much of a risk to the forms of capital he had acquired through professionalism.

This section has shown, that whilst 'race' may be a sign of class in police mapping of policed populations, it is not simply the attribution of class that can explain disproportionate policing. 'Race' intersects with class to produce racist policing. Not only is skin read as a sign of lower class (Lea, 2000), it disrupts cultural capital acquired through professional status (Rollock, 2014). The individual class identity therefore, is not as relevant in understanding racialized police contact as the ascribed class identity, read through 'race', which shapes police interaction. Further, as argued by Lea (2000) the 'Black-middle classes are not seen to hold sufficient power to pose a serious challenge to the police, it is therefore not in the police interests to accommodate their needs '(Lea, 2000:225). The following section will consider the intersection of race with citizenship and belonging in the context of migrant perceptions of the police.

7.4 Policing 'heaven': Immigrant responses to the police in Britain

Imagined political communities, defined through the concept of 'nation' (Anderson, 2006:6) operate through processes of exclusion, both boundary exclusion and those who do not fit within the scope of ideas which delimit who can and who cannot belong. Immigrants to the United Kingdom, particularly but not exclusively immigrants of colour, in the post-war period have been constructed as 'the enemy within' (Gilroy, 1987, Gilroy, 1982). Further, the idea that Black does not equate with Britishness is perpetuated through discourses of racialized otherness as reflected in the title of Paul Gilroy's seminal text, *There aint no Black in the union jack (Gilroy, 1987).* This means that even for Black Britons, their identity can conflict with their identification through the white gaze (Yancy, 2008).

Participant's narratives demonstrate the ways in which notions of belonging/un-belonging operate to position the individual in relation to the state and by extension the police and policing functions. Perceptions of belonging and un-belonging are negotiated through social identity to shape expectations and perceptions of the police. This is acutely evident in the comparison between the perceptions of the police of participants who were born outside of the UK and migrated to England in their adult years. One of the evident points of difference in

non-UK born participant's narratives is the absence of regular police contacts throughout childhood and the teenage years which are evident in the accounts of British born participants (see chapter four). As explained by Eric;

> *I came to the UK as a late teenager and it was a bit different because I didn't have many friends and I didn't go out a lot and I worked. I didn't hang around street corners or malls. I went home, I woke up carried on with my business and went home. I didn't hang around or go to the pub so there was no occasion of contact with me and the police.*

> *(Eric, 32, Black African, Male)*

This observation suggests that not growing up in the UK and therefore not being exposed to the police practices which 'plant the seed of fear', may lead to a different expectation of the police. The racist affects of disproportionate and oppressive policing, which have longer term consequences for trust and confidence, have not been experienced. This could partially explain the more positive perception of the police expressed by Eric, Kenneth and Samuel. This perception prevailed in spite of their recollections of negative responses to victimisation and for Kenneth being stopped and searched; overall, they believed that the police do 'a good job'.

Additionally, non-UK born participants had a point of comparison with their country of origin, these were predominantly countries within the African continent. The ability to compare experiences of the British police with a force that was perceived to be worse would appear, in participant's narratives, to mitigate the impact of negative experiences of West Yorkshire and other UK police forces. This is illustrated by Kenneth;

> *I don't see it [institutional racism] as a problem because when I compare it to other experiences I've had, even in my own country that I call my own, this place [England] is heaven in terms of police dealings.*

> *(Kenneth, 38, Black, African, Male)*

There is a striking difference in the way that Kenneth describes the police when compared with the perceptions held by British born research participants, discussed in earlier chapters. Kenneth acknowledged that institutional racism exists within the police and felt that he had been treated unfairly both as a victim and in the course of routine policing; nevertheless, he did not view this as problematic in relation to his own contact with the police. He felt that he would be given the opportunity to prove

himself when stopped and questioned as long as he maintained a lifestyle that would not bring himself into contact with the police through criminal behaviour and complied with the police in stop and search.

The notion that the police respond in different ways to those who comply with both the law and with the police during routine police contact, such as stop and search and car stops, was evident. Eric, who has resided in the UK for around fourteen years, and is a citizen through naturalisation, mentioned at several points throughout the interview that he considers himself to be a '*law abiding citizen*'. This was not exclusive to the narratives of non-UK born participants; however, the notion of obeying the law as preventing harsh treatment from the police was more salient in the narratives of those who were not born in the UK. For the majority of UK born, male participants in particular, they knew through experience, that complying with the law was not enough to protect them from being on the receiving end of negative police attention, as was revealed in chapter four.

A failure on the part of the police to provide equal service and protection to Black people implied, to those born elsewhere, that even those born in the UK had not been accepted into the 'imagined community' (Anderson, 2006) of 'nation';

> *This [Britain] is what they are born to accept as their own place and yet they can't feel okay to fit into the system. It's terrible isn't it because it's not like they have got to be able to go somewhere else and find a better option. That's why if they are having problem its more stressing to them.*

(Kenneth, 38, Black, African, male)

> *I can understand where they are coming from especially those who were born in this country because they feel they are not, are they part of the society or are they not? And if they are not and they were born here where do they go?*

(Samuel, 45, Black African, male)

These extracts illuminate that for those with 'hybrid' identities the negotiation of belonging/un-belonging through contact with the police may not be as significant as for those who identify as British, through birth. For both Kenneth and Samuel, negative police contact was understood as representative of their [Black Britons] acceptance as part of the 'nation'(Bradford et al., 2016). However, this was not as evident in the narratives of recent migrants.

The 'double alienation' (McAuley, 1996) that Kenneth and Samuel reflect upon, in relation to Black British people, is evident in Thomas's narrative. Despite being born in England, and spending all fifty-five years of his life in the country, he said, I *consider myself British because that's my place of birth. If they decided to kick out every Black person in this country I'd be a refugee [laughs], it's that drastic.* Here, Thomas reveals the dissonance between his identity and sense of belonging to Britain, through birth, and the possibility that 'race' could negate his belonging through his identification by the state. As Ratannsi argues, when the Black male is constructed as a threat the 'conjunction of Black and British' is also threatened (Rattansi, 2000:126).

For Thomas being 'British-born' did not have any advantage in relation to his treatment within the criminal justice system. Thomas spoke about his experiences of the prison system and the over representation of Black people that he had observed on prison wings, in particular in London but also in West Yorkshire.

> *You know saying you're a British born Black doesn't alter the fact that it's a Black man in jail. When they are going in to prisons and they're filling in these forms that say do you regard yourself as British, sometimes I put down I'm not even gonna answer that question because it feels insulting and offensive. (Thomas, 55, Black, British, male)*

This illuminates the disjuncture between his identity as a British born citizen and his identification, through racialized othering in the criminal justice process. This differed from Kenneth's position, that '*I don't exactly call this place my home so I think I have a choice, an alternative'.* Kenneth mentioned in his interview that ultimately he planned to return to Nigeria, he did not plan to settle permanently in the UK. This is instructive of the way in which the police's power to affirm or deny identification and belonging, as found in (Bradford, 2014, Bradford et al., 2014), can be shaped through the individual's identity. If the individual does not identify with the dominant social (national) identity, as in Kenneth's case, this negates the power of the state actors (police) to reaffirm or deny identification with the dominant social group. It can be argued that this makes the police perception of the individual less important and may explain why Kenneth did not find police racism a concern for him, though he accepted its existence.

Skin colour was not the only marker of the 'foreign' body in the context of police contact. Accent and names were perceived to signify the bearer as not

belonging and therefore not deserving of equal treatment. Charles had experience of police contact in a variety of contexts. As a security professional in a role that required frequent contact with the police to request support in dealing with offending behaviour, as the victim of crime and in car stop and other routine policing context. Charles recalled several scenarios in which he had called the police for support in potentially dangerous situations and rather than provide the requested support the police questioned the caller about his identity, including his place of birth. Charles located his treatment as stemming from the fact that he was identified as 'foreign' through both his accent and his name;

> *I don't see why people might, from the first word of the first sentence, [think] oh he's not from here, he wasn't born here... and maybe think that because I don't know the law in this country that's why you want to take advantage of me. That is unfair...As long as you've got the right to live in this country I don't see why you should treat me differently because I'm [an] immigrant.*

(Charles, 40, Black, African, male)

In all three contexts of police contact and on more than one occasion in each context Charles perceived that his treatment was inferior because he was marked as 'foreign'. Whilst he recognised that 'race' and skin colour was also a marker of not belonging, it was that he was identified as '*not from here'* that predicated the police response. For Charles his accent communicated that he was an easy target for unfair treatment as it would be expected that he did not know or understand the systems of law in the UK context and therefore would be afforded unequal protection under it.

In contrast, for Eric, it was skin colour that precipitated unequal protection. He said '*I've got British nationality [naturalised]. I would align with being more British than African'*. On paper he could call upon the concept of belonging to the 'nation'. Nevertheless, he did not expect that the police would respond to a call for help as quickly as to that of '*an ethnically British [white] person'*. This statement provides further evidence for the claim that police contact can reaffirm or deny a sense of belonging. However, significantly for understanding the relationship between communities and the police, the attribution of 'race' delineates who can and who can't belong to the 'imagined community' (Anderson, 2006); the Other, who does not belong, becomes 'police property' (Lee, 1981).

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the counter stories of research participants through an intersectional analysis of 'race' and class. It challenges existing research which assumes that over-policing can be explained predominantly through class based explanations. Drawing on the work of Anthias (1992;1999), it has illuminated the ways in which 'race' serves as the predominant 'symbol of inferiorisation' in the police imagination. Regardless of subject social position, Black and mixed-'race' people are racialized as lower class, or as Lea argues 'underclass'(Lea, 2000).

One of the ways in which this racialization is most apparent is through the experiences of those whose social status is in contrast with the construction of Black and mixed-'race' people as 'underclass' in the police imagination. This chapter has shown how Black professionals' are treated as 'bodies out of place' (Puwar, 2004) when they are required to work with the police in their professional context. Further, counter-stories which reveal the arrest of professionals working in the community and the failure of the police to provide back-up, demonstrate that 'race' operates to disrupt forms of capital (Rollock, 2014). Whilst Rollock (2014), refers specifically to cultural capital, this chapter provided evidence of disruption to other forms of capital including economic, through the mis-reading of signs of wealth, such as luxury car ownership, as evidence of criminality. Even when professional status delineates the boundaries between Black professionals and 'toe-rags' (Jefferson, 1993), Black and mixed-'race' people continue to experience racist and racialized policing.

Further, the chapter was instructive in thinking about the ways in which 'race' and class intersect to produce spaces of the other. In all three research sites in the West Yorkshire area participants referred to this space as being a 'Black area', acquiring for both the residents and outsiders (including the police) a reputation as a dangerous space. These racially othered spaces are policed intensively and police presence, surveillance and stop and search is the norm for the residents of these spaces. It is true that these spaces suffer from deprivation and high levels of poverty through unemployment and it is not contested that those who are disempowered through economic disadvantage are considered 'police property (Lee, 1981)'. However, not only are the residents in these spaces considered 'toe rags', the skin as a visible 'symbol of inferiorisation' (Anthias 1992; 1999) has operated to construct

the dangerous space through the adoption of the skin of its inhabitants (Ahmed, 2007b)

Recent research finds that migrants broadly report more positive perceptions of the police than British born Black and mixed –'race' people (Bradford et al., 2016). Whilst the findings of this research concur, there are one or two caveats to this claim that merit further research. One of these is the finding that the migrants in this research did recognise that racism is a problem within the British police. Through exposure to 'community narratives', high-profile cases and their own experiences they were able to identify racism as a problem, but were less concerned with the impact that this might have on them as individuals than British born participants were. This appears to be shaped by their desire to either settle in England or return to their country of origin and, therefore, the extent to which belonging/un-belonging mattered. Further the ability to compare British policing to police forces which were considered to be worse, both in Europe and in their country of origin (all countries in Africa). Lastly is the perception, different to British born participants, that to be a 'law abiding citizen' would guarantee the avoidance of negative police attention. It is shown, that for those who had been in the country for a longer period of time and/or had been exposed to more negative encounters with the police, these perceptions could change.

It is concluded that 'race' does intersect with class to produce specific outcomes in terms of policing; however, these oppressions are organised in relation to the domains of power (Collins, 2000) represented by the state police body. In the context of white institutional power, embodied by the police, it is 'race' which provides the symbol of inferiorisation' (Anthias, 1992; 1999) to which the police respond. This has racial affects for both lower class and professional Black and mixed-'race' people who, through the 'fact of Blackness' (Fanon, 1986), are all treated as 'police property'.

Chapter 8 Conclusions

It is time we concede that a commitment to racial equality merely perpetuates our disempowerment. Rather, we need a mechanism to make life bearable in a society where Blacks are a permanent, subordinate class. Our empowerment lies in recognizing that Racial Realism may open the gateway to attaining a more meaningful status.

(Bell, 1991:377)

Emancipate yourselves from mental slavery; None but ourselves can free our minds.

(Redemption Song, Bob Marley, 1980)

The research undertook a qualitative study, within a Critical Race-Grounded Theory framework (Malagon et al., 2009), drawing on data from twenty interviews with Black and mixed-'race' participants, from across three generations and, a range of class backgrounds. From 'minority perspectives' (Phillips and Bowling, 2003), the research developed a Critical Race Theory of policing through a counter-story to the majoritarian, dominant understandings of the problem of 'race' and policing. The research set out to do this through addressing the following questions. How do 'Black and mixed-'race' people experience policing? Have experiences of policing changed post-Macpherson?, Do the police implement policing differently in response to 'Black and mixed-'race' people? And, Is 'race' the only explanation? How do intersectional oppressions change the nature of the relationship between the police and 'Black and mixed-'race' people?

In the period following the publication of the Stephen *Lawrence Inquiry Report* (Macpherson, 1999), there has been a programme of reform with 'equality and diversity' at its core. One of the primary recommendations of the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report* was the establishment of a ministerial priority to 'increase trust and confidence in policing amongst minority ethnic communities' (Ibid: 47.1). This recommendation is premised, as argued in chapter two, on the 'myth of consent'. This myth pervades dominant histories of a 'progressive' and 'democratic' police service and fails to address the impact of 'imperial linkages' (Cole, 1999:88), which permeate systems of white state power and the institutions which enforce it. This is problematic for a reform agenda which is based on the notion of 'increasing

trust and confidence in policing ethnic minority communities' as it stands at odds with the role and function of the police service.

In the aftermath of the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report* finding that the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS), is institutionally racist, there has been a marked increase in the language of diversity to address the problem of racism in the police institution and institutions more broadly (Ahmed, 2012). Macpherson's (1999), concept of institutional racism broadly absolves any individual of responsibility for racism in the institution; it is positioned as an accidental outcome of policies and practices. Rather than address racism as a problem, this has created a climate in which diversity is 'tolerated' on the terms of the host institution (Tate, 2014). Further the language of 'diversity' has erased 'race' making racisms touch 'invisible' (Tate, 2016). It can be argued that, rather than addressing and eradicating racism from the police, racism persists as it always did, but its forms are more insidious and harder to excavate without the language of 'race' to identify racisms harms. This is evident in the research into the changes in policing following the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report,* which finds that the overt forms of racism such as racist language are no longer a common occurrence (Foster et al., 2005); however, as found by Rollock et al, there are still concerns surrounding the recruitment and retention of Black and ethnic minority police officers and the stubborn persistence of disproportionate stop and search (Rollock, 2009:70-2). Further, there is a persistent lack of trust and confidence in the police, particularly among Black communities.

It is evident in the research findings that Black and mixed-'race' people's experience of policing are incongruous with the police service claim to fairness and equality. Racism persists in the police service despite the promise of its eradication manifest in post-Macpherson policing reform. Through a Critical Race Theory approach, this research has applied a new lens to understanding the stubborn persistence of racism in the institution. Further, there are some features of Black and mixed 'race' experiences of policing which are absent from the literature to which this research contributes. These understandings can be garnered through empirical research into policing from 'minority perspectives' (Phillips and Bowling, 2003). There are significant gaps in empirical knowledge surrounding Black and mixed-'race' people's experiences of policing as identified in chapters one and two. There is a focus on the experiences of youth (Sharp and Atherton, 2007) and an evident silence surrounding the experiences of Black and mixed-'race' women through their

absence. Further, the existing research speaks more broadly to the experiences of Black and other 'ethnic minority' groups. This approach excludes the specificities pertaining to processes of racialization for different racialized groups. Through counter stories of the voices of those racialized as Black, the majoritarian dominant narratives which perpetuate racism and conceptualisations of the problem rooted in white privilege are challenged (Solorzano and Yosso, 2002). This concluding chapter will review the central findings of the research and will show how, in addressing the research questions, they contribute to knowledge in this under-researched area. Further, the implications of the research findings will be discussed.

8.1 The Perpetual Suspect

This research reveals that racialized contact with the police is not a phenomenon experienced only by poor, Black, youth; it persists throughout the life-course and is experienced by men, women and Black professionals. Black and mixed-'race' people experience policing as the perpetual 'suspect'. This is evident in police initiated contact, predominantly stop and search, car stops, arrest and use of force and also in the context of citizen initiated contact, including experiences of victimisation.

Racial profiling is experienced from an early age; a significant finding across all three generations of participants was the age of first contact with the police (chapter four). These experiences, *'plant the seed of fear'* in children, communicating that they are subject to surveillance and control. Further, these experiences shape perceptions and expectations of the police. They deny Black and mixed-'race' children their innocence and deservingness of protection; notions which are reserved for the white child (Bernstein, 2011, Goff et al., 2014).

One surprising observation which arose in the interviews was that stop and search was not the primary concern for participants. Frequent and experiences of stop and search have a normalising affect so that it becomes unremarkable. Negative experiences of police stop and search, arrest and use of force are prevalent and alter how people live their lives. This research is instructive in understanding the strategies that Black and mixed-'race' people draw upon to both manage and avoid police contact.

Community narratives operate as a protective strategy against the racist affects of discriminatory policing. The extant literature draws on the stories that people tell each other about their encounters with the police to understand how this shapes perceptions of the police (Britton, 2000a, Sharp and Atherton, 2007). This research has shown that these stories, passed inter and intra-generationally, warn against the risks of encountering the police and of how to deal with the police encounter. Further, comparative stories with both Black and white peers serve to excavate and validate the experience of 'racisms invisible touch' (Tate, 2016).

An unexpected outcome of this research was an extended analysis of experiences of victimisation, which appear to have greater significance for understanding trust and confidence in policing than the extant research considers. This research finds that racialized police responses to victims of crime have traumatic racist affects when justice is denied and the victim is forced to confront their identity through the eyes of another (Fanon, 1986). Drawing on Sandra Walklate's notion of the 'victimological other' (Walklate, 2007), it has shown how victims of crime are constructed through racialized stereotypes as in contrast to the image of the 'ideal victim' (Christie, 1986). Black and mixed 'race' victims of crime are at the juncture of the victim/offender dichotomy and are blamed for their own victimisation on the basis that they embody danger (Yancy, 2008). They are therefore punished through treatment as a suspect and subject to process of 'secondary victimisation' at the hands of the white police institution. The racist affects of the police response to victimisation constitutes 'spirit murder' (Williams, 1997). It is proposed here that this can be understood as triple victimisation. Policy responses to the issue of trust and confidence in policing among 'ethnic minority communities', as raised in the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report*, focus on stop and search. Whilst stop and search is undoubtedly a significant issue in understanding trust and confidence in policing, the racist affects of experiencing discriminatory policing following victimisation appear frequently in participant's accounts and, particularly in the case of minor crimes, can have a more significant impact than the initial experience of victimisation. This results in the adoption of a strategy of avoidance, which excludes Black and mixed-'race' people from police protection.

In relation to criminal justice, research is male dominated. Chapter six analysed the experience of policing at the intersection of 'race' and gender and in doing so started a conversation on how Black and mixed 'race' women experience

policing contemporarily. Based on a comparison of the experiences of five Black and mixed-'race' female participants, with the experiences of fifteen male participants, this research found that racialized stereotypes shape experiences of policing for both men and women. Both men and women reported similar experiences of childhood encounters with the police, and were treated as suspect both as victims and as professionals. There is some evidence that females had more capacity than men to negotiate their position in relation to notions of 'police property'. Femininity operated as capital for some Black women to diminish, to some degree, the operation of the skin as a 'symbol of inferiorisation'; however, this relied on their conformity with preferred norms of white femininity. These are performed through law abiding behaviours, submissiveness and compliance in police encounters and respectability evident through professional status. Through this comparison it was argued that the Black man is the ultimate threat. The intersection of 'race' with gender constructs subordinated masculinities which are necessary for the maintenance of hegemonic white masculine institutional power (Collins, 2004).

The research finds that recent migrants had a more favourable perception of the police than the participants who were born and had lived in England throughout their formative years. This favourable perception relies upon the absence of frequency of contact, particularly from a young age, as experienced by British born participants. Further, having a less favourable point of comparison, through experiences of policing in other countries, both in Europe and in the continent of Africa, placed particular expectations on the British police through their global reputation. In particular, the traits associated with the British police were a lack of corruption and a well-publicised diversity agenda which created an expectation of equality of treatment. For some, this expectation when it did not match with experience was confusing and ran counter to positive expectations. This contrasts with white peers whose expectation, based on personal experiences in youth and comparative experiences in community narratives, was that they would be treated unfairly. The research illuminates the process of identity formation in relation to the state, it argues, as also found in Bradford et al (2014), that contact with the police communicates individual position in relation to dominant identity. However, this research finds that belonging is also a choice. When identity does not correspond with the dominant identity because it is hybrid or located within another boundary,

the power of the state to delimit agency through determining who does or does not belong is limited. The power of the police to reflect belonging/ unbelonging through racialized responses is negated to some extent and when racism is acknowledged it is not as problematic for those who expect to belong.

In addressing the research questions, the findings suggest that 'race' is not the only oppression which shapes police contact. However, through an intersectional analysis, it has been argued that whilst gender and social status can be performed in ways which conform to preferred white versions of hegemonic gender roles, 'race' operates as an 'affective symbol of inferiorisation' (Anthias, 1999, Anthias, 1992). Criminality is embodied through 'race'. Gender and social status do matter as shown in chapters six and seven; however, they matter more for whites. Police power is ineffective without recourse to 'symbols of inferiorisation'; for those racialized as Black, 'race' matters more in the context of police contact as it fixes the body as both criminal and of low status regardless of individual identity. Intersecting identities can, in some circumstances, negotiate the significance of 'race' in the police encounter; however, they do not prevent racist police interactions, they only serve to reduce the affects.

8.2 Research Credibility and Limitations

Charmaz (2006) suggests four overarching criteria that I have found helpful in reflecting on the credibility and limitations of the Grounded Theory research process; Credibility, Originality, Resonance and Usefulness. These categories fit better with the constructivist Grounded Theory research approach than positivist notions of reliability and validity. I can claim that the research is credible to the extent that the data is sufficient in number (n=20) and depth, facilitated by the semi structured interview format which drew out experiences of police contact in the context of life histories, to support the claims that I am making. The data was sufficient to enable comparisons between codes and categories, this constant comparison fits with the adapted Grounded Theory method that I used and was the tool for drawing the emergent theory from the data.

The planning for the research project included a proposal to sample at least thirty participants drawn from the three cities and towns in the West Yorkshire Police force area; Leeds, Bradford and Huddersfield. In order to address the research

questions the purposive sample proposed to include ten women, ten people who self-identified as Black and white mixed 'race' and five people in the sample who could, on objective indicators, be described as middle class. As discussed at length in chapter three, the recruitment of participants proved difficult and the majority of participants interviewed were drawn from those people who were contacted as potential gatekeepers, or through established professional 'BME' staff 'networks. This means that the sample is predominantly over the age of 30, many of whom are professionals and are not in the age group typically associated with police contact.

This incidentally proved to be useful in establishing a historical understanding of the ways in which the experiences of policing have or have not changed over time. Comparing experiences of younger participants with those of older participants allowed for this type of analysis and facilitated consideration of research question two, drawing on the accounts of participants who had experienced policing both pre and post-Macpherson. Further, Critical Race Theory research is premised upon prioritising the racialized voice through counter-stories and challenging racism; it is not as concerned with external validity or generalisability of research findings (Malagon et al 2009:261). However, the lack of youth perspectives is acknowledged as a limitation in this research insofar as it is young people who most commonly come into contact with the police.

Whilst the topic of enquiry is not unique to this project, the Critical Race-Grounded Theory approach used offers a fresh insight in a number of areas. The research focused on a sample of Black and Black and white mixed-'race' participants. This is a narrower sample than existing research, which tends to draw on 'Black and minority ethnic' sample (Sharp and Atherton, 2007, Britton, 2000a, Britton, 2000b, Jefferson and Walker, 1993), this facilitates an analysis of the specificities of 'Blackness' (Fanon, 1986). Foregrounding 'race' through a Critical Race Theory framework offers a new insight into the topic, which has hitherto been examined through the lens of class. Further, in the Critical Race Theory tradition, intersectional analysis develops new understandings of the ways in which intersecting oppressions of 'race', class and gender shape police contact.

The interpretation of the data has highlighted opportunities for further research in the area of 'race', racism and policing. Particularly apparent is the need for a greater understanding of Black and mixed-'race' women's experiences of the

police which is wholly absent in the literature. This research lays claim to extend knowledge of Black women's experiences of policing. Whilst it does begin this conversation, this is based on the experiences of five women, so it is limited in what it can claim about women's experiences. There are some clear themes arising from the women's stories, as discussed in chapter six. However, because of the age of the women-most were over the age of thirty, their social position and their lack of offending histories, their experiences may not be representative of younger women, those with a lower social status or with an offending history. It is significant that Alice's experiences were different to those of the other women, her social position was different and she had an offending background (see chapter six). Further research is required to develop an understanding of how women experience policing when they do not have capital on which they can negotiate their femininity in relation to preferred norms of white femininity (Collins, 2004). Particularly as these are the women who, it can be assumed, would be most likely to encounter the police, either through offending or social location.

The potential effects of a white researcher using a theoretical framework informed by Black scholars should be noted. This positionality was interrogated at length in chapter three, and it was demonstrated that the researcher had engaged in active reflexivity throughout the research process. The research built trust through working in a self-revelatory mode (Ladson Billings; Hunter 2005), which required the researcher to reveal their own background and interest in the area of research. However, an acknowledged limitation of the research is how this may have shaped the participants willingness to talk about some of their experiences or the ways in which they talked about them.

In order to make the claim that the findings of the research are generalizable it would need to be repeated with the inclusion of a broader national sample beyond the West Yorkshire police force area and include more participants sampled representatively. This would necessitate the adoption of a different methodological approach. The intention of the research was not to make generalizable claims, but rather to develop knowledge and understanding of the experiences Black and mixed-'race' people have when they come into contact with the police and develop substantive theory aimed at explaining the phenomena.

The research offers new insights into the police/citizen encounter through a 'race' lens. It will be used to further academic knowledge, through peer reviewed publication and presentation at academic conferences. Further, the research will be disseminated to the police service, and has the potential to contribute to police understandings of how they are perceived by the communities they serve, and how their actions contribute to these perceptions.

8.3 Theoretical Implications; a Critical Race Theory of Policing

A Critical Race Theory of policing illuminates the experiences that people racialized as Black have when they encounter the police from their perspective. In doing so it presents a counter story which challenges the dominant narrative, which in the context of the post-MacPherson policing diversity agenda positions police racism as a problem of the past. The extant literature offers an empirical understanding of the nature of Black and Ethnic Minority (BME) experiences of policing (Sharp and Atherton, 2007, Britton, 2000a, Barrett et al., 2014). Whilst the experiences in this research are broadly consistent with the literature, the centralisation of 'race' and processes of racialization as a category of analysis offers a new and significant contribution to understanding how 'race' operates in the police encounter.

This research troubles the notion of consent through increasing trust and confidence in the police on which much of the reform agenda is based. Through a Critical Race lens the police are positioned as an institution for the maintenance of white power; 'equality and diversity' solutions to the problem of racism in the police are destined to fail. Policing all communities equally is not possible for a police service that is premised on the control of the dangerous Other. When the skin operates as a 'symbol of inferiorisation' (Anthias 1992; 1999) Black and mixed-'race' bodies will continue to form a disproportionate element of the suspect community.

Further, a Critical Race Theory of policing offers an intersectional perspective which, drawing on the 'matrix of domination' (Hill-Collins 2000), allows for a relational understanding of intersecting oppressions as they operate hierarchically and contextually particular to the police interaction. Consideration to the intersection of 'race' with gender intervenes in the absence of Black women's experiences of policing, with the exception of one or two aged studies which address

criminal justice processes more broadly (Chigwada-Bailey, 2003, Chiqwada, 1989, Agozino, 1997). Further, an intersectional analysis challenges class based explanations for the disproportionate police focus on Black people; thus excavating racisms which have been made 'invisible'.

Through the findings of this research the concept of the 'police imagination' has emerged to explain the disproportionate police focus on Black communities. This concept draws on cop culture theory which posits that there is a distinct police occupational culture shaped by the nature of the police role. In order to maintain law and order in an unequal society the police map populations according to risk and power, thus determining who becomes 'police property' (Holdaway 1981; Lee, 1981; Reiner 2010). Rather than focusing on economic power it suggests that, in the policing of racialized bodies, power is understood in relation to the boundary of the skin. Racialized stereotypes of Black criminality coalesce with the habitus of policing from which cop culture draws its understanding of communities (Chan, 1996). Through the 'police imagination' individuals, communities and geographical space take on racialized meanings imagined through the one BLACK BODY (Gordon 2005). These racialized meanings operationalize racist practices which disproportionately shape the lives of Black and mixed-'race' citizens. As this research has shown, racial profiling is a police practice which influences who the police deem suspect and thus who is targeted for stop and search, arrest and use of force (sometimes lethal). Further, the status of perpetual suspect in the 'police imagination' delimits victim status leaving Black and mixed-'race' citizens under-protected by the state. However, as argued in chapter seven, 'race' is also a symbol of lower class status regardless of the individual's social position. The concept of the 'police imagination' contributes a new angle to conceptions of rank and file cop culture, particularly in understanding why training only has 'temporary liberalising effects' (Reiner 2010:131).

This research may be of interest to the police service, particularly in the context of the localism agenda-West Yorkshire Police and the Police and Crime Commissioner for the West Yorkshire area. Further, the College of Policing with a national remit to set standards in professional development, training, development, skills and qualifications (College of Policing, No Date) and the Office of the Home Secretary. In the context of the reform agenda surrounding stop and search the findings of this research may prove instructive in understanding the reluctance of

police to address stop and search powers evident in thirteen forces being removed from the *Best Use of Stop and Search* scheme (Dodd, 2016). There are also a number of research and community and activist organisations which may have an interest in the findings of this research including Stopwatch and Monitoring Groups. Further, the research will be disseminated through peer reviewed conference presentations, journal articles and a summary of findings sent to research participants.

As a result of this research, further research possibilities are identified. The absence of the experiences of Black women and the police emerged from a review of the literature. This is a significant gap which warrants further research, particularly in the context of an increasing use of custody for women and the overrepresentation of Black women in the UK prison population which stood at 26.4% of the female prison population in 2011 (Women in Prison, 2011) . It is therefore essential to consider their treatment at all stages of the criminal justice process including police contact which brings them into contact with the criminal justice system. This research strategy provides a useful approach to understanding the specificities of the experiences of women from other racialized groups. The increasing focus on Asian communities as suspect (Pantazis and Pemberton, 2009) can be assumed to have some impact on Asian women's contact with the police, which is not explored in the extant literature. Further, a larger sample of Black and Black and 'mixed-'race' participants may facilitate a more nuanced understanding of the mixed-'race' experiences of policing in relation to identity formation and belonging.

Research is particularly important at this juncture. In the context of the Conservative government insistence on austerity measures which have served to increase social inequalities (Barnard and Turner, 2011) and reduce funding for policing (HMIC, 2012). The increased militarisation of policing evidently has a disproportionate impact on Black communities. Evidence suggests that the Taser is used disproportionately in response to Black people (Gayle, 2015). The announcement in April 2016, that in response to the Paris terror attacks, the police will double the number of armed police trained in the use of firearms, is of particular concern in the context of disproportionate policing of Black communities. The growing trans-Atlantic *Black Lives Matter* movement illuminates the growing concerns surrounding the loss of life at the hands of the police. These developments

underline the importance of understanding why the police disproportionately focus on Black bodies. This research contributes to developing that understanding in a UK context.

8.4 Concluding Comments

One of the most powerful participant quotes is evoked in the chapter (four) title *'Babylon remove the chain now they're using the brain*' (Levi). This captures the essence of the stubborn endurance of racism in the police whilst acknowledging that its form has changed. Black and mixed-'race' people experience policing in racialized and racist ways. Their treatment is bound up in stereotypical thinking which links phenotypical markers of Blackness to threat and criminality. Race-thinking has 'imperial linkages' to colonisation and dominance; the very systems of white supremacist power which continue to dominate globally (Mills, 1997). There is no simple fix that can come from inquiry recommendations or a diversity agenda. The white police institution was born out of the desire to control the Other. The permanence of racism as espoused by Derrick Bell (Bell, 1991, Bell, 1992) is evident in the failure of Macpherson to eradicate racism from the police service. The solutions are based in Black-led activist challenges to the status quo. These challenges and small victories will not dismantle the white supremacist global power system but they will periodically interrupt it for a short time. As argued by Bell, this makes living with the 'permanence of racism' more bearable (Bell, 1991). Research in the Critical Race Theory framework begins the work of making racism visible. This is an essential task in the continuing struggle against structural white power.

Appendix 1 Participant Information Sheet

You are invited to take part in the following PhD research

Black and Mixed 'Race' Peoples Experiences of Policing in an Unequal Society

My name is Lisa Long and I am carrying out this research as part of my Doctoral studies in the Department of Sociology and Social Policy at the University of Leeds.

What is the purpose of the project? I am interested in understanding the experiences that Black or Black and white mixed 'race' people have had when they have found themselves in contact with the police, either as a victim of crime, when reporting a crime, as a crime suspect or in the course of routine policing enquiries e.g. stop and search.

Why have I been invited to take part? You have been invited to take part in the research because you have identified yourself as Black or Black and white mixed 'race' and have an experience related to police contact that you would be comfortable to share.

What will I be asked to do? In order to understand your experience of policing I would like to carry out an interview with you. The interview should take between sixty and ninety minutes. Participation is completely voluntary and you will have the opportunity to review your interview transcript (typed up copy of the interview) and tell me whether you are happy that I have understood what you told me correctly. You can also withdraw your interview from the research up to the point at which you agree that you are happy with the transcript. If I talk about your interview in my final report I will not use your real name in order to protect your identity and will ensure that I do not include any identifying details

Who is supervising the project? The project will be supervised by Dr Paul Bagguley and Dr Yasmin Hussain at the University of Leeds. If you have any concerns and would like to contact my primary supervisor please email Paul Bagguley p.bagguley@leeds.ac.uk.

Are there any risks in taking part? The research has received ethical approval from the ethics committee of the University of Leeds (ethics reference AREA 12-125) which means that the research is not considered to pose a risk of harm to participants and that measures have been taken to protect the identity of respondents.

I will take measures to protect your confidential data. Your interview transcript will be annonymised and you will be given a pseudonym (false name) this will be given a code and stored separately to your name and contact details. Files stored on a computer will be password protected and paper files will be stored in a locked cabinet within a locked office and will only be accessible to me and my research supervisors

What will happen to the results? You will be able to ask me for a summary of the findings in August/September 2015. I will also be presenting my findings at academic conferences and will hope to publish the findings in peer reviewed academic journals. It is also possible that following my PhD I will publish the findings as part of a book. I also plan to send an anonymised summary of findings to interested parties.

Who should I contact if I would like to take part? If you are interested in taking part in the research or if you would like further information please contact Lisa Long by email: ssljl@leeds.ac.uk , telephone 07967 029862 or visit the research facebook page www.facebook.com/policingresearch

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet.

Appendix 2 Participant Consent Form

Participant Consent Form

Consent to take part in: Still Policing the Crisis? Black and mixed 'race' peoples experiences of policing in an unequal society

	Add your initials next to the statements you agree with
I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated July 2013 explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.	
I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline. Contact details should I wish to do so: Lisa Long ssljl@leeds.ac.uk Telephone number 07967 029862	
I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the report or reports that result from the research. I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential	
I agree for the data collected from me to be used in relevant future research.	
I agree to take part in the above research project and will inform the lead researcher should my contact details change.	

Name of participant	
Participant's signature	
Date	
Name of lead researcher	Lisa Long
Signature	
Date*	

*To be signed and dated in the presence of the participant.

Once this has been signed by all parties the participant should receive a copy of the signed and dated participant consent form, the letter/ pre-written script/ information sheet and any other written information provided to the participants. A copy of the signed and dated consent form should be kept with the project's main documents which must be kept in a secure location.

Appendix 3 Interview Schedule

Still Policing the Crisis? Black and Black and white mixed 'race' experiences of policing in an unequal society.

Project summary [Lisa blurb]

Before we start I want to remind you about the purpose of the project briefly.

The research project wants to understand Black and Black and white mixed race experiences of policing in West Yorkshire through talking to people, like yourself, who have had an experience of contact with the police.

I think we can expect the interview to last between 60-90 mins. I will be recording the interview as explained in the information sheet. The interview will be loaded on to a password protected computer and then I will type it up word for word and in the transcript you will be given a pseudonym to protect your anonymity.

You can read the transcript if you want to and tell me if I have understood the interview correctly.

If I use your comments in my report I will not use your real name or any identifying details.

Do you have any questions before we start?

First of all I have a few general questions about your personal characteristics

General/social/personal characteristics

(ask all respondents)

How old are you?

How would you describe your ethnicity?

How would you describe your gender?

Are you currently employed?

If so, what is your job?

If no, how long have you been unemployed?

What are the first four characters of your postcode?

Do you own/rent/live with family or friends?

Are you a driver?

Do you currently own/have access to a car which you drive?

Experience

1. Can you remember your first experience of contact with the police?

Prompts: What was the reason/context for this contact? Prompt e.g.
victim/suspect/report crime etc.

Can you tell me more about? How did you feel? How did you respond? What was
the outcome? Is this your only experience of contact with the police? (Prompt-
community policing, victim/report crime, routine policing, car stop…). Can you
recall a time when you have approached the police for help? Can you recall a time
when the police have initiated contact with you? Would you like to tell me more
about experience 1, 2, 3….You talked about (e.g. manners/rude racism/not racist etc
)…. In experience XYZ ….. Have you had any encounters with the police that were
different to this? Can you tell me more about that? What was it that was different
about the encounter?

Perception

2. Have you ever had a conversation with your friends or family about the
   police? If so, what did you talk about?

Prompts: Was this before or after experience XYZ…? How would you describe
your views towards the police? Have you always has this view? Why do you hold
these views?

3. Do you think that policing has changed since ….. (time period will change dependant on age of respondent)? If yes, how? What has promoted change? What kind of things have changed? What kind of things have stayed the same? Going back to experience X,Y,Z… , if this had happened now do you think you experience would be the same or different?

Police response

4. Do you think that the police treat everybody fairly?
Prompts: Why do you say ….? Have you experienced……? During experience XYZ did the police treat you fairly? Why do you think you were treated like ….?

5. If you had a problem now, would you approach the police?
Prompts: If yes, what kind of problems would you ask for help with? If no, what would you do instead? How would you contact the police? If you were not happy would you make a complaint? What response would you expect from the police? Why would you expect this response?

6. Are there things that the police could do differently that would improve your perception/experience/trust?
Prompts: What would these be? How would this change your perception?

Wrap up: Is there anything else that you think is important to understanding how you have experienced policing that we have not yet talked about?

Appendix 4 Recruitment Leaflet (wording)

> **Black and Mixed-'Race' Experiences of Policing**

I am Lisa Long, a PhD Researcher at the University of Leeds.

I am interested in understanding the experiences that Black and Black and white mixed 'race' people have had with the police.

To help me to do this I am interviewing people (anonymously), about their experiences, in the West Yorkshire area.

If you are:

◊ Black <u>or</u> Black and white mixed 'race'

◊ over the age of 16

◊ live in West Yorkshire, and

◊ have experience of policing that you would like to talk about

(as a victim of crime, a crime suspect, or routine policing e.g. stop and search)

www.facebook.com/policingresearch

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