The African Communities' Experiences of Policing in the Netherlands

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Declaration

I hereby declare that except where specific reference is made to the work of others, the contents of this dissertation are original and have not been submitted in whole or in part for consideration for any other degree or qualification in the University of Salford, or any other University.

Charles Arewa

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In memory of both of my brothers Adedotun and Adeyemi (Haji) who died during this PhD journey, I dedicate this thesis to humanity and all people of good will, especially those who daily defend equality and decency for all human beings. It is dedicated also to the African communities and those policemen, who daily risk their life for better quality policing and service to mankind.

Abstract

This thesis represents a qualitative study of the lived experiences and perceptions of policing from the perspectives of Dutch-Africans resident in the Netherlands, as well as from the perspective of serving Dutch police officers. It seeks to question how these experiences resonate or depart from known studies on the negative experiences of BME populations and policing in the United Kingdom and the United States. Whilst the emphasis is upon perceptions from Dutch-African residents, attitudes, views and experiences of officers are also included. The theoretical stance adopted by this study is an intersectional lens as conceived by the Critical Race Theory (CRT) perspective to provide "whole person" accounts of experiences of discrimination, and how the intersectional racializing experiences affect Dutch-Africans during encounters with the police. The study also critically evaluates the relevance of police occupational culture to Dutch contexts. This research represents the first study to date of Dutch-African experiences of policing in the Netherlands, incorporating interviews and focused observations of Dutch-Africans and police officers on patrol. It is also one of the few empirical criminological studies to use an intersectional perspective in examining these experiences. It further illuminates the process of categorisation in the Netherlands and how the definition of being Dutch is associated with whiteness within the context of the Dutch police organisation and Dutch society, and how this shapes the Dutch-African encounters with the Dutch police. The study also finds an overwhelming evidence of Dutch-Africans' acknowledgment of their marginalised status as a "suspect community" based on their experiences of police interaction.

Terms of Reference

African Dutch

The adjective "African-Dutch" and the noun "African Dutch" are both used in this study for the purpose of defining Africans living in the Netherlands. The phrase African Dutch does not imply citizenship or legal residence status of Africans but describes the black communities from sub-Saharan Africa, resident in the Netherlands. The phrase further signifies the subscribed identities of Africans living in the Netherlands in the context of their positionality within Dutch society.

African-Dutch Communities

The phrase African-Dutch communities as used in this study does not signify that only African-Dutch people live in these communities. This phrase implies communities where a majority or a large concentration of people described as African-Dutch live, especially in urban areas of the Netherlands.

Mixed Race

The phrase "mixed race" as used in this study, is for references to participants in this study who are of mixed-parentage, where either of the parents is of African origin, and where participant or person observed in this study had used the phrase to describe their own identity.

Racism in the Dutch Context

What we conceive as racism in the United Kingdom, is abhorrent to Dutch sentiment because of its link to eugenics and Nazism. However, what we theoretically and collectively know about racism is what I am researching. Namely, the process of discrimination and how both phenotypical markers and cultural markers collectively serve to categorize African-Dutch people in the eyes of the police. In the broad lens of perception of racism, the concept of racism sociologically exists irrespective of how people conceive it (Quraishi and Philburn, 2015). Racism as a concept exists as a global phenomenon, therefore racism is analysed in this study because of my position as a British scholar who is situated within a British university, looking at the issue of racism. The definition I will be using in this study regarding racism is that used by Philomena Essed (1991); understanding everyday racism as a broad lens. Racism can be the denial of facilities, it can be the exaggeration of a person's sexual prowess, or it can be imputing fertility, denying services or marginalising complaints based on race. In other words, whilst

some scholars assert that racism should be construed narrowly to when material disadvantage or criminal discrimination occurs, the definition adopted for this study takes a broader lens to capture experiential and subjective interpretations of racial discrimination (Essed, 1991).

BME and BAME

The terms BME and BAME for this purpose of this study will be used interchangeably. This study necessarily engages with a wide range of literature referencing the terms Black and Asian Minority Ethnic, and Black Minority Ethnic. For the purpose of this study and as earlier mentioned, we are going to be looking at those interchangeably. This study will be looking at ethnicity, race and crime, and victimisation.

The Term "Race"

The researcher recognises that the term race is a contested term. However, this term remains meaningful to some people in the wider society. The researcher will continue using the term race in this thesis, but has elected not to supply inverted commas throughout the body of the text due to considerations of practicality. The reader should, therefore, take the use of race in this thesis as recognition that the term remains problematic but still meaningful to some people.

Introduction

The focus of this thesis is the African-Dutch communities' experiences of policing in the Netherlands. The objectives of this study are firstly to explore through qualitative methods, the African-Dutch communities' experiences and perceptions of policing in the Netherlands. The second objective is to use intersectionality as a theoretical framework in understanding the African-Dutch communities' experiences of the Dutch police. The third objective is to gauge the Dutch police's perceptions of the public, especially those of the African-Dutch communities. The third objective is of particular importance to this research as it affords this study an insight into the general context of the interaction between the Dutch police and the African-Dutch communities. It helps to examine the kind of vocabulary that the Dutch police use in their daily interactions with citizens – especially with those from African-Dutch communities. Intersectionality is a theory that was inspired by Critical Race Theory (CRT). The fundamental premises of CRT scholarship are concerned with the vexed bond between White governmentality and White dominance in relation to the marginalisation of minorities. CRT scholarship is a tradition which chimes and resonates with theorists examining issues of oppression. Intersectionality is born out of Black feminist writing, but it is influenced by CRT scholars, who belong to that broad tradition. This study is inspired by CRT due to the fact that this theory inspired the emergence of intersectionality. The structural importance of intersectionality points to a reign of inequality which is present and at work simultaneously within our society. Verloo (2015, p.54) states that:

> People's lives are impacted on by specific intertwining social relations of inequality at any given time and space. Hence the degrees and consequences of different inequalities can and should be described and analysed at specific times and places.

This study aims to achieve its objectives through the actual accounts and experiences of African-Dutch men and women, from diverse ages and socioeconomic backgrounds. The thesis takes an intersectional approach to the way race intersects with other oppressions and identities in the context of police interactions with the African Dutch. I acknowledge that race and post-race are an important part of this thesis, but for the purpose of my work, intersectionality will be the preferred theoretical framework. The subject matter has the potential to be studied in multiple ways, but I have chosen to use intersectionality for coherence, to look at the experiences of African-Dutch people through an intersectional lens, to examine if they experience other forms of discrimination that cannot be captured by a single axis approach to racism. This thesis will define and identify the elements that constitute

community policing of people from ethnic minorities, and particularly communities of African descent. This study aims to address, through the use of intersectionality, the following questions. How do African-Dutch communities experience policing in the Netherlands? What are the experiences of the Dutch police, in policing African-Dutch people? Do the Dutch police implement policing differently in response to the African Dutch? Is race the only cause of discrimination against the African-Dutch by the Dutch police? If not, what are other intersecting discriminations suffered by African-Dutch people, and how do they affect their relationships with the Dutch police?

This thesis is organised into nine chapters, each of which sheds light on various aspects of this study. Chapter 1 explores the general history of police and minority relationships in context, focusing on countries where most studies regarding such relationships have been conducted, such as the United States and United Kingdom, before moving to the Dutch context. This chapter also explains the relationship between Dutch police and ethnic minorities in the Netherlands and issues that have arisen as a result of this relationship. It also touches on the treatment and experiences of ethnic minority officers within the Dutch police force. Also, in the first chapter, is an exploration of the issues surrounding the treatment of Dutch ethnic minority police officers to confirm or deny the prevailing views which hold that ethnic minority officers experience racism within their own organisations (Bowling & Philips, 2003; Holdaway, 1997; Reiner, 2010; Waddington, 1999). Such a discussion will enable this study to capture any discrepancy in officers' views of issues surrounding racism and the policing of African-Dutch people. Chapter 2 explains the intersectional theoretical framework of the study. This chapter also includes literature on CRT from which intersectionality arose, and also discusses the emergence of the concept of post-race and how this relates to, and deviates from, CRT and intersectionality as a theoretical framework.

The adoption of intersectionality as a theoretical framework for this study, as earlier explained in the abstract, is to enable this study to determine the various forms of discrimination, if any, suffered by the African-Dutch communities, as racism as a single axis theory cannot capture these intersecting disadvantages. Chapter 3 explores and illustrates the history of immigrants in the Netherlands. This chapter engages with the literature on the arrival of immigrants in the Netherlands, before and after the Second World War, migration from former Dutch colonies, and the arrival of the *gast-arbeiders* (guest labourers) from Turkey and Morocco in response to a shortage of labour in the Netherlands. This section concludes with the history and arrival of African immigrants to the Netherlands in the early 1990s, including

refugees from Sri Lanka and other war-torn areas. This chapter describes the later effect of the influx of immigrants and the rhetoric of native Dutch residents and politicians opposed to such immigration. It explores the historical context of Dutch denial of racism and contemporary attitudes towards immigration and what immigrants perceive as a historical culture of racism.

Chapter 4 of this thesis deals with occupational culture of the police. This encompasses the historical context of how cultures such as these originate in the United States and the United Kingdom, with variations between both countries and a comparison with Dutch police culture. It explains in detail the core characteristics of police culture according to Reiner (2000, 2010) which include suspicion, isolation and solidarity, strong sense of mission, racism, police conservatism and machismo and sexism. This chapter is of importance in this thesis for its illustration of police behaviours, and how officers develop culture and behaviours at work in contrast to the rules and law governing them. Existing studies have found that most police culture is learnt at work, sometimes to cope with the job (Loftus, 2010; Punch, 2007; Reiner, 2010). Chapter 5 details the ontology, epistemology and methodology underpinning this study. The chapter describes each method and the justification for its use, including the position of the researcher as a black African-Dutch individual, interviewing both the Dutch police and the African-Dutch communities.

Chapter 6 discusses Dutch police officers' perceptions of issues encountered, and deviance in the African-Dutch communities. This chapter illuminates how crime and deviance within the communities becomes a point of contact between Dutch police officers and the African-Dutch communities. This chapter captures the reflections of both the African-Dutch and Dutch police officers from their own perspectives. This chapter explains how the views of African-Dutch people contrast with those of Dutch police officers on what is crime and what is deviance, especially in regard to issues such as *snorder* (illegal taxis) which African-Dutch people may perceive to be deviance rather than crime, while Dutch police officers perceive this as constituting a crime. Issues also touched on in this chapter include African-Dutch perspectives on Dutch police failings and lack of understanding of African-Dutch cultures and traditions. Chapter 7 discusses the intersectional experiences of the African-Dutch in their communities, and how the intersection of various aspects of their identities intersect with their race, and, further, how these intersecting identities put them at disadvantage when interacting with Dutch police officers in their various communities. Reflections of African-Dutch people on being policed through physical and phenotypical markers are also included in this chapter, which leads to a discussion on disproportionate stop and searches in their various communities.

In doing so, this chapter illuminates how perceptions and experiences result in the construct of the African Dutch as suspect communities. Chapter 7 touches upon counter-narrative accounts of the African Dutch being policed based on their accents and Dutch language proficiency, as well as addressing the issue of Nigerian women being policed based on their gender and nationality. Chapter 8 discusses issues regarding communities from both African-Dutch and Dutch police perspectives respectively, and elaborates upon the emergence of religion as a positive mutual bridge that connects Christian African-Dutch civilians and Christian police officers in the communities. It also explores how this affiliation has become a medium in addressing misunderstanding in the communities discussed in this thesis. This chapter elaborates on the issues affecting the national organisation of the Dutch police and touches upon various aspects of the police occupational culture, especially the racism aspect of the police culture in regards to ethnic minority officers and how they sometimes become systematic victims of discrimination at the hands of their white colleagues. Reference to police residency within the community is also made in this chapter with the resulting views of African-Dutch people that most police officers do not live in their communities and, therefore, cannot come to know them better. The conclusion in Chapter 9 illustrates how the findings of this study resonate, complement and are distinguished from existing studies in this field. It also discusses new findings and how these contribute to, and broaden, existing knowledge in the field of criminology.

Chapter 1 Relations Between the Police and Minorities

> The position the police occupy in the minority world is only partly a result of what the police do in that world; more importantly, their position is a function of fundamental emotional judgements made by people subjected to pervasive deprivation and inequality. (Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969, p. 141)

This chapter attempts to explain the relationship between police and minorities. The first section visits the literature on studies undertaken in the United Kingdom where there are historical clashes between the police and the ethnic minorities. The second section illustrates the police -minority relations in the United States and Canada, where the bulk of studies on this topic were conducted. The third section deals with Dutch police relations with the minority in context, and discusses in detail the issues arising, and how much of these issues resonate with government policies and the police culture in the Netherlands. The fourth section is a discussion of the experiences of minority officers within the Dutch police organisation, including recruitment, retention and issues bordering on discrimination and inequality among the ranks and ethnic minority officers.

1.1 Relations Between the Police and Minorities in the UK Context

Young black people have a higher chance of being stopped while on foot than white people in the same age group. There is a long-established history of over-policing black and ethnic minority populations in the United Kingdom. One early study indicated black people were less positive about their experience of police attitudes than Asians and white counterparts (Smith, 1983). Another issue affecting the relationship between the police and black people is the issue of disproportionate arrest of the latter. Stevens and Willis (1979) argue that the rate of arrest for Afro-Caribbean people by the police in 1975 was far higher than that of Asian and white suspects in all offence categories. They investigated possible reasons for this huge difference and explained that young people are most likely to be arrested in general, and that a higher proportion of ethnic minorities are young, which could explain their over-representation. They also claimed that a huge proportion of black people are in the socioeconomic categories where the prospects of arrest are high. Other suggested reasons are factors such as social deprivation and tendencies to participate in criminal activities and other disadvantages which were not examined in Steven and Willis' study (Steven and Willis 1979).

Benyon (1986) argues that police officers are important and valued public servants, and indeed, British society would be unimaginable without them – however that position has been contested by other scholars (see Erel, Murji and Nahaboo, 2016; Bradford et al., 2017; Reiner, 2010). The job of a policeman is a difficult one, asserts Benyon, and most people expect to receive a prompt and effective service if they need assistance from the police. Inner-city areas, in particular, have never been easy to police, and the pressure under which officers work in such locations is enormous. Benyon explains that it is very important that the impartiality and the integrity of officers should be guaranteed to preserve the trust and confidence of the members of the community and to gain their cooperation. The police force as a profession must be perceived to be fair to all sectors of communities, with Benyon believing that if this were achieved, it would very likely increase their legitimacy and the level of their effectiveness. Previous studies and research on police–community relations in Britain and all the evidence gathered, suggests that most ethnic minorities, especially blacks and Asians, who live in urban areas do not feel that the police are fair in their dealings with them. There have been various complaints from the ethnic minorities, especially blacks, of discrimination and unfair treatment at the hands of the police. All these (alleged) behaviours by the officers contribute to loss of trust and confidence in police and racial discrimination experienced during policing. This in turn could lead these communities to discontinue seeing the law as a friend (Archbishop of Canterbury Report,1985).

It was this unhealthy relationship that was responsible for the riots and disorder that took place in several English cities in the early part of October 1985; every riot that took place in this period was caused by tension between the police and minority communities. The first riot broke out a month earlier in Birmingham; this resulted in the death of two brothers from the Asian community, who both suffered asphyxiation in their business premises. Over thirty people, mostly police officers, suffered various injuries, and property worth £10 million was damaged in the turmoil. The visit of then Home Secretary to the scenes of the riot further exacerbated rioting in other parts of the West Midlands (Wolverhampton and Coventry) and in Bristol.

In the cases of riots in Handsworth, Soho and the Lozells area of Birmingham, though riddled with high unemployment and deprived, they were noted to be generally peaceful areas where the police had good relations with the minority communities. The prevailing good relations were a consequence of the concept of community policing that was introduced by Superintendent David Webb in the 1970s, he however left the force at the end of 1981. His

replacement, however, moved community police officers to other areas and clamped down on the youth activities which had previously been tolerated, such as the use of cannabis among young people. Such approaches, and a change in tactics that including raiding homes and cafes in the community, was believed to have led to tension, disorder and rioting in the area in 1985. Benyon (1986) asserts that it is a common argument that police attitude was the main factor that triggered the actual riot. The behaviour and harassment of black people and other ethnic minorities were principal causes of the Brixton riot. This issue remains persistent in British society, as more recent spates of rioting have been blamed on police and ethnic minority relations, due to the treatment of the latter by the former (Newburn, 2016; Waddington, 2015).

The issues and problems that have been at the forefront of police–ethnic minority relationships for a long period of time are in regard to accusations of police racial profiling and the disproportionate stop and search of ethnic minorities. The police have, in most cases, denied the accusations stressing that they are only doing their jobs. Willis (1983) stresses that the power to use general stop and search methods was granted initially to only a few police forces such as those operating in urban areas, for example, London, Birmingham and Merseyside. It was later extended to all other forces in England and Wales. Historically the police power to stop and search, and detain, on grounds of reasonable suspicion was confined to Greater London. In other areas where such power did not exist, the police used the so-called Ways and Means Act; a pretext for deceit, in order to coerce compliance from suspects they wished to stop and search. Section 4 of the Vagrancy Act 1824, which became known as the "sus" law, enabled the police to stop and search individuals that they suspected of loitering in public spaces with the intent of committing an arrestable offence (Zagoria, 2018). One of the main causes of friction, if not the most important, between the police, and BME communities is the use of stop and search powers by the police. There is substantial evidence that the powers are disproportionately being used against particular sections of the society, especially black populations. The data from urban areas such as Manchester, London and Birmingham support this evidence, and show high stop and search rates among young and Afro-Caribbean people. A study conducted on four police stations discovered that the stop and search levels for black people were much higher than for the population as a whole, and argued that existing statistic under-estimated the figure by almost 50%. According to the Police Studies Institute (1983), believed to be the most detailed data for this period, the likelihood of being stopped by the police was greatly connected to age, sex, ethnic group and the ownership of a vehicle. The most recent data still show that black people and other minorities are four times likely to be stopped

and searched, when compared to their white counterparts (The Metropolitan Police Service, 2018; The Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime, 2018; *The Guardian*, 2019).

There have been accusations that the media contributed to the plight of ethnic minorities, coupled with their political underrepresentation. This notion appears to be shared by many academics who explain that black people, especially black youths, were labelled with the status of social problem with no probable solution in sight. Furthermore, with black communities having limited access to political representation, the police, it is claimed, used this opportunity to justify a demand for more legitimate power in dealing with these communities (Cashmore and McLaughlin, 1991; Gilroy, 1987).

The claim by such academics is that the police, with the assistance of media distortion, have in the past used selective policing to raid, detain and coordinate swamping operations in black and ethnic minority neighbourhoods. The police, they assert, have also used social panic to demand extra and unusual power and resources from the government. In the period between 1970 and 1980, the issues raised by the police, the press and some academics about black youths and their purported culture of violence and crime had been portrayed in such a way as to induce public support for the police in their unusual strategies in dealing with black people. The Institute on Race Relations (1987) claimed in their evidence before the Royal Commission on Criminal Procedure, that Britain was dangerously becoming two societies; one which they claimed would be black, and the other white.

Cashmore and McLaughlin (1991) note there is a persistent pattern of selective policing whereby black gatherings and events are excessively over-policed, and where there are regular police raids on black homes, social clubs and meeting places. It is further argued that there is an overwhelming concentration of police in black communities where it is the norm to excessively stop and search people, and for police patrols of black neighbourhoods to include riot squads, armed with plastic bullets, CS gas, baton shields and other weapons that are intended for serious breakdown of law and order. The shift in policy in the 1980s identified parts of cities with high concentration of unemployed black populations for a specific style of policing such as over-policing with specialist squads. This was a shift in policing tactics, that necessitated moving away from law and order policing to public order policing (Cashmore and McLaughlin, 1991).

On the issue of policing of black and ethnic minorities, not everyone agrees with the assertion of selected policing of ethnic minorities; there are critics of the idea that black people

are treated unfairly by the police. Two of those critics are Tuck and Southgate (1981) who, in their research for the Home Office, argue that there seems to be no difference between the white experiences of policing and black experiences. They stress their surprise at the number of accusations made against the police, that black and ethnic minority communities were overwhelmingly subjected to stop and search in comparison with their white counterparts. They claim that their research, conducted in areas of high BME populations indicated that both blacks and whites communities are treated in the same way by the police – even with stop and search.

Tuck and Southgate (1981) argue that if black people of West Indian descent were treated unfairly, it was, more precisely, an expectation of unfairness that they expressed more than white people. They would not, for example, call the police based on an expectation that they feared what the police would do to them if they did call. Nevertheless, their report states that there was no trace of such differences in their study of policing of communities where there was a Black Caribbean majority. They explain further that both white people and West Indians were satisfied with the way they were treated by the police, and that contact and arrest by the police was more likely to be determined by area of residence rather than race. Here they claim that studies also showed that experiences of crime and victimisation varied according to housing and neighbourhood rather than by ethnic group. They conclude that their research and data showed no compelling differences between the rates at which white people and black people of West Indian descent experienced stop and searches and arrests in the areas their research covered (Tuck and Southgate 1981). In contrast to Tuck and Southgate's findings, and on black minorities–police relations, statistics from the Home Office indicate that 48% of all searches were conducted on Asian and black people between 1998 and 2002 (Rowe, 2004). Meanwhile, Salisbury and Upson (2004) point out that the British Crime Survey of 2003 shows that black and persons of mixed race were not likely to report crime when compared with their white counterparts.

Black victims of crimes are reluctant in reporting crime to the police because of a lack of confidence in the police; they believe that the police tend to take black complaints less seriously than those made by white people (Yarrow, 2005). It is obvious from the evidence above, that the relationship between police and black people has not been without its issues, especially in the seventies and eighties. As indicated earlier, it is important to study this relationship in more recent years. Bowling and Phillips (2002) argue that there has been constant criticism of the police in regard to their use of stop and search on people and that there

was specifically inappropriate and disproportionate use of this power against ethnic minorities, especially young black people. The recommendation by the Royal Commission of Criminal Procedures that was set up in 1981, was to regulate police power. This recommendation led to the creation of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 (PACE). The Act was introduced in response to an erosion of public trust and confidence in the police and in the British Criminal Justice System. This came due to growing media coverage of high-profile cases, which not only shed light on unacceptable police conduct, but also on miscarriages of justice in the judiciary. Some of these incidents were not unconnected with the IRA terrorist cases that took place in the 1970s, in which most convictions were principally based on dubious confessions made to the police including unreliable forensic evidence. Three of these high-profile cases were dismissed due to lack of proper evidence and failure to follow the rule of law (Noble and Schiff, 1995).

PACE was aimed at officers' behaviours and to guard against stopping and searching based on physical traits and personal appearance. The police, under PACE, are only allowed to stop an individual if there is "reasonable suspicion" to do so. Under PACE, it is their duty to eliminate unlawful discrimination, victimisation and harassment, and take appropriate measures in fostering good relations with citizens (Home Office, 2004). There have been sufficient instances of complaints against the police on the issue of stop and search that it is important to understand the intention and the legislation behind PACE. The powers to stop and search suspicious persons are governed by other legislation for example, the Theft Act 1968, the Misuse of Drugs Act 1971 and also the Firearms Act of 1968, but it is PACE that provides the grounds for so many complaints against the police. All the legislation above requires that police officers should have a reasonable suspicion of crimes or that a crime is about to be committed before it can be applied. The only guidance provided is in the Code of Practice (Code A, 2.) which indicates that suspicions must have some objective bases (Home Office, 2004). The Macpherson Report confirms that racism and stereotyping on the side of police did play a part in their failings (Macpherson, 1999; Patel and Tyrer, 2011).

The issue of police prejudice and disproportionate stop and search of ethnic minorities remained high on the agenda, even after the introduction of PACE. Reiner (2000) argues that there had been a drop in the level of satisfaction, regarding the performance of the police, up until 2000. However, other surveys claim that satisfaction with the police has increased by at least by nine points (Institute of Customer Services, 2011). In recent years, the issue of racial profiling, brutality and disproportionate use of force and stop and search of ethnic minorities

by the police seems to be back on the agenda of human rights organisations, politicians, the media and the police reform groups – more so with the latest incidents of police treatment of African-American communities in the United States (Paoline, Gau and Terrill, 2016). Below, is a review of existing literature on these issues to ascertain if there have been any changes or improvements on policing trends of ethnic minorities since the 1980s, and what might the catalysts be for these changes, if any.

Sharp and Atherton (2007) argue that most black youth in their research are of the opinion that police target black people and other ethnic minorities without reason or reasonable suspicions. In an interview of a 16-year-old black male explaining his experiences of police attitude, we learn:

> They tell you that it is not about being black, they say you are suspicious with black clothes and the hood but the punks (white skate-boarders) wear hoods just the same, and they don't get no hassle. (p. 754)

Sharp and Atherton explain that the increase in security in an urban area due to terrorism, especially in places like London, has only aggravated the situation and increased the level of intimidation of blacks and other ethnic minorities, especially Muslims, in the hands of police. They quote a 17-year-old:

> We got pulled by van loaded with coppers and I thought they expected we have drugs, but then we were surrounded by these cops with machine guns all dressed in black, there was a lot of shouting and they were saying that we were Arabs or something. I was scared, you see them on TV with guns but I've never seen one close and I didn't know what was happening … They have got no evidence, but they say I have got nice clothes and they want to know where I have got the money from. I got called (Paki) by most of them, especially in London, they just treat you like shit. (p. 755)

They further assert that the police's disproportionate targeting of black and other ethnic minorities in stop and searches, appears to be evident and continues to be an issue even in contemporary studies.

Statistics from 2010 on race and the criminal justice system show that for every 1,000 of the population, black people were stopped and searched 6 to 8 times more than people of white origin. In London, black people were 4.6 times likely to be stopped and searched according to the Ministry of Justice data from 2009 to 2010 (Ministry of Justice 2010). The police statistics for stop and search indicate that more than a decade after the Report from The Steven Lawrence Inquiry was made public, black people are still 7 times more likely to be stopped and searched

than their white counterparts, and people of Asian descent are twice as likely to be stopped and searched.

Van Craen (2013) argues that researchers in the United Kingdom have built up years of extensive work explaining and monitoring the level of citizens' trust in the police. Van Craen stresses that the police appear biased in their dealing with the minority population, which he claims, seems to be responsible for the disproportionate stop and search of blacks and other members of ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom. Barret, Fletcher and Patel (2013) maintain that the issue of ethnic profiling and disproportionate stop and search culture by the police has not really improved despite a few cases of claims of improvement. They argue that all the studies conducted in their research have not really indicated any significant improvement on the side of police and that they continue to police race. The stance of Barret, Fletcher and Patel on the performance of the police in the United Kingdom is from studies conducted in the North of England among BME populations. Brown (2014) similarly stresses that the disproportionate subjecting of black ethnic minorities in police stop and search practices has been evident in ethnic monitoring data collected since 1990. He explains that the stop and search rates for black people in most UK cities are 7 times higher, than those for white people, and argues further that this disproportionate use of stop and search is discriminatory and disrespectful towards black people. This behaviour is believed to be one of the leading causes of the 2011 riots in London and other locations in the United Kingdom (Guardian/LSE, 2011; Riots Communities and Victims Panel, 2012).

An ethnic minority group that has recently been the focus of attention regarding police–minority relations is the British Muslim population. Murray, Johnson and Sherman (2015) in their study of police relations with the Muslim communities, and the level of trust towards the police, hold that the Muslim communities have a lower level of trust and confidence in the British police. They point out that it is surprising that few studies have been carried out in the context of police–Muslim relations, especially when most of the current threat to UK security comes from groups such as Al Qaeda, who claim to operate in the name of Islam. They explain how important it is to study and understand the Muslim population's relationship with Western democracies and police legitimacy in the Muslim communities. In their study of Muslim communities in a metropolitan area in the United Kingdom, they found that Muslim respondents had a more negative and low-level confidence in British police than their non-Muslim counterparts. They did, however, find that Muslim respondents' perceptions of the police are generally positive. However, one of the earliest qualitative studies on British Muslim

populations and crime by Muzammil Quraishi in the late 1990s did discover perceptions of police prejudice and racism. Quraishi's study highlights particular flashpoint around policing religious festivals and perceptions of detachment between the police and established Muslim communities in North West England (Quraishi, 2005). The non-Muslims who participated in the study were mostly whites individuals, which indicates that the difference is not between Muslims and non-Muslims, but could be explained in the context of minority ethnic status. One of the explanations for low-level confidence in police is attributed to the Muslim respondents' levels of deprivation in those communities. Another reason is Muslim identification of what they are not, that is to say being non-white, this was also identified by Barker (2001) in his study.

The perception of Islamophobia is also a contributor to a decreased respect for police legitimacy as viewed within the Muslim communities (see Macey, 2002; Quraishi, 2005). The Muslim communities' perception that they are likely to be stopped and searched even more than other ethnic minorities has contributed significantly to the erosion of police legitimacy in the Muslim communities. Recent studies allude to why this perception may exist. Hargreaves (2018) in his survey of stop and search within Muslim communities, notes that the possibility of being stopped as a Muslim by police officers when compared to other minorities, while increasing by only 1%, culminates in their being eight times more likely to be searched. This figure, he says is higher than for both black and mixed groups. That there may be a higher level of trust in police–Muslim relations within the Muslim communities could be attributed to an Islamic obligation to acquire and accept good relations, or it may also be the Muslim communities in the study samples have a good relationship with the police in the area. Murray, Johnson and Sherman (2015) assert that police legitimacy depends on their relationship with the Muslim communities, highlighting that a confidential analysis of a failed terrorist attack in the United Kingdom commended intelligence received from the Muslim community. They further advocate the need for the police to engage with Muslim communities. Police reliance, they say, on a "top down" (p. 66) approach could simply be perceived as a failure to effectively engage with the communities. They argue that once the police begin to call into question the amount of information the community holds about terrorism or criminality, this they claim, could be interpreted as Islamophobia: the interpretation being that all Muslims know about illegal activities being planned or carried out in their communities. The police need to create a middle ground, to effectively combat extremism and build a mutual relationship with the Muslim communities. At the same time, the police need to acknowledge the importance of

using a covert investigative approach in investigating any terror related crimes, though Murray et al. (2015) argue that this approach is not automatically mutually exclusive, it has been shown not to be impossible. Tyler and Huo (2002) point out that intrusive police techniques are accepted when communities trust the motives behind them. In conclusion, they suggest the police need to engage more with the Muslim communities in building a mutual relationship and increasing their legitimacy (Murray, Johnson and Sherman, 2015).

The British police's relations with children and young people especially from BAME backgrounds, has also been found to be less positive. Children's Rights Alliance for England (CRAE) in their 2016 report pointed out that police–children relations in the United Kingdom needed improvement. The National Police Chiefs' Council (NPCC) acknowledged room for improvement in the relationship between children and young people, especially with minorities. In their research into this issue, CRAE (2016) found that many young people, especially those from minority backgrounds, claimed negative police attitudes towards them. Many of them felt stereotyped by the police, who they claimed perceived them as criminals even when they had not committed an offence. The police's practice of harassing these young people and children was found to have contributed to mental health issues such as anxiety and depression among some of the children included in their research; a factor which is believed to have contributed to poor educational outcomes. A Parliamentary Select Committee inquiry into the police and young people found that between 2009 and 2013 more than one million searches were conducted on children and young people in 26 police forces in England and Wales. The Committee claimed that though the use of stop and search had fallen generally, it was still disproportionately used against BAME young and children (CRAE Report, 2016).

Sindall, McCarthy and Brunton-Smith's (2016) study of children's views regarding the police in the United Kingdom and correspondence with those of their parents, finds a strong link between children's and parents' perceptions. They point out that confidence in the police is particularly fragile and negative among young people than it is among adults. The data suggest that the perception of police is more negative among older youths, and their confidence in the police tends to decline as they get older. One of the reasons given is police visibility in their communities, as their increased presence through over-policing generates tension among the youth and parents. There have been negative perceptions of the police from both parents and young people from minority backgrounds due to their experiences with the police, though the study finds young people from married households to hold a favourable view of the police. The report's authors concluded that the views and attitudes of young people and their parents

towards the police are similar in the studied areas. The ethnic minorities have been found to be both victims and suspects of crime in the United Kingdom. Asian and black or mixed-raced people, according to The Race Disparity Audit (2016), were respectively more than 1.5 times and more than 3 times more likely to be arrested than white people, though this same group is also most likely to be a victim of crime than white people, with 1 in 5 being affected by crime in 2015–16 compared with 15% for white people. In a damaging indictment of racial inequality in Britain, the Audit revealed diverse outcomes in other areas such as employment, education, health and criminal justice between Britain's white and ethnic minority populations (The Race Disparity Audit, 2016; *The Independent*, 2017).

The involvement of the police in immigration enforcement has been suggested by scholars to have increased a negative perception of the force by ethnic minorities (Aliverti, 2015; Erel et al., 2016). Parmar (2017), in her study of police enforcement of immigration in the United Kingdom, points out that the police have traditionally performed the enforcement of immigration following the Immigration Act of 1971. The police, for instance, regularly conduct passport raids on Asian and black communities and their places of work (see Gordon, 1985; Whitfield, 2006). The ordinary attendance of police to an ethnic minority victim of crime will usually involve officers carrying out passport checks (Bowling and Philips, 2003). The increased affiliation of crime with immigration, and the criminalisation of immigration, "crimigration" (Stumpf, 2006), has increased police involvement with immigration control, as a significant number of UK police officers have been allowed by the Home Office to provide training for immigration criminal investigation teams (Ashworth and Zedner, 2014). The police are also allowed to work closely with immigration officers in ensuring the removal of illegal immigrants and those who have lost the right to remain in the United Kingdom. Parmar (2011) pointed out that police involvement in immigration control was strengthened in the United Kingdom after 9/11 and the terror attacks in London in July 2005, this despite the fact that three out of the four terrorists were British citizens. (Parmar, 2011)

Britain's migration policy, Parmar (2011) argues, became influenced by security alerts and fears over terrorism (see Ass and Bosworth, 2013; Coleman, 2007). British Muslims were treated suspiciously and became, through this policy an increasing target of disproportionate stop and search by the police. Parmar points out that alongside issues and fears of terrorism, there has also been a general fear around the notion of foreign offenders, the "foreign national crisis" (p.5) as it was framed, points to the moment that dealing with foreign national offenders turns into a political priority (see Blinder and Allen, 2015; Kaufman, 2013). Parmar argues that

policing minorities has a long history of being disproportionate (see Weber and Bowling, 2011). These minorities, Parmar claims, have been the most vulnerable within and beyond UK national borders, as evident from stop and search practices and brutal killings both in the United States and the United Kingdom. Parmar's study examines police stations and their involvement in operation Nexus, which was founded in 2012 to identify and deport those who are not entitled to be in the United Kingdom or constitute a risk to the UK public (see Vine Report, 2014). The study found that immigration officers are now stationed in police custody suites in London, across the Midlands and other locations in an attempt to identify foreign offenders speedily and arrange their deportation from the United Kingdom. The Metropolitan Police and police in other areas under the agreed Nexus process are required to refer all foreign nationals arrested or encountered to the Command and Control Unit (CCU) of the Home Office for their status check. The police involvement in immigration enforcement, Parmar concludes, had set them on a negative course with minorities especially immigrants. It is clear, she asserts, that the police's institutional racism and immigration laws intersect in ways that bolster narratives of un-belonging in the United Kingdom (Parmar, 2017).

Bradford et al. (2017), in their study of relations between immigrants and the British police, express the opinion that in countries such as the United Kingdom, there is an overall assumption that the level of trust between the police and the immigrants will be low. They point out that immigrants are regarded as difficult to police, and mostly experience a problematic relation with the police, but that there is little empirical study of this topic in the United Kingdom. In the areas of their study, of immigrants' experiences and trust in the police in England and Wales, they found, in contrast to Palmar, a higher trust of the police among immigrants than in the UK-born population – though they point out variations in time of arrival and experiences of policing. The study disputes the idea that the majority of immigrants in the United Kingdom have a negative experience of British police, although it is agreed that negative experiences of immigrants at the hands of the police, other law enforcement agents and the criminal justice system remain relevant (Delsol and Shiner, 2015; Pantazis and Pemberton, 2009). It is suggested that ethnically and culturally different groups or individuals are unable to form a social bond upon which they can place trust (Goodhart, 2014), and that immigration and the diversity involved has an impact on the views of those that are already resident as well as newcomers (Putnam, 2007).

There is an overall consensual view among scholars that culturally and ethnically diverse immigrant communities possess high levels of social cohesion since they develop

institutions such as places of worship, cultural locations and other expressions of social affinity among themselves, and significant distrust and discord regarding equitable provision of public goods and services (Sturgis et al., 2014). It is suggested that a trust assessment is generally made about the people with whom there is an existing relationship; therefore, there is an assumption that immigrants will have less trust in the police because of fewer or weaker relationships with them, at least in the early period after migration (Hardin, 2006). Looking at data from their survey conducted in England and Wales, Bradford et al. (2017) find that trust in British police was high among migrants from all backgrounds who arrived in Britain between 5 and 20 years ago, and again among groups who arrived 30 years ago. They note that trust among immigrants born here is lower than migrant groups, but again lower than their white counterparts. The study finds that trust in the police was high among both the immigrants and non-immigrants in areas where there was higher proportion of non-UK-born residents. The level of trust in police decreases with the increase in proportion of UK-born immigrants.

Bradford et al. say that the reason for this result appears to be the lack of experience of British police among new immigrants, though there is an association between immigrants' status and trust in police among those arriving as adults (2017). The level of trust among those who arrived earlier was like those who were UK-born, suggesting assimilation takes place (Berry, 1997). A plausible reason for the lower levels of trust in the police among those living in the United Kingdom for 21 years or more is that this group arrived in Britain in the 1980s, which was a controversial period in the history of British policing. This decade saw the Brixton riots and other disturbances such as The Hillsborough stadium disaster and the miners' strikes. Immigrants who arrived in this climate of struggling police reputation appear to have carried forward their negative perceptions of the British police. It was also the case that new immigrants, especially new arrivals, when asked to reflect on British police, gave an implicit or explicit comparison with the police in their own country against which the British police appeared more professional; this could explain the higher level of trust in British police among new immigrants (Bradford et al., 2017).

Awan et al. (2018) similarly focused on the levels of satisfaction expressed by BME and non-BME communities towards the UK police. Their study concludes that the perception of first contact between a member of the public and the police tends to inform the most powerful opinion or predictor of future perceptions of the police. They argue that the public are not only concerned with what the police do in their communities, but also how they carry out their jobs in those communities (Morris, 2015). They express the opinion that most studies

undertaken in the United Kingdom indicate that, in response to victims of violent crimes, those who are least satisfied with the police services, appear to be between the ages of 25 and 34, and will come from the BME communities, while those most satisfied will tend to be around the age of 55 across the wider communities. The most prevalent indicator, they find, of the public's satisfaction with the police lies in the way in which crimes and incidents are investigated by the police, with the expectation that incidents are taken seriously and dealt with according to the law. Studies have found that poor police–community relations are often based upon pre-existing views of the police. It is further asserted that involving the communities in policing and engaging the communities at all levels of policing in the community, could increase the level of trust between the police and the communities they serve, especially BME communities, increasing the possibilities of these minority groups of choosing a career with the police (Awan, Blakemore and Simpson, 2013).

The lack of police engagement with BME communities and the disproportionate use of stop and search has impacted negatively on police relationships with the BME communities (Renauer and Covelli, 2011). This police attitude could eventually lead to hostilities, mistrust of authority and deficiency of confidence in the police (Miles-Johnson and Pickering, 2017). Awan et al. (2018), in their study of a police constabulary in the United Kingdom, found that many of the participants highlighted that the media influence most of their opinions regarding the police. The media, participants claimed, did not help matters as they frequently report negative accounts about the police such as how white police officers manhandle black people, as opposed to showing the positive activities of the police. In their study of police–community relations, Awan et al. point out that not all BME respondents experienced prejudice from the police, but some of the interviewees stressed they were being judged on their circumstances and, at times, because of an officer's perception of them. Studies such as that by Salisbury and Upson (2004) suggest that communities, especially the BME group, are reluctant to report crime to the police because of the feeling that it will not receive the same attention as that from non-BME communities. Many of the participants in Awan et al.'s study highlighted lack of trust and confidence in the police. They perceived the police as useless and did not expect a lot from them in times of need; while some spoke of seeking assistance from friends or family members before contacting the police. None of the BME participants in this study had been subjects of stop and search procedures; some, however, had been stopped and this was accounted for – they believed the police were not engaging in anything constructive but were just looking for trouble. This study concludes that BME communities have the perception that

police treat them less fairly than other non-BME groups. The police, they suggest, could benefit by treating the BME community fairly, and engage with the members of these communities; to do so, they claim, would stabilise community trust and confidence in the police (Awan et al., 2018).

Long and Joseph-Salisbury's (2018) study of police minority–relations focuses attention on police relations with black mixed-race men in the United Kingdom. The study outlines a long history of black people's resistance to police oppression and highlights the fact there is substantive lack of change, though institutional racism has, at least, been acknowledged. The authors express the opinion that the experiences of mixed-race men at the hands of the police have been ignored in much of the race and ethnicity literature. They find that people's experiences are generally homogenised with blackness when they come in contact with the police. The black mixed-race men interviewed in the study believed much of their contact with the police was negative in nature, as the police perceived them as part of a black monolith. Hargreaves, Husband and Linehan (2017) claim that black people are more than 8 times more likely to be stopped by the police while mixed-race people are 2.5 times more prone to be stopped and searched by police than their white counterparts. Sims (2016) asserts that many of the people who are born to both white and black parents tend to self-identify as being black and are also identified as black by others. Mixed-race can be perceived and recorded as black, according to individuals' own preferences. This could also be achieved through the 6+1 IC classification recording, used by police officers when unable to acquire a self-defined ethnicity. Aspinall and Song (2013) argued that this form of classification does not have a mixed category; the black mixed-race group are most likely to be classified through a mono-racial identity of minority than any other known mixed-race groups.

Despite the introduction of the "Best Use of Stop and Search" scheme by the Home Office and College of Policing in 2014, the disproportionality of stop and search continues to rise. The reduction of stop and search benefits appears only to have benefited white people (Hargreaves, Linehan and McKee, 2016). It is suggested by Longand Joseph-Salisbury (2018) that two decades post-Macpherson's (1999) conclusion that the Metropolitan Police are institutionally racist, the extensive reform of UK policing has changed little for black people's experiences of policing (Rollock, 2009). The lingering and continuous disproportionate stop and search of black people and other ethnic minorities could only suggest that PACE is inefficient in regulating these police practices and implementing accountability regarding the use of police discretion. Most police decision-making continues to be shaped by stereotypes,

while the legal framework put in place remains ineffective in dealing with the stereotypes (Quinton, 2011). The police remain the Criminal Justice gateway, the continuous disproportionality in black arrests, processing and sentencing in the courts of law, has led to more racial disproportionality in the British prison population than places such as the United States (Lammy, 2017). In a study conducted by Long and Joseph-Salisbury (2018), they argue that mixed-race men's experience of policing remains the same as that of black men generally, but different from the experiences of some black and mixed-race women. The black mixed-race expectation of the police is to be treated in a discriminatory way, this in relation to their black origin. Other studies suggest that the mixed-race population does experience racial privilege when compared to mono-racial minorities (Bonilla-Silva, 2004; Yancy, 2017). In their encounters with police, it is suggested that black mixed-race people experience discrimination. It is maintained that black mixed-race is suggestive of inferiority. Anthias (1992, 1999) points out that this prevents black mixed-race individuals from accessing the white privilege that they stereotypically assume to exist (Small, 2002). Long and Joseph-Salisbury conclude that all evidence suggests that the black mixed-race experience of policing in the United Kingdom remains the same as that of mono-racial black men. However, they advocate that further study be conducted regarding the disparities in experiences of black mixed-race men and those of black mixed-race women, and that the issue of how race and gender intersects for mixed-race black women should be examined too (Long and Joseph-Salisbury, 2018).

1.2 Relations Between the Police and Minorities in the US Context

Wilbank (1987) argues that police in the United States are not biased or discriminatory in policing ethnic minorities and African Americans; he claims that the police are constrained in their use of discretionary power and controlled in their behaviours towards minorities. Wilbank concedes that although some officers of the law may have personal prejudices against African Americans, overall, the system and the majority of law enforcement officers do not discriminate against minorities. The disproportionate stop and searches of ethnic minorities, especially black and Hispanic people, is the most common and controversial aspect of police misconduct against the minority communities in the United States. The law stipulates that police officers may stop a person if there is probable cause to do so, for example if a crime has been, or is about to be, committed by a person; however, experience in North America shows that minorities are subjected to stop and search at disproportionate rates. It is a common practice

among police officers to stop black people at the slightest violation such as minor traffic offences when the officer's intention is to search the car for drugs or weapons. In a 1996 controversial Supreme Court judgement on this issue, the court declared that such a stop, even if it is pre-textual, is not illegal or unconstitutional. This judgment is generally regarded as a blow to the law on probable cause and reasonable suspicion (Harris, 1997). Gottfredson and Gottfredson (1988) argue that the police in America are by nature reactive and all they do is react in response to complaints by citizens of criminal violation. They stress however, that it is the gravity of the suspected violation that results in complaints and arrests of suspected individuals and not racism or individual prejudices of officers.

Mann (1993) argues that the US police are racist and biased towards African Americans but blames this attitude on society in general. He stresses that the police are merely reflecting the ideology of the society of which they are part. In light of such an assertion, this thesis will include a discussion on the review of the literature on police and BME community relations since the Rodney King incident of police brutality. The ethnic minority communities have also accused the police of using verbal abuse against them, White et al. (1991) acknowledge that the use of abusive or foul language is disapproved by police organisations around the United States, but claim, nevertheless, that the use of foul language is embedded in police culture and its uses vary from attracting citizen's attention, to extracting compliance and sometimes to keep people at bay. Verbal aggression or abuse towards citizens constitute a substantial proportion of complaints made against the police, and black people are mostly likely to experience this abuse more than white people. People from black communities are, according to studies, likely to engage in bilateral verbal abuse with police officers and show disrespect towards them (Sykes and Clarks, 1975). Weitzer and Tuch (2006) similarly agree that the police have used verbal and abusive words against blacks and Hispanic people, and are more likely to be involved in a one side verbal abuse of minority individuals on contact.

The most contentious issues in community policing involve accusations of racial discrimination and bias. A study conducted by Weitzer (2000) on three neighbourhoods in Washington DC, varied by class and race, concurs substantially that black and white people are treated differently by the police. The majority of the Americans in the study believe that black and white people should be treated equally by the police and the justice system. According to surveys, the majority of white respondents are less likely to agree that the police discriminate against black people, while most black respondents agree that they are treated more harshly than their white counterparts and that there is racism and prejudice against black

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communities by the police Weitzer (2000). Mastrofski, Reisig and McCluskey (2002) argue that black and other ethnic minorities' experiences of policing are different from the treatment experienced by white people and stress that the police tend to show more aggression and disrespect towards black people and these negative police attitudes are disproportionally experienced by African Americans. They explain that the greater the aggression and disrespect shown by the police to black people at the beginning of an encounter, the greater the tendency for it to be met with resistance and non-compliance. They argue further that when police attitudes are fair towards the black and other minorities, the latter are inclined to show compliance. In the study on whether African Americans in Cincinnati were prone to being harassed by police without reason, 46.6% of people from this group interviewed indicated that they were hassled personally by the police as opposed to just 9.6% of whites interviewees. The data taken strongly suggests that police stop, and police surveillance is discriminatory in nature (Browning et al.,1994). In contrast, there has been some argument that the police are not discriminatory in their attitudes towards African Americans and other ethnic minorities (Mastrofski, Reisig and MacCluskey, 2002).

Brunson and Miller (2006) argue that black minorities in the United States have been known to be victims of disproportionate police proactive methods, tactics and diverse forms of police misconduct. Weitzer and Tuch (2006) affirm this position that race does determine the attitude of police towards citizens especially from African American and other ethnic minorities in the United States. They argue that white and black people perceive the police in totally different terms, stressing that black people are more likely to believe that the police treat black minorities more harshly than their white counterparts. The majority of black people are also of the firm opinion that their communities receive poor protection and policing when compared to white neighbourhoods. Researchers argue that while race matters in the black–police relationship, it might not be the only factor and stress that black and Hispanic communities appear to have more combative brushes with the police than white communities, and further, that minority neighbourhoods have more serious crime than white neighbourhoods – which they claim is also an important predictor in black and Hispanic relationships. It has been argued by scholars that pre-existing opinions of the police strongly determine a minority's interaction with the police (Rosenbaum, 2005). Citizens are believed to form an overall impression of the police long before having any contact with them. This could influence the type of interaction between individuals and the police when such interaction does eventually occur (Hawdon, 2008). The stories and incidents heard by people from their relatives, friends

and media also influence the way people evaluate and interpret their encounters with the police (Brunson, 2007; Hohl et al., 2010). Warren (2011) finds, for example, that when people heard negative anecdotes from their friends and relatives about the police, they were 4 times more likely to observe disrespect during their encounters with the police. These experiences tend to shape negative police–citizen encounters especially with the minorities. Braga et al., (2014) suggests that a minority group's assessment of police behaviours and the ways in which police exercise their authority while dealing with them, are key in their judgements about police legitimacy. They argue that even in situations where police behaved and acted properly towards citizens, because of prior negative experience or stories told by family or friends, they may have evaluated the police as not behaving properly. Braga et al. (2014) posit that for the police to bridge the gap in their relationship with citizens, they need to engage in a positive way with the communities and ensure that officers are lawful in their enforcement engagement with the community, and that all citizens are treated equally and in a respectful manner (Braga et al., 2014).

In order to do justice to recent studies, research will be examined to determine the situation of police–ethnic minorities' relationships in the United States. An article written by Kirsten Savali in *The Guardian* (2012) shows that police stop and search numbers in the City of New York had steadily increased to more than 685,000 in 2011, from 16,000 in 2003. Only 12% of those stopped were given a ticket or arrested, while more than 85% of those stopped were black or Hispanic, bearing in mind that ethnic minorities that made up 51% of New York's population. Savali looked at analysis by Reuter's of over three million police stops between 2006 to 2011 which showed that most of the stops were conducted in public housing areas where 90% of residents were black or Hispanic, indicating that people in this area were stopped at a rate three times higher than elsewhere in New York. Harrison (2013) argues that discrimination by individuals and institutions has a shameful history in the United States and that racial profiling is a popular tactic used by the Criminal Justice System including law enforcement officers. This tactic is used when deciding whether to search, arrest or detain an individual based on their race, nation of origin or ethnicity – most recently with the terror attack on the United States, religious profiling has also been added to the list. Harrison asserts that there have been claims that profiling by law enforcement officers does not exist, but evidence confirms instances of profiling practices. In his studies of police racial profiling, and to obtain evidence that black people are treated differently to white people, Harrison accompanied police patrols on US highways and concluded that black people comprised 15% of those found

speeding, and yet more than 46% of those stopped by the police were black individuals. It can be concluded from these figures that there is selective enforcement against African Americans which is a violation of rights and equal protection clauses of the US Constitution. Wu (2014) argues, in her study of police relations and attitudes towards blacks and other immigrants of Asian and Hispanic backgrounds, that the perception of police attitudes held by the majority of the black people was negative. Most black respondents interviewed were of the opinion that police treated them unfairly based on their ethnicity. They were also of the opinion that the police tend to treat rich people better than those in poor neighbourhoods and whites groups better than blacks people. Wu observes that not much has changed since her last study (Wu, 2005) and that black and other ethnic minorities are still much likely to be harassed by the police than white people (Wu, 2014).

It has been the case for the last 150 years that there has existed a history of conflicts and tension in community policing in the United States. The conflicts are often incited by accusations that officers have harassed and targeted the minorities and that the police have failed to wipe out racism and unethical behaviours within their rank and file. The facts also remain that most law enforcement agencies have failed to reflect the community in which they serve when it comes to recruitment of officers into the force (Sullivan et al., 2015). Wu (2014) explains that although there is negative interaction between the police and the black communities, other reasons such as a history of police oppression and discrimination are sometimes likely to be responsible for the negative perception of the police by the black people. She also posits that mistrust and scepticism of police, which is an integral part of neighbourhood culture of deprived areas where black people live, could be partly responsible for this negative attitude towards the police. Black Americans' over representation in the criminal justice system as victims and offenders, could also be responsible for the negative attitudes and encounters with the police (see Criminal Justice Statistics, 2010, 2017; NAACP 2019).

The issue of disproportionate and unnecessary use of police force, coupled with unnecessary stops of black individuals, manifests itself daily in the United States (Gill and Trone, 2010, Gill et al., 2014). Epp, Maynard-Moody and Haider-Markel (2014), in their article on race and citizenship, claim a similar finding on this issue and add that the disproportionate stop and search of blacks is not restricted to New York State but occurs across America. They claim that police will stop black individuals for speeding even while travelling at the regulated speed, only to start probing the interior of the vehicle. The assertion here is that such stops are

not based on how one drives, but on who is driving and that being black is the primary determinant in most traffic stops. They claim that one is most likely to be stopped if they are black and aged twenty-five and under. It is their view that a judgement delivered by District Judge Scheindlin in August 2014 ruling that New York Police stop and frisks as they were being applied, violated the Constitution, depicted the judgement delivered on the same issue by the Supreme Court. (Epp, Maynard-Moody and Haider-Markel, 2014).

The statistics published by the FBI on justifiable killings by police are based on voluntary information from a small percentage of police departments (Hansen, 2015) and include estimates from a national grassroots organisation that extrajudicial killings of black people by US police officers and other security outfits – such as vigilante and security guards – occur once in every 28 hours (Akuno and Eisen, 2013). They argue that understanding the experiences of minority youth encounters with the police is of utmost importance if the issue is to be addressed. Socioeconomic status and race, they stress, add disproportionately to the perceptions minority youth have of the police, further expressing the opinion that people of lower socioeconomic status tend to rate police satisfaction low, while those of a higher socioeconomic status rate their satisfaction with the police high. A systematic review of 92 studies revealed that black people and those who identified themselves as non-white were more likely to have a negative perception of police when compared with white people (Peck, 2015). Various studies have suggested black motorists and pedestrians stopped by the police are likely to have a negative perception of the police and report police abuse in their communities (Weitzer, Tuck and Skogan, 2008). However, some studies have shown that positive interaction with the police by the minority lessen negative feelings towards them (Schuck and Rosenbaum, 2005; Hinds, 2009). Nordberg et al. (2016) find in their studies that police harassment, mistreatment and physical assaults contribute to animosity and deadly encounters between the minority youth and the police. They also suggest that police attempts in controlling these young people, such as limiting their movement in the neighbourhood, add to these problems. They further point out that the police perception of minority members' immigration status as being illegal, especially among Latinos, lead to unsolicited contacts from the police. Their conclusion is that the experiences of minority youth in regard to US police are overwhelmingly negative and prejudicial. The study suggests that pressure should be mounted on the police to increase accountability and transparency especially in the aftermath of police brutality and the killing of black youths such Tamil Rice and Michael Brown (Nordberg et al., 2016).

The police in the United States evidently do not have a cordial relationship with minorities, especially in disadvantaged communities, and scholars have long identified the problem of police–minorities fragile relationships. Brunson et al. (2015) in their study of police–black clergy attempt to reduce mistrust and violence in black communities. This study examines the involvement of black clergy with police to bridge the gap and suggest that police–black clergy partnerships can increase police legitimacy in these neighbourhoods and improve relationships. In the majority of African American communities, black churches serve as a social institution. Several churches, besides serving the spiritual needs of the communities, also serve as political action groups and social service centres for the parishioners. They argued that scholars have paid little attention to these churches despite the historical significance and well-documented evidence of their potential as social institutions and their relevance in crime control and prevention in the black communities. The black churches are known to create avenues in dealing with communities-based problems (Mears, 2002; Mears and Corkan, 2007). Brunson et al. suggest that the success of community policing depends on the police's ability and willingness to forge relationships with institutions that are capable in brokering trust and understanding between communities and the police. Brunson et al. found in their study that the police alliance with black clergy in Boston and their engagement in the process of building trust and accountability with the black communities created police legitimacy. This partnership, they concluded, assisted the police department in programmatic and strategic ways (Brunson et al., 2015).

In their study of black communities in Boston, with regard to cooperation between black clergy and the police in building a better relationship with residents, Brunson et al. argue that forging a working relationship with the clergy appears to be a logical mechanism through which the police can connect to a good relationship with African Americans. Brunson et al. argue that black communities have a higher density of churches per 100,000 residents than their white counterparts (Sampson, 2012) and suggest that African Americans are one of the most religious people in the world (Gallup and Castelli, 1989). Studies have shown that black clergy mobilisation of communities has the potential to control crime in African American neighbourhoods, and evidence of this is the Chicago police department and hundreds of African Americans organising vigil prayers in May 1997. Here, an event that was credited with the establishment of a stronger working relationship with the clergy, communities and the police, is believed to have increased the police legitimacy in the black communities and improvement of police perception of the West Side communities (Mears and Corkan, 2007). There has also

being suggestion of pessimism regarding this relationship; Sampson (2012) points out that the black church alone cannot make the expected impact among residents in facilitating the needed trust between the police and the communities. He suggests that the location of the church in the community does not guarantee that its interest will coincide with that of the neighbourhood or that all parishioners live in the communities.

Most studies on police–minority relations, especially in the United States, have focused much on black people and tension with their white counterparts (Martinez, 2010), ignoring other minority populations especially the Hispanics. Weitzer (2014) finds this puzzling due to the rising population of Hispanic Americans in the United States. The Hispanics are found to be fastest growing minority in the United States (US Census Bureau, 2010). He argues that most of the studies have focused on the relationship between black people and the police, neglecting Latinos who, at the moment, form 17% of the population and are expected to increase steadily in the coming years. In his study of police–Hispanic relations in the United States, Weitzer (2014) points out that most surveys indicate that Hispanics hold a less positive opinion of police than white Americans. (Weitzer, 2014). The Hispanic–African American opinion, however, appears to have been blurred. Although there is an assumption that both Hispanic and black Americans have a more negative opinion of the police than do white people, due to their shared minority-category status, this account looks homogenous. He argues that other studies have found that Hispanics hold a more positive view of the police than that held by black people. The available evidence overall indicates a white/Hispanic/black hierarchy more than black/Hispanic minority-category orientation (Weitzer and Tuch, 2006). The racial hierarchy pattern in relations with the police could be analysed through historical differences and experiences of each named group and in relation to other racial groups, such as racial or ethnic group modes of incorporation into society (Alexander, 2001). The Hispanics, for example, occupy a middle ground in their disadvantages as they are less focused on criminalisation efforts than their African American counterparts, but more exposed to risk than white people (see Hagan, Shedd and Payne, 2005). Weitzer finds that Hispanics living in the United States are more critical of police officers than white people but less than black people on a variety of issues such as trust and confidence in the police, verbal abuse, unwarranted stops and excessive use of force among others. He finds that greatest point of conflict between Hispanics and the police is the immigration issue, especially for those who were not born in the United States and were illegal (Weitzer, 2014).

In 2012, more than one third of Hispanics living in the United States were born outside the country (Passel and Cohn, 2014). This group, Weitzer claims, faces a lot of challenges when it comes to cultural and language barriers, which is coupled with the fear of deportation. He finds that issues such as police image also contribute to negative perceptions of US police because Hispanic immigrants have a radically different image of police back home being corrupt and abusive; these views have been found in other studies (Goldsmith, 2005; Campesi, 2010). Weitzer notes that once the immigrants overcome this image and build more trust in the US police, they then tend to trust the US police more than those Hispanics born in the United States. This view has been documented by other studies (Correia, 2010; Roder and Muhlau, 2012). Weitzer concludes that harsh immigration policies appear to undermine the relationship between the police and residents of immigrant communities (Weitzer, 2014).

Roles, Moak and Bensel (2015), in contrast to Weitzer, in their study of perceptions of the US police held by Hispanics of Mexican origin, find that they hold a generally favourable view. They find that those who migrated to the United States through legal channels perceived relationships with the police positively, while those who came to the United States through illegal means are significantly less likely to hold the same views. They agree in their assessment of Hispanic history with the United States that most Hispanic people, especially from Mexico, have been subjected to prejudice, discrimination and criminal stereotyping (Schrag, 2010). While other studies document the history of stereotyping and blunt degradation of Mexican Hispanics (Morin, 2009), Roles, Moak and Bensel, find high levels of positive opinion of police in the communities. However, they also point out a high level of inadequate understanding and unfamiliarity with the US police among this group and advocate for more information and education of this migrant group in understanding the help available to them from the police. This, they argue, will encourage more cooperation and partnership with the police in the communities. They hold the view that officers policing the Hispanic communities have limited experiences of the cultural background of this group and point out that officers need to be trained and bilingual to facilitate more positive outcomes. They also suggest that the change in law regarding immigration and the power granted to police to question the residency status of immigrants, might lead to the gradual disappearance of that trust among Hispanics. Studies have found tension to be rising between Hispanics and the police due to this new power (Wu, 2014). It is believed that addressing issues within the Hispanic communities can enhance the relationship with the police and increase their legitimacy in these communities (Roles, Moak and Bensel, 2015).

Spencer et al. (2016) on the issue of police racism and biases, argue that the historically strained relationship of race and policing has worsened, with the recently high profile shootings of unarmed black men across the United States. They claim that incidents like these received massive media coverage and have sparked outrages and protest in the United States and beyond. They say that the extreme disproportionate use of police force on black men should be a legitimate issue of concern for politicians and the criminal justice system They stress further, that considering also the attitude of officers' use of disproportionate force on black men, and unnecessary vehicle and pedestrians stop and search, these events should be seen as a tip of the iceberg (Spencer, 2016).

Holmes and Smith (2008) express the opinion, in contrast to scholars' perceptions, that the cause of tension in police–minorities relations lies in poorly managed police departments with "bad eggs" within their midst and the belief that there exists a powerful attempt to control the minorities. They point out that these factors fail to explain the key causes of police misconduct especially the use of force on minorities. King (2018) in contrast to Holmes and Smith's (2008) study on the cause of antagonistic relations between the police and the minorities, argues that the source of the problem lies in the organisational culture of the police. Holmes and Smith forward the view that the actual cause of the problem in police–minority contacts is that human beings learn to distinguish differences across different individuals. This, ostensibly, leads to more classification of people as belonging to, what Holmes and Smith call, an in-group or an out-group. People, it is claimed, then experience emotional reactions to the classified out-group, which are produced by instinct or by a cultivated trigger. The emotional response may or may not produce anti-social, uncivil or violent reactions towards the out-group. Holmes and Smith argue that most emotional reactions are learned indirectly and not through direct contact with an out-group. They further hold the opinion that it is this factor that produces intergroup tensions that trigger unreasonable acts of violence and aggression against the outgroup. King (2018) agrees that the ways humans differentiate group membership such as in-group and out-groups without doubt changes our attitudes and behaviours towards others, but in his study of police–minority's relationship, he focuses on behaviours and the changes of behaviours, and not on changes in general attitudes. He argues that in-group formation and closeness does occur freely more that the out-group identification and denigration, and that the formation of in-groups is often irrelevant to out-group establishment and derogatory treatment (Brewer, 1999). Studies have proven that in-groups could create affinity and cooperation even in the absence of out-group identification, and in-group preference appears stronger than the

discrimination of out-group (see Balliet, Wu and De Dreu, 2014). King argues that police officers can appreciate friendliness and camaraderie without negative perception of minorities. He pointed out in "the many tribes of police" (p. 69) that for policemen, tribal identification begins even before they are hired by the force through a practice of self-socialisation. He argued that tribes of police consist of multiple groups, as police officers in the same force cluster into various groups based on their beliefs, attitudes, race, gender, precinct, assignments, ranks and workgroup (Paoline, 2001; Ingram, Paoline and Terril, 2013). The police, he claims, is a multi-tribe even in a single police force.

King (2018) further demonstrates that though Holmes and Smith (2008) pointed out culture and bias creates the in-group and out-group, even if one cannot change the hard-wired tendencies one can, possibly, alter the culture. He stresses that the multiple tribes of police not only differ in their attitudes, but also in the way they interact with citizens. The differences in culture of these police officers highlights the fact that some clusters are more respectful and more polite towards citizens and are less likely to use threat and coercive force against them. He concludes that if the culture of organisation is the cause of the problems with officers' attitudes, then it could be altered or changed by management. If there is a link between emotional reaction to the out-group and an attitude which is constrained by culture, then there is hope for police–minority interaction by changing police organisational culture. Since humans are known for creating in-groups through minor differences, he suggests we can create a caring group and engineer a new in-group within the police and create a caring culture, where the police would listen to citizens and explain issues to them (King, 2018).

1.3 Relations Between the Police and Minorities in the Canadian Context

This section reflects on literature regarding police–minorities relations in Canada, which in context of negative perceptions of minorities towards police, does not differ much from that of the United States. The increase in police conflict with minority groups in Canada due to incidents of discriminatory practices by the police, especially towards minority youth, has prompted an increase in academic interest. Giwa et al. (2014) argue that "youth of colour" (p. 219) are more likely than adult minorities to come into contact with the police, and also have a less favourable impression of the police (Weitzer and Brunson, 2009). Giwa et al. propose that more scholarly attention should be focused on the police and minority youth's interaction, as the level of conflict and contact with the police is ever increasing. Diverse

literature on police–minority interactions suggests that poor relationships between police and minority youth could lead to distrust and the breakdown of relationships between both sides, which in turn could lead to negative community-oriented policing (Norman, 2009; Neugebauer, 2000).

Giwa et al. (2014), in their study of relationships between young people and police in Canada, find that absence of clear communication, lack of cooperation, and insensitivity in the approach of both youth and the police towards each other are responsible for the tension in their relationships. They suggest that for this relationship to improve, there is a need for the police to refine their approach and show more respect, and for the youth to show more trust towards the police. They argue that conflicting relational dynamics were thought by the youths and police to be responsible for the discord among them. With regard to lack of clear communication, the youths maintained that the police accosted them without reason; this view was fairly dominant even as police suggested that their intervention was necessary to enforce legislation. Young people in the study accused the police of stopping them for violating laws without supplying a proper explanation of the law in question. They were also of opinion that they were being targeted because of their skin colour. This view is supported by other studies, which suggests that race is important when considering who is given negative police attention (Eid et al. 2011; Quinton, 2011; Wortley and Owusu-Bempah, 2011). The police, for their part, expressed frustration about young people's lack of cooperation in testifying and acting as informants in the communities; they felt that the youth's lacked an understanding of the nature of police work. Meanwhile, the young people in the study suggested that their lack of cooperation was as a result of fear of being labelled "snitch". They did, however, indicate that the only time they were willing to cooperate on such issue would be if their family were to fall victim to a crime. The study suggests that the police need to engage with the minority youth in a constructive dialogue towards finding a solution that will solve the hostility, address their concerns and win youth support, for better community policing (Giwa et al., 2014).

Nordberg et al. (2016) similarly argue that ethnic minority youths are disproportionately targeted by the police for proactive policing – using police discretion to target those they suspect are likely to engage in criminal activities before the criminal act is committed. This is claimed to result in the minority youth's involuntary contacts with the police, earlier studies have also found this to be the case (Clarke, 2006). These encounters with the police tend to change minority youth attitudes, identity and perceptions. It is argued that the deadly police–minority youth encounters have raised critical questions on police

misconduct. They point out that data on police behaviour and misconduct are difficult to find, which leaves room for figures to be estimated (Nordberg et al., 2016).

The issue of police–minority relations and the negative treatment of racialised minorities is well documented across North America. Giwa (2018) on police and ethnic minority relations in Canada finds that most minorities in Canada have a negative perception of the police. He speaks of two-tier policing, one for white people and one for racialised communities (who experience differential policing on a daily basis). This has been corroborated by a growing body of literature (Tanovich, 2006; Comak, 2012). Giwa points out that the negative perception of Canadian police by minorities is not unconnected with the disproportionate presence of minorities in the justice system. Other studies support these views and suggest that black people in Canada are likely to hold negative perceptions of the police and the justice system due to discrimination (Wortley and Owusu-Bempah, 2009; Meng, Giwa and Anucha, 2015). The effects of police discrimination and bias are felt across the communities, where the minorities must constantly maintain their humanity in the face of chaotic oppression. Giwa maintains that even though there have been various approaches towards reduce racism within the justice system in Canada, multiple challenges remain. Such challenges include the overrepresentation of minorities in correctional facilities and the justice system of Canada (Tanovich, 2008; Office of Correctional Investigator, 2013), and police racial and ethnic profiling (Giwa, James and Schwartz, 2014; Wortley, Hayle and Tanner, 2016).

Giwa, in his study of police–minority relations, suggests that the Canadian police have sought to improve relationships through community policing, but disputes if this could work without engaging the service of social workers. The practical involvement of professional social workers, employed by the police organisation in policing minority communities has played a positive role in police–minority relations (Barker, 2013). Giwa suggests that although the cornerstone of community model of policing is supposed to be problem-solving – where the communities and the police work together – this contrasts with the reactive and incident-driven model of typical policing. He also suggests that conventional community policing has not succeeded because of its failure to achieve relevant and requisite transformation. Community policing, despite its goal to improve relations between police and minorities, has achieved a more positive effect on white majorities rather than the minorities. Skogan (1990), for example, finds in his study of US minority communities that white people were more likely to participate in police–communities initiatives than blacks and Hispanics. Giwa, on police–

minority relations, finds that improvement to this relationship could be made by involving the social workers in these relations. He notes a climate of mistrust against the police by racialised minorities in Canada, especially black people who are victims of differential treatment at the hands of the police. He points out that the increased number of black men killed by police in Canada (Maynard, 2017; Barret, 2017) presents a much-needed opportunity to engage the services of social workers to play a potential role in police relations with the minorities. He discusses the case of Abdulrahman Abdi who was killed by the police and who, at the time of his death, was mentally ill. Abdi was alleged to have groped a woman in a café. Giwa argues that this death illustrates the gap that could have been filled had the police been working with social workers, who could have informed them of his mental illness. Video footage shows Abdi handcuffed, pepper sprayed and then hit with baton and with a clenched fist, where he died in his own pool of blood. One of the police men was later found to have worn hardened knuckle plating at the time of the assault on Abdi.

The involvement of social workers in policing minorities has been found to bridge a gap with communities in the United States (Lamin and Teboh, 2016). Giwa points out that the recruitment of social workers by Canadian police could prevent deaths such as that of Abdulrahman Abdi from happening again, and it could increase minority communities' trust in the police. He explains that social workers by the virtue of their work are trained in understanding human empathy and compassion in a unique way, further pointing out that since police are not mental health or social workers, employing them would make the work of law enforcement easier. The police, Giwa observes, are trained to view their environment in certain ways which could widen the gap between them and the minorities – for example, minorities who call the police may be misinterpreted by officers as trouble makers or persons to be managed or dismissed. He concludes that police employment of social workers could help in representing the needs of the minority communities by the police organisation, especially when a decision has to be made regarding operational issues that could negatively impact police–minority relations (Giwa, 2018).

Ellis et al. (2018) on police–minority relations based their study on new immigrants from three communities in the United States and Canada. They highlight the fact that despite the increase in new immigrants to both of these countries, there has been scant research in regard to the new immigrant groups (Weitzer, 2014; Lopez and Radford, 2015; Provine et al., 2016). In their study, specifically on Somali Muslim immigrants, Ellis et al. highlight the importance of this community for their research as due to the rapid increase in their population

over the last two decades. They stress that the Somali population face a "triple jeopardy" (p. 2) of marginalisation due to their race, religion and immigration position (Ellis et al., 2018). They point out that the Somalis may have inherited a decade of brutality and other negative practices by police towards black citizens. Other dimensions to their identities such as being Muslim, say Ellis et al., and their immigration status present further challenges to police–Somali relations. They point out that the Muslim factor may shape their experience, especially with the heightened tension regarding terrorism, stressing that while other immigrants may fit in and sometimes be able to blend in as Americans, the Somalis, due to their distinctiveness such as mode of dressing especially with women covering their hair, may lead to extra contact with the police and increase the frequency at which they are stopped and searched. This, they claim, may also influence the degree of threat attributed to the Somalis by the police.

In their study of three Somali communities both in the United States and Canada, Ellis et al. find that Somalis in both countries experience unfair treatment at the hand of the police. The Somalis claimed to be targeted by the police, not for doing something wrong but merely for their status as Muslims and Somalis. There is clear evidence of Somalis being stopped, questioned and being detained for various reasons. Ellis et al. (2018) suggest that both minority-group threat theory and procedural justice theory resonate with what Somalis experience with police in United States and Canada, not only because of race but also because of their multiple identities such as being black, and being Muslim immigrants. They conclude by suggesting that the Minnesota approach should be adopted by police in the United States and Canada to ensure fair treatment of Somalis. Some communities such as those in Minnesota have sought to improve the police–minorities relations through a special policing programme (Chanen, 2014); an example of this is the change in the ways police interact with the Somali-American communities. Other changes include recruiting Somali speaking police officers into the force. This has been proclaimed as a model for trust building and improvements in relationships with refugee and newcomers' communities (Ellis et al., 2018).

1.4 Interactions Between the Police and Minorities in the Dutch Context

> I am not concerned with police investigation after a crime has been reported, or with circumstances which suggest that the individual who has been stopped may be doing something illegal. My problem is this: no crime has been reported, no suspect has been described, there is no visible sign of an offence, there is nothing whatever to direct police attention to this particular individual. I am concerned with what is called preventive police work. (Reich, 1966, p. 1162)

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Article 1 of the Dutch constitution stipulates: "All persons in the Netherlands shall be treated equally in equal circumstances. Discrimination on the grounds of religion, belief, political opinion, race, or sex or any other grounds whatsoever shall not be permitted" (The Constitution of The Kingdom of the Netherlands, 2008, Dutch Amnesty International Report, 2013, p. 5). Dutch society, which used to pride itself as a fair and tolerant society, appears to now be under pressure as a result of proactive policing, where the ethnic minorities and visible individuals have the perception that they are being targeted by the police not because they have broken any law but because of their ethnicity. The majority of ethnic minorities are now being stopped and searched, sometimes disproportionately (Open Society Justice Initiative [OSJI]; Dutch Amnesty International Report 2012).

> Ethnic profiling can be defined as "the use by police, security, immigration or customs officials of generalization based on race, ethnicity, religion, or national origin – rather than individual behaviour or objective evidence – as the basis for suspicion in directing discretionary law enforcement actions" (OSJI, 2009, p. 2)

There is no explicit prohibition of ethnic profiling in Dutch regulations or legislation, although ethnic profiling is discrimination. This situation could violate the right to equal treatment and the prohibition of discrimination as written in the first article of the Dutch Constitution and other international treaties that are also applicable to the Netherlands and to which she is a signatory (Eijkman, 2010).

The Netherlands has become a country with a culture where criminals and immigrants are perceived as "dangerous others" (Lianos, 2013 p. 59). The Dutch have experienced the expansion of the preventive power of the Justice Ministry in an attempt to detect groups or persons posing risk to those enforcing the law; this power is enshrined under the Municipalities Act and the Weapons and Ammunitions Act (1997). This power was expanded to allow the police, through mayoral decision, to stop and search people in any area designated as "security risk zones" within Dutch cities. The danger of this power is the probability that it may be used on the basis of generalisation targeting people on the basis of their religion, race, ethnicity and nationality instead of on their behaviour or objective evidence. These factors could lead to profiling of ethnic minorities given the diverse population of the Netherlands (Van der Leunen and Van der Woude, 2011). The assumed relationship between ethnicity and crime has changed the political climate in the Netherlands which has led to the use of extreme political statements and campaigns to deport criminal Moroccan youths, and the use of stop and search of Antillean youths in Rotterdam (Jennissen, 2009; Eijkman, 2010).

Crimigration is a discourse in which ethnic minority groups are perceived, and seen as "dangerous others" (Vasquez, 2015, p. 640). These groups are perceived as criminals in part of a broader process merging migration control with crime control (Stumpf, 2006). This appears to be an emerging trend in the Netherlands (Van der Leun, 2010). The impact of the aftermath of the 9/11 New York attack, according to Van der Woude, contributed to an already volatile situation in the Netherlands. The issue of lingering apprehension in Dutch multi-cultural society was once again raised. The National Ombudsman in its 2010 report claimed that due to these developments, law enforcement officers were put under pressure to profile people using their race and nationality as a basis. Dutch police, it was claimed, used targeted stop and search on West African immigrants who were questioned about their identity. There were also extra alcohol checks targeting immigrants, especially drivers from Poland. (Dutch National Ombudsman 2009; Korps Landelijke Politiediensten [KLPD], 2010).

Social, political and legal developments in the Netherlands have increased the chances of ethnic minorities being profiled in the Netherlands; the profiling of people is not only impermissible under international law, but it also polarises society and could lead to stigmatisation of the ethnic minorities (OSJI, 2009). The 2002 election in the Netherlands was seen as a turning point for the discussion of immigration; these changes led to people expressing themselves loudly and openly regarding immigration. The rise of Pim Fortuyn, a critic of multiculturalism, further led to insecurity and dissatisfaction among the native Dutch (Geddes, 2003). Opposition to immigration was not only espoused by Pim Fortuyn but also by the coalition after him, which comprised the Lijst Pim Fortuyn (LPF), Christian Democratic Alliance (CDA) and the People Party for Freedom (VVD). Three factors contributed to a sea change in the political climate in the Netherlands, namely the popularity of Pim Fortuyn, the assassination of Theo Van Gogh and the attacks of 9/11 (Pakes, 2004; Engebersen et al., 2007).

This shift in political climate was accompanied by an increased tension, a negative attitude towards immigrants, and even open xenophobic "us versus them" sentiments on the part of local and national politicians and the media (Zedner, 2005). Research over the years has indicated the overrepresentation of specific groups of immigrants in the Dutch government's crime statistics (Haen Marshall, 1997, Engebersen et al., 2007). Second generation Moroccans and Antilleans are perceived in a particularly negative way in the Netherlands (Blom et al., 2005). The Dutch Identification and Alien Acts were explicitly introduced to protect ethnic

minorities from discrimination; this aim has been a success according to some individuals while others think it has failed those whom the Acts are designed to protect (Junger-Tas, 1997; Boekhoorn et al., 2004).

The issue of problems of policing in the Netherlands, especially in relation to young people of Turkish and Moroccan heritage, has gained prominence in the past few years and there have been various claims that they are overrepresented in criminal activities such as street robbery, theft, breaking into cars and moped theft (Bijleveld, Meijer and Prins, 2000; Korf, Bookelman and De Haan, 2001). Stol and Bervoets (2002) point out that there are problems between Moroccan youth and the police in the Netherlands, for which they identify several roots. Part of the problem is the socioeconomic situation of these young people who are experiencing high unemployment, low incomes, and life on large housing estates in the outskirts of cities. The other problem, claim Stol and Bervoets, is the culture: the younger generation do not accept traditional Moroccan culture, nor do they accept Dutch culture leading to clashes with the authorities as well as their parents. The police on their part claim that Moroccan youths frequently cause disturbances but deny culpability even if caught red-handed. Police accounts suggest that witnesses are often too scared to give evidence against the young Moroccans. The police also feel the Moroccan youth do not respect them. In Stol and Bervoets' findings, they affirm that the police accost Moroccans youths too frequently and suggest they develop different strategies of getting to know the young people instead of trying to exert discipline. The propensity to provide negative attention could label the youths as criminal and problematic (Stol and Bervoets, 2002).

Selective police contact based on ethnicity, according to Junger (1990), rather than indicating discrimination per se, is not unconnected with law enforcers' desire to optimise organisational output, due to their limited resources. Research carried out on attitudes within the Alien Police (Netherlands' immigration police) demonstrates that during the 1990s the Alien Police were seemingly reluctant to arrest illegal immigrants. This was found to be an attempt to maintain good community relations and to avoid discrimination within the communities (Van der Leun, 2003). Research has shown that decisions are sometimes made through perceptual shorthand, this has been shown to be the case with Dutch prosecutors in cases involving juveniles. There are concerns that the Dutch police may develop the same shorthand in dealing with issues such as the use of discretion when arresting suspects without concrete evidence or reasonable suspicion (Weenik, 2009).

The issue of the selective use of stop and search powers and the risk of profiling were raised by critics of the Dutch Parliament's stop and search expansion bill – to introduce stop and search powers outside the context of counterterrorism – but these concerns were quickly dismissed by those in favour of the bill. Opponents of the bill were reassured of the professionalism of the police and the implementation of random checks to monitor the use of this power. The use of this power in practice was that officers were picking suspects based on their experience and intuition. This was debated in the Dutch Parliament as contributing to feelings of stigmatisation among the minorities and even possibly leading to radicalisation (Van Woude, 2009).

The Aliens Act of 2000 that came into effect in 2001 was amended and expanded with provisions (art.50 and 53) which empowered the immigration police to conduct irregular house searches on suspected illegal immigrants. This Act also extended the power for the Alien Police to stop people on the street for the purpose of querying their identities and nationality. What followed was an increase in the numbers of immigrants and ethnic minorities being stopped to for questioning (Boekhoorn et al., 2004).

According to human rights groups, ethnic profiling in the Netherlands does occur during police stop and searches of vehicles and civilian identity checks, this is also the case with border control officials. The profiling of ethnic minorities has been documented as occurring during immigration controls, domestic proactive policing and in counter-terrorism operations. The decision of police officers to stop and search an individual, or to refrain from doing so, could lead to ethnic profiling. This discretion by police officers has led to ethnic minorities being searched disproportionately more than white people. The reason for ethnic profiling could be due to the racist attitude of police officers, or it could also be as a result of legislation and government policies on who and where to check for ID (Dutch Amnesty International Report, 2013).

The Dutch police are granted the power to stop and search individuals. This power does not require a reasonable suspicion of that individual, furthermore, stop and searches are only recorded if they lead to arrest or fines. This power to stop and search has increased police discretional power, a power that has only increased in the last decades without subjection to any appropriate authority. There is no structure to regulate how often this power is used and on

whom it is used (Van der Leunen et al., 2011, Dutch Amnesty International Report, 2013). The police, in accordance with extended power granted to them under the Extended Compulsory Identification Act (2005), have the power to request any individual over the age of 14 to present their identity card. A refusal to comply with this request is punishable under Section 447e of the Dutch Criminal Code and they may be issued a fine under the second category of the law (UNODC Site Document, 2014, The Netherlands Ministry of Security and Justice Site, 2017).

The powers to stop and search, according to research, are used frequently by the police to prevent young people from loitering around and causing a nuisance in public areas. This power also enables the police to control illegal begging and other infringements such as public drunkenness, drug use and the control of individuals for underpaying and fare dodging on public transport or traffic offences (Everwijn, et al., 2009, Kuppens, et al., 2011). The Roads and Traffic Act also empowers the police to stop any driver of a vehicle, and request the vehicle particulars and registration documents, if the driver fails to produce such documents or if those provided are not up to date, and in the event of any suspicion arising, an officer may escalate a traffic control procedure to a criminal investigation. The Dutch police are not required to give a reason for a traffic stop and search (Dutch Amnesty International Report, 2013).

The police are also empowered under the Dutch Criminal Code Act (Article 50–52) to stop and search an individual if there is reasonable suspicion of a criminal offence during a traffic stop or during interaction with an individual; searches can also be conducted in any area designated "security risk zones" by a mayor of the city. This allows the police to stop and search any individual as a preventive measure over a 12-hour period. The preventive searches can also be conducted on the order of the public prosecutor in any location designated as a "terrorist risk area" over a 12-hour period (The Netherlands Ministry of Security and Justice Site 2017).

Reports by Dutch Amnesty International, and other studies into issues of ethnic profiling by the police in the Netherlands, claim disproportionate profiling of ethnic minorities especially from Suriname, Morocco and the Dutch Antilles (Dutch Amnesty International, 2013). The majority of ethnic minorities in a survey undertaken in Amsterdam claimed they were targeted by the police and spoke of negative treatment including physical roughness, racist language by the police, intimidation and rudeness. The respondents complained of police failure to explain the reasons for the searches and in most cases a refusal by the police to

apologise for such searches when the suspicion was proven to be unfounded. The experience with the police, as claimed by some of the ethnic minorities, was humiliating. Some of those interviewed claimed the police pressed them against a wall or made them go on their knees in full view of the public while carrying out stop and search and ID checks (Van der Woude, 2012).

In 2011, research conducted by Van der Leun et al. on ethnic profiling in the Netherlands, found that political and social developments in the Netherlands had increased the possibility of ethnic profiling. The authors stress that unlike their UK counterparts, police in the Netherlands do not have stop and search forms to indicate which people have been stopped. This, they claim, has led to registered data not being available for research. The lack of data and complaints, they assert, have contributed to the police not being held accountable for their actions. They criticise other researchers' adaptation of pragmatic stances and the assumption that ethnic profiling was not taking place in the Netherlands. While acknowledging that their research was qualitative, they suggest that future research could use a more fruitful mixed approach, They also recommend the use of interview and observation in the collection of data (Van der Leun et al., 2011).

The issue of ethnic profiling by police in the Netherlands revolves around the discretional power granted to the law enforcement agencies, namely the police, Alien Police, and custom officers and, as claimed by Anouk de Koning (2015), social workers and youth workers are also involved in the use of this power. Much of the research done has been on racialised policing of ethnic minorities, which has long been debated in the public domain (Alexander, 2011; Bowling and Marks, 2015). Racialised policing has also been documented by academics throughout the rest of Europe (Cankaya, 2012; Mutsaers, 2014).

Research by Anouk de Koning, (2017) on ethnic profiling in Amsterdam's Diamantbuurt provides a view of how the focus on the police institution is too narrow to gauge the discriminatory effect of policing and profiling in the Netherlands. De Koning stresses how, in dense welfare states such as the Netherlands, more actors are involved in the surveillance, reform and discipline of the risk subjects than the police. Her research also gives an insight into the effect of this diffused form of policing on young people, especially Moroccan youth in the Diamantbuurt. This area has been riddled with problems of local Dutch-Moroccan youths who hang out in the neighbourhood, some of whom are involved in criminal activities. This

category of youth was labelled a nuisance to the community by the city council. (Koning, 2017).

The city council construed the young Moroccan males to be a nuisance; in response to this issue of the council developed a policy known as "Top600" in which 30 different organisations were brought together to deal with repeat offenders. They included the police, social work agencies, city and district administrators, judiciary and public health agency among others. The youths profiled in Top600 were portrayed in the media as violent criminals. Anyone listed in this group was monitored with a combination of care and repression, which left them with no option but to cooperate with the authorities. Information about people selected into this group was shared among the agencies and there were cases where Dutch-Moroccan youths are added to this group for minor offences. De Koning concluded in her findings that particular individuals were critically monitored due to particular categories in particular locations in an effort to minimise particular crime (Van Leun, 2017). This style of policing, according to Koning, is tantamount to ethnic profiling (Koning, 2017).

In the last three decades, there have been debates in the Netherlands about the alleged problems of people from migrant backgrounds and failed earlier approaches to foster multiculturalism (Prins, 2002, Van Reekum and Duyvendak, 2012). In a study undertaken by the anthropologist Sinan Çankaya, proactive policing in the Netherlands was observed as categorising segments of the population as probable victims and perpetrators. He stresses that young Dutch-Moroccans with a "street look" and other Eastern European young men were the prime targets of a proactive policing style. Police officers' attitudes do not only show their negative views regarding Dutch-Moroccan youths, but points also to other structural features of the police such as the "show-off approach" which focuses on young BME men who drive expensive cars – this attitude mirrors observations made about US policing (Epp, Maynard-Moody and Haider-Markel, 2014; Çankaya, 2012).

The attitude of the police towards black and ethnic minorities according to Smith et al., (1984) could be stem from minorities being confrontational towards the police. Smith et al. stress that black suspects respond to police officers with disdain and this, which it is claimed usually leads to arrest. As discussed earlier there is ample research evidence that shows that black and other ethnic minorities are overrepresented in police contacts and judicial sentencing statistics. Black people and other ethnic minorities are perceived and treated in a different way

to their white counterparts; evidence in the United Kingdom has shown this to be the case (Jefferson, 1988, Walkers, 1988, Waters, 1988, Abbas, 2005, Ambikaipaker, 2015). Classical and contemporary empirical research collated in the Netherlands also points to police discrimination against blacks and other ethnic minorities (Winkel and Vry, 1985; Winkel and Koppelar, 1986; Çankaya 2012).

An early study by Willemse and Meyboom (1979) showed that when police officers in the Netherlands were shown slides, the majority of police officers perceived blacks as being more suspicious than whites and concluded that black people were twice as likely to be stopped than white people in suspicious circumstances. In the secondary analysis of the same data (Junger, 1988) came to the conclusion that black and other ethnic minorities are usually characterised as suspects. On the attitude of the police towards blacks (Albert and Kaminga, 1991) it was concluded that the police are often rough and rude towards the black population. In their research and analysis of the police attitude towards black people in the Netherlands, Vry et al. (1991) agree with the above notion, and claim that their results do not correspond with black people's negative attitudes towards the police. Vry et al.'s results similarly demonstrate that black Surinamese people's attitude towards the police was cooperative. They claim that the police themselves are probably the root of unequal treatment.

The arrival of new waves of immigrants and refugees from Africa and the Middle East from the 1990s added to already settled guest worker populations from Turkey and Morocco, and longer established Surinamese and Antillean populations – descendants of former Dutch colonial subjects (Adang et al., 2010). Ethnic diversity has become a way of life in the Netherlands, with the ethnic minority's growth came their essential contribution to the economy, cultural and social life, especially in the big cities. The ethnic minorities do have their own problems especially with high levels of school dropouts, higher unemployment, and low incomes exacerbating a lack of acceptance by the native population (Verkuyten, 2002; Puy, 2013). These combinations have led in part to their overrepresentation in crime statistics. This has, in turn, led to public calls for proactive policing and tough measures against ethnic minority youth perceived to be responsible for crime. The pressure on the police to act tougher against young people from minority communities has sometimes resulted in the police being accused of discrimination (Svensson and Saharso, 2015).

Most UK research on policing has shown that police discrimination against people of ethnic minorities certainly exists. This has led to the accusation of profiling and institutional

racism against the police (MacPherson, 1999; Smith and Alpert, 2007; Bowling and Philips, 2007). Police discrimination is against the law; this then undermines the legitimacy and effectiveness of the police, which could also lead to tension in the community and, as witnessed in urban riots, a breakdown of public order. Police discrimination and improper use of force has led to much public disorder and violence across the world. Well-publicised events include the Los Angeles riot in 1992 after the Rodney King beating; the British riots in 2011; the French riots of 2005, and in 2013, riots in Sweden (see Laurence and Vaisse, 2005; Wain and Joyce 2012; Hirvonen, 2013).

The right to equal treatment is guaranteed under the first article of the Dutch constitution and this aligns with other European countries. The expectation of ethnic minorities to enjoy equal treatment from the police and government organs has been under enormous pressure in the Netherlands due to shifting political landscapes there (Svensson and Saharso 2015).

The multicultural backlash that swept through Europe has led to a change in Dutch politics (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2010). New political parties in the aftermath of 9/11 began to spring up and became more vocal in their utterances against migration and what they call the Islamisation of the Netherlands. This new political climate is alien to the Netherlands where the traditional politicians have always been careful not to connect the issue of crime to immigration. However, some new parties have thrived on these agendas. Traditional parties also in recent times appear to be following this trend by including similar posturing in their manifestos. The most successful of the new parties is led by Geert Wilders who, in his Party for Freedom manifestos, has demanded tougher measures against immigration and crime (Prins and Saharso, 2010). A salient issue to note is that, until the 1980s, the ethnic backgrounds of criminals were not mentioned publicly, this has changed with time and the Dutch media seems to now focus on the background of the offender (Van der Leun and Van der Woude, 2011). The media are now reporting crimes committed by ethnic minorities, such as football violence, stemming from their increased participation in the game; terrorising neighbourhoods; pestering homosexuals and other minor offences. Researchers have produced statistics that confirm the involvement of ethnic minorities in crime statistics and school dropout rates (Stol and Vink, 2005; Van Koppen, De Poot and Blokland, 2010).

In view of the changing political atmosphere in the Netherlands, tougher policies have been enacted over the past few decades that include harsher sanctions for the youth who break

the law – both native Dutch and from ethnic minorities. These changes have seen the Dutch police adapting to a proactive form of policing (De Vries and Van der Zijl, 2003). The police are now expected to monitor the streets for crimes and public disturbances from youths who loiter in daylight hours, to obtain information about them, and to let them be aware that they are being watched. To achieve this, a new municipal law was enacted to empower the police to ban youths from certain public spaces, to ban alcohol consumption and allow stop and search by the police. There was also the introduction of the "Beke list", an administrative measure that allows the police to systematically register offending and annoying youths and their group members. The list also allows the recording of the ethnic background of offenders on a special data base that can be accessed by multiple government agencies such as the police, judiciary, social services and other related agencies. An obligatory identification law was also introduced to establish the identities of offending youths and any individuals of interest (Ferwerda and Kloosterman, 2007; Ferwerda and Van Ham, 2010).

The new policies and the discretional powers granted to the police is cause for considerable concern among human right observers and scholars in the Netherlands, who fear unequal treatment in the ways these new powers may be abused by the police (Svensson and Saharso, 2013). Proactive policing, when used to curb crime especially in a disadvantaged neighbourhood, increases the chances of it affecting the ethnic minorities negatively and disproportionately (see Weitzer and Tuch, 2006). In research conducted by Svensson and Saharso (2015) into the unequal treatment of ethnic minorities youth by proactive policing, 231 young people were interviewed on the streets and in youth centres. The survey concluded the existence of unequal treatment by the police towards ethnic minorities, and that ethnic minorities' experiences of contact with the police was less than positive. The survey found most police-initiated contact with this group was based on the their non native-Dutch appearance. This finding, the researchers claim, could be as a result of the way proactive policing of young people is practised in the Netherlands – here, informal contact with the youth from different backgrounds is initiated by the police, not only with young offenders or suspects, but also with young people who behave as normally as other native young people. Svensson and Saharso's research limits itself to a handful of factors that account for how the police deal with the youth. They recommend the need for additional research in other countries using multiple factors to evaluate if similar proactive policing methods are making any difference in police–ethnic minorities' relations and the prevalence of unequal treatment (Svensson and Saharso, 2015).

There have been many types of studies into strained relationships between the police and ethnic minorities in Western society over the years; one such ethnographic study was undertaken by Paul Mutsaers (2014) into the policing of the internal border in the Netherlands. He argues that immigrants are deliberately targeted by the police and other government (and sometimes, private) agencies in the Netherlands. He cites the Amnesty International report of 2013 in which the Dutch police is reported as targeting and profiling ethnic minorities in their daily policing – an accusation that was denied by the Dutch Chief of Police. He asserts from his ethnographic study of Dutch police attitudes towards immigrants in Tilburg (known as "Gaza" due to its high Muslim population), that police do intentionally profile immigrants on the basis of their ethnicity. He argues they target ethnic minorities by and sometimes subject them to unnecessary control and cruel treatment. He cites the case of Abdul, a Somali male with a mental health problem, who was bundled into the back of a police car and released on the outskirts of the city just to get rid of him from an area where he was perceived as a nuisance. Mutsaers also describes how Somalis are perceived by the police as not being cooperative in providing information, and who also allege that they never report crimes or testify in court.

Mutsaers suggests that this is due to the trauma experienced in their home country rather than cultural reasons, as believed by the police. The study, though not specifically focusing on the Somali population, demonstrates that segments of Dutch society, especially immigrants, are subjected to extra immigration checks, and that some of these immigrants self-deport to other countries due to the hostile environment they experience in the Netherlands. It is believed that between 10,000 and 20,000 Somalis have left the Netherlands for the United Kingdom due to hostility (Van Liempt, 2011). Mutsaers points out that the Netherlands was one of the first EU countries to impose an immigrant's integration requirement, which includes a Dutch language proficiency test. The Netherlands is now perceived as a country where there is an aggressive method of policing immigration, he concludes (Mutsaers, 2014).

1.5 Ethnic Minorities in a Multicultural Police Force

An issue worth discussing here is the recruitment, retention and the experiences of ethnic minority officers in the Dutch police force. There have been issues regarding the underrepresentation of ethnic minorities and lack of diversity within the police force in the whole of Europe. There is increasingly greater diversity within the population of Europe, and this diversity is becoming more salient (Vertovec, 2007; Zapata, 2009; Prugl and Thiel, 2009).

The police, according to Ewijk (2011), of all public service institutions occupy an important place as a law enforcing institution responsible for regulating the behaviour of citizens. The police have direct contact with vast groups of citizens (Theodoridis and Mavrommati, 2004), due to which, increasing the diversity within the police in Europe might contribute positively to society and the police force (Ewijk, 2011). The majority of studies undertaken on diversity within the police, such as in Germany (Dudek, 2007), the United Kingdom (Johnson, 2006; McLauglin, 2007), the United States (Bernstein and Kostelac, 2002) and New Zealand (Jaeger and Vitalis, 2005), all indicate that diversity levels within the police when compared with the society they police is very low and inadequate.

Ewijk (2011), in her study of diversity within police forces in Europe, argues that the level of diversity is generally low and asserts that this further diminishes as the rank increases. However, she pointed out that although things have improved, certain groups such as homosexuals, women and ethnic minorities are underrepresented within the rank and file of the police – compared with the wider respective European societies, the figures do not reach even close to 50%. There was an issue with countries such as France, where quantitative data could not be generated on ethnic minorities in the police due to a law that rejects generating data based on race, ethnicity and religion. Academics, however, hold the view that people from ethnic minorities are massively underrepresented within French police forces (Zauberman and Levy, 2003). In Spain, only 3.1% of police recruits in 2009 were recorded to have at least one parent of foreign origin out of which 2.3% were of parents outside the European Union (ISPC, 2009). In Germany, the case was similar despite new rules allowing ethnic minorities to join the police when the need arose to increase minority recruitment; only 1% of the ethnic minorities are in the German police force (Franzke, 1999). The police force in England and Wales had 4.8 ethnic minorities within its rank at constable level (Home Office, 2009) while ethnic minorities in the Netherlands police force was only 6% of total officers (LECD, 2005).

The under-representation of ethnic minorities in European police forces has been attributed to various factors. Ewijk (2011), for example, finds in her study of police hierarchical levels and diversity across Europe, that ethnic minority officers are scarce at the higher rank of the police than in the lower ranks, and stresses the need to recruit, retain and promote ethnic minorities within the police forces in Europe. The retention and promotion of police officers with ethnic minority backgrounds is of importance to any police force, posits Johnson (2006), while Dyke and Dyke (2002) express the opinion that the threat of diversity politics arises from the possibility that increased recruitment could create the illusion of shared power where there

is none. This view is further reinforced in the work of Philips (2005) who concludes that ethnic minority officers are more likely to leave the police as they are less likely to move upward in ranks. This, it is claimed, will not change unless minority officers are incorporated in adequate numbers into higher ranks within the police (Bowling and Philips, 2002). Upward mobility in recruitment needs to be initiated to prevent new white police officers from adopting the same attitudes and stereotypes towards officers of ethnic minority heritages as their fellow incumbent white officers (Holdaway, 1998; Cashmore, 2002; Sharp and Atherton, 2007).

Studies hold various external factors responsible for the underrepresentation of ethnic minorities among the rank and file of police forces across Europe. The main causes, it is claimed, are the expectations by ethnic minorities that they will be unwelcome is an environment where very few of their co-workers share the same values and characteristics as them. Studies also highlight factors such as a lack of requisite skills, hostility from family and friends, and a preference for higher status professions such as medicine and law – which have fewer demanding conditions than the police force (Holdaway, 1997; Waters et al., 2007). Other studies attribute the lack of adequate diversity within the police forces in Europe and the United States to the issue of negative contacts between the ethnic minorities and the police. These negative contacts and the ensuing strained relationships between the minorities and the police (such as the Stephen Lawrence case in the United Kingdom and rioting in the banlieues of Paris in 2005 among others) has in no small way contributed to ethnic minorities' lack of interest or aversion to joining the police force (Waddington, 1999; Laurence and Vaisse, 2005; Ewijk, 2011).

However, many studies on the interaction between the police and the policed ethnic minorities, indicate the origin of problems stems a common denominator, namely police culture itself (Goldsmith, 1990; Skogan and Hartnett, 1997; Cashmore, 2002; Reiner, 2010). However, academics such as Van der Lippe, Graumans and Sevenhuijsen (2004) argue that intervention of government policies and laws has been effective in the recruitment of ethnic minorities into the police force. Ewijk (2011) similarly states that the recruitment of ethnic minorities in Europe is positive when the autonomy of policies regarding recruitment is restricted or taken away from police organisations. This may have been the aim of the Council of Europe when they implemented a policy that the police's composition should reflect the community it serves, believing that the establishment of diverse police personnel will lead to a more trusting environment between the minorities and the police (Council of Europe, 1993). There was, two decades ago, emphasis by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary on the importance of

developing a reflective and representative police, while the Macpherson Inquiry (1999) went on to stress the urgency of this recommendation (Waters et al., 2007). The police services across the United Kingdom, it has been argued, face serious challenges in their efforts to recruit and retain ethnic minorities. The recruitment of ethnic minorities is seen as important to having a fairer, representative and a more sensitive policing multi-cultural and multi-ethnic environment (HMIC Report 1995).

The difficulty in the recruitment of ethnic minorities is not particular only to the United Kingdom, but to other countries as well (Given, 2002). In countries such as the Netherlands, high priority has been given to the recruitment of ethnic minorities into the police force (De Vries, 2010), while there have been difficulties in recruiting ethnic minorities into the police in the United States due to issues arising from cultural, historical and competitive aspects (Whetstone, Reed and Turner 2006). Much of the difficulty in recruiting ethnic minorities into the police force has been associated with institutional racism within police organisations; this has affected the levels of recruitment, progression and retention of the ethnic minorities (Joyce, 2004).

Academics such as Gordon (1983), in his critical analysis of the UK police, have suggested that racism in the police force mirrors institutional racism that occurs within the state and the society in general. This may have been a factor in the police struggle to recruit from the ethnic minorities; Robert Mark, the Chief Constable of Leicester Constabulary, has suggested in his Home Office briefing that qualified black men would not join the police with the knowledge that they will be unwelcome (Whitfield, 2004). This view aligns with views of scholars such as Stone and Tuffin (2000) who similarly assert that ethnic minorities feel they face problems of rejection and isolation and are subject to racism from white colleagues. Whitfield cites the 1966 Home Office minutes that those ethnic minorities that applied to the police are unqualified whereas those qualified would prefer a higher status job elsewhere.

The Home Office Report of 1999 indicates that black and Asian minorities perceived the police to be hostile to their recruitment (Home Office Report, 1999). The perception of police as being rude and insensitive towards the ethnic minorities puts the recruitment of ethnic minorities in jeopardy (Holdaway, 1996). Waters et al. (2007) in their study of ethnic minority recruitment into the police in United Kingdom, however, claimed that despite the negativity and barriers to recruitment of ethnic minorities, one third of the ethnic minorities interviewed indicated their willingness to join the police in the future.

The sections above have addressed some of the issues arising from the recruitment of ethnic minorities into the police force in Europe, and particularly in the United Kingdom and the United States where the majority of the studies on the difficulties recruiting ethnic minorities have been concentrated. This paragraph aims to discuss the situation in the Netherlands in regard to recruitment, retention and the experiences of ethnic minorities within the Dutch police. Heath and Cheung (2007), with regard to immigrants and labour markets in Europe argue that immigrants in West Europe are disadvantaged when it comes to the labour market. The Netherlands, according to Huijnk and Dagevos (2012), is not exempted when it comes to discrimination of immigrants in the labour market. Immigrants and non-Western ethnic minorities, according to their research, are quite often underemployed and without permanent jobs more so than the white native Dutch. This view is shared by other scholars who are of view that discrimination plays a prominent role against immigrants in the Dutch job market (Bijwaard and Veenman, 2006; Andriessen and Dagevos, 2007; Dagevos, 2009 and Andriessen, 2010). Issues such as Dutch language proficiency, constrained social structure and lack of motivation due to discrimination expected at work, are found to limit migrants' opportunities and access to the job market (Perreira, Mullan and Lee, 2007).

The migrant population are ranked according to native Dutch perceptions of their cultural distance from the native Dutch population and the amount of time spent as residents in the country (Hagendoorn and Hraba, 1989). In the process of these hierarchies, the most preferred ethnic in-group are at the top while the other out-group is ranked downward on the ladder. Such a process indicates how certain groups among immigrants are stereotyped and discriminated against as socially deviant within the system (Sniderman, Hagendoorn and Prior, 2004; Snellman and Ekehammer, 2005; Verkuyten and Zaremba, 2005; Snellman, 2007). Migrants of Moroccan origin fall to the bottom of the ladder as the most deviant (Pepels and Hagendoorn, 2000; Verkuyten and Zaremba, 2005; Gijsberts and Vervoort, 2007) while those of Turkish descent fall within the favourable part of the ladder, with the Surinamese a step higher still (Veenman, 1984, 1995). Employers in the Netherlands are known to prefer the Turkish and the Surinamese over Antillean and the Moroccan migrants (Veenman, 1995; Kruisbergen and Veld, 2002; Nievers, 2010). The migrants from the Netherlands Antilles are perceived by the native Dutch as a problematic group because of their perceived association with theft and drug trafficking (Andriessen et al., 2012).

A study conducted by Andriessen et al. (2012) into immigrants and the labour market in the Netherlands, found that despite holding the same qualifications as native Dutch people,

the ethnic minorities have far less likelihood of being invited for job interviews. Their study finds no significant differences between various ethnic minority groups but that there were discriminatory impacts as a whole against ethnic minorities compared to white native applicants. There were instances in the study where in at least 64 cases only immigrants were invited to interviews and native Dutch applicants rejected (Andriessen et al., 2012). There may be a few explanations for the preference of immigrants over the native Dutch, for example, Gordon, Edwards and Reich, (1982) argue that this could happen if the employer is in need of certain immigrants to provide linguistic services between its company and its customers. Browning and Rodriguez (1985) in their study find that companies will engage immigrants over natives if they can hire immigrants for lower wages. Rodriguez (2004) asserts that employers will do this to achieve a self-recruiting labour force. This could also be undertaken by companies seeking to enhance a public image of having a diverse labour force, or even as a form of moral obligation towards society (Nievers, 2010).

By examining the Dutch labour market above, one aims to gain an insight into whether the situation with immigrants and their access to the labour market, in anyway affects the recruitment of ethnic minorities into the Dutch police force. De Meijer (2008), in her study into the assessment process of the Dutch police for both ethnic minorities and native Dutch recruits, concluded that Dutch police assessors have more experience at evaluating the ethnic majority candidates than they do for evaluating ethnic minority applicants. It has been found that inexperienced police assessors use irrelevant information in judging ethnic minority applicants at interviews, thereby putting them at a disadvantage during screening. Other research, such as that by Barr and Hitt (1986) and Singer and Bruhns (1991), makes similar claims of inexperienced assessors using irrelevant information in judging ethnic minorities. The ethnic minority police applicants are disadvantaged in the process of recruitment into the police force, as the assessors who conduct interviews where ethnic minorities using irrelevant information, are the ones providing the final selection advice (De Meijer, 2008).

Experiencing prejudice and discrimination is part of daily life for most ethnic minority people, according to Essed (1991) and the workplace cannot be exempted from this (Morrison and Von Glinow, 1990). There have been several reports of prejudice and discrimination against immigrants at their places of work (Sikking and Brasse, 1987; Bouw and Nelissen, 1988). Such hostility tends to have a negative effect on immigrants and their capabilities at work which could lead to a self-fulfilling prophecy in some cases, where workers might start believing and holding the opinion of what is said about them (Jussim, 1990). De Vries and

Pettigrew (1998), in their study of the position and experience of Dutch police officers, demonstrate that most ethnic minority police officers in the Netherlands encountered discrimination and negative outlooks at work. The ethnic minority officers in a predominantly white police force were confronted with several negative issues that compromised and made their roles more challenging more than those of their white colleagues.

The Dutch police have striven to attain ethnic diversity in the police force over the years, indeed, they were one of the first government institutions to use affirmative action schemes in order to attract ethnic minorities into the police force. These schemes, De Vries and Pettigrew claimed, exposed the ethnic minorities to negativity from their white colleagues who opined that competent workers did not need an affirmative action plan. There were also allegations of jealousy expressed by native Dutch officers who claimed that too much attention was given to ethnic minority officers and that the standards were lowered to get them through to the police force. Affirmative action has been proven by scholars such as Crosby and Clayton, (1990) and Summer (1991) to have a negative effect on minorities, when used in recruitment. White Dutch officers complained that their literacy levels were far better than those of ethnic minorities. The study by De Vries and Pettigrew found that the white majority officers were positive about their work while the ethnic minority officers were comparatively less positive. There were complaints from ethnic minority officers of discrimination, annoying remarks and sometimes humour that was taken too far by white colleagues. (De Vries and Pettigrew, 1998).

The Dutch police force, according to Benschop et al. (2001), is a white man's environment. Boogard and Roggerband, in their study of inequality within the Dutch police stress that the ethnic minorities are overrepresented at the lower end of the police ranks while the white majorities tend to be overrepresented at the higher level, with the top wages and the top positions being occupied by native white Dutch officers. This affirms the views of Holdaway (1998), Dyke and Dyke (2002), Philips (2005) and Ewijk (2011).

Language proficiency, according to Boogard and Roggerband (2010), is used as a tool to marginalise and slow down promotion prospects for ethnic minorities' promotion as earlier claimed by De Vries and Pettigrew (1998). Halsema and Halsema (2006) claim that language proficiency is not only used to slow down ethnic minority promotions, but also to justify a strict control of ethnic minorities at work. This behaviour has also been observed by Peterson and Uhnoo (2012) within the Swedish police, where ethnic minorities, especially those with a Muslim background, are refused promotion or transfers to towns close to their families because

contact with their communities, claim the Swedish police, affect their loyalty to the force. Ghorashi (2006) and Essed and Trienekens (2008) similarly find that ethnic minorities are not only stereotyped in the Netherlands as having low status but are often perceived by the native Dutch population as criminals, and in some cases as terrorists. The study of Boogard and Roggerband (2010) further affirms that the association of immigrants with crime extends to perceptions of ethnic minority officers in the Dutch police as they are frequently viewed as a risk group within the police force. The Dutch police is a diverse institution, yet segregated along ethnic and gender lines. Boogard and Roggerband find that police officers of Turkish and Moroccan background are frequently asked to assist in translating and interpreting for citizens from Turkey and Morocco, especially on issues involving domestic disputes. This aligns with the findings of Gordon, Edwards and Reich (1982) that ethnic minorities may be useful for linguistic purposes to the companies that hire them. There is existing literature documenting the ethnic and gender inequality within the Dutch police, for example, Benschop et al. (2001) point to a culture of masculinity within the Dutch police in which the traditional white male is still very dominant. This has been found in UK studies too (Dick, 2004) and in the US Navy (Barrett, 1996).

1.6 Summary

This chapter has examined police–minority relations in the United States and the United Kingdom. The research evidence indicates clear difficulties in police–minority relations, and how various government reforms have attempted to eradicate points of conflicts between the police an ethnic minorities. The (1999) Macpherson Reform demonstrates attempts through various recommendations, to change attitudes of overt racism by the British police towards the minorities, which was rampant within the police force until the 1990s (Smith and Gray, 1985; Bowling and Philips, 2002; Holdaway and O'Neill, 2007; Loftus 2012; Long and Joseph-Salisbury, 2018). The same can be said for the United States where the effects of racism are found to prevail in most of the studies conducted on police–minority relations, especially in the historical background of African American slavery, culminating in the civil rights era of the 1950s up until the contemporary struggles such as "Black Lives Matter" (Skolnick, 1966; Weitzer, 2000; Akuno and Eisen, 2013; Spencer et al., 2016; King, 2018).

This chapter has also explored police–minority relations in the Dutch context, where research evidence suggests the situation to be similar to that of the United States and the United

Kingdom (Junger-Tas, 1997; Boekhoorn et al., 2014; Weenik, 2009; Van de Woude, 2012; Mutsaers, 2012; Svensson et al., 2015). In spite of all efforts and recommendations at improving relations between the police and the minorities, there remains a persisting strain on these relations in all the countries studied. Recent data in the United Kingdom suggests that black people are eight times more likely to be stopped and searched than their white counterparts (Hargreaves, Husband and Linehan, 2017). Other studies have evidently found the same police attitudes towards minorities in the United States (Giwa, 2018) and in the Netherlands (Cankaya, 2012; Mutsaers, 2014). This study intends to build on existing literature by exploring Dutch-African experiences of policing in the Netherlands and assessing if their experiences of the Dutch police are different from the existing evidence on police–minority's relations. The last section of this chapter considered the recruitment and its effects on relationships between the ethnic minority Dutch police officers and native police officers. Studies in the United States and United Kingdom have suggested that ethnic minority police officers are underrepresented in recruitment drives and are likely to experience discrimination at the hands of their white counterparts (Holdaway, 1991, 1996, 1998; Bowling and Philips, 2002; Cashmore, 2002; Afful, 2018). The existing studies in the Netherlands found similar attitudes towards minorities and the underrepresentation of ethnic minorities within the Dutch police force (De Vries and Pettigrew, 1995; Boogard and Roggerband, 2010; Siebers, 2015). This section explored whether the minorities in the Dutch police force have the same experiences of policing African-Dutch people as their white counterparts, or whether their experiences were distinct, owing to their own experiences of discrimination. The next chapter examines and illustrates the theoretical framework of this study.

Chapter 2 Theoretical Framework

This research set out to study how the African–Dutch communities in the Netherlands experience policing in a changing and unequal society. As part of that discourse, this chapter will use an intersectionality framework as the theoretical approach used to understand the experiences of Africans in the Netherlands. Also discussed are Critical Race Theory (CRT) and "post-race theory", and their relevance to this study. The issue of racial discrimination and policing has the potential to be studied in multiple ways, but as a result of my exploration of contemporary theories of racism, I have chosen to use the lens of intersectionality for its explanatory potential. I assert that the experience of African–Dutch people, through an intersectional lens can, provide a credible framework to analyse their experiences of forms of discrimination based on different aspects of their personal identities which cannot be captured by a single axis theory of racism.

2.1 Critical Race Theory

As mentioned, this study is informed by a CRT perspective insofar as CRT inspired the development of intersectionality and contributed to discussions about a post-race society. CRT promotes comparative academic work on race, on the premise that a serious reflection on race requires analyses from diverse perspectives (Harris, 2002). CRT, according to Parker and Lynn (2002), has surfaced from the legal field to lay bare the pattern of deep racial exclusion in society. It has borrowed from various strands of theory, in order to expand explanations for racism, and it encompasses other critical epistemologies in searching for intersections and alliance with other areas of differences to advocate and advance a social justice agenda for public and legal discourse on issues affecting race and gender (Parker and Lynn, 2002).

> The original intent of the phrase, "We the People" was far too clear for any ameliorating construction. Writing for the Supreme Court in 1857, Chief Justice Taney [Said of blacks]…. "We think they are… not included, and were not intended to be Included …." We the People no longer enslave, but the credit does not belong to the framers. It belongs to those who refused to acquiesce in outdated notions of "liberty" "justice and "equality" and who strived to better them. (Harris, 2002, p. 1220)

The struggles of black people to obtain justice, freedom and dignity, according to Bell (2002), is as old as the United States itself. The inspiring efforts of black community leaders to encourage black people to fight for their rights and justice, through the courts and the judicial

system did not achieve the expected result. The belief that the judicial process would position black people in better social positions within US society, coupled with various powerful civil rights movements and occasional triumphs in court and legislation, did not make black Americans equal to their white counterparts. Bell (2002) asserts that racial equality in the United States is a goal that is not realistic. He argues that the pursuit of equal status by black people in a severely racist United States is unobtainable and has become a self-defeating goal. Bell explains the need for black people to reform their civil rights strategy if they are to succeed in their goal; they should, he suggests, imitate the legal realists, not simply in challenging the whole jurisprudential system, but by challenging the principle of racial equality under the law. The new movement, known as "Racial Realism" (Bell, 2002. p. 364) should be a legal and social structure on which black people can rely for their voices and concerns to be heard.

The "legal realists", explains Bell were a group of lawyers in the early twentieth century who opposed the classical system of US law as common-law rules which, if appropriately applied to any case in any given situation would, ostensibly, end up with the right and just judgement. Legal realism was propounded by Oliver Wendell Holmes who scientifically proved that judges decided cases not by the help of deductive reasoning but by dependence on socially engineered, value-laden personal beliefs influenced by their own environment. Bell argues that judges make decisions through abstract conceptualisation, that is, what they believe and have learned from their environment, and what they perceive to be right. He stresses that racism provides a ground for white judges to choose one available premise over another, in cases where incompatible claims arise. This he claims, leads to legal judgment to the detriment of black people and preserves their inferior status in US society. An example of this is the case of The University of California versus Bakke (June 28, 1978), where the US Supreme Court relied and gave judgement upon the conventional Fourteenth Amendment, while ignoring the social questions around which racial group has the advantage and power over others, and which race has been denied academic entry into universities for centuries. The judge decided that affirmative policy should not deny white applicants of their candidacy in the university based on their colour and gave judgement in favour of Bakke, who opposed affirmative policy for black students.

The historical pattern of black disadvantage was ignored through artificial and unsuitable parity. The judge, in his pronouncement, did not take into consideration flexible reasoning and contemporary statistics. Bell argues that if the legal realist approach had been followed, the court would have observed the social landscape and the biased representation of

ethnic minority populations within medical students. Bell claims that the judge failed to reason why social demographics were relevant, such as deficient public schools in black neighbourhoods, the absence of minority professionals as role models for upcoming students and the application of tests graded by "white" standards. If all this had been taken into consideration by the court, Bell argues that the case might have been in Bakke's favour. The protection of race-based white privilege, which was rather obvious in Bakke's case, Bell claimed, has become a frequent theme in civil rights judgements, especially in cases decided by the more conservative US Supreme Court.

Bell asserts that many black people who sought redress from subordinate status to equal status through the law, ended up in more serious poverty and despair than they had faced during the "separate but equal" period. The absence of "Jim Crow" signs and colour barriers, though less visible, he concludes, are neither less real nor less oppressive. Granted, one can travel today without encountering signage designating separate areas for "coloureds and whites", but this whitewashing of public discrimination has produced a veneer of racial neutrality that distracts white people into thinking that racism no longer exists in society, and that racism has become history (Bell, 2002).

> Black people will never gain full equality in this country. Even those Herculean efforts we hail as successful will produce no more than temporary "peaks of progress"; short-lived victories that slide into relevance as racial patterns adapt in ways that maintain white dominance. This is a hard-to-accept fact that all history verifies. We must acknowledge it and move on to adopt policies based on what I call: "Racial Realism" 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" (Bell, 2002, p. 373)

The early 1980s experienced the emergence of Critical Legal Studies (CLS) in the American School of Legal Studies. CLS opened up a legal poststructuralist concept that was already at work within other disciplines; it focused on textual interpretation, which included literary criticism, philosophy, and anthropology. CLS challenged the division between law and politics, with the postulate that legal rules were wholly unstipulated, CLS advocated for the reformation or annihilation of the legal doctrine in an attempt to expose the integration of legal concepts and the predominant function of conservative and traditional legal interpretation

(Kelman, 1987). CLS also made available the intellectual avenue for a broad-based exposition of hidden patterns of race and gender segregation. The first compilation of essays in CRT, for example, appeared under the inscription of "Minority Critiques of the Legal Studies Movement". The authors of these essays were sympathisers of CLS who, notwithstanding, were disconcerted with its failure to engage extensively with racism in the United States (Delgado, 1987; Williams, 1987).

The 1980s onwards witnessed the entry of African Americans and other people of colour into legal academia. The majority of these African American academics were rather disappointed and frustrated at the result of the traditional course of legal reforms at a time of backlash; they were of the opinion that the traditional civil rights scholarship reflected a system that neglected the voices of black people and people of colour (Delgado, 1984). Delgado (1993) suggests that civil rights laws could possibly not eradicate racism if the latter were woven deeply into the cultural fabric of US society. The majority of characters in what later became CRT perspectives were radicalised as students through the departure of Professor Derrick Bell from Harvard Law School and the decision of the School not to hire an African American woman to replace him. These students went on to create their own course modules on race and racism in relation to the law, which were delivered by visiting academia from universities across the United States. The term Critical Race Theory was coined by this working group of both lecturers and students (Crenshaw et al., 1995).

Harris (2002) argues that the emergence of critical race studies as a field of study – the first of its kind in the world – signifies an evolution in CRT. As Bell (2002) suggests in his book on race and law in the United States, the emergence of CRT was not unconnected with racism in the United States and the view that the judiciary was constrained by conservative judges who perceived racial subordination to have been consigned to history. CRT recognises that the law does not only mirror race as external phenomenon but that legal doctrines constitute an ideological history about what is race and racism. Harris emphasises that the concern is not how the bias of the society is reflected in the legal structure, or how race disputes are managed by the law, but that the focus is outlining the relationship between the law and race. The law constructs and produces race not only in the realm where race is principally articulated, but likewise where race is unexpressed or unacknowledged. CRT in this regard threaded across conservative doctrinal boundaries within the law and linked other academic fields shifting across style, methodology, ideology, argument and focus. The non-acknowledging of race was evident in the successful adoption of Proposition 209 banning affirmative action without even

mentioning the words. The Proposition prohibited the state from granting preferential treatment to black people, or discriminating against anyone based on their colour, in regard to admission to state universities; the position was, if race is ignored, all will be well. The account of the judiciary denies the relevance of race, but on the contrary under this belief the importance of race is salient and deepened. Initiative 209 was voted in 1996; it led to a significant decline in the number of black people, Latinos and other ethnic minorities enrolled in the University of California. CRT as an instrument of analysis of race attempts to focus on the interrelation between power, race and the law as a way of understanding the terms under which race is transacted through law and the legal institutions (Harris, 2002).

CRT adopts the position that racism is normalised, and it exists in everyday life experiences in our contemporary society and, essentially, in institutions and social practices. The position adopted by CRT rejects the notion that racism is a feature of troubled or education-deficient individuals. (Bell, 1992; Delgado and Stefanic, 1994; Ladson Billings, 1998). CRT as discussed above originated in University of California legal studies department after the post-civil rights movement in the mid to late 1980s, as a reaction to frustrations over the failure of a second reconstruction to eradicate racism in the United States (Delgado, 1984; Crenshaw, 1988; Ansley, 1989; and Harris, 2002). The focus of CRT's criticism in this period was the state law and legal institutions, while its primary adopted method in legal scholarship was the use of storytelling and fiction in criticising the legal stand and doctrine – a method of "reading against the grain" (Harris, 2012, p. 266) that refused to take legal doctrine for its actual value (Bell, 2002). Derrick Bell, for example, used an imaginary personality who travels through periods and engages her magical powers in criticising US civil rights scholarship from the old founding Constitution to the contemporary one (Bell, 1985, p. 1992). Crenshaw (1989) argues that the use of anecdotes or tales was not only to convey ideas not possible for expression in the traditional academic language, but as a way of criticising the presumption that norms of legal doctrine, legal interpretation and legal establishment operated objectively and yielded neutral valuations of public policy.

Critical race theorists were of the opinion that existing laws against discrimination neglected the context of the racially disadvantaged, and that the subordinated are aware of their lacked privileges. Matsuda (1987) suggested the civil right laws should "look to the bottom" (Matsuda, 1987, p. 63) of society for initiatives and insights. Critical race theorists' objectives were to show that the legal scholars' "perspectivelessness" (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 3) was in actual sense a perspective adjusted to the concept of white privilege (Crenshaw, 1989b). A relevant

example can be taken from Williams; though trained in the theory of poststructuralism and CLS, she conveyed her messages through adoption of personal stories, literary techniques and a dense web of allusion to criticise the legal and social and legal composition of racial realities (Williams, 1991). Various scholars have advocated for what they call a special "voice of colour" (Johnson, 1991, 2010) that needs heeding in public policy and legal doctrine Johnson (1991). The use of anecdotes by critical race theorists in narrating black people's experiences of racism is not without controversy and criticism. It was attacked and criticised as racial "special pleading", also as humiliating and compromising standards of traditional legal scholarship (Kennedy, 1989). The use of fables by CRT in story telling was also attacked as awkward scholarship and seen as a bid to rubbish the Enlightenment legacy; CRT was subjected to the accusation that it was a postmodernist assault on fact itself (Farber and Sherry, 1997).

CRT has continued to develop over the years; most recently the twisting of minority oppression with white privilege with the exploration of white identities – this was made possible by increasing literature on critical white studies (Delgado and Stefanic, 1997; Flagg, 1998) and the study of impacts of racial discrimination on whites (Rich, 2010). There is also, within CRT, a thriving interest in using racial privilege instead of discrimination as a theoretical object of critique and study (Wildman, 1996, 2005). The argument is based on the theory the focus on the traditional victims of racism obscured the experiences of those who are not victimisers but benefit from racial hierarchies. CRT has also moved to other disciplines such as private and corporate law (Wade, 2002; Carbado and Gulati, 2004). The application of CRT has also been observed within contracts, property law and crime (Charmallas and Wriggins, 2010; Brophy et al., 2011). A major development is the movement of CRT beyond the United States via comparative legal studies (Oppenheimer et al., 2012; Harris, 2012, 2015). Delgado and Stefancic (2017) also point out the expansion of CRT into other areas of study and countries and stress that this theory is already having effect on how crime, policing and sentencing within court systems are approached. They ask whether the same developments will extend over time to countries such as Indonesia and China, and indeed, to fields such as medicine. They suggest that CRT may one day become the "new civil rights orthodoxy" (Delgado and Stefancic, 2017, p. 157) resulting in an increase in the number of black senators, mayors and members of Congress. They conclude that the critique of colour blindness could, perhaps, encourage the acceptance into the Supreme Court, of race-conscious measures to address inequality in, for example, education and employment. This could help in levelling the playing field for those

who have been marginalised from society's bounty and paving the way for an "Americanized" Indian law policy, as suggested by Robert Williams, which might recognise the Indian tribes as a sovereign nation of their own (Delgado and Stefancic, 2017).

CRT, as suggested by Oppenheimer et al., 2012; Harris 2012, 2015), has travelled outside the borders of the United States. Hylton et al., (2011) assert the emergence of CRT in the United Kingdom as alternative critical tool, with which racialised dynamics could be challenged – where other analytic lenses have been inconsistent, marginalised or totally ignored black people's experiences. CRT platform in the United Kingdon, they argue, have offered a safe arena for exploring the benefits of CRT in illustrating racialised oppressions in the United Kingdon, while appealing to a growing number of scholars revitalised with the application of alternative counter-cultural theory in academia. UK-based scholars have produced significant texts focusing on the use of CRT as an alternative tool (Quraishi, 2005; Gillborn, 2009; Cole, 2009; Hylton, 2009) in combination with diverse journals on CRT (Hylton, 2011).

Gillborn (2008) and Quraishi (2005) argue that although CRT remains an exclusively US perspective, there is nothing preventing it from being adopted as a conceptual tool by scholars elsewhere in studying racism and inequality, and ways of confronting it. Gillborn argues that though Marxist critics of this theory dismissed it as a philosophy of despair at the first CRT conference in London, in 2009, the use of CRT as a theory would facilitate a new approach to enlighten one of the process by which white supremacy is constructed and re-constructed, and the ways of opposing it (Gillborn, 2011). Notwithstanding, it has to be acknowledged that whiteness in itself is contested and consist of multiple layers, where whiteness is constructed according to territories and other social factors (Vanderbeck, 2006). Nevertheless, Burdsey (2011), for example, focused on the use of CRT in anti-racism in British sports, where the ideology of a level playing field obscured damaging racialised relations that reflected wider society. Burdsey maintains that CRT has been a critical and useful tool in the enquiry, viewing and exposing of white privilege in British sports, and highlights how incidences of micro-aggression, colour blindness and white supremacy are exposed within the sporting arena (Hylton, 2005, 2009, 2010). While important empirical research has been provided by Brown et al. (2003) on how inequality in social structures affects individual psychological wellbeing using CRT as an analytic tool, the advantage of CRT theory is Burdsey's forte. He was able to prove through CRT, that the British Asian communities were racially excluded from football (Burdsey, 2006, 2007, 2011). He argued that CRT as an

analytical tool was not only important but facilitated a re-reading of some of the earlier analysis in order to expose embedded failings within studies.

The resonance of CRT is not lost on Pilkington (2011) who makes the point that ten years post-Macpherson all institutions remain remarkably white. All attempts in the United Kingdom advocating for race equality following Macpherson's report reveal, what he calls "contradiction-closing cases" (p. 42) and observe that the Macpherson initiatives have eroded over time. The pressure, he says, is off while lip-paying services such as the declaration of strategies on ethnic diversity inclusion and race equalities continue to be maintained by the British government. This discourse, claims Pilkington, has marginalised the people who are concerned with race and equality. Where there have been attempts to promote participation and equal opportunities for ethnic minorities at the higher levels of United Kingdon institutions, Pilkington attributes such moves to be a reaction of the government to Macpherson's claim of institutional racism within its ranks. Pilkington argues that the government advocacy for equal opportunity was only partially concerned about race and ethnicity, as this was not mentioned in the party manifesto. He concludes that the failure of the British government to mention race and ethnicity suggests a colour-blind policy that was focused on social advantage, because they were more interested in class-centred issues.. He concluded that as predicted, by CRT, the drive to promote the policy of race and equality has once again been short-lived (Pilkington, 2008, 2011).

Chakrabarti et al. (2012) express the opinion that CRT is emerging as a useful tool for focusing on issues such as race and education, but are aware of its infancy relative to the United States, its birthplace. CRT has faced criticism in the United Kingdom in regard to national context. It has been negatively criticised by Marxists scholars such as Cole and Maisuria,(2007) and Cole (2009) and by other critics who suggest that there is something peculiar and particular about issues of racial oppression in the United States (Kaufman, 2005). Scholars such as Ladson-Billings (2006), however, suggests the importance of CRT's emergence in the international arena, but recommends it should be further developed in English contexts with regards to its academic identity and in developing its credential as an international theory. He points out English scholars should consider ways in which CRT could be adapted to the English context by explaining and resisting prevalent forms of racism in the United Kingdon. Chakrabarti et al. (2012), however, voice the opinion that there is little discrepancy between CRT in England and the United States citing the prevalence of structural racism in both

concepts, (see Warmington, 2012). They venture that the differences, if any, will only have to do with historical disparity of European theoretical articulation (Chakrabarti et al., 2012).

Tate speaks of how Black liberation thought is crucial and foundational for the "Black Critical Race Theory" (Tate, 2016, p. 66). This, she asserts, is essential in the resistance to operational power of white people in organisations. She maintains that resistance is crucial as racism within institutions in Britain appears to disappear into thin air even as it infiltrates into their actual walls. She stresses that the "I just can't put my finger on it" sentiment (Tate, 2016, p. 69) it is a tool that engages with attempts to identify the invisible touch of racism. The transatlantic passage of CRT from its home in the United States to the United Kingdom has taken place without the theory losing its focus on the analysis of its critical race consciousness (Quraishi, 2005; Gillborn, 2008; Warmington, 2012; Chakrabarti et al., 2013). Tate argues the more the attempt of British CRT (BCRT) to place a hand on racism within British society through the work of the intellectual sphere, the more the post-race theorists purport that race no longer exists, and that BCRT is not a theory and, further, that teaching on racism is mainstreamed. Tate finds that racism and abhorrence of black people are still very much present and alive in today's Britain, in many institutions and seemingly cosmopolitan environments such as universities, where tolerance is obvoluted with both contempt and disgust (Tate, 2016; Ngai, 2005).

CRT as an analytical tool appears to have set roots within various disciplines in the United Kingdom. It has been applied as master- and counter-narratives on the marginalisation of state-funded Muslim faith schools in Britain (Quraishi, 2005). CRT, as a tool, says Breen (2018), has been useful in exploring diverse ways in which policy functions to sustain race inequalities in education systems (Gillborn, 2005, 2008; Tate, 2016). Breen was able to conclude that state-funded Muslim faith schools in the United Kingdom are not properly funded, and at times excluded, from state funding when compared to other faith-based state-funded schools. They are at a disadvantage through the climate within which anti-terror narratives in the press and in British society function, which, he argues has political implication for British Muslims. The events surrounding the Charlie Hebdo attack, among others, have put constraints on British Muslims' political voices and their ability to speak against the state regarding inequalities and discrimination suffered, without incurring a "threat to national security" label. This climate has permitted a level of surveillance around Muslim school children and students. Breen concludes that the inequalities and discriminations against Muslims in education could be addressed by entering into partnership with the Muslim

communities, and by the state funding their schools as they do other faith-funded schools (Breen, 2018).

2.2 Post-Race Theory

The idea of post-race theory may be considered as a relatively new perspective, but an examination of some classic texts, such as *Black Skin, White Masks* by Frantz Fanon (1952) illustrates there is a long-established intellectual discussion of post-race thinking. Fanon's anti-foundational, theoretical approach to the issue of French colonising of Algeria furnished readers with a rare glance into fragmented racial subjectivities. He suggests that it was the epidermisation of black inferiority that concerned and enslaved the "Negro", while the "White man" was imprisoned in his superiority; both having been deprived of their humanity. Fanon argues that when a black man comes into contact with a white man, the black man experiences sensitization, where his ego collapses and his state of self-esteem evaporates; this stops him from being self-motivated. The black man's only goal is to emulate the white man while striving to be like him, and gain acceptance as a man. He frowns at the proposition and the expectation from black men, in his own words Fanon suggests that the black man is ignorant of when his inferiority comes into existence through others and advocated for the equality of all human beings.

> Ontology-once it is finally admitted as leaving existence by the wayside-does not permit us to understand the being of the black man … For not only must black man be black; he must be black in relation to the white man (Fanon, 1967, pp.   82-83)

Balibar (1991) suggests that the idea of using non-biological race as a theory and social construction has not only failed to prevent racism but has also recklessly allowed the emergence of cultural differences and the breeding of cultural racism in society (Balibar, 1991). Race as social construction has been useful in the construction of categories, which has helped in sustaining the antagonism of sameness and difference as a comparative form of verification. Race has also been a useful tool in past studies in the construction of operationalisation of struggle regarding racialised differences and sameness along lines of inferiority and superiority (Hulme, 1990; Todorov, 1993; Wright, 1995). The use of race as a social construction marker has been contemporarily challenged in some quarters by scholars who suggest that it is divisive and needs to be questioned, while others advocate for it to be dismantled (Hall, 1992; Guillaumin, 1995; Gilroy, 1998, 1999, 2000). Given the array of arguments that race as a

category should be sustained, interrogated or dismantled, for focus and clarity, this section will be limited to the critique of Paul Gilroy's concept of post-race societies.

Paul Gilroy (1998), an advocate of post-race theory, suggests in *Race Ends Here*, the renunciation of race theory as a critical concept. He argues that criminologists and sociologists should move beyond this concept as a matter of ethical response to the wrongful application of this theory in dealing with the issue of race in contemporary society. He asserts that the abnegation of race as a critical theory will correct some unnecessary past analytical patterns. Gilroy stresses that students of race have not been adequately informed about the ethical implication of contemporary especially when confronted with the connection between "raciology and evil" (Gilroy, 1998, p. 839). The abdication of race as a theory, he suggests, might bring back political sensibilities from where it had been banned through the use of race. Gilroy points out the advantage of the rehabilitation of politics, especially in choosing the path of a multicultural democracy, where racism as a theory is ignored for the theory of sameness.

Gilroy takes issues with scholars resisting the idea of phasing out race as a theoretical framework in studies. He challenges the idea of how race was defined and perceived in the past and has been erased with the emergence of new technologies redefining species and human beings, and suggests that this has a symbolic and powerful political emanation. He notes that the old system of economy that reproduced race has been altered by the technological advancement of molecular biology and the way our bodies are imaged. Human bodies, as highlighted by Gilroy, are now being scrutinised with latest technology in the form of sound, light and electro-magnetic radiation among others. Gilroy proposes we do away with the decrepit visual stamp of race, and having done with it, we could fight efficiently the issues of racism and inequality produced by the concept of race, by disengaging and de-ontologising from race as a theory and through this, disengage with raciologies. It is his opinion that no matter how noble the ideal of anti-racism is, it does not produce anything affirmative. Gilroy maintains that the regimes of the eighteenth century that introduced race have been outmoded with their metaphysical and epistemological hypocrisy. He concludes bluntly saying the historical and cultural, scientific and biological, bone, skin and even blood have ceased to be primary referents of racial discourse in contemporary society (Gilroy, 1998).

Gilroy (2000), in further pursuance of post-race theory, and the idea of deconstructing race as a theory in racism studies, wrote the book *Between Camps* where he analysed the issue of race and racism through comparison of the European colonial context of racism with

continental racism. In his objection to raciology, which he portrays as "lore that brings the virtual realities of 'race' to dismay and destructive life" (p. 11), Gilroy warns that "Deconstructing races is not the same thing as doing away with racism" (p. 251). He uses the term "camps" to explain how people's thinking causes division into various and opposing camps, and usually armed groups. Gilroy explains that it is the camp thinking that resonates what he calls "exclusionary politics" – this could be as innocuous at the choosing of football teams at children's summer camps. He asserts that camp thinking is behind the raciology that reinforces ethnic disunity, or even the actual concentration camp horror that is typical of the fascist nations. Gilroy associates the camp thinking with colonial European and continental racism, and delves into the process by which colonial conquests were responsible for the construction of racism within European states. Gilroy highlights how the fascists in Europe advanced their course by the use of military manoeuvres. He perceives the Nazis' concentration camps not only as a product of racism, but also as an important location in revealing its characteristics, as revealed in chapter four of *Between Camps* "Hitler wore khakis: propaganda, Icons and creative politics". Here, Gilroy explains the way in which camp thinking resulted in racism and genocide, in association with fascism, anti-Semitism and the unethical racism towards Asians and Africans via colonialism. He goes on to suggest through an age old appeal that humanity should unite in battling one's common enemy: extra-terrestrials. Gilroy's reference here is to the science fiction films in which humankind transcends differences in their racial divisions to save Earth from intruders. Gilroy lays bare the history of Europeans, especially the British, and their participation in a painful colonial past.

There has been disagreement from critics of post-race on the notion that race should be deconstructed in the study of racism. Collins (2002), for example, questioned Gilroy and other US academics who claim that race is a thing of the past. Collins argued that the call to abandon race as a theory is indirectly calling to ignore the plight of the oppressed and the US white majority's daily exhibition of race – an example of which is white self-segregation in racially diverse neighbourhoods and public amenities, culmination in white people moving out when they perceive too many black people moving in. She argues that ignoring race by ethnic minorities could underrate the effects of racial inequality which legally protects them but still restrict them through detrimental coherence of colour blindness. Collins frowns at Gilroy's idea that ethnic minorities such as African Americans, Latinos, Native Americans and other minorities should abandon their fixation on race, in the US context of social segregation and denial of racism from what Gilroy called racial "particularism". She asserts that this could not

be of advantage to African Americans who are labelled as the most notorious criminals, now accused of clinging to the colour line, while the white Americans who control almost all sectors of the economy, US courts, police, banks, insurance agencies, education systems and the welfare systems are excluded from the racial particularism debate because of their abandonment of colour lines in defending their white privileges. She suggests that Gilroy's book should have been titled "Against Racism" (p. 541) as this would have afforded insight into white America's racial camp thinking. For ethnic minorities to give up race and the identities they fought so much for, concludes Collins, they will need to be carefully assured that giving race up will be beneficial to them, and will lead to unity and acting in concert with each other (Collins, 2000).

Young (2002), in response to Gilroy's plea for deconstruction of race, aligns with Collins and argues that it is hard to find an advocate of race with the exception of the British National Party. He suggests that in considering the issue of race, Gilroy ought to have a look at the other "camp" (p. 546), and questions Gilroy's rationale for race neutrality, especially with the situation in the refugee camps in the West Bank. Young disputes the notion of deconstruction of race and points out that Palestine was referenced only twice in Gilroy's *Passing Between Camps*, while holocaust victims were mentioned numerous times. He argues that Zionism, which happens to be a product of the same racialised concept about nationhood during the nineteenth century, is now a good example of a state incorporated into the ideology of participating in the oppression of others and dehumanising them based on their ethnicity. He challenges the British press use of "battle" to describe the conflict between Israel and Palestine. When the best armoured tanks, arguably, in the world are deployed against stone-throwing children, the reports of their deaths and injuries resulting from a battle implies combat between equally matched opposing forces. He highlights the fact that the camp has moved beyond Gilroy's claim of Nation of Islam racial particularism, and points out parallels between Hindutva populism and the Sinhalese racism that has taken hold in Sri Lanka leading to calls for the establishment of Tamil Eelam. The conflict and bloodshed in Gujarat, he claims, was not only between Hindus and Muslims, but also directed towards Muslims by the Dalit, non-Hindus and other tribes. India operates through its own peculiar mix of religion, ethnicity and caste, but proves that racial intolerance can and does operate between camps, even when the invocation of race is absent and suggests, therefore, that race might not be the issue. The camps as suggested by Gilroy, he concludes are nether fixed nor equal (Young, 2002).

Duster (2002) applauds Gilroy's appeal for the erasure of race as a concept. He feels that Gilroy tries to convince us through the sentiment of Albert Einstein's argument; that the problems that exist in the world today cannot be solved by the level of thinking that created them. As such, race should be abandoned because race brought us to where we are today. Duster argues that Gilroy's concepts and ideas are remarkable for their ability to weave together conceptual fragments across divides and through the use of satire, employing the likes of Michael Jordan and Snoop Dog, to cajole and scold audiences into abandoning race. Duster applauds Gilroy for his visionary concept of freedom from the burdensome grip of race to embrace a more liberating concept of unitedness. He supports Gilroy's concept that erasing race could put a stop to the separation of the human race, yet disputes that erasing race could be helpful in certain cultures and places due to race and racism's ability to transform and fit into local culture, history and times. The erasure of race and racial thinking in some situations, suggests Duster, is unrealistic, touching on post-apartheid South Africa where the wounds of racial atrocity are still not healed. Here, Duster disputes as "hallucinatory" (p. 32) Gilroy's suggestion that exploitation and oppression will dwindle or varnish if the concept of race is dissolved. He challenges Gilroy's ideal that Black unity generates artificial solidarity and his suggestion that this could be compared to racism generated by fascism, and assertion that black solidarity is tribalistic and as problematic as the white racism that produced them. Duster wonders whose interest would it be, to abandon race, when the social-group relationship is that of political and economic exploitation. There is a need, he suggests, to examine the proposition of abandoning the very locution that causes that oppression. Gilroy acknowledges that several elites, for example in South Africa, profited and accumulated wealth and power through the racial thinking that he proposes we abandon. It would clearly be in the interest of these elites to agree that the racial thinking that brought them much wealth should now be abandoned, ignoring black South Africans who would benefit from realignments of injustices meted out to them, through compensation, land redistribution, real reparation and so on, he concludes (Duster, 2002).

Seth (2002) remains unconvinced by some of Gilroy's pleas for abandonment of raciology; his grounds being that the world has moved on from the biological basis for race, and that race is in crisis requiring advocacy for a new concept of human solidarity. She argues that we still very much need to think through differences and insists on the necessity of post-colonial theory in this rethinking, suggesting that the issue of accounting for differences has not exhausted itself yet, making it too early for now to "return to the future" (p. 566). Seth

expresses the opinion that even if Gilroy's arguments regarding raciology are stimulating, his proposal for the rebirth of humanism is unsatisfactory in that it remains blurred as to what his humanism might look like in a real sense without race. She concludes that the issues, even the horror, of the modern age is not the failure to embrace universalism and humanism, but the products of it, that are as old as Fanon himself, stressing that all espoused universalisms are indeed European particularism in disguise (Seth, 2002).

St Louis (2002) disputes total support for race as a social construct tool, though he agrees that race has no sustainable biological foundation and that the history of its acceptance as a social construct tool came with the recognition of racialisation of various groups through its use. He highlights that the socially accepted races also display a compelling level of external and internal differentiation, which brings race under question. He suggests caution with the use of race as a tool, given its debatable function and practicality (St Louis, 2002). Murji and Solomos (2005) in their contribution oppose the suggestion that race is irrelevant or has decreased in contemporary society; they point to the fact that racialisation remains a method for the social construction and the control of contemporary society through labour and capital. The deconstruction of race, they point out, has failed to put a stop to issues that breed inequality in contemporary culture, a prominent feature of a globalised west (Murji and Solomos, 2005). It has been broached by some scholars that post-race positions should be thoroughly debated. Nayak (2006) suggests that trying post-race ideology could afford leverage on key issues and debates "to unscrew race from its foundational wall-mounting and for unbolting the deadlock of racial binaries" (p. 427). Nayak argues that though post-race may not provide the much-needed answers on race to ethnographers, it does provide a question: can race be re-written into a state of erasure? (Nayak, 2006).

The issue of race and the concept of post-race continue to be debated. Samad (2009), for example, points out the desire in both the academic and political arena in the United States to move beyond race and racial categories in the analysis of social construction. However, he questions how equality in society could be achieved without much-needed attention being directed to how racial inequality and racism might be abolished within society (Samad, 2009). Lopez (2010) on post-race in the United States assertes that race is too deeply embedded in the structure of US history to be erased. He maintains that race forms a foundation for the exploitation and hoarding of resources culturally and politically, the very processes that classify and reconstitute race. Samad concludes that though he supports racial advancement and the search for racial justice, he considers racism to be too deeply embedded in US culture –

undergoing transformation and at the same time maintaining the status quo (Lopez, 2010). Warren (2012) on post-race theory application disputes that moving beyond race into post-race deconstruction of race as social analysis method, will be counter-productive in seeking equality and in the abolition of racism. He expresses the opinion that using post-race as a tool will only be detrimental to what has been achieved, especially in the field of educational funding and quality in the United States. He argues that the four hundred years of white supremacy and social classification is responsible for a society in which black people and other non-white Americans remain victims of racial trauma as a result of race-based teacher biases, educational inequality and institutional racism resulting from Eurocentric curricula and pedagogy (Capodilupo et al. 2010). Warren concludes that the application of post-race as an analysis tool will not lead to equality in the education system, nor will it lead to the advancement of equality in education, better school funding or a non- racist teaching instruction for non-white students (Warren, 2012).

Despite the claim by some scholars that contemporary democracies have transformed from an era of race and racism to a post racial era, (Goldberg 2009, 2013, 2014), the majority insist that race is very much present in contemporary society (Valluvan, 2016). Holling, Moon and Nevis (2014) examined racial violations and racialising apologia in the assumed post-racism era, using racist violation and rhetoric from highly placed white figures in the United States. They question why, in the era where many believe we have moved beyond race, the frequency of racist rhetoric and violation is not declining. They find that despite the stigmatisation of making overt racist remarks, the trend is not subsiding and the increase in racist comments in this era of colour blindness indicates that there is no change in the status quo. They conclude that there is ever-increasing racial micro-aggression circulating in the public space, and this reflects extensively held racial behaviours that continue to contribute to discrimination and marginalisation of and other minority groups (Holling, Moon and Nevis, 2014). The America National Election Studies (2016), for example, suggests that US racial prejudice is of importance in all aspects of life ranging from healthcare policy to the death penalty, and suggests that President Donald Trump was voted into power by a white electorate anxious over the rising diversity of the population and the effect of globalisation (Anes, 2016).

Wetts and Willer (2018) dispute the claim that the United States has moved beyond race. In their research into white prejudice and behaviour in the United States they suggest that the more perception by white people of threat to their hierarchy status, the more the increase in their resentment of minorities. Wetts and Willer also find that in the year that Obama became

president, and with the downturn in the US economy, white opposition to welfare increased as a result of Obama's success and the belief that minorities are the main beneficiaries of the welfare system following studies suggesting that US minorities could become the majority by the year 2050. They point out that this decision ultimately hurts more white people who benefit most from Medicaid and food stamps. There is irony to be found in President Trump and the Republican Congress proposing severe cuts to both of these programmes (Wetts and Willer, 2018).

This section concludes that there is an argument that the society has moved beyond the era of race. Gilroy's argument aligns with McHall's anti-categorical complexity position, which argues that since racial categories are imbued with oppressive connections, a good place to start is for academics, government and legislators to abandon using the concept of race. Though there is a case that we have moved beyond race biologically, much of the evidence still points to racism and discrimination of minorities in contemporary society being based on their culture, history, colour and religion among other factors (see Patel, 2013, 2018).

CRT and post-race theory, as earlier discussed, are not the main frameworks in this study. They are nevertheless relevant to this study, most especially in answering the research questions and making sense of the findings. This study is inspired by the CRT perspective, while intersectionality, which is the theoretical framework, was prompted by the CRT and black critical feminist movement. CRT has been relevant in answering the main question of this study, which is, what are African–Dutch experiences of policing in the Netherlands? This perspective has been of importance in analysing the lived-in experience of African–Dutch people in regard to the Dutch police. It has afforded this study to capture the racial experiences of African–Dutch communities at the hands of the Dutch police. Since racism cannot capture all aspects of discrimination, intersectionality grounded in CRT has enabled the study to grasp how the experiences of racial inequalities as perceived by African–Dutch people intersect with other social factors such as race, gender, class, nationality, place of birth and language proficiency and accents among other aspects of individual identity as proxies for discrimination.

The post-race theory has also been of relevance in this study, enabling ample consideration whether or not this study would have been possible, or arrive at a satisfactory outcome, without the use of CRT-grounded theory of intersectionality its framework. Scholars such as Gilroy (1998, 1999, 2000, 2002) have argued that the contemporary society has moved

beyond the era of race and advocate for the concept of race to be abandoned. This study agrees with Gilroy and other advocates of post-race, that contemporary society has moved beyond race as defined biologically, but the research question and findings in this study nevertheless suggest that racial prejudice is very much in existence in contemporary society and the Netherlands is no exception to this. The categorisation and classification of people, especially African–Dutch people, in this study based on their race, colour, nationality, socioeconomic status and other markers, has made it impossible to ignore race and intersectionality as a reference point and theoretical framework for this study. This study concludes that post-race as a concept cannot be justified, until contemporary society stops racism and all members of society treat each other as one: irrespective of race, colour, socioeconomic class and other phenotypical markers.

2.3 Intersectionality

The most significant, methodological and epistemological challenges of this study arose from my decision to use intersectionality as a theoretical approach and as a methodological framework for this study. The concept of intersectionality according to Fotopoulos (2012) and Collin (1989), is the methodological study of the ways in which different social identities such as race, gender, class, gender and other cultural and socio-political group interrelate. Carbado et al. (2013, p. 303) defined and cited the concept of intersectionality as "Rooted in Black Feminism and Critical Race Theory, Intersectionality is a method and a disposition, a heuristic and analytic tool." Staunaes (2010, p. 101) advance that "The concept of Intersectionality is often used to cover the interconnections between the classical background categories of gender, ethnicity, race, age sexuality and class"

Staunaes stressed further that intersectionality as a concept, can be used as analytical tools in probing how a section of the society could be positioned as not only different, but troubled and in some cases marginalised (Staunaes, 2010). This concept was rooted originally in black feminist and Critical Race Theory, but intersectionality as an analytical tool was introduced by the pioneer Kimberley Crenshaw to address the issues surrounding discrimination and marginalisation of black women, not only by the anti-discrimination laws, but also by anti-racist theory, feminist and politics (Carbado et al., 2013). Intersectionality is of importance in translating the plights and needs of the marginalised. One of the reason for adopting intersectionality as a framework in the present study, as earlier explained, lies with

the fact that all studies taking place in the Netherlands regarding the relationship between the police and the ethnic minority populations, tend to use categories of race or ethnicity or singular identity categories as a framework. There is more to be explored with the application of intersectionality as a framework in this study. This study, with an intersectionality approach, will enable an evaluation of how individuals perceive different aspects of their identity bring them into conflict with the police.

Crenshaw (1989) in an attempt to explain this concept centred the theory on black women and the issue of feminism. She explains how the use of a single-axis framework that is dominant in anti-discrimination law could bring black women to disadvantage when it comes to addressing discrimination and marginalisation and even, theoretically, erase them from anti-discrimination law. When people are categorised into a single-axis framework and intersectionality is not applied, it brings such a category of people towards disadvantage. This framework of intersectionality will allow members of the African ethnic community to give a whole person account of their experience and allow them to define their own identity as well as enabling them to explain how they cut across and navigate established identity categories.

Crenshaw argues that in race discrimination cases, the use of discrimination is more focused on sex or class privileged black people while in sex discrimination cases more attention is given to race, and class-privileged women – thereby overlooking the issues of black women. In a further study on intersectionality Crenshaw (1991) discusses other ways in which intersectionality brings women of colour into disadvantage. She argues that the location of women of colour by the intersection of gender and race offers up a different experience than that of white women located, for example, by domestic violence and rape. She argues that an attempt to represent women of colour in popular culture in the United States eludes particular locations of women of colour; this, she argues, leads to intersectional disempowerment of women of colour. She stresses that when gender, race and class converge in the case of women of colour, any intervention policies based on the experience of women, who do not share the same background as women of colour would be of limited help to them. Crenshaw cites the case of rape crisis centres where the counsellors who helped victims who were women of colour complained that a significant part of the process was spent on problems other than the rape itself, such as social problems, this was not the case with white female rape victims. She concludes that the allocation of uniform resources appears to ignore the fact that different needs requires different resources allocations. The interests of women of colour, she claims, is often

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obscured and put in danger by political strategies that omit and suppress intersectional issues regarding women of colour.

This concept has not been without critics. (Nash, 2008) argues that while she agrees with using the experiences of black women to theorise intersectionality, there is risk of romanticising the experience of black woman as an ideal social subordination position, rather than a location of complex space of numerous meanings. She pointed out that Crenshaw argued her case on sex and race, but that she would advocate for other identities, such as sexuality and nationality, and stresses that these will offer an intersectionality analysis of a specific subject's viewpoint. Unless these multiple dimensions are considered, applying intersectionality as a method will be incomplete, she adds. The ideal of using intersectionality as a method is useful because it foregrounds a rich ontology that describes how people are reduced to a single axis category, it perceives social positional as relational, and it brings into visibility the hidden and multiple positioning that construct daily life and the power relations that are dominant to it (Phoenix and Pamela, 2006) This concept of intersectionality will further produce new theories of discrimination and crucial epistemological insights as intersectionality has the ability to bring new perspectives on issues such as legal and policy arenas related to issues of human rights, immigration and criminal law (Carbado and Gulati, 2000, 2001).

Intersectionality pushes against epistemological, hegemonic, and disciplinary theoretical and conceptual boundaries. It has, over time, proved to benefit social sciences because it stretches and deepens the available tools to conduct, catalogue and interpret research. Dhamoon (2011) argues that Crenshaw, as a pioneer of intersectionality as a concept, coined it as a metaphor of intersecting roads in her effort to explain the ways in racial and gender intersect. She asserts that the road metaphor could be used to describe the way ethnic minorities navigate a crossing where the racism roads crosses with the street of patriarchy and colonialism and where crashes occur at the intersections, stressing double, triple, multiple and various layered blankets of oppression. She argues that Crenshaw's formulation of this concept has been of tremendous significance as it opened up a method of studying how various oppressions work together to produce a unique knowledge of various latent discriminations. Intersectionality has been utilised as a tool in several social science studies; Collins, for instance, used intersectionality to study specific forms of oppression, such as intersection of sexuality and nationality (Collins, 2000). Dhamoon points out how individuals are micro-level processed, and how they occupy a social position, which she claims is located within the system

of what she terms "interlocking oppression" (Dharmoon, 2011, p. 236). The idea of interlocking oppression for Collins represents macro-level relations that connect systems of oppression such as class, race and gender. She demonstrates that micro-intersectional and macro-interlocking systems shape oppression and concludes that the concepts of interlocking and intersection are complementary. It should be noted that there are feminists who prefer the terminology of interlocking system to intersectionality; one of them is Razack (1998) who argues that the two terminologies differ. She stresses that the term interlocking and intersectionality "need each other" and help in tracing the complicated ways in which they protect each other. She was able to use this as a tool to learn how women are located into the exact positions that exist interdependently but hierarchically, and how, for example, professional women and domestic workers are located so that neither can exist without the other.

In their study of the movement of intersectionality and analysis of intersectionality of gender, race and disability in women of colour, and how women of colour suffer double discrimination because of their disability, Roberts and Jesudason (2013) similarly argue that intersectional analysis does not focus only on differences within and between identities of group. Furthermore, having used intersectional analysis for cross movement mobilisation, they conclude that contrary to critics' claims that it brings division, stressing that the intersectionality concept has the ability and potential to create cohesion and solidarity. They conclude that the use of intersectionality is a critical tool for disrupting oppressed–oppressor binaries and for creating the possibility of discovering values and experiences of people in common. In acknowledging that we all have multiple identities, and by including all these identities, intersectionality is, in terms of practicality, a powerful tool in grappling with all the differences and exposing shared values and bridging the frameworks. In comparison, Cole, (2008) and Dhamoon (2011) argue that intersectionality does not build a wall around identity categories but helps us to break through them to study how they are related to one another and how certain identities are made invisible. However, critics of intersectionality have voiced their opinion on this concept; Canna (1983) claims that the singular focus on identity could lead to the closure of avenues of vision and communication so that individual and communal trust becomes impossible. Similarly, Brown (1983) argues that in highlighting the differences in experiences of women, the intersectionality approach tends to make the building of coalition more problematic.

The concept of intersectionality has proven to be a useful analytical tool time and time again by researchers who, despite the critics, have used the concept in various studies in their fields. This was attested to in a ground-breaking symposium on intersectionality in New Zealand, where researchers were given the opportunity to share their experiences of using intersectionality as a framework. Dr Bowleg voiced the opinion of many researchers and described intersectionality as:

> … an analytic sensibility, where researchers do not try to box their subjects into one category, or separate them into different categories but where it is a given that the research 'subjects' will fit into multiple categories, with the categories in themselves often experiencing many changes. (AUT Symposium Paper, 2014, p. 91)

She stresses that this brings liberty to whomever one is studying, citing her work on low-income black American men that demonstrated that racial profiling of black men in the United States creates a rare social space which the privileged white men in the United States do not occupy. She concludes that with qualitative research intersectionality affords researchers higher latitude to discover the interconnectedness of diverse phenomena. She explains how the concept helped in changes of policy regarding HIV treatment in the United States. Traditionally, the prevention of HIV was designed to help gay men with the assumption that they were middle-class white men, however, the concept of intersectionality assisted researchers in understanding why such programmes were not functioning for black and Latino men who occupied a different social space. The original approach to this issue also meant that health workers not offering black males the same medication as white males, thus revealing huge patterns of social inequalities through the use of intersectionality framework. (AUT Symposium Paper, 2014)

Huhana Hickey, a research fellow at Auckland University, advocated for the use of intersectionality at the symposium and suggested that all research be conducted with an intersectionality framework. Speaking on the advantage of intersectionality in her work on women and disability, she argued that women with disabilities have always been viewed as belonging to two marginalised identities of female and people with disabilities. She told the symposium that during her research, she discovered with the help of intersectionality as framework, that many in the region identified with more marginalised identities such as Aboriginal, Maori or lesbian, gay, transgender, bisexual and intersex. She argued that discrimination based on the grounds of disability is an issue on its own, stressing, however, when other intersecting identities are taken into consideration, discrimination becomes

complicated by these other identities that on their own and arouse their own form of marginalising and discrimination experiences. Diversity, she argued, occurs within a single concept, and where there are experiences of multiple marginalised identities, the research framework needs to be framed in a way that captures these many identities and voices. (Hickey in AUT Symposium Paper, 2014)

Intersectionality critics such as Nash (2008) argue that it is an incomplete theory of oppression; they question the empirical validity of the idea of intersectionality in regard to identity and people's everyday lived experiences. Nash points out that the problem with intersectionality is overanalyses of identity. Her research posits that gender is a factor in family violence, but that gender and intergenerational factors were hierarchical (e.g. father/daughters, mother in law/daughters in law, mothers/daughters). As a result, she argues the relationship should be the basic point of analysis rather than individual because through the understanding of the relationship, one attains a better understanding of the dynamics of inequalities and power, and structure and agency, and also the possibilities for change. (Nash, 2008)

This study will benefit from the use of intersectionality as a framework because it will afford the study to explore hidden social factors, if any, that affect the members of the African communities and whether or not this may place them at a disadvantage upon contact with the police. This study, with the use of intersectionality as a theoretical framework, seeks to provide an opportunity for a sample of African–Dutch people to explain how they construe their identities, and how such identities may be very different to formal categories used by the police or government. An intersectionality theoretical framework will also allow the study to explore how African residents shift between categories, for example, migrants Muslim Africans also occupying a location as suspect refugees and/or illegal immigrants. The framework further allows for discussion on the difference between identities they subscribed to and those which are ascribed to them.

This study intends to use intersectionality as a theoretical framework, a framework that deviates from the traditional singular entity of racism used by most scholars in their research into police racism and the ethnic minority communities. This framework will provide members of the ethnic minorities the opportunity to give whole person accounts of their experiences and allow them to define themselves and their identity. The study will also permit me, as the researcher, to view and study the African communities' experiences of policing in the Netherlands through a multi-lens analysis with the use of intersectionality as a theoretical

framework. Within this framework, racial and ethnic categories have both formal and informal dimensions. In other words, the Dutch police draw racial categories from official data, which in turn feed, into racial profiling. Those subject to such profiling will accept, resist or reinterpret such categories and it is how they shift between identity categories which forms a key part of the focus of this study. This latter approach has been termed "intra-categorical complexity" (McHall, 2005, p. 1773) and contributes to how qualitative researchers may adopt an intersectional approach. Within the intersectional approach, categories are afforded equal weighting; the relationship between them is an open empirical question and the interaction between individuals and institutional factors is a dynamic one rather than static as in a unitary approach. There are presumptions made about how ethnic categories are comprised; in a unitary approach it is assumed that those belonging to the group are uniform whereas an intersectional approach acknowledges that members of a group often differ in politically significant ways (Hancock, 2007).

2.4 Summary

This chapter acknowledged the ontological and epistemological position of the researcher in this study. It explains the rationale and the decision to use intersectionality as a theoretical framework for this research, a framework originally coined and developed in the study of how black women suffer multiple discrimination and how their identities and other social factors intersects in their daily encounters with a white dominant world. This chapter explained how intersectionality spread to other study areas as a useful analytical tool for gauging how other identities intersect. It is therefore, also a helpful tool in exploring lived experiences of people from African-Dutch communities as they negotiate between racial and ethnic categories, the category they subscribed to and the categories ascribed to them by the police and other government agencies. The role of CRT in inspiring the development of intersectionality as a theory was also discussed in this chapter, with examples of how CRT has helped in the promotion of comparative academic work across the globe and the belief that a thorough reflection of race requires an in-depth analysis from diverse perspectives. The chapter concluded with the discussion of post-race theory, a relatively new approach in which contemporary advocates of this theory suggest the renunciation of race theory as a critical concept. They believe the abandonment of race as a theory will correct some of our superfluous

past analytical patterns. The chapter further illustrated why race as a theory cannot be abandoned entirely for post-race theory in analyses of racism and other racial inequalities.

The next chapter considers the history of the Dutch in context of their colonial past, the migration of Africans, and native-Dutch rhetoric towards immigrants.

Chapter 3 Dutch History in Context

This chapter engages with the Dutch colonial past and how this contributed to, and influenced, migration patterns into the Netherlands. It explains the arrival of immigrants and refugees from various countries and how the *gast arbeiders* (guest labourers), who initially came to help rebuild the country after the war, became permanent residents. The second section explains issues with migration in the Netherlands, and how immigration became a problem with the influx of migrants and refugees. This section explains how the government and Dutch society responded to this issue, and how this connects with the Dutch history of pillarization and categorisation of these immigrants. The third section in this chapter explains the issues arising from Dutch history of categorisation, racism and denial of racism. It also explains why there is denial of racism and how this connects to the Dutch definition of racism.

3.1 African Migration to the Netherlands

The Netherlands is a country that has a multicultural population of around 16 million. In the period following 1945, most West-European countries experienced migration and movements of people across the continent. The Netherlands' first migrants were as a result of the de-colonisation of its former colony of Indonesia, bringing a wave of people deported from the Dutch East Indies and South Moluccas by the post-independence Indonesian government. The second wave of immigrants came from former colonies Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles. The third wave of immigrants came after the economic boom following the Second World War; from the 1950s through to the 1960s, migrants arrived from Spain, Italy, Greece, former Yugoslavia, and later from other countries such as Morocco and Turkey. International conflicts led to the arrival of Hungarians in 1956, the Vietnamese after 1970, with the Tamils from Sri-Lanka arriving in the 1980s, while the Somalians and Yugoslavians arrived as result of war in their respective countries in the years during the 1990s, and lastly the Iraqis as a result of the Gulf War in 2003. The acceptance of other European countries into the European Union, also led to migrants from former Eastern blocs, such as Poland, arriving in the Netherlands (Adang, Van der Wal and Quint, 2010).

Migrants also came form Brazil, Dominica Republic, Colombia, as did refugees from sub-Saharan African countries such as Ghana, Nigeria, Somalia, Ethiopia, Angola, Eritrea, Congo and Sudan. Although exploitation of diamond and oil reserves in Angola and Nigeria respectively led into internal conflict and rivalry among tribes (Obdeijn and Schrover, 2008),

it should be noted that it was difficult for people from these countries, and Ethiopia to obtain refugee status in the Netherlands. Most of the Nigerians came to study and work for Shell, others without legal status went on to marry Dutch citizens to establish their settled status. There is limited data on the African-Dutch population from sub-Saharan Africa in the Netherlands, but the statistics from 2012–16 on Nigeria, Somalia, Angola, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Ghana, Cape Verde, Sudan, Congo, South Africa, and Sierra Leone hold that 50.7% of Netherland's African-Dutch population is from these countries (CBS Statistics Netherlands, 2016; Confurius, Gowricharn and Dagevos, 2018).

There has been in recent history much debate over community policing of ethnic minorities in the United States, United Kingdom and Europe generally; the Netherlands is no exception. There has been significant research regarding Dutch policing of the Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, Antillean and the Moluccan communities (Vermeulen, 2000; Kaulingfreks, 2014, 2016; Van der Leun et al., 2014; Brouwer, Van der Woude and Van der Leun, 2017). Despite ethnic minorities being the focus of these studies, there seems to be scant study of Netherlands' African population, this is even though the African communities are growing and are very visible in Dutch multicultural society. This omission has created a gap in the study of African-Dutch people's experiences of policing. This thesis aims to bridge the gap in the research on this issue. This study is not an explicit comparative study, hence no primary data was taken from the UK. The study focus is implicitly comparative. The aim is not to examine Africans of North African heritage as these groups have been researched in previous studies. The focus of this study is to explore the under-researched sub-Saharan African-Dutch population. This study adopts the qualitative method of research using semi-structured interviews and ethnographic observations to examine African-Dutch people's experiences of policing in the Netherlands, and also the experiences of the Dutch police's interactions with African-Dutch communities.

3.2 The Politics of Exclusion and the New Rhetoric

There has been a general "moral panic" in many European countries over immigration and the rise in ethnic diversity. Populist politicians and some segments of the media are exploiting moral panic to describe the rise in immigration as a threat to welfare systems and security. Europe's far-right politicians claim that immigrants are refusing to integrate into their societies, cultures and norms, and have accused their governments of losing control over this

issue. Governments have, in response, been changing their attitudes and policies and adopting new policies contrary to multicultural policies introduced since the early 1970s. The situation in the Netherlands appears exceptional in nature, due to a radical change in immigration policy (from a liberal approach to a narrower and more restrictive one). Since 1988 the Netherlands has introduced a raft of immigration policies and compulsory programmes for new immigrants, in an effort to ensure their integration into the culture and norms of Dutch society. There is various legislation under consideration to further induce, or arguably, coerce new immigrants through sanctions, for example through the refusal of citizenship, into compliance with the integration policies (Vasta, 2007).

There have been heated public debates on the issue of immigration and integration, and the need to introduce stricter measures and legislation against immigrants in the Netherlands. In one of those debates, a Dutch journalist, Paul Scheffer, made headlines when he suggested that the Dutch have been over generous by their failure to demand that immigrants learn Dutch language, history and culture. He argued that Dutch ignorance of basic liberal democratic values has allowed them to accept multicultural identities and claimed that this would destroy social cohesion (Engebersen, 2003). Pim Fortuyn, a Dutch populist politician, in his rhetoric against growing immigration claimed that Islam, a "backward religion" did not fit in western culture (The New Yorker, 2002, September 9; The Guardian, 2002, April 14). The reaction his words triggered further escalated when a Moroccan-Dutch man murdered Theo Van Gogh, a filmmaker noted for his documentaries on domestic violence against Muslim women. His murder, on 2nd November, further contributed to the perception of the native Dutch that the immigrants, especially Muslims, did not accept western ideas of culture and freedom of speech. In such a heightened atmosphere, issues of immigration, cultural diversity and religion became increasingly politicised (Penninx, 2006, Vasta, 2007).

In an attempt to clarify the issue of the a refusal by immigrants to integrate, Vasta, (2006) in her study, claims there is an institutional marginalisation of immigrants in the Netherlands by the government. She argue that it is the unwillingness of the government to acknowledge an exclusionary racist attitude, and the institutional structures put in place by the government preventing immigrants from integrating into society, that are behind the apparent unwillingness of immigrants to integrate. Vasta asserts that the racialisation of Dutch society has been greatly responsible for the failure of immigrants to integrate. Vasta makes reference to government policies at both the local and national level leading to poor educational achievements by immigrants, which leads to high levels of unemployment. These issues,

coupled with housing segregation, racial and ethnic discrimination and religious markers, all point to the government's lack of commitment to fully integrating immigrants. Vasta challenges the policies of the government claiming that in a period of over 60 years various models of inclusion have been adopted, such as the ethnic minorities' policy which started in 1983 and the integration policy introduced in 1994.

The Dutch concept of pillarization, a consociations arrangement with medieval roots, was, by the nineteenth century, adapted as a model social system that allowed tolerance for various groups with diverse religious beliefs, especially the Protestants and Catholics. This concept allowed them to create their own institutions. The modern version of this concept means that various groups enjoy state-sponsored facilities including health care, education and social welfare. This concept of pillarization continued into the "ethnic minorities period" (Bryant, 1981:. 61) which meant immigrants could use the system of the semi-autonomous institution to preserve their own culture and identities. This concept incorporated ethnic minority elites into the process of policy (Koopmans and Statham, 2003, Bryant, 1981). The other model was the "ethnic minority policy" (Vermeulen and Penninx, date? . 4) that was introduced after the Dutch realised that the immigrants from Suriname, Southern Europe, Moluccas and most of the guest labourers from Turkey and Morocco were not going to return to their home countries. Though some of southern Europeans did return following the improvement of their home countries' economies, most of the other groups listed above remained in the Netherlands (Adang, 2010).

The Chinese were not included in the groups mentioned above because they were not seen as ethnic minorities due to their relatively prosperous social–economic situation, while others were perceived as minorities under the ethnic minority policy and welfare policies for a segregated group. This affirms the existence and continuation of certain aspects of the pillarization process, which provides for the needs of the minorities such as their education, place of worship, media, and social welfare. This policy took care of immigrants' socioeconomic, legal, political and cultural needs (Rath, 1993, Penninx, 2004). The third model of policy was the integration policy introduced in the 1990s after the Dutch government realised that the main aim of the ethnic minorities policy had not been achieved – as evidenced by immigrants' low educational achievement, their slow integration into the labour market, and segregation problems in the housing for immigrants.

The new integration policy led to various sanctions being placed on immigrants if they refused to integrate, for example, new immigrants were liable to having their social benefits stopped for refusal to attend Dutch language classes (Blok Report Netherlands, 2004). The various policies, according to Vasta (2007), did not improve the situation of immigrants, whom she asserts have almost double the unemployment rates of the native Dutch. She concludes in her quantitative study of immigrant's situation in the Netherlands, that the policies of racialisation and structural marginalisation coupled with racist discourses have contributed to the exclusion of immigrants in the Netherlands and have made it impossible for them to feel part of Dutch identity. On the issue of government policies and popular politicians' rhetoric towards immigrants, Koopmans (2003) similarly blamed government policies for some of the immigrants' problems. He argues that the terrorist attacks in the United States on 11th September 2001 contributed to hostility towards immigrants, especially Muslim immigrants, and stresses that many immigrants have been both verbally and physically abused.

He blames the comments of popular politicians such as Pim Fortuyn for the rise in hostility towards immigrants, claiming such rhetoric would have led to a prosecution and banning in most Western countries. He points out that unemployment among immigrants in the Netherlands is four times that of the native Dutch, while the educational situation is not different citing a 35% school dropout rate for Turkish pupils with 39% for Moroccan youth. He supports Vasta's view on housing and education segregation policies pointing to the so-called 'black school' in the Netherlands, where BME children attend school together while the white parents take their children to another school where the children are white. Government policies, likewise, he claims are responsible for the situation in Amsterdam Zuid-Oost where 67% of the population is of non-Dutch origin. Koopmans concludes that the Dutch are not as tolerant towards immigrants and other cultures as is widely assumed, citing the above examples and International Labour Organisation findings that the Dutch employers often discriminate against immigrants in job application processes (Thranhardt, 2000, Koopmans, 2007).

In their study of government policies and politicians' attitudes and rhetoric towards immigrants, Mutsaers and Siebers (2012) argue the existence of low-intensity "ethnic cleansing" (p. 7). They argue that Dutch policies do not make life easy for the immigrants by imposing that social access rights be dependent on ethnicity, and by enforcing assimilation programmes. They also claim that immigrants' rights are being trampled upon through government-approved detention centres for the deportation of failed asylum seekers and unwanted immigrants, and the warehousing of refugees in border zones of war-torn areas.

There has been an attempt by the Netherlands and a few other European countries to create their idea of national or European societies. Part of this attempt is the introduction of clauses in the Integration Act 2005 (p. 11) that makes it mandatory for immigrants to follow integration courses in their own country before being granted a visa, however, EEA States, EU, South Korea, Japan, Zealand and the United States are exempted from this requirement (see Groenendijk, 2011). Mutsaers and Siebers argue that this is a pre-departure integration tactic and part of the concept called "the externalization of border control" (p. 8). This concept, pioneered by the Dutch, is being followed by other European countries who have started integration programmes at their various embassies. The government of the Netherlands is also under political pressure to introduce an Act of criminal law to deal with illegal immigrants (Mutsaers and Siebers, 2012). There are various studies on how immigrants and ethnic minorities are constructed in the Netherlands. Awad (2012) posits that the process is hard woven into neoliberal discourse and dominant assimilation. This discourse, she claims, depicts certain minorities as being deviant in regards to concept of Dutchness. Awad points out the problem of categorisation in the Netherlands and the distinction being made the by government's use of autochthonous and allochthonous affixes to classify groups as Western and non-Western. This became institutionalised terminology whereby some people were deemed authentic Dutch and others excluded from Dutch identity, as evidenced in use by the Population Statistics Bureau (CBS) in the Netherlands (Awad, 2012).

Mutsaers and Siebers (2012) argue that the government of the Netherlands has based its recent policies on the voices of extreme migrant-hostile politicians. They cite Geert Wilders's manifesto calling for the deportation of Muslims and claim this has led to a government deportation scheme, while his call for a tax to be imposed on the "skull rag" (a derogatory term for the Muslim headscarf) has been instrumental in government integration policies forcing immigrants to assimilate or leave the country. Mutsaers and Siebers claim to have demonstrated that populist anti-immigrants rhetoric and government policies have defined immigrants in cultural terms, and recommended their cultural assimilation as part of the terms for becoming part of Dutch society. Immigrants' cultures are defined as inferior to Dutch culture, with the latter being prescribed as a condition for settling on Dutch soil.

Janssens's (2015) study into the assimilation and segregation of ethnic minorities in Dutch society finds that events such as the murder of Theo van Gogh and the 9/11 attack in New York, have disadvantaged ethnic minorities in the Netherlands, especially the Muslim population, this he argues has widened the gap between the native Dutch and the ethnic

minorities (see Uitermark, Duyvendak and Mepschen, 2015; Siebers and Dennissen, 2015; Vieten, 2016). Janssens's queries to what extent the government-mandated exam for migrants (even for those of longstanding residence) has contributed to the integration of the ethnic minorities. He notes since the exam was introduced in 2008, the position of some of the migrants has not improved, while in other cases it had deteriorated. Janssens points out that the situation for the second generation improved with better education, but that unemployment and housing continued to be a significant problem for ethnic minorities than for their native peers. Many refugees around the Netherlands have been compelled by the disadvantages they experience to move to the larger cities, preferring to live closer to their fellow citizens and with the belief that job prospects would improve in big cities.

Dutch politicians appear to focus on immigration statistics with reference to American sociological literature on immigration without studying this literature seriously. They pick and choose what they deem convenient for their policies, with the expectation that migrants should integrate or, indeed, assimilate into the mainstream culture of Dutch society. Though there were claims by politicians that these policies were intended to guarantee equal access to housing, jobs and education for both natives and immigrants, the policies ended up setting immigrants apart as ethnic minorities – a situation compounded by the government's classification of well-integrated Western immigrants and less-integrated non-Western immigrants. The attainment of integration was hindered in the early 2000s when immigrants were found to be performing well in their integration into the Dutch society; the introduction of new categories and phrases such as "modernisation" were added with the aim of emphasising dissimilarity (Janssens, 2015).

The issue of Dutch government policies regarding immigrants and minorities continue to dominate public discourse. Mepschen (2017) holds that there is emergence of culturalism common sense, that tends to increase division in Dutch society and carves out an internally homogenous culture which portrays the Dutch culture as one that must be protected against the etiquette and the moralities of the minorities and racialised foreigners. Mepschen cites views expressed by Dutch Prime Minister Rutte who, following his conservative-liberal party's local elections victory in March 2011, said: "We are going to give this beautiful country back to the Dutch, because that is our project" (p. 2). This, suggests Mepschen, echoes Rutte's campaign promise to "give the country back to hard-working Dutchmen" (p. 2). Mepschen points out that this statement confirmed the normalisation of the politics of exclusion about immigrants (Siebers and Dennissen, 2015; Van der Valk, 2015). The group referred to in this rhetoric does not constitute "a shapeless demo, but a specific ethnos, or natio" (Farris, 2017, p. 66). Geschiere

asserted that the hard-working Dutch people referenced by Rutte implies autochthonous people, born from the soil (Geschiere, 2009). The image and appeal of a hard-working, ordinary Dutch man appears to have been hijacked by other politicians. Geert Wilders, the leader of The Freedom Party, also claimed to represent "hard working Dutch people" like "Henk and Ingrid", whom he famously claimed, "have to pay for Ahmed and Fatima" (Mepschen, 2017, p. 2). It is calls for the supposed right to a safer Netherlands that is more Dutch, argues Mepschen, that give rise to right-wing populism in the Netherlands, with the ordinary hard-working Dutch used by these politicians as shorthand for white (Mepschen, 2017).

Siebers (2017) aligns with Mepschen's views on the treatment of immigrants by the Dutch government. He asserts that the government, inspired by right-wing politicians and radical voices, has pursued policies of ethno-nationalism towards (especially non-Western) immigrants, fomenting their oppression and exclusion. He argues that the introduction of the Vreemdelingenwet (Alien Act) of 2000 has done little but focus on ways to close the border to immigrants, introducing ways of obstructing their entrance and expediting the deportation of those arrested. He points out how international human rights agencies have denounced the Dutch government immigration policies over the past fifteen years (see Mutsaers, Siebers and Ruijter, 2014; Amnesty International, 2016). Scholars studying the treatment of migrants by the Dutch government mostly appear to share the same view. Bonjour and Duyvendak (2018) share Siebers's views and speak of the racialisation of migrants where their class, culture and gender are key factors in government politics of belonging, in which immigrants are construed as wanted or unwanted. They point out the Dutch history of social engineering in which the government uses policies to target people, especially immigrants, perceived as being "with poor prospects" (p. 885). They suggest that the events and politics of recent history, especially the rise of populist anti-immigrant parties, have consolidated the premise that integration of immigrants into the mainstream Dutch culture since 1960 has been impossible. This, they claim, has been responsible for new government policies which are "not only restrictive but especially also selective" (p. 888) as immigration will be tied to integration requirements through civic integration (see also Verkuyten, Mepham and Kros 2018). This principle was enacted as Law on Civic Integration 2006, which requires new immigrants to participate in civil integration courses, and pass to obtain their permanent residence permit. The "old comers" (p. 888), immigrants who had been in the Netherlands for many years, were also required to participate in this integration course, while those applying to join their family from specific countries were requested to undergo a basic Dutch language course, failure of which could lead

to entry denial. These policies, the government claimed, were implemented in a bid to ensure the integration process and stem the flow of immigrants into the Netherlands (Bonjour and Duyvendak, 2018).

3.3 The Denial of Racism and Native Dutch Attitudes towards Ethnic Minorities

Questions of attitudes towards immigrants and ethnic minorities appear to have become a significant issue for research in recent decades (Verberk, et al., 2002). This section of the thesis addresses the attitude of the native Dutch towards immigrants and ethnic minorities living in the Netherlands. The Dutch desire to maintain ethnic distance from the minorities and support for ethnic discrimination and resistance to affirmative action tends to vary over time (Coenders and Scheepers, 1996, 1998)). In 2002, a quantitative study by Verberk et al. on Dutch native attitude towards immigrants (focusing on social class and education) found the prevalence of unfavourable attitudes towards ethnic minorities. Of 1,009 samples from the white Dutch respondents, it was concluded that people who were less educated and of a lower social class were most likely to express dissatisfaction and engage in overt and covert unfavourable attitudes towards ethnic minorities. People with higher education and from the middle class were more likely to express their dissatisfaction and unfavourable attitude towards ethnic minorities in a covert way. Verberk et al. found that overt and covert unfavourable attitudes towards ethnic minorities have different sources and that the perception of threat is of importance in explaining the concept of overt and covert unfavourable attitudes towards immigrants (Essed and Nimako, 2006). Verbeek et al.'s study concludes that the stronger unfavourable attitudes towards ethnic minorities are, the more the ethnic distance and the support for ethnic discrimination. This, they argue will make them oppose laws and policies enacted towards equality. They stress that more research needs to be done on the effects of education and perception of ethnic threat in regard to this behaviour. This study, they claim, gave them insights into understanding the persistence of ethnic inequality in Dutch society (Verbeek et al., 2002).

In a quantitative study on racist victimisation among children in the Netherlands, Verkuyten and Thijs (2002) concluded that ethnic minority children frequently suffer discrimination through racist name-calling and social exclusion. There have been other studies that concluded that racist name-calling and social exclusion are the most prevalent form of discrimination and victimisation (Whitney and Smith, 1993; Smith and Shu, 2000). The study

by Verkuyten and Thij, (2003) used data collected from 3,806 children respondents from 82 primary schools and concluded that Turkish children are more likely to suffer from discrimination and racism than Moroccan and Surinamese children. The experience of racism is closely related to multicultural education: likehood of name-calling and discrimination of ethnic minority children increase with multicultural education as this leads to awareness of discrimination and racism in the classroom.

In the June 2009 European Parliament elections, Geert Wilders's extreme-right Party for Freedom came second in the Dutch vote. With victory came anti-immigrant rhetoric, especially towards the Muslim communities. This was perceived as a rather strange development of a racist sentiment in Dutch politics (Riemen, 2010). A large majority of the Dutch population were fairly supportive of this dominating anti-Islam rhetoric from Wilders (Van Been 2009). There is an assumption among the Dutch that the Netherlands belongs to the native Dutch, and that they pose the right to feel uncomfortable whenever the situation demands, this discomfort was towards what they perceived as a threat from immigrants, especially from Muslims. This sentiment was further affirmed when the then Prime Minister told the public that he would ensure that the Netherlands was returned to the Dutch; his offer was, according to Ghorashi (2014), supported by the majority of the native Dutch population (Sargasso Newspaper site, 2011, Ghorashi, 2014). The Netherlands, according to Lucassen and Lubbers (2011), has a long history of racialisation and immigration; they argue that the Dutch offer only ambiguous citizenship (Cain, 2010) for cultural and religious aliens while totally excluding Asians and Africans from citizenship (Hondius, 2009). Lucassen and Lubbers argue that the white Dutch externally engaged in oppression, genocide and exploitation of their colonies which led to the formation of social structures and ideologies that continue to have an impact on contemporary Dutch society including those from the former Dutch colonies of Indonesia and Suriname (Captain and Jones, 2007; Jeronima and Vink, 2011). The Dutch centuries-long history of peoples' exclusion based on differences, and international colonialism coupled with exploitation, built the foundation for Dutch contemporary racism (Lucassen and Lucassen, 2011).

The racist sentiment manifested with the election success of Geert Wilders cannot be unconnected with the media portrayal of studies carried out on immigrants, primarily of young people from Moroccan backgrounds. The Dutch professor of criminology, Frank Bovenkerk, showed that 55% of Moroccan-Dutch men between the ages of 18 and 24 had a minimum of one contact with the police and that the chance of repeat contact was 90% (Been, 2009;

Bovenkerk, 2014). There have been various discussions in Dutch media and politics that immigrants should disengage from what are perceived to be inferior and backwards aspects of their culture, which are assumed to contrast with Dutch culture. This is not considered explicitly racist because the issue is perceived as cultural rather than racial (Schinkel, 2008). Ghorashi (2014) claims Dutch society has, in particular, criticised immigrant stances on homosexuality and gender equality; there is general belief by the native Dutch that adapting to Dutch culture will be good for immigrants. Acknowledgement of this native Dutch belief and their insecure feelings towards immigrants is equal to criticising the immigrants' cultures, this Ghorashi claims represents a double standard. This means the native Dutch will be protecting their culture while condemning that of the immigrants. The native Dutch believe immigrants are the ones that need to adapt to the Dutch way of life and culture (Ghorashi, 2014).

There are two dimensions to this double standard exemplified by the attitude of the native Dutch; the first one is that it is founded on the deeply rooted idea of superiority of cultures. While the notion of superiority of Dutch culture is neither broadly accepted, nor enjoys open public support, it is becoming widely acknowledged by groups of politicians in the Netherlands. A Dutch politician from the VVD party, in a speech at the Humboldt University in Germany, spoke of the advantages of adopting this superior culture in the Netherlands. Rita Verdonk, a politician, and Ayaan Hirsi Ali, an activist, both suggest in their rhetoric and in defence of this idea that Dutch culture is superior to Islamic culture because of its equality and openness, decrying Islamic culture as violent and oppressive in nature. The majority of the native Dutch population shares the notion that they have the right to lay claim to their culture, for the reason that they were in the Netherlands first, while the immigrants came later; this, they believe, should urge them as newcomers to adapt to the Dutch way of life (Ghorashi, 2010, 2014).

This idea adopted by the native Dutch according to Stolcke (1995) is known as "cultural fundamentalism" Stolcke explains that this a new concept of exclusion rhetoric which affirms that other non-Western cultures, especially those from developing countries, are a threat to the Western-based idea of culture. Stolcke distinguishes that it is not the race that now needs protection, but the historically assumed homogeneity of the nation. He concludes that it is an idea of racism without race, not dissimilar to the notions supplied by Fekete (2001) and Kundnani (2001) who argue that certain people from non-Western cultures, whom the Western nations wish to exclude, are demonised as bogus and scroungers at the gates of the capitals and threaten the existence of the capitals' cultures. These people, Fekete and Kundnani claim, are

disparaged; their exclusion protects the economy and the national identity. The issue of anti-immigrant rhetoric in the West has been attributed to growing fear among native citizens, this has been blamed on the growth of diversity and insecurity in the world, which is widely believed to lead to a clash of civilisations. This fear, according to Fekete (2001), changes people's attitudes and makes them protect their boundaries. Increasing incidents of public violence have been attributed to such attitudinal changes which have been disproportionately reported in the media. The fear apparently expressed by the native Dutch also appears to be an issue among those who have not experienced any violence, but who fear it may also affect them in the future. The effect of the media's negative reports on immigrants, the murder of Theo van Gogh and events around the world such as the 9/11 attack in New York have contributed to hostilities towards immigrants, especially Muslim immigrants, in the Netherlands (Ghorashi, 2006, Vliegenthart and Roggerband, 2007).

There are issues surrounding the changing attitudes and racism of the native Dutch against immigrants; salient to these is the question of why the Dutch express denial of this racism. Ghorashi (2014), explains that the far-right activists in the Netherlands perceive the native Dutch to be helping the immigrants by sharing their towns and cities, and yet this hospitality is met with ingratitude by immigrants who, it is claimed, take advantage of the hospitality extended to them. On this issue, Essed and Nimako (2006) assert that the Dutch are of the opinion that they are victims of the tolerance afforded to the immigrants, whom they claim to be ungrateful. There is a belief that Dutch tolerance of immigrants, from the 1980s onwards, did not lead to assimilation and integration of the immigrants. The Dutch accuse the immigrants of not doing enough to adapt to the Dutch way of life and make something of their lives. There is a dominant native narrative that immigrants are asking for too much from the Dutch. Proponents of this view perceive their action as an attempt to reclaim their country, hence their annoyance with accusations of racism at what they consider to be justifiable defence of what is theirs.

Ghorashi (2011) in her further attempt to further clarify the issue of Dutch hospitality towards immigrants, and the assumption that immigrants should be grateful to the Dutch for their hospitality, offers another essential explanation. She suggests that the whole idea of hospitality by the Dutch towards the immigrants is not unconnected with the categorisation of immigrants as deviant to Dutch norms and ways of life, who as a consequence require special treatment because of their deficiency. This way of reasoning presumes the Dutch society to be a generous advocate of the less privileged. Ghorashi explains that the Dutch policy towards the

guest workers who came in the 1950s to make up a manpower shortfall in the Netherlands was the maintenance of their culture and identity, with the expectation that they would return to their home countries. This policy changed in the 1980s when the government realised they would not be returning and with that came the shift to categorise them as immigrants and the requirement for them to integrate into society. This led to severe pressure on the minority policy at the end of the 1980s in which it was requested that more attention be paid to the integration of minorities and less attention on cultural backgrounds.

The diverse advice of the Dutch Council on Governmental Policy (2015) recommended on many occasions the need for more emphasis on integration; its advice led, in 1994, to immigrants being labelled "problem categories" (p. 78). This categorical way of thinking about immigrants and its socioeconomic and sociocultural components has shaped the way immigrant issues are perceived in the Netherlands. Ghorashi concludes that the categorisation of immigrants in the Netherlands has contributed to the discrimination of immigrants, especially the Muslim minorities, she further stresses that the notion of superiority of Dutch culture relates to the idea of helping the needy who need also to be grateful. This assumption is not unconnected with the Dutch welfare state that makes it possible to categorise immigrants as those in need. She further concludes that there has never been an adjustment in the way immigrants are categorised negatively, but rather a strong and consistent connection between the hard-negative rhetoric of nowadays and that of decades before this. This attitude of racism must be challenged; if the so-called Dutch superiority is left unquestioned, there will be no space to form a strong movement against racism (Ghorashi, 2010).

On the issue of Dutch ignorance and denial of racism, Van der Pijl and Goulordava (2014) explored issues regarding Sinterklaas (Saint Nicholas) in Christmas celebrations. They argue that the invention of Zwarte Piet (Black Pete) is a tradition that marks what they call a "white habitus". The Sinterklaas commemoration is a popular folkloric festival celebrated annually from mid-November to December 5 in which Saint Nicholas is greeted by thousands of Dutch adults and children. The festivities are broadcast on national television, after which all cities and villages hold their own local arrival parades. Traditionally, the Sinterklaas is followed by Zwarte Piet who travels with him and assists him in the distribution of gifts to children and families Zwarte Piet is played by a white person whose body is painted black; he wears red lipstick and adorns Afro-wigs and golden earrings, while the Sinterklaas is a an elderly white man with a white beard. Zwarte Piet's role is to follow Sinterclaas, dancing and waving to the crowd whilst handing out cookies and sweets to spectators. This old tradition of

a white master and black servant has ignited discussion in the past few years on race and the legacy of slavery in the Netherlands, and it has attracted international condemnation and even uproar within Dutch society. There was recently, for the first time, a stance against these practices taken by Dutch politicians, public figures and celebrities. There remains, however, significant support for this tradition by politicians both mainstream and controversial, and also vociferous support from the majority of native Dutch (Smith, 2014). Supporters claim that Zwarte Piet is simply a fun character in an innocent tradition for the entertainment of children who would not be affected by, or moved to practice, racism (Brienen, 2014, Smith, 2014).

In March 2014, Prime Minister Mark Rutte was asked about his opinion of Zwarte Piet and the classification by the Dutch Institute of Human Rights of this character as racist. His response at the International Nuclear Security Summit was controversial.

> Black Pete is black, and I cannot change anything about that … because the name is "Black Pete" … I simply do not agree. This [Sinterklaas and Zwarte Piet] is an old children's tradition. It is not "Green Pete" or "Brown Pete", it is "Black Pete" so I cannot change that. This is an old tradition, and I can only say that my friends in the Dutch Antilles, well they are happy when they have Sinterklaas because they don't have to paint their faces, and when I'm playing Black Pete, for days I'm trying to get the stuff [greasepaint] off my face for days. (Pijl and Goulordava, 2014, p. 265)

Rutte later apologised to the prime minister and people of the Dutch Antilles, but his comments are reflective of a broader populist, defensive stance in the Netherlands around issues of racial discrimination.

In the past few decades, there have been various attempts to move away from the racism and negative stereotypes associated with blackface. There have been suggestions to replace Zwarte Piet's colour to blue, yellow, rainbow hues and so on which have been rebuffed by a segment of Dutch society who are adamant that Zwarte Piet is an old, innocent tradition and part of Dutch culture. This indicates a refusal to admit to any kind of racism and a refusal to broach any further discussion on the issue (Smith, 2014). In an analysis of Dutch attitudes regarding Zwarte Piet, there is a connection to the way the black body was perceived as a commodity during the European enslavement of Africans, in which the Dutch were notoriously enthusiastic participants (Barbosa, 1987). Black bodies, through the slave trade, became a commodity used for pleasure and entertainment, especially female bodies that were used for sexual pleasure (Kempadoo, 2004). The Dutch attitude regarding the Sinterklaas, say Pijl and Goulordava (2014) is not untainted by ideology; they argue that the existence of "white Dutch habitus" (p. 271) permits sub-conscious racism, which has allowed Black Pete to remain as a

tradition since 1850 (see Smith, 2014). Weiner (2014) asserts that many in the Netherlands continue to deny the existence of racism but points out that all studies suggest otherwise. Weiner argues that most white Dutch people will deny racism within society; "race and racism" (p. 731) as understood in the United Kingdom or in the United States is not comprehended in the same capacity in the Netherlands for the reasons discussed below (Nimako, 2006: Grosfoguel and Mielants, 2006). The Dutch, according to Weiner, consider racism non-existent and a taboo within society; this stance gives rise to anti-racialism sentiment in the Netherlands (see Goldberg, 2009; De Leeuw and van Wichelen, 2011). She argues that policy makers and scholars alike prefer the word 'ethnicity', which elicits notions of culture, but fails to explain the hierarchical power fundamental to racial identities and the process of racialisation that is embedded in Dutch society. Her assertion is supported by Omi and Winant (1994), Essed and Nimako (2006) and Essed and Trienekens (2008). Weiner opines that race is more than just social category or identity as insinuated by the Dutch, but a system of power relations and structurally embedded connotation, which structure groups into various categories echoing perceptions of superiority and inferiority in regard to both biological and cultural differences; all of which is sustained through colour-blind practices and social policies (Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Feagin, 2006). Weiner suggests that though the Dutch appear to avoid or abandon the term 'racism', various studies indicate its persistence among a considerable segment of the Dutch population; this, she claims, appears to be increasing towards the Muslim population (Weiner, 2014).

Hilhorst and Hermes (2016) work on Dutch denial of racism explored passionate outpourings and denial of racism over the tradition of Zwarte Piet. Demonstrations in 2012 against Zwarte Piet processions and the subsequent intervention of the United Nations prompted the creation of a rival Facebook group of about 2 million Dutch people protesting what they saw as white suffering in defence of their heritage. These events led to an increase in a right-wing populist presence and also reflected right-wing nationalism in the Netherland. Hilforst and Hermes underline that not much has changed with Dutch attitudes towards racism. An example this was seen when Verene Sheperd reported back to the UN that Zwarte Piet practice was "a return to slavery" (p. 220), an online petition was launched, garnering over 2 million signatures insisting that the practice remain (Fontein, 2013). Critics of the Zwarte Piet celebrations oppose the practice of blackface on the grounds that it represents racist stereotyping, and glorifies links to slavery (Bergman, 2014).

Van den Broek (2014) similarly observes the existence of racism and the denial thereof. In her study of Dutch society, she finds that that almost half of ethnic minority people experienced discrimination yet 75% of white Dutch people claimed to have no issue with colleagues of ethnic minority origin. She finds an overwhelming disparity in job opportunities between the Dutch white people and immigrants, stressing that immigrants are overrepresented in temporary and unskilled jobs when compared with their white peers. Attention to discrimination as a pillar of inequality is, she claims, disappearing, as are Dutch voices against discrimination, with Dutch society viewing the immigrants as responsible for their own welfare and integration. She argues that although the old forms of racist expression, such as overt hatred, insults and racial violence towards black people, are now perceived as socially unacceptable. Meanwhile, other subtle forms of racism such as exclusion and marginalisation are rarely acknowledged as racism (Van den Broek, 2014).

The Dutch believe they have always been welcoming and generous to immigrants and foreigners although there is a tendency to overlook the fact that that countries such as Suriname and the Antilles are part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands by right. In response to the idea of scrapping Zwarte Piet there were calls for those opposed to the character to return to Africa chiming that "Pieten are black, smurfs are blue. If you don't like it Holland isn't for you" (p. 226). The Dutch, it was argued, have given in enough and if anyone still wanted to complain, they could search for another country of residence. Such narrative resonates with Ghorashi's findings of the Dutch notion of ungrateful others (Ghorashi, 2014). There is an assertion that racism positioned on ethnicity and skin colour here are coded as culture, and that social groups can be naturalised and hidden in racial discourse and in the language of culture and of nation (Solomos and Back, 2009). Hilhorst and Hermes (2016) express the opinion that this culture reflects racism, which they claim could mingle with powers of state. Protesters against Zwarte Piet, notes Beltman (2015), were arrested in peaceful protest in the Netherlands in 2011 and again in 2014; one of those protests led to the revocation of a protester's license to work as a security guard (Beltman, 2015). These sorts of episodes could be at odds with people's right to free speech and equality before the law. Black people are accepted if they agree and celebrate "Dutch values" (p. 228) and may not express offence, at least at the hands of presumably well-meaning Dutch people, because their suffering is not permitted, and neither is the passion that occurs as a result (Hilhorst and Hermes, 2016).

Hayes, Joosen and Smiley (2018) align with other scholars regarding the issue of Zwarte Piet and stress that the Dutch behaviour regarding this celebration captures how the

images and narratives surrounding blackness are constructed in the Netherlands. They argue that there is lack of understanding among the Dutch on the impact of post-colonialism; the advocates of Zwarte Piet, they claim, argue that slavery does not have any impact on contemporary society. People favouring Zwarte Piet argue that objections to this tradition are attempts by Caribbean-Dutch people and the Surinamese to cause trouble whenever they feel excluded from Dutch society. The overall argument against the issue of Zwarte Piet is its illustration of institutionalised racism, which adds to negative imagery and stereotyping of black people. Hayes, Joosen and Smiley in their study of this racism found Zwarte Piet to justify a Dutch cultural practice that permits colour-blind racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2013) to prevail by ignoring its historical linkage and denying issues regarding race and identities (Hayes, Joosen and Smiley, 2018). Futhermore, it portrays black colour as inferior to white while positioning it as 'other'. By extension, this accepted culture creates a space in which the other is excluded from the rest of the society, and this, find the researchers, brings minorities into closer contact with the police and the likelihood of them being processed for crime (Unnever, 2014).

Research conducted internationally has proven that institutionalised racism leads to increase in criminal behaviours and offending, while ethnic and racial profiling and other types of racism lead to BME people being disproportionately present within the criminal justice system (Van der Leun and Van der Woude, 2011; Unnever and Gabbidon, 2011; Bonilla-Silva, 2013). The Caribbean-Dutch and Surinamese are known to be overrepresented in Dutch crime statistics (Engeberson, Van der Leun and De Boom, 2012; Central Bureau of Statistics, 2015). The lack of motivation to integrate has been a reason for this crime overrepresentation in the Dutch literature; Hayes, Joosen and Smiley in their study conclude that the impact of institutionalised racism on the daily lives of the Caribbean-Dutch and other minorities is to blame for such crime statistics. Various researchers have found that exposure to racism and discrimination does increase inequality, resulting in offending and increase in school dropout rates and an increase in the chances of association with delinquent peers (Joosen, 2016; Unnever, Cullen and Barnes, 2016). Hayes, Joosen and Smiley suggest this finding should be taken seriously in order to progress past historical amnesia about the colonial past of the Dutch (Hayes, Joosen and Smiley, 2018).

3.4 Summary

Studying the existing literature on the Netherlands, the objective of this chapter was to discuss some of the key issues regarding the history of ethnic minority immigration to the Netherlands, with specific focus on colonisation and pillarization in the Dutch context. Pillarization was discussed as the process in which various religious beliefs were tolerated and allowed for Dutch categorisation and treatment of ethnic minorities and how this correlates with the colonial past. This chapter also addressed the emergence and the history of the Dutch multicultural society, and the arrival of immigrants from the former Dutch colonies, and the expressions of Dutch contemporary society in regard to the immigrants. The chapter looked at the arrival of guest labourers from countries such as Turkey and Morocco, invited to rebuild infrastructures post-Second World War. This chapter also touched on the arrival of Africans in the Netherlands, initially as a result of wars and unrest on the continent of African, and then followed by economic migrants and other migrants from different African countries. The context of this thesis must be examined against the cultural legacy of colonialism, racism and contemporary discriminatory policies and attitudes against the immigrant population in the Netherlands. The chapter addressed the issue of Dutch cultural expectations, integration policy and multiculturalism in relation to its Muslim migrant population. Lastly, the chapter was able to capture contemporary issues arising in regard to Dutch politics and the emergence of right wing politics, anti-immigrant rhetoric, and how this has altered the discourse regarding immigration in the Netherlands (Mutsaers, 2012).

The subsequent chapter deals with the Dutch police organisation and the occupational culture in relation to known police occupational culture of the UK and US police. It will attempt to explain how police occupational culture shapes the behaviours of police officers and the main characteristic of police occupational culture.

Chapter 4 The Dutch Police: Organisation and Organisational Culture.

This chapter outlines the organisation of the Dutch police and measures over the past few decades to transform it into a more efficient body. It touches upon the restructuring of the police force into different units to keep pace with developments in Dutch society, the rest of Europe, and with global challenges – especially related to terrorism and cybercrime. The section also looks at police recruitment and the entry requirements for the Dutch police academy as well as the training offered there. Dutch police culture and its characteristics are also discussed in this chapter with a review of relevant literature and how Dutch police culture relates to the context of US and UK police cultures, where the bulk of research has taken place.

4.1 The Dutch Police Organisation

The Dutch police force has experienced a lot of transformation; from the middle ages where militia were responsible for keeping order and protecting public safety, while also acting as soldiers during wars, to the emergence of sheriffs and bailiffs. The end of the eighteenth century saw the old system of policing producing sheriffs to police major towns with bailiffs operating in small towns in the countryside.(Brink and Bulthuis, 1979).

Municipal policing in the Netherlands changed with the establishment of a national police force in 1935. This was not to last long, as the Second World War broke out, and the Dutch police were directly placed under the German occupying force. The Dutch police continued to transform until after the war, when Decree 1945 was established, to be followed by the Police Act 1957, which came into effect in 1958. This Act enabled the Dutch police to be divided into state and municipal police. The new system allowed each region with a population of less than 25,000 to have its own municipal police; this system led to the Netherlands having one state police force and 140 municipal police forces (Jong Boer, 1971). The state police, which was regarded by some as a nationwide force, fell under the control of Minister of Justice, while the municipal police forces were managed by the mayor of each of the municipalities (Punch, Van de Vijver and Zoomer, 2002).

The Police Act endured until 1993, when a national police force and 148 municipal police forces were created. In April 1994, a new Police Act abolished both state and municipal systems, replacing them with 25 regional police and a national police force with restricted tasks and power. These changes were brought about by the increase in rates of both national and

international crimes, and the need to improve the police services. These regional police forces (*regiopolitiekorpsen*) were managed by newly created posts of police managers with the help of a police management council, that consisted of mayors from all the municipalities in the region and public prosecutors, all of whom were under the coordination and finance of the Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations (Bevers, 1994).

Regiopolitiekorpsen were accorded the status of independent police forces, and the size of each police force depended on the level of crime in the region and the population size. They were placed under the authority of the mayor of the largest cities in the region. While other mayors of smaller towns were included in supervisory councils, they had limited powers. Regiopolitiekorpsen had around 52,000 employees of which around 36,000 were executive police officers, with the power to investigate criminal offences.

The national police force, KLPD, consisted of 5,000 employees in various units, such as the water police, railway police, motorway police and the national criminal investigation department. The national police were also responsible for liaison with Interpol and other international police departments. The regional police force and the national police force fell under the authority and supervision of the Interior Minister when it came to maintenance of security and public order, while the Minister of Justice was responsible for the police enforcement of criminal law (Tak, 2008).

In July 2012, the Dutch police force was again reorganised and a new Police Act (2012) was introduced. The 25 regional police forces were reduced to 10, with reductions also made to the size of the KLPD, in an attempt to make the police more functional and more efficient. The Ministry of Security and Justice is now fully responsible for the police force and its budget, whereas it formerly shared the responsibility with the Ministry of Interior. The Security and Justice Minister now controls the framework within which the police operate. A National Police Commissioner is now responsible for the 10 regional police forces, while a Chief Constable manages each region's police force. The cities' mayors and the Chief Public Prosecutor still remain responsible for police deployments, while each municipality under the mayors is responsible for public safety and security plans. (Government of the Netherlands Site, Overheid.nl, Interpol site)

The total number of police employees was reported in 2013 to be around 63,000, including 1,500 voluntary officers trained and tasked as regular police, with an annual budget of over €5 billion. The Dutch National Police Internal Investigation Department is responsible

for the investigation of all cases of death and injury resulting from the use of weapons and equipment by police officers as well as misconduct by government officials. This team is under the direct supervision and control of the Board of Procurators General. The Dutch police work closely with the Royal Marechaussee (RNLM, Koninklijke Marechaussee). The Dutch Military police, which falls under the Ministry of Defence. The RNLM are police corps with military status, they are responsible for border control in the Netherlands, and are usually deployable with the assistance of the Dutch police (The Government of the Netherlands Site, 2016).

4.2 Dutch Police Recruitment

The requirement that Dutch police officers perform their duties in a very diverse and fluid multicultural environment where security is of the utmost importance has increased the need for a well-structured and sound recruitment ethos.

The first requirement of joining the KLDP is that applicants are at least 18 years of age, and of Dutch nationality – more recently individuals may apply if Dutch is their second nationality (Police Recruitment Site, 2016). Applicants are to have a good knowledge of diverse ethnic communities and cultures, through background or through experience. They must be decisive and be able to withstand stressful situations. Applicants must also have a clean record and be of good character.

The recruitment and training of police officers both fall under responsibilities of the Ministry of Interior and Kingdom Relations. The Dutch police educational system trains officers and cadets at a level that is comparable to the national education system so that a certificate obtained from one of several police colleges or the national police academy is accorded the same level as a national curriculum qualification and vice versa. The minimum educational requirement to join the police is an MBO (equivalent to UK level 3), with training leading to qualifications at 5 levels. The first qualification leads to assistant police officer level 2, followed by police officer level 3; this is then followed by all round police officer level 4. This training falls under the police basic training provided by the Primary Policing Institute (IBP) and takes 12 months. Police officers that have progressed to level 4 can then apply for a post-initial course after a few years of experience in the field; these officers may then specialise in skills and management training.

The Netherlands police academy provides courses for officer cadets at bachelor's and master's degree level and post-initial management training at tactical, operational and strategic

levels. The national police academy also conducts research into police-related subjects and provides professional advice to the police services. Applicants to the Netherlands police academy should be at least 17-years-old and must possess a higher school certificate (MBO) on entry. The applicant must be of good character with no criminal record. The cadets at the academy will follow a four-year degree programme in police science and graduate with a bachelor's degree. There is also the possibility of studying further to attain a master's degree in policing and management related courses on the approval from the police service, and after few years of fieldwork. There is also a Police Management School (SPL) that trains senior police officers and their colleagues from other European countries in strategic leadership skills, to promote safety and new developments in policing. The National Centre of Expertise on Diversity (LECD) manages and trains police officers on diversity and supports police organisations across the Netherlands in implementing this policy. (The Netherlands Police Academy Site, 2018)

4.3 The Key Studies and Context of Police Occupational Culture

Police occupational culture (or Sub-culture) refers to the mix of informal prejudices, values, attitudes and working practices commonly found among the lower ranks of the police that influence the exercise of discretion. It also refers to the notion of police solidarity, which may tolerate corruption and resist reform (Waddington, 2008, p. 203).

This section engages with the significant body of literature on police occupational culture, which can be analysed via historical or classical approaches and more contemporary research. The bulk of the literature on police occupational culture is written about UK and US contexts, although the US literature tends to focus more on violence because of the use of firearms in the US, which is absent from the UK policing environment. What the rest of this chapter illustrates is a tension between establishing definitions of police occupational culture against a caveat not to essentialise what such culture constitutes. There also appears to be a line between the classic studies as established by scholars such as Reiner, Waddington, Wilson, Banton, Skolnick and more contemporary studies by scholars such as Loftus and O'Neil. This chapter acknowledges that police occupational culture comprises many strands, but for the purpose of this discussion, it is the relationship between occupational culture and racism, which is of particular relevance to the present study.

The issue of police culture has been of interest to scholars from the beginning of empirical research on the forces. Researchers have developed interest in understanding the different police perspectives of the world around them. This interest came about due to the amount of discretional power granted to the police by respective governments, as a consequence, there have been suggestions that the use of discretional power could be in conflict with written laws and rules guiding police work. The development of police culture was a way of understanding police behaviours and practices, in regards to the use of this discretion (Reiner, 2010). There have been a wide ranging studies on police culture over the past 60 years. These works range from classic studies undertaken in the 1950s, which aimed to define police culture and its characteristics, to more contemporary studies, that focus on the changes which have taken place overtime. The first part of this chapter will look at the classic works undertaken on police culture, followed by the research from the early 1980s and contemporary studies characterised by a shift from defining a single police culture to multiple cultures and sub-cultures.

From the introduction of Robert Peel's London Metropolitan police in 1829, police visibility was widely held to be a deterrent to crime and trouble makers. The police then, largely recruited from less affluent families, were granted very little discretional power with most decisions were made by the court of law. This status quo was accepted by scholars of that period, that the police were merely agents of the law, bound by the law. The force's remit was supported by the police for defensive and political reasons and to shield the public away from their power of discretion (Warren and James, 2009).

Police culture and behaviours were first studied in earnest by sociologists in the 1960s. They were motivated by a desire to explain the reason behind the misbehaviours of officers who were encharged with upholding the rule of law. A notable contemporary scholar who analysed US police culture in the 1960s was Skolnick (1966) who argued that the evidence accumulated on police misbehaviours in the United States raised the question of how far they operated within the confines of the law. This led to the start of the studies in understanding why and how the police behaved towards the populations they policed. Skolnick pointed out that people develop specific ways of understanding and responding to their working environment and found that the police are no exception. In his study of police culture, he identified isolated danger and authority as the most significant factors responsible for police behaviour. Skolnick refers to this as the "working personality" (p. 42) of the police and claimed the exposures to danger in police working environments is responsible for the suspicion and

constant alertness to violence and offending behaviours. He identified suspicion he as a factor in their isolation from the community they serve. Other scholars (Loftus, 2009; Reiner, 2010) later adopted some of his conclusions, however, Reiner (2010) asserts that Skolnick did not make allowance for the variation within police forces and failed to consider the police relationship with wider political and social structures, but he does adopt Skolnick's work as *locus classicus* in providing a framework for studying police culture. Skolnick asserted that the British police were less exposed to danger in their working environment when compared to their American counterparts; this, he claimed, was responsible for their operating within the parameters of the law and would likely change if they become more exposed to danger (Skolnick, 1966).

Another early scholar, and first female researcher in the study of police culture that aligned with Skolnick's idea, was Maureen Cain (1973) who contributed an academic analysis of the job of police officers in the United Kingdom. She conducted an ethnographic study, which included a wide range of policing roles including detectives and reactive patrols in both urban and rural locations. She concluded that the culture of the "easing behaviour" in the city pointed to solidarity as Skolnick claimed. She expressed the opinion that officers tend to cover for each other and support each other over infringements of the law, in cases over physical attacks in coping with organisational goals and the reprimand of their superior officers. She found that the solidarity was extended to police officers' social lives and families and that the socialisation was extended to new recruits who, in turn, depended on the experienced officers' advice. The work of Fielding (1988) and Westermarland (2001) drew upon the teaching of the informal code for their success, foreshadowing many of the later studies in occupational competence and police socialisation. Cain identified difference in the culture of the urban police and their rural area counterparts with the latter showing less interdependence between officers, less easing and less risk of violent encounters. Over 20 years later, Reiner (2010) aligns with Cain's work by claiming that police culture is not monolithic.

The early work of scholars like Michael Banton contributed significantly to knowledge on police culture. It was his 1964 work *The Policeman in the Community* that motivated other scholars into developing interest in what the police actually do and how officers make sense of their work. Researchers would come to explore the source of the informal and formal authorities at police disposal, how the police use their discretional power and how citizens' interactions shape the type of work they do. Banton's conclusions also added knowledge to the definition of a police working personality and the characteristics and purpose of rank and file

in police occupational culture. He compared police work and police culture in urban and rural areas, describing the latter as "police paradise" (p. 8). He was able to compare US and British police culture and found that the police in the United States were more exposed to violence than their counterparts in Britain, but that both forces had solidarity embedded in their culture (Banton, 1964). Another classic researcher worth noting is William Wesley who conducted his research on police culture in the United States in the 1950s, although this was not published until the 1970s. He undertook an ethnographic study of the US police and concluded that the they perceived the public as very hostile towards them. He found that police officers normally only met the policed, rather the public they were protecting; this, he claimed, led to the police perception of seeing the public as a threat. The situation, he concluded, led to solidarity among the police in which they developed secrecy for self-protection thereby isolating themselves from the rest of the community. This study aligned with the studies conducted by Skolnick (1966) and Cain, (1973). Wesley's work was prominent in the period, but has since been criticised by Holdaway (1989) for not making allowance for a non-hostile public and police encounters.

Another influential study in this period on police occupational culture was the research of James Wilson (1963). In his ethnographic study of police in 8 communities in the United States, he was able to conclude that the lower the rank of police officers, the greater the amount of discretion they possessed. He identified issues surrounding the police culture in the communities studied and concluded that the attitudes and working-class backgrounds of the police influenced them in the use of force and violence as a legitimate means of policing the communities. The background, he argued, is influential in their maintaining self-respect in the communities proving their masculinity and "not taking any crap" and not being "taken in" (Wilson, 1968, p. 34). The 1970s and 1980s saw the work of scholars such as Peter Manning who undertook an ethnographic study of police in the UK and the US. He highlighted some of the occupational issues and emphasised that the police in his observation reflected the culture and the societies in which they worked (Manning, 1980). Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (1983) in their study of New York police culture similarly concluded that it was the immediate work and peer group that affected people's behaviour and attitudes and not the organisation at large. Conducted an ethnographic study of a single New York precinct, they pointed out the existence of two cultures. One was a street cop culture in which solidarity was shown among low-ranking officers in instances of serious infringements and illegality. The other was the management culture of officers above the rank of captains whom Reuss-Ianni and Ianni identified as

showing less solidarity towards each other as well as to the street cops, with a tendency to protect their own interests from their superiors. These two cultures were found to be in conflict with each other. The conclusion was that much of the police occupational culture observed was embedded among low-ranking (Reuss-Ianni and Ianni, 1983).

Smith and Gray were also prominent writers whose work was significant in the 1980s. In a Policy Studies Institute survey of police in London, they expressed the opinion that police rhetoric does not necessarily lead to action. They demonstrated that the London police, though racist in their remarks about black people, did not behave racially towards the black people while on patrol. Waddington (1999) supported this view in his "canteen talk" evaluation of police culture (Smith and Gray, 1985).

There have been many changes in policing since the 1970s, and with these changes come changes to the structures and ideas of policing (O'Neill, Marks and Singh, 2007; Livingstone, 1997). The majority of scholars that conducted research from the 1990s onwards agreed there had been changes in policing and in part of the culture. Sklansky, for example, claimed the once all-white and all-male police departments seemed to have given way to significant numbers of ethnic minorities and female police officers (Sklansky, 2006). Carter and Sapp suggested that more officers were being educated and it was not uncommon to see college-educated officers (Carter and Sapp, 1990). This was supported by literature on officers' education (Young 1991, Lee and Punch 2006). The police culture of solidarity appears to have decreased according to some scholars, as there was less fraternity between officers (Conlon, 2004). Tom Cockcroft, in his study of police used an oral history methodology and found that police culture is a contested term in many respects. It could refer to a mode of behaviour and also the modes that are used by the police itself to describe or accommodate such behaviours (Cockcroft, 2005). The role of the police is difficult to define as there is difference between the public perception of police function and what the police themselves do. Cockcroft found that police occupational culture is not monolithic, officers' behaviours will vary according to their social and work environment. This was demonstrated in Emsley's study (2005) of the police corruption case of sergeant George Goddard. In the analysis of his case, his environment in Soho, London, was proven to be a factor in his behaviour and corruption. The environment gave him motivation and opportunity to be corrupt due to the wealthy environment, his modest salary and the fact that most wealth generated in Soho came from unlawful sources.

It is clear to see that Reiner's conception of police culture has transcended historical and geographical contexts to provide a core template for contemporary research in this area. He stresses that police culture is not monolithic; it is found in individual officers who enjoy creativity and autonomy. He points out that police culture consists of sub-cultures that can be found within the broader culture of the police, which is generated through specific experiences that are connected with specific structural positions such as geographical areas, specialism, ranks and experience brought by officers from their past histories (Skogan and Fryd, 2004; Manning, 2007). He finds that the environmental situation and legacies of history can affect the culture between police forces and that culture and informal rules are found within practices influenced by situations and encounters. Manning concurs with Reiner that the police occupational culture is not monolithic and can vary depending on several factors; he asserts that police practice is influenced by structural features of police organisations. Manning explains that there is difference in the practice of police officers, stressing that though officers share the same assumptions about their work, their work environment varies, and their occupational culture could be shaped by these environmental factors and routines. The experience and culture may vary between officers working with specialised teams such as investigative departments, or SWAT teams (Manning, 2007). David Sklansky agrees partially with Reiner on the variation in police culture; he argues that some scholars, lawyers and police reformers' assumptions are that the police share a monolithic occupational mind-set and that this culture obstructs good law enforcement. He claims that in as much as those beliefs make sense in the period between 1950 and 1970, they appear to make less sense with the changes in police culture. He argues that much has changed in the police especially in the United States and highlights the replacement of police professionalism with the community police. He concludes that this idea is diverting the needed attention from emerging problems in policing (Sklansky, 2006a).

Maurice Punch (2007) agrees that the culture of the police had changed over time with the police force becoming less conservative and more transparent than it was 30 years ago. However, in contrast to Sklansky, he asserts that the culture remains non-monolithic and stresses that the culture is complex and is often used to represent the culture of the lower ranks within the force. Punch claims that most police work involves practical skills used on the street and displays of solidarity towards colleagues including superior officers. Most of these behaviours are part of the culture viewed as problem-solving skills that have been developed over years of practical experiences (Schein, 1996). If these skills and behaviours are ingrained

in the nature of police work, the culture will be difficult to change unless the work itself is altered (Chan, 1997). If there exists a solid traditional culture that is resistant to changes and is in support of bending rules, this can be assumed to be in opposition to contemporary professional police culture (Punch, 2007).

Waddington (1999) provided a critique of police culture and in contrast advocated for a police officer "canteen culture". In his study of police occupational culture, he suggests that there is a gap between what the police say in the canteen while socialising and their attitudes while at work. Waddington explains that the canteen banter, chats at interviews, and jokes by officers while socialising, reflect a strategy of letting off steam and the pressure of work but does not represent their attitudes (Waddington, 1999). Smith and Gray (1985) had arrived at the same conclusion more than a decade earlier while studying the London Metropolitan Police. They claimed that despite casual racial comments in the canteen, their attitude towards black people was not racial on the street (Waddington, 1999). Simon Holdaway, however, suggests that police racism is ingrained in banter. He points out that racist remarks made off-duty by police officers, though not racist in intention, might end up upsetting minority officers thereby excluding them socially while reinforcing stereotypes (Holdaway, 1996, 1997). The work of Janet Chan cannot be omitted as part of the contribution to the study of police culture in this period. She conducted most of her research on police culture in Australia and Canada. She expresses the opinion that for police culture to be fully appreciated there has to be a wider consideration for the social context in which the culture is located. She criticises the conservative way in which police culture is characterised and advocates for a better and distinct approach where the particularities of police personalities regarding their social and power relations that formed these, are researched through a case study method, with the use of an ethnographic method of research (Chan, 1997).

There have been various suggestions that changes to police culture have taken place over the past few decades, and arguments as to whether the changes have affected the core police cultures (Loftus, 2010a; 2010b; Charman and Corcoran, 2014). In an effort to understand if these changes have occurred, Loftus (2010) undertook an ethnographic study of a police constabulary in England to explore how much of the core police culture did survive the transitional period. She found that a significant part of the cultures identified by previous police studies appear to have survived and have been left virtually untouched. Her research explains that cultures such as exaggerated sense of mission, masculine ethos, suspicion and isolation and solidarity (Reiner, 2010; Paul Mutsaers, 2014) very much remain part of contemporary

police culture. She argues that the development over time within the policing contexts such as community policing, which requires that officers should be embedded in the community they serve (Fielding, 1995; Tilley, 2003), would have shifted or weakened this culture, but in contrast it appears to be thriving among the police officers she studied. She identifies isolation and solidarity among officers and, based on observation of what Cain (1973) called "easing" (Cain, 1973, p. 1586), behaviours among officers due to low presence of supervisors, whereby officers were running private errands for each other such as picking up prescription drugs and visiting banks during their shifts. Another police culture that Loftus highlights is the gallows humour expressed by officers in the course of their shift, where joking about a photograph of a young boy who has been shot through the head "it's like Derek colleague in one ear and out of the other" (Loftus, 2010, p. 10). This affirms Waddington's argument (1999) that police humour, though dark and sometimes misguided, is a valuable way of releasing the tension of their working environment. Loftus concludes that the culture of police has endured because the pressure associated with the occupation has not been reduced, and unless there is transformation and change, the culture will remain the same. The important study by Loftus relates to a qualitative sample of one police force and it remains to be explored whether the culture is unchanging in other forces (Loftus, 2010).

In comparison to the study by Loftus (2010), Manning (2012) in his ethnographic study of Garda Síochána, the Irish police, claims similarly that despite the public respecting the Gardaí, the organisation has been very resilient to change in regard to their accountability to the public. He, however, blames this on the government who perceive them as sacrosanct due to historical connections to the origin of Ireland. The Gardaí, he claims are shielded from scrutiny and accountability to the public they serve and have been involved in a series of corruption and scandals in the past. Manning finds that all efforts to bring them to accountability for failures and misconduct through courts of law or public complaints systems have had little effect because of the forces bond with the central government in what might be called "authorized legitimacy" (Manning, 2012, p. 347). He states that the Gardaí claim to be in the midst of reorganisation. He advocates for a re-structuring of the organisation to make them accountable to the people at large. Manning's study is based on interviews, observation and analysis of the Gardaí organisation. However, on analysis it could be suggested that the public could be interviewed on their assessment of the Gardaí and the issues surrounding their lack of accountability (Manning, 2012). The work of Campeau (2015) concentrates on the two police cultural indicators of solidarity and mission amongst police in Ontario. In contrast with

the previous studies cited here, she disputes the survival of classic notions of police occupational culture and claims that police culture has changed with the years. The situation has shifted away from the concepts in which officers' behaviours are shaped by attitudes and values, learnt as part of police culture and inherited as part of culture from police job. Her ethnographic study through the use of observation and drawing on 100 interviews of police officers, concludes that police solidarity and a sense of mission (Punch, 2009; Reiner, 2010) as part of police culture seems to be fading away. She points out that police officers are distancing themselves from a sense of unity from fellow officers and the sense of mission that once used to be one of the core characteristics of police culture are disappearing with time. Police officers, asserts Campeau, are avoiding troublesome and impulsive partners to keep out of trouble. She expresses the opinion that the study was conducted in unsettled times, which Swidler (1986) identified as the best time to study police culture; this period, Campeau claims, is the period that police oversight and damaging videos are easily recorded on phone cameras and placed on the internet. The arrival and easy access to media has increased the ability of citizens to film police action has shifted police encounters with the public. The encounter that used to be personal has now shifted to a public arena; recorded videos of police misconduct can now be sent out, to hold police officers to account. This, she believes, is responsible for the decline in the traditional police culture, because erring police officers with enough photographic evidence could now face disciplinary measures. She concludes that the limitation of this research is that it was conducted in a single police department and cannot represent the views of police elsewhere. Campeau suggests future studies could use oversight as a framework to explore the probability of racial and gendered patterns of how individuals use culture outside and within the criminal justice system (Campeau, 2015).

Cordner (2016) conducted a survey of 89 US police and sheriff departments and claimed that, as highlighted by Reiner (2010), police culture is not monolithic but that there are variations in culture across different organisations and departments of police. He demonstrated through his study that though the traditional concept of police culture has not disappeared, officers in the same department and shifts over time develop the same culture which could vary from other departments and that officers' culture is more organisational than occupational, as claimed by Loftus (2010) and other scholars. He highlights the fact that officers in a patrol team over time develop culture differently from homicide units, which is unique to that department, and argues that the demographic of the population and the level of crime appears to influence their culture. Cordner also mentions that in his surveys, some

aspects of police culture such as suspicion towards the publics seem to be on the decline, but cultural aspects such as "use of force", "toughness" and "solidarity" (pp. 15-16) seem to be prevalent among young and African-American officers believing some citizens have to be dealt with in a tough way, and that failure to do this might be seen as weakness on the part of the police. The officers' view on management and supervision, he asserts, was favourable towards their supervisors, in contrast to Reus-Ianni's (1983) assertion of distrust by the lower rank officers towards the management and supervisors and the inclination towards solidarity among each other. He identifies the limitation of his study as the use of surveys may not accommodate police officers fully revealing their opinions, or surveys might enable officers to disguise their views. Cordner suggests the use of ethnographic and qualitative research to explore the hidden culture and views that his surveys could not uncover. He suggests that subsequent studies should examine in depth other reasons for variations in police culture among organisations and different departments. He concludes, "The key takeaway is that police culture is substantially organizational It varies from agency to agency. It can eat policy for lunch, but that is not inevitable" (Cordner, 2016, p. 14).

Silver et al.'s (2017) study on police culture in regard to use of force and procedure justice argues that the police–citizens relationship in recent years has become increasingly visible to the public (Goldsmith, 2010; Brown, 2016) and this has made a significant impact on scholars and police practitioners (see Paoline, Gau, and Terrill, 2016). The use of force by the police at the Occupy movement's Wall Street protest in 2011 (p. 27) attracted considerable media attention and was met with public outcry and extensive public debate (see Calhoun, 2013). The continual police use of force on citizens especially at the beginning of 2014, in which various incidents involving the use of force and deadly physical force on black citizens led to discussion and protest, which eventually led to the Black Lives Matters movement (Izadi, 2016). The discussion and recent surveys surrounding the use of force by the police suggest that the majority of police officers believe fatal police–black encounters are isolated occurrences, while most of the public believe it is symptomatic of broader problems within the police (Pew Research Centre, 2017). Silver et al. argue that the police exercising of their authority is the most divisive and salient issue in the United States today (Weitzer, 2015). They point out the two aspects that are of importance in the police-citizen interaction: the use of force; and the use of procedural justice by the police, such as politeness and fairness in their encounters with citizens. Silver at al. argue that researchers on police culture have suggested that the occupational and organisational environment of police officers has always been a factor

in the exceptional strains exerted on them. The study of police culture has also described the type of norms, values and attitudes that officers develop organically in dealing with these strains (Paoline, 2003; Crank, 2014; Gau and Paoline, 2017). In their study of how the traditional police culture has influenced use of force and procedural justice by the police, they find that the traditional police culture is overwhelmingly associated with officers' use of force, and support less use of procedural justice by officers. They find that race remains a factor with the endorsement of police culture in the use of force, as black managers are less likely to endorse its use when compared to their white colleagues (Silver et al., 2017).

Cordner (2018), in his latest study of police culture, counters Silver et al.'s findings and asserts that police culture is not uniform. He points out that modern scholars tend to attach great significance to police culture generally, while critics apportion blame to it for rationalising the misconduct and deviance of police officers, and reformers perceive it as an obstacle to police accountability and transparency (Rahr and Rice, 2015; Goerling, 2015). The police managers, Cordner claims, are struggling with police culture daily in an attempt to improve the performance of police departments (Myhill and Bradford, 2013). Cordner expresses the opinion that early studies of police culture treated police occupational culture as monolithic, with characters such as racism, cynicism, suspicion, solidarity and sexism among others (Reiner, 2005, 2010). In the past 20 years, scholars have challenged some of the aspects of this conception of police culture (Chan, 1996, 1997; Christensen and Crank, 2001). Cordner points out that police recruitment of racial and ethnic minorities, women, and educated people into police organisations has made the justification that they are the same more difficult. He also argues that studies since the late 1960s have implied various styles of policing behaviours, suggesting that culture and socialisation, no matter how strong, does not necessarily lead to a single view of the police role nor to a single way of doing police work (Wilson, 1968; Muir, 1977; Brown, 1981). The documentation of variation in police occupational culture and connecting it to police culture construct, has been made possible by the work of Paoline (2001, 2003, 2004).

Cordner asserts that most police studies have focused exclusively on a single police department. In his study of 89 police and sheriff departments, he found that officers' attitudes were quite positive in contrast to the usual narratives regarding police culture. He argues that officers' perceptions and outlooks vary and they do not share the opinions and beliefs as suggested by earlier studies on police culture. He expresses the opinion that officers, depending on their department, tend to associate strongly with that particular department and the police

organisation for which they work, than with their own personal characteristics (Ballucci, Gill and Campbell, 2017). Cordner conclusion that police culture is neither monolithic, nor necessarily problematic as assumed, stresses that none of the findings will make police culture disappear. Nevertheless, he makes the case for a more in-depth understanding of the phenomenon. Police culture differs from one department to other, though there may be some overlay of culture and behaviour shared across departments, but this is not strong enough to make every police officer adopt it in a cast iron manner (Cordner, 2018).

Cox and Kirby's (2018) recent research on police occupational culture was to examine if education could reduce the negative attitudes among new police recruits. In order to put police education and professionalism in context, for the evolution of the new police in the early part of the nineteenth century, public assent became essential to effective police work. This resulted in police managers' insistence on the need for reform and professionalism within the police. This further led to Rowan and Maine, then Commissioners of Police, to inform their officers that those who failed to show high standards of discipline and civility would be dismissed. History shows that their expectations were dashed with only 562 officers remaining from the 2,800 (Emsley, 1987).

The police failings have been highlighted by the media, politicians and the public ever since the early nineteenth century. The education and training of police officers to improve their professionalism has been a debated topic around the world. Jaschke and Neidhardt (2007) argue that since other professionals such as doctors, lawyers, teachers and clergy all go through academic training in preparation for their practice, the police should also do the same. In a similar fashion, Tilley and Laycock (2016), argue that the police profession should be on par with engineers whose academic background enables them to experience an evidence-based system of trial and error, which allows them to achieve proficiency in their field. Questions such as these are provoking research on how education and careers feed into police recruitment with studies being conducted across seven European countries (Bjorgo, 2017). As part of this development, it was announced that policing in England and Wales would be offered as a graduate profession by 2020 (College of Policing Site, 2016). The argument for this is that better-educated police officers will show less prejudice, be more objective and be reflective in their decision making. This line of reasoning was adopted by the UK government, which has advocated the importance of higher education for police officers for a number of years (Home Office, 1999).

These lines of discussion prompted Cox and Kirby (2018) to examine if education could reduce the negative aspects of police culture among students and recruits enrolled on foundation degrees in policing and criminal justice at university. In their study of police recruits and students aspiring to become police officers, they were surprised at the velocity with which these recruits and students identified with the police in their first week at the university, for some of them even before starting university. This was followed by in-group loyalty, social isolation and isolation from other students on different courses, this despite their initial eagerness to mix with other students. The reason given by the recruits was that other students were embedded in a culture of drinking, drug-taking and inappropriate use of social media. These factors, the recruits claimed, made them decide to isolate themselves early on as they had whole career ahead to consider. The study showed that despite police trainees initially wanting to help the public, their attitudes soon became negative, this was particularly so for special constables. The recruits prioritised crime control and became intolerant to those who questioned their authority. The "us versus them" notion (p. 558), Cox and Kirby claim, soon became ingrained. They also found that though the overt use of racist and sexist behaviour was no more accepted by the new police culture, the stereotyping of lower classes such as the homeless and unemployed males was accepted. Cox and Kirby's finding that these groups were the target of humour and banter by the police students resonates with Loftus's own (2009). Loftus asserts that while overt racism and sexism were no longer accepted, the stereotyping of homeless and unemployed males was. Cox and Kirby conclude that negative aspects of police culture can still be developed, even at university, by students and police officers, and argue that while they do not advocate that educating police officers at a higher level is of no use, they do challenge the idea that higher education will lead to the automatic disappearance of negative police culture. However, they suggest that police students should be taught multi-disciplinary courses such as sociology, criminology and psychology to improve their understanding and empathy (Cox and Kirby, 2018).

4.4 Dutch Police Culture in Context

Scholars in the Netherlands have recently been studying whether Dutch police culture reflects elements of Anglo-Saxon police culture. Van Hulst, for example, published ethnographic research in 2013 which evaluated if police canteen culture, as asserted by Fielding (1984) and Waddington (1999), were prevalent in three police districts in the Netherlands (Van

Hulst, 2013). He focused his empirical study on what he called the forgotten backstage of police work, arguing that police storytelling is in itself a practice, which we should see and understand as it functions in various contexts. He explains that storytelling, as observed among the Dutch police officers in his study, takes place most often in office spaces, canteens and in police patrol vehicles. Van Hulst claims that the story being told by officers helps them to make sense of events and incidents in their area of work. The police use these stories in a constructive way to get the job of policing done, so as to share vital information among themselves. The story, he points out, becomes factual and contributes to organisational sense making. He further asserts that police officers, due to the nature of their work, witness and experience many more incidents than average citizens and will tell each other about tragic accidents they attend to themselves, or those they overhear in control rooms. These relayed events become part of the storytelling process, often while handing over shifts or when in the canteen in the company of colleagues; such experiences or accounts are part of officers' experience of sharing. It is somewhat unfair, Van Hulst opines, to suggest that those involved in storytelling are forging a world of make-believe as Waddington (1999) suggests. If anything, suggests Van Hulst, recourse to storytelling is a tool needed by police officers to do their job properly. On the difference between canteen banter and action on the street, Van Hulst concludes that on observation of the Dutch male police officers, those who enjoy telling gritty stories dominate the canteen and desk areas; they are also known to deploy dominant police styles while in the communities. He suggests that in contrast to Waddington's claim of disparity between action and talk, the tough-talking Dutch officers in his study matched talk with action (Van Hulst, 2013).

In another study conducted through a quantitative survey of police officers in the Netherlands, Terpstra and Schaap (2013) tested the embedding in police culture. They too argue that unlike UK police culture, police officers in the Netherlands are less conservative, machismo is less dominant, and suspicion of strangers and outsiders is less prevalent. Their findings contrast with the occupational culture described by Reiner,(2010). Terpstra and Schaap's study found no connection between professional policing style and cultural aspects. In their use of core characteristics of police culture, they explain that the majority of Dutch police perceive the force to have specific cultures, especially in regard to the police sense of mission and excitement of action, which is prevalent among patrol officers. Other core characteristics such as suspicion, machismo and solidarity among officers, were found not to be prevalent among Dutch police officers. The greatest fear among officers is that a colleague

might wash their dirty linen in public; a concern that suggests police community closeness and seclusion from the public. The majority of officers interviewed accepted risk and danger as part of police work, but in contrast to their UK colleagues, this danger and risk did not lead to suspicion or distrust of strangers. The study found solidarity to be weak among Dutch officers especially in regard to rule-breaking behaviours. It was, however, found that most officers were not satisfied with support received from managers – as suggested by Reuss Ianni and Ianni,(1983). The majority of Dutch police officers, according to Terpstra and Schaap, are of the opinion that physical strength and courage are important in the performance of street duties, and a small minority are of opinion that women are not suitable for the police role. Machismo is a concept that does not fit within the rank and file of the Dutch police, they claim. Terpstra and Schaap conclude that most negative Anglo-Saxon police culture traits are of little relevance in the study of Dutch police culture (Terpstra and Schaap, 2013).

Hendriks and Van Hulst (2016) argue that the police, being one of the most prominent frontline organisations, are held by the public to high levels of performance expectation, which they claim has made the police develop multiple cultures to cater for this expectation. In their study of Dutch police culture and how it is managed under pressure, Hendriks and Van Hulst highlight the plurality of police culture and stress that it has different characteristics throughout the world, which change over time depending on situations and demands. They say that policing generally is not an anomaly and point out the multiplicity of police culture which they argue can also be found in other frontline organisations such as hospitals, prisons and so on. The study explains that the Dutch police had to be reorganised after the Second World War, and continues to incorporate changes in response to significant changes in society. The Dutch police are more than ever confronted with issues such as riots, serious crime, terrorism and mass demonstrations. Developments such as these, they claim, has put the police organisation under pressure to perform, which sometimes means there is expectation to perform beyond their legal mandate to hold, or in some cases to reclaim, their credibility within society (Fijnaut, 2007). The Dutch police, as a result of public expectation, have tapped into various parts of police culture such as the use of discretion in dealing with members of the public and in issuing fines for offences. The researchers find Dutch police officers to have personal behaviours, but overall observe them to share police cultural practices in high-pressure situations and when responding to the challenges of police work (Hendricks and Van Hulst, 2016).

An aspect of Dutch police culture recently studied is the issue of machismo and sexism within the organisation. Van den Brink and Benschop (2018) point out that the Dutch police

have been actively engaged with gender issues and the management of diversity within the police force but with little success (Çankaya, 2015). Their study notes that in 2011, the issue of underrepresentation of women and ethnic minorities had become so prominent within the Dutch police, that the Minister of Interior and Kingdom Relations of the Netherlands introduced diversity and gender quotas to increase numbers of ethnic minorities and women, and to deal with the Dutch police culture of racism and sexism in her organisation. The intervention of Liesbeth Spies was triggered by the Dutch police's poor track record of diversity, and failures of policies implemented to change this culture between 2008 and 2011. This intervention was also to encourage women and ethnic minorities to progress in their career to top management positions and to improve the retention of these disadvantaged groups. The most controversial aspect of the diversity and gender quotas was a 50% allocation of top management positions to women and people from ethnic minorities. Arrangements were made with the Dutch police organisation on which of the vacant positions should go to these groups. The selection of candidates was awarded to a private firm, empowered to intervene at every level of the selection process and advise on suitable candidates, while monitoring the recruitment process. The diversity and gender quotas sparked resistance and objection from the Dutch police organisation, who argued that recruitment to police positions should only be made only on merit and that using gender and ethnicity as recruitment criteria violated meritocratic principles. While Spies's initiative was intended as an avenue to help ethnic minorities and women who were unable to succeed on merit (Benschop, Van den Brink and Burke, 2014), the programme led to a police and public debate over the prospect of awarding posts to under- or less-qualified police officers and managers. Van den Brink and Benschop conclude that the police culture of sexism and racism remains present within the culture of the Dutch police. They further point out that police resistance to inclusivity measures on the grounds that they lacks transparency, quality and fairness, ignores that fact that the regular recruitment processes are not exemplars of fairness and quality either (Benschop and Van den Brink, 2018).

4.5 The Core Characteristics of Police Occupational Culture

Reiner (2010) took as *locus classicus* Skolnick's (1966) description of the policeman's working personality (p. 87) as a framework for understanding of the core components, of the police occupational culture. Skolnick (1975), having utilised early sociological work with his own research into the police clarified that the word personality did not imply individual police

officers' experiences, but a culture that is socially generated through the combination of situations encountered by police officers.

The danger in police work cannot be quantified by levels of physical injury sustained in other related risk related jobs, such as that of a miner, steeplejack, deep sea diver or a worker handling asbestos. This group of workers may even be exposed to greater hazards than the police, but the police encounter with danger is unique, because police officers are sometimes required to confront situations head on, and the outcome of such encounters is unpredictable with members of the public (Skolnick, 1975; Crank, 2004; Reiner, 2010). Skolnick (1975) expresses the opinion that the danger in police work could be compared with that of a soldier, while the problem with the authority they wield is similar to that of a schoolteacher's. When these levels of responsibility combine with the pressure to improve their efficiency, which Skolnick claims is comparable with that of an industrial worker, this amalgamation is what makes the working personality a unique phenomenon. The fused features of these social elements in police work identified by Skolnick lead to development of components in police culture, with which the police deal with the world that they assume is distinct to themselves. Police officers regularly run the risk of sudden unexpected attack from the public; these attacks differ from the environmental or physical hazards of other professions. The seriousness of these dangers, however, varies. The police are exposed to hazards on every beat, around every corner and with every interaction with the public; this could be risks of attacks involving firearms or cases of physical assault. The issue of enduring violence is a persistent aspect of police culture (Westemarland, 2001a, 2001b; Waddington and Wright, 2008; Reiner, 2010).

The dangerous environment in which the police operate is linked to the authority they possess to do their jobs. This danger tends to occur in most cases through uncooperative attitudes from those opposed to police authority. The British police's traditional approach of minimum use of force is prone to challenges in instances where police authority is applied over individuals who are not willing to cooperate with such police authority. The issue of authority and danger are interdependent components in the world of police officers, hence the development of the components of police culture and adaptive rules, such as rites, recipe and rhetoric to deal with the tension and challenges encountered in the course of doing their job. A further factor in the production of the police culture components is the individual pressure exerted on police officers to be productive the expectation to be efficient rather than act legally when there is conflict of two norms. There is experience of political pressure especially when there is moral panic as a result of an increase in crime statistics or moral panic in relation to

particular crimes. In an attempt to deliver good results, police officers may feel compelled to act illegally in a bid to deliver, and thereby violate the rights of suspects (Skolnick 1966 cited in Reiner, 2010; Skolnick, 1975; Reiner 2010). Manning (1997) and Perlmutter (2000) expressed the opinion that the police propaganda on their ability to combat crime as professional crime fighters, does put extra pressure on them from the public, who expect them to address and assure public security. Reiner (2010) found that the dedication of police officers to the mission of fighting crime and maintaining public order is instrumental to the development of components of police culture. Reiner (2000, 2010) concludes by identifying suspicion, a strong sense of mission, isolation and solidarity, racial prejudice, machismo and sexism and police conservatism as the main components of police culture (Reiner, 2010).

4.5.1 A Strong Sense of Mission

A noticeable theme in the study of police culture is the sense of mission displayed by police officers. There is an overall perception by the police, that policing is not just a routine profession, but a way of life with a rewarding purpose. The police view their job as a sort of religion or sect. The police's job is perceived by officers as a way to preserve of the worth and value of the community life, and as a shield of protection for the powerless from predators. The vast majority of police officers view their job as being victim-centred, and from their position, care less about the treatment meted out to criminals and those breaking the law. In their own opinions these law breakers are out to terrorise the communities in the first instance (Reiner, 2000, 2010). The police profession is not regarded as troubling, but full of excitement, fun and at times a challenging job that requires skills and a game of wits. Social researchers and analysts argue that the police are excited with the action-driven aspects of their work (Holdaway, 1977; Policy Studies Institute, 1983; Westmarland, 2001a, 2001b). Graef (1997) asserts that police officers are addicted to the excitement and the adrenalin rush experienced in the course of action while on the job. The adrenaline is obtained from action in form of the fight, the chase, the capture of suspects and the machismo syndrome, though rarely the climax of the job. This is not perceived as ordinary sport; the police are delighted with these actions, and see them as beneficial to their course. The police perceive and see themselves as "good guys"; this feeling, from their perception, gives them the authorisation for action (Reiner, 1978, 2010).

Reiner (2010) argues that the mandate of the police can sometimes be misleading. In reality, the issues of everyday policing such as the work being messy, boring, trivial, unethical

and petty are overlooked. This, he claims, permits the core and global function of the police, such as arresting criminals and murderers and the constitutional role of policing in upholding law and order within the communities, to be under-valued. Manning (1997) uses the term "sacred canopy" (p. 21) to describe the way in which the police are take cover in the mundane, often affording them the opportunity to advance their interests in gaining more power, influence, resources and autonomy shielded from independent inquiry and scrutiny. However, he points out that it is necessary to understand that the police work is perceived as a mission, something that is morally indispensable rather than merely another job. This, Manning argues, makes the police establishment sometimes resistant to changes and defiant to any attempt to reform it.

Klockars (1980) found that the component of mission and action in the police culture made officers perceive themselves as the thin blue line that is essential in defending the public and maintaining social order. The perception of their indispensability and the importance of their duty to serve and protect, is paramount to how the police views itself and its functions within society. A large percentage of police malpractices and misbehaviours can be blamed on their misplaced pursuit of a "noble cause" (p. 47). Klockars argued that in an effort to achieve a necessary end, the police will use a tarnished means; this he called the "Dirty Harry problem" (Klockars, 1980, p. 35). He clarifies that the Dirty Harry approach is not deployed for everyday policing, nor in all physical aspects of work such as stop and search, and interrogation.

4.5.2 Suspicion

The vast majority of police officers are conscious of the fact that police work has embedded in them an attitude and culture of constant suspicion towards the public. This attitude, even if they are willing, cannot be easily switched off. The attitude of constant suspicion is something police officers learn on the job to help them be vigilant for potential danger, signs of trouble and indications of criminal activity. The suspicion is a reaction to dangers of the job, efficiency elements in their surroundings, authority and the result of a sense of mission as perceived by the police. The police require a well-developed cognitive understanding of their work environment to enable them to predict and deal with the dangers, conducts and behaviours of people they come in contact with, and in their encounters with suspects, without putting their authority at risk (Holdaway, 1983; Kemp, Norris and Fielding, 1992).

The stereotyping culture of the police has been questioned by many critics who argue that stereotyping of suspects based on police rationales can only lead to those with characteristics of such stereotypes being subjected to disproportionate questioning, searches or arrests. This, they claim, could lead to a chain reaction of deviance towards the police (Young, 1971). The existence of stereotyping is deemed as discriminatory and prejudicial and most importantly, damaging and counter-productive to police work. However, police stereotyping, as an inevitable device of suspiciousness, is prevalent among the police according to scholars. The use of stereotyping in police work is discriminatory and prejudicial in nature and is wrong and damaging, not only to the victim, but also to the image of the police. This structure recreates a pattern of implicit (and at times explicit) racial, class and gender discrimination and inequalities (Reiner, 2010).

4.5.3 Isolation and Solidarity

The police are known to have solidarity with each other and to isolate themselves socially from the public (Westley, 1953, Reiner, 1978 Waddington, 1999). The level of solidarity among police officers is one of the powerful aspects of police culture and comes as a result of hostility and conflict with various out-groups, among whom are criminals. The police perception is of grievances against this group, in response to which they develop a social bond and solidarity which isolates them from the public (Manning, 1989; Crank 2004). A significant number of police officers admit to having difficulties in associating with members of the public. This is blamed on factors such as their irregular working hours; issues with reversing and dealing with tensions and anxiety experienced while at work; resentment from the public, and issues regarding mandatory adherence to codes of discipline. These are the affirmed effects of the elevation of the British police by Peel and as a sign of detached authority and the policy of recruitment, in which the police are detached from the community (Miller, 1999; Reiner 2000a).

The solidarity among police officers does not develop from isolation from the public alone, but also from the need of assurance from other officers, that they will be backed and supported in difficult and dangerous situations. Police officers' dependence on each other is like a shield that protects the police force in general from public infringement and knowledge. The police are known to use this shield to protect each other and express solidarity with each other in the event of misconduct enquiries and external investigations (Punch, 1985, 2000,

2009; Skolnick and Fyfe, 1993; Mollen Report, 1994). This protection shield is not only applied against the public or external investigators, but is known to be frequently used among rank and file officers to shield themselves from superior officers in obscuring minor infractions (Reiner, 2010).

Ianni and Ianni (1983), however, argue that despite solidarity and isolation among police officers, there are frequent clashes and conflicts within the police organisation itself. These clashes, they claim, may be as a result of discrepancy between individual units, for example, CID contrasted with uniformed patrol officers. This could also be as result of differences in the way rank is structured between administrative and street officers. However, Ianni and Ianni point out that on occasion, the police will tend to disregard these differences in their bid to form a common front to ward off external intrusion from the public. They express the opinion that the structural division between what they term "management cops and street cops" (p. 145) would become evident in the event of external investigation of the police. Management officers are mostly criticised by street police, this is due to the functions of both of these groups. Managers, comprising senior and high-ranking officers, have the responsibility of ensuring that the force is compliant with the legalistic aspect of police administration and protecting the image of the police with the public. Managers in the police may be, on occasion, complicit in protecting street police from prosecution and disciplinary procedures by looking the other way or saying nothing about complaints and misconduct. This could, however, change with the managers confronting lower-ranking officers in the event of pressure from above, or serious public enquiries or investigation. Any apparent and ensuing conflict between ranks in such circumstances is perceived to be good for the organisation as it allows the management to demonstrate that wanting officers have been adequately reprimanded, and to show also the effectiveness of the disciplinary system within the police organisation (Ianni and Ianni, 1983).

The 'them' versus 'us' viewpoint, which is an aspect of police culture, makes a clear separation between the types of 'them' and as well the type of 'us'. The police view of the social division in the public reflects the police's power structure and also affects the way certain problems are dealt with by the police force (Young, 1991; Loftus, 2008, 2009). The police perception of the social structures is that the old class division has been destroyed; a typical police officer, according to Reiner (2010), ascribes to the ideal of equality in which he has the freedom and discretion to arrest the Lord Mayor, if required. He nevertheless states that most police officers are quite aware of the distinction between classes in the society. He stresses that police officers have to deal with the different segments of societal classes, from those living in

deprived inner cities to the relatively affluent suburbs and districts. Shearing (1981) similarly states that a clear distinction is made by the police between what he calls the "rough" and the "respectable" (p. 54) which, he suggests, tends to determine police action as to whether the person in question is worthy of police services. Those in the first category have been referred to as "slags" (p. 436) and other derogatory terms by the police (Smith and Gray, 1985).

The police's perception of public social division does not align with the perception of sociologists; the police are known to treat the poor and lower classes with contempt (Holdaway, 1983; Loftus 2009). Loftus, in her study of police relations with people living in the impoverished housing estates of 'Northville', finds that police talk and treat people with contempt calling them "scrotes", and "unemployed scum" living in a "shit estate" (Loftus, 2007, p. 169). Police contempt is not limited to people of lower classes, but is also applied to marginal and less powerful groups in society such as ethnic minorities and other groups basing their identity on gender and sexuality (Young, 1991; Burke, 1993; Chan, 1997; Westermarland, 2001; Loftus 2008). The police perception of the public is that of two categories: the rough elements and the respectable ones. The rough ones are those who also often challenge the authority of the police and are perceived as having the ability to cause problems, while the respectable ones are those that abide with conventional values of the middle class and are seen to conform with the law.

There are other groups perceived by the police as challenging their binary perception of the public. The first category is those who are given the appellation "police property" (Lee, 1981, p. 53). These are low-status, economically, socially and politically powerless groups, who may be viewed by the rest of the society as problematic and irritating. This group could consist of the homeless and unemployed, drug addicts, deviant and disruptive youth, gays, prostitutes, ethnic minority groups and, at times, radical political groups. Police property is generally left to be dealt with in any manner that suits the police; society will usually turn a blind eye to the way police forces engage with this group. One interpretation suggests the core duty of the police is the containment and control of this group; to enable them to do this, the police are equipped with law at their discretion. Examples of such laws and mechanisms are provided by the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 and the Anti-Social Behaviour Order (ASBO) Penalty Notices for Disorder which were introduced as part of New Labour's drive to tackle the menace of anti-social, unruly behaviour (Ramsay, 2004, 2008; Squires and Stephen, 2005; Young, 2008; Burnley 2009). Enforcing the law with the available acts and maintaining order over police property are, in themselves, less contentious than the police's use of traditional stop

and search methods, which has over the years gained more notoriety and given more power with additional laws and Acts enacted by Parliament. The main drawback with the use of stop and search is that errors in judgement can be made; where a person of higher status is mistaken for police property. This risk increases with the policing of ethnic minority groups, who the police do not seem to have much respect for. Police errors in correctly ascribing people their perceived class are also on the rise with more and more ostensibly respectable, middle-class populations becoming involved in deviant and abnormal activities, such as hooliganism, demonstrations, or drug abuse.

4.5.4 Police Conservatism

Skolnick (1969) found in his early studies of police political affiliation, that the police are quite sensitive to their environment politically, this in most cases without being governed by it. Skolnick points out that the political interests of the police are based on decisions that affects their careers individually, as members of organisation bureaucracy. The police, he claims, were used politically, as part of the active arm of the government for decades in the United States. He stresses that the police were used for dispersing labour union meetings and gatherings; union members were known to have been shot, jailed and ran out of towns where their presence not desired. Skolnick concludes, however, that the anti-union sentiment of the US police lessened with the labour union leaders becoming popular figures of the labour establishment. Reiner (1978, 1979) found, in his early study of police affiliation with politics, little evidence of British police officers' political affiliations. Reiner points out that his effort to interview police officers on their political views was forbidden by the Home Office, on the grounds that it would contravene rules that police officers could not actively engage in politics. Reiner claims, however, that a dissertation by a serving police officer in 1977, who interviewed his colleagues in the North of England police force, on their political opinion, found that 80% of interviewees supported the Conservative Party, and identified themselves as such, out of which 18% were further to the right within the party. He claims that there was a shift towards the right, indicating that 9% of officers had moved from the Labour Party and Liberal Party to the Conservatives between the years 1974 and 1977, while there was no reverse movement towards Labour or Liberals. Reiner stresses further that 64% of interviewees were of the opinion that the police officers should stay away politics, and not take any active roles in politics.

Colman and Gorman (1982) concur with Reiner that the police are conservative and possess authoritarian personalities. However, they find that recruits post-training did temporarily incline towards liberalism, but continued service in the police force made them intolerant and illiberal especially towards "coloured immigration" (Colman and Gorman, 1982, p. 7). In their study of police constables and recruits, the questionnaire solicited officers' opinions on coloured immigration, mixed-marriage and the death penalty. The result of the study suggested that most police are conservative and intolerant towards coloured immigration and mixed-marriage and are of the opinion that murderers should be killed by gas, hanging or by electric chair. One police respondent is quoted as saying "The immigration should be stopped immediately to prevent our towns and cities from becoming infested with coloureds" (Colman and Gorman, 1982, p. 7). In contrast Butler (1984), in his study of police and management, could not establish any evidence of police conservatism, and argued that individuals attracted to the police are nothing other than people with average values and attitudes.

Brewer et al. (1996) counters Butler by asserting that the police are more conservative in their political ideas; he focuses on the reluctance in Britain to connect the police to politics. He argues that police neutrality has since the late 1970s been compromised with the police experiencing the process of politicisation. In 1979, the Conservative government willingly partnered the police in upholding and enforcing the rule of law. This period also saw the fulfilment of the electoral promise to provide more funds for the fighting of crime and the incremental increases in police pay. Manifest pledges, coupled with the Conservative ideology of pessimism about human nature, was in line with the police's assertive approach towards what they perceive as 'low caste' criminal classes and the political need to align with public opinion on crime; it made them a perfect match for the Conservatives. Brewer et al. conclude that despite the neo-conservative ideal being in line with police ideology, the police's relationship with the Conservatives did show signs of strain in 1985 due to increases in police workload as a result of new regulations created through PACE the year before, and as result of reductions in police budgets. The police in their performance role, as maintainers of public order and other functions of high political policing, are known to antagonise organised labour unions and leftist politicians (Mazower, 1997; Huggins, 1998; Hinton, 2006).

Reiner (2010) finds that the police force, due to its establishment as a hierarchical and deeply disciplined institution, has made it easier for officers with a conservative viewpoint to

easily fit in. He furthermore concludes that the process of recruiting and drafting applicants into the police force makes police officers to be conservative oriented.

A survey by Scripture (1997) complements Reiner's findings. Scripture finds that police officers tend to be conservative in nature and are traditionally likely to vote for Conservatives. Among the police officers he interviewed, votes cast for the Conservatives in the 1979, 1983, 1987 and 1992 general elections were 79%, 86%, 74%, and 74% respectively. Notwithstanding, he identifies only 44% of officers as intending to vote for the Conservatives at the general election in 1997. Scripture attributes this to police discontent with the Conservatives regarding the reform packages to regulate the police service to market control. Another reason he attributes for the fall in support of the Conservatives from the police, is not unconnected with the failure of the Conservative government to provide adequate equipment and resources for the fighting of crime. Scripture expresses the opinion that his research proved that while to police are Conservative in nature, they are not extreme right wing in their preferences. Reiner similarly finds that the police are conservative in their views on social and moral issues: "Cops are conventional people" (Reiner, 2010, p. 127), yet he identifies a change in the 1990s, with the Labour Party strongly averring support for law and order. Changes in Labour policy, claims Reiner, and a swing of police opinion in Labour's favour led to accusations by the Tories of police chiefs being closer to the Labour Party. In conclusion, Scripture disagrees with Balch's (1972) study of police as possessing characters such as adherence to conventional values, cynicism, classic authoritarian personality and hostility, and also with Reiner's (1992) claim that the police possess a conventional morality and are narrow minded. Scripture argues that his research questions on a police officer's opinion on capital punishment imply that the police officer's opinion is connate with that of the general population, and that there is not much difference between the police and the community. Scripture's conclusion that police are slightly more moderate, than they are regularly perceived is shared by Burke (1993) and Paddick (2008). They claim that the police are becoming moderate, pointing to the example of some gay or lesbian officers coming out over their sexuality, and in some cases forming their own associations. This, they say, is a sign of progress in the police force. However, they were quick to point out that homophobia and discrimination still exist within the police culture, though they are more covertly expressed among officers.

The political prudence of the police determines the recruitment practice and the pay package, this implies that the majority of the recruited officers are from a working-class background. The practice of recruiting from the working class is still in existence within the

police, and the majority of the top hierarchy of the police are from a working class background (Reiner, 1991; Wall, 1998). The police, though tasked with the role of maintaining order, are also employee organisations with their own disagreements and grievances over pay and working conditions, and as a result of this have developed their own police federation akin to other trade and workers' unions (Reiner, 1978; Marks and Fleming, 2006a, 2006b; Sklansky, 2007). Reiner (2010) asserts that all available research evidence suggests that most police officers are conservative in their political orientation. He identifies the reason for this conservatism to be the nature of their job. He argues that most police contact with the members of the public is with the less affluent groups in society and that working class people are not opposed to control and policing. He also points out that the police in their role of policing the public, have always been at loggerheads with the political left and organised labour movements.

4.5.5 Machismo and Sexism

On police machismo and sexism, Reiner argues that old-fashioned machismo is a part of traditional police culture (Reiner, 2010). Smith and Gray (1985) likewise find that the police force is predominantly an all-male institution, and that the sexism within the culture of police is boosted by frequent boasting of sexual prowess and sexual misbehaviours, usually at the expense of female colleagues. Young, in his observation of police machismo and sexist behaviour in the 1990s, points out that it was overambitious to expect the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act to change an attitude that has been ingrained into male police officers, and change a conservative male culture that has been reluctant to accept profound change. He does, however, agree that some organisational changes were effectuated, and the changes were largely superficial, with women appearing to have been accepted into thitherto all-male departments within the police force. He points out that further and closer investigation exposes that little has changed, with sexism, bias and inequality remaining the order of the day (Young, 1991). These attitudes, according to Chaplin (1988), reflect the culture across society in general. The acceptance of women into the police force has always been a tough struggle. The establishing of policewomen in the first instance came after a lengthy campaign during which women in England vigorously lobbied for the right of women to join the police force (Carrier, 1988; Heidensohn, 1992). The acceptance of female officers into the force did not eliminate sexual discrimination from their male peers, this despite the law on sex equality. This was also

the case in the United States where diverse lawsuits were brought by individual women challenging the way recruitment and promotion were conducted. In Britain, there were fewer cases brought forward despite the fact that discrimination persisted, even after the Sex Discrimination Act came into existence in 1975. The Metropolitan Police force was observed to be operating an illegal quota system in the recruitment of women police officers for almost ten years (Smith and Gray, 1985; Jones, 1986; Heidensohn, 1992).

Reiner stresses that even though women made up around 9% of police officers, the police force is very much a male domain. He points out that there is very much a masculine solidarity among male officers. These officers, he claims, tend to support each other, especially when they err in the course of performing their duties. Male officers are held to attach importance to drinking with each other, which Reiner deems evidence of manliness and fellowship. Policemen are notorious for drinking, this is at odds with their hatred for drug users and other substance abusers. Alcohol abuse by police officers has been an issue since the foundation of the police force; male officers' proclivities to over-indulge in alcohol and sex are not unconnected to the tension faced at work, and the desire to appear as masculine to the outside world. The promiscuous behaviour, gambling and drinking by policemen could make them vulnerable to accusations of hypocrisy, in the event of enforcing the law relating to these areas. This could explain why some officers are prone to corruption in enforcing vice laws (Young, 1991; Fielding, 1994; Reiner, 2010).

There is culture among male police officers to attach importance to physical bravery and prestige to violence. These norms and attitudes of police officers, Reiner claims, are a product of a "masculinity of ethos" which explains their alcoholic indulgence and behaviours towards women (Reiner, 2010, p. 128). The police force was largely a male domain for over 150 years, and women were reluctantly admitted into the organisation. Many female police officers in the UK have complained of being frequently treated as sexual objects, nannies and secretaries. In the early 1970s, there was a special women's department within the British police force that dealt with violence against women, children and rape victims. Apart from this department, there was exclusion of women from frontline duties, as enjoyed by their male counterparts. Women were encouraged to take up jobs in gendered-specific departments and were commonly believed to be physically incapable of functioning in male roles. This unequal relationship has, however, improved with the Equal Opportunities Act of 1972 and the Sex Discrimination Act of 1986, which forbids discrimination on the grounds of sex. (Graef, 1989; Coffey, Brown and Savage, 1992; Westermarland, 2001a; Walklate, 2001).

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Heidensohn (2008) finds that the integration of women in the British police was undertaken swiftly and rapidly in the 1970s, this despite organised resistance within the force. The Labour Government decided the police should be included in the legislation banning sex discrimination at work. Heidensohn points out that similar approaches took place in the United States and around the world, and claims that the changes in Britain and the United States came through pressure exerted from outside on the police through equality legislation. Female and ethnic minority recruits assumed that they would perform the same duties as the serving, mainly male, officers. However, this was not to be, as policewomen were marginalised much to their disappointment (Brown, 1998; Heidensohn, 1994, 2008). A project was initiated in the United States with the deployment of policewomen to patrol the streets. This project was aimed at determining if policewomen could be as functional as their male colleagues on the street. The project out of which 11 police stations were observed by social analysts found minor differences in the performances of male and female officers (Feinman, 1986; Morash and Greene, 1986). The research undertaken decades after women's integration into the force, established that little had changed in the universal attitude of male police officers towards their female counterparts (Jones, 1986; Brown and Heidensohn, 2000). Similar studies showed women not to deviate in their performance from their male colleagues. A study of the results of examinations designed to select inspectors and sergeants within the police force, indicated that policewomen with consistently achieved higher grades than their male colleagues in the assessments. It was concluded in other studies that policewomen had a greater potential to function at higher management levels as inspectors and above, than male officers (Hartley et al., 2002; McGuigan et al., 2002).

The issue of discrimination over promotion persisted until the infamous and highly publicised case of Alison Halford, a former assistant constable in the Merseyside police force, who claimed discrimination on the grounds of her being a woman. LAthough the claim was withdrawn and settled out of court, this case appears to have cleared a significant hurdle for female police officers, as various women were appointed chief constables and assistant constables of police in its wake. The number of policewomen recruited has tripled since the 1990s to well over 33,000 (Halford, 1993; Silvestri, 2003; Heidensohn, 2008). Silvestri (2007), in her study of British policewomen and the issue of leadership roles, expresses the opinion that the British police force is shifting away from its traditional approach of policewomen's leadership roles and is adopting a new approach of leadership style in which women are given more opportunities to hold leadership roles. This new approach known as "transformation

leadership" (p. 39), although endorsed across the police force is not really effecting the changes needed, claims Silvestri. She argues that transformation leadership cannot actualise any real change while the police organisation still holds on firmly to its old traditional ways, in which males dominate the majority of the leadership roles. Silvestri further claims that the number of policewomen in leadership roles remains low, as does our awareness of them, this despite a noticeable increase in the studies of police leadership (Charman et al., 1999; Loader and Mulcahy, 2001; Adlam and Villiers, 2003).

Christopherson and Cotton (2004) also find that the proportion of policewomen in England and Wales appears to have increased, and that policewomen make up around 20% of the total police workforce. They also point out that women are still in the minority, especially within the senior position and management levels, with only 8% of women occupying the rank of chief inspector and above. This small number of women in high ranking posts constitutes a methodological dilemma for people who are interested in debating issues regarding gender and organisational development. Brown (1997a), however, argues that it may be too early to assess the changes that women and equity may bring, due to lack of structural change in the situation and numbers of women in the police force. He points out that the difference in gender will remain evident, as long as women continue to be in a noticeable minority, but argues that the situation may change when significantly more women join the police. In his study of women's progression and development in the police force Brown (1997a) argues that with the increase in the number of women in the police, there is ratio increase in what he calls the "tip over" stage (p. 15), where the women move from a minority to a juncture where there is balance between them and their male counterparts. It is at this stage, he argues, that women will have the most influence and impact on the management of the police force.

4.5.6 Racism

A crucial aspect of police culture according to Reiner (2010) is racial prejudice. Police racism and prejudiced social policies in the United States have been studied and well documented. Racial prejudice has been known to be intentional and unintentional. The way the police deal with black people and other ethnic minorities has been observed to be different to the ways they deal with white people. The change in policing tactics, while in black and ethnic minority neighbourhoods have been a problematic one. The police reflect the racist culture of broader society. The policy of treating ethnic minorities differently from whites began during

slavery and continued into the post-slavery segregation period in the United States. Since the police were expected to uphold law, this imparity in policing set a trend for police attitudes and behaviours, which has continued to the present (Kelling and Moore, 1988; Williams and Murphy, 1990; Crank, 2003). Practices of overt racism are protected by the "code of silence" (p. 25) observed by the police, and all attempts to have this investigated by investigators and police behaviours' monitors are frustrated (Power, 1995). Racism within the police, as conceptualised by Crank (2004), is summarised as attempts to link a specific race or ethnic group with perpetrating a peculiar crime. He holds that a certain part of the police work environment, combined with shorthand blueprint for recognition of offenders, results in the racial dispositions of police officers. He points out that this process allows the police to act in a self-confirming way, hence the racial and cultural biases against people belonging to ethnic minorities. This, he claims, becomes a norm in dealing with their day-to-day jobs.

The cultural conceptualisation and the self-fulfilling practice by police officers allow more understanding into racism among police officers than any other explanation. There have been many issues and observations of serious racial predisposition from police patrol officers, noticeably from the same ethnic minority class they were profiling. A Hispanic police officer is likely to stop another Hispanic driving a Chevy with the assumption, that the Hispanic driver is likely not to be insured. These practices have also been noted among African-American police officers against civilian African Americans, notwithstanding questions whether police officers can be racist against their own racial and ethnic group.

Racism is grounded in the culture of the police; officers are likely to import racist views through the cultural transmission process. The dispositions of cultural values by the police are cultivated through police encounters with citizens. Police officers learn through common-sense experience about specific behaviour of groups, with certain cultural, ethnic and racial characteristics. This experience is shared among officers in the form of exercises and training, and warnings and stories told by experienced officers. The ethnic and racial biases become embedded into the traditions of various departments and into their perception of offenders' attitudes and behaviours (Martin, 1980; Kappeler, Sluder and Alpert., 1994; Crank, 2004).

Skolnick (1994) elaborates on racism within the police force in the United States and disagrees that there is racism within the police that he studied. Focusing on two city police forces, he expresses the opinion that police officers there persistently showed prejudicial attitudes towards people of ethnic minorities. However, he points out, that there is a difference

between police prejudice and racist behaviour; he observes that while the police predisposition towards black minorities was negative and quite common among police officers, it was barely shown in the course of their duties. He finds that officers not having the same prejudiced views were rebuked by other officers and observes negative attitude towards African Americans by officers, but nevertheless challenges the idea that police officers were racist, concluding that racism was not a common occurrence among the police officers in his research.

Racism and prejudice in the police force have often been blamed on a minority of 'rotten apples' and is a popular theory with the top police hierarchy. This deflection of blame and responsibility is often deployed to divert the public and the press from focusing attention on misbehaviours by the police, and from probing for accountability. The issue of police racism cannot be dealt with by the identification of rotten apples alone or by re-training officers with racist and prejudicial behaviours or even by providing police ethics training. The issue is centred on the actual job that the police are tasked with carrying out.

In various surveys conducted statewide in Illinois by Martin (1994) and in Ohio by Knowles (1996) attest to overwhelming evidence of police racism in the United States. Knowles points out that 26% of officers he interviewed in Ohio confessed to having witnessed another officer racially profiling or harassing someone based on their race, while 14.9% of officers interviewed by Martin observed this behaviour among colleagues. They both conclude that if these percentages are extrapolated with the population surveyed, the magnitude of harassment of ethnic minorities will be on a large scale. The work of Chevigny (1995) complements the these findings and concludes that black and Hispanic people were subjected to racism and harassment by the Los Angeles police department. Chevigny mentions "Operation Hammer" that was initiated in 1988, aimed at the stop and search of minorities. He claims that this operation was suppressive and points out that over 1,400 persons of minority background, mainly youths, were arrested only to be acquitted later for absence of evidence of any wrong doing. He found the climate within the Los Angeles police department troubling, and points out a glossing over of claims by witnesses at the Christopher Commission, of officers' excessive use of force against ethnic minorities, because of the conviction that such behaviour was not in breach of the moral code of the department. Officers, as a consequence, were not reprimanded for the use of, sometimes deadly, force nor for their racial abuse of ethnic minorities.

The treatment of ethnic minorities in Los Angeles exists as a result of an 'us versus them' police mentality, in which the 'them' are people of different skin colour or people with different language. The domain where much of these powers are exercised by the police, are minority communities which are poor and lack effective political power. In these neighbourhoods, the police's so called war on crime is carried out in military containment style. The war on crime is reinforced through psychological and geographical distinction between the 'safe' middle-class, low-crime neighbourhoods and the perceived dangerous neighbourhoods where the minorities are 'kept'. Informal containment practices and policies confine the ethnic minorities in inner part of cities, where there is a lack of jobs and schools are underfunded. The attempt by these ethnic minorities to seek a better life and economic stability outside their zone prompts institutionalised racism (Chevigny, 1995; Oliver and Shapiro, 1995). The US police involvement, and their culpability in the maintenance of a prejudiced and racist social scheme, is well known and documented (President Commission, 1967; Kerner Commission, 1968; William and Murphy, 1990).

Bouza (1990) argues that the police are not to be entirely blamed for racism. To understand racist police culture fully, he urges that that the United States itself should be examined more closely. Racism, says Bouza, is embedded in, and haunts, US society, and is structured in the social, economic and geographical composition of the contemporary population. The attitude of police towards the minorities is not unfamiliar to the wider public, who support them, because of their increasing fear of the minorities and the belief that the dangerous class should be kept away from them. The police he points out, perceive this, and know that society expects them to police the poor and ethnic minority class with iron hands, and where necessary, with unofficial racist ordinance. The police's self-perception as an "embattled fortress" (p. 66) originates from the issue they have with ethnic minority classes and with the instructions handed over to them by the upper class (Bellah et al., 1985; Bouza, 1990; Crank, 2003).

Hartmann (1988), however, notes a sea change in US policing, arguing that issues that are fundamental to policing are being re-examined. He points out that the importance and contribution of communities to the work of the police are now better appreciated. The police, he claims, have experienced a research revolution and their relationship with critics of police work has now become more cordial, having learned from observers how to improve policing. He concludes that pre-service university programmes have finally become an all-powerful tool

among officers, but that, nevertheless, contemporary efforts at assessing racism within the police suggest there is still much work to do.

Police racism and prejudice are particularly evidenced in the racial profiling of African Americans, Hispanic and other ethnic minority groups. Most research carried out confirms these practices by policemen in the United States (Gates, 1995; Walker, 2004). Gates, a Harvard academic and prominent civil rights advocate, who formulated the phrase 'driving while black' in 1999, ironically fell victim to police ethnic profiling 14 years later. He was arrested and detained for several hours by the police for allegedly breaking into his own house, while trying to gain entrance after a trip to China. Although Professor Gates showed his Harvard ID card to the arresting officer, it was disregarded. The charges of illegal entry and burglary were subsequently dropped, but the arresting officer refused to apologise even after nationwide outrage included condemnation by President Obama. The arresting officer claimed Professor Gates was uncooperative and disorderly in conduct during dialogue with him (The Independent, 2009).

There have been arguments by scholars that the racism within the US police force is a reflection of the wider society and especially the social class from which the police officers are recruited – mostly from the lower middle classes – rarely educated beyond the level of high school (Kelling and Moore, 1988; William and Murphy, 1990; Reiner, 2010). In confirmation of this claim, Kappeler et al. (1994) point out that the traditional way of selecting police recruits favours applicants that are most likely to subscribe to middle-class conservative views; a group, it is argued, that are unlikely therefore to associate or identify with people from ethnic minority backgrounds. Earlier research (see Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969) suggests that police in the United States have long been biased and prejudiced against black communities and other ethnic minorities and that this is a reflection of the wider community's views and attitudes (Westley, 1970; Skolnick, 1966, 1993).

There have been attempts to reduce racism and prejudice within the police, by recruiting black people and people from ethnic minority backgrounds. There has been pressure on the police to regulate the way they recruit to adapt to the developing political and social composition of the society being served. The focus of complaints against the police has been on the recruitment policy of the police, which since the 1970s, aimed at ensuring equality and gender inclusivity yet had no significant change on police racism and prejudice. The race of an officer appears not to have had any significant impact on police behaviour; studies in 122

American cities indicated an increase in white arrests by black officers while white officers arrested more non-white people (Donohue and Levitt, 2001; Skogan and Frydl, 2004). Efforts to recruit more officers from black and ethnic minority backgrounds have resulted in racial tension and conflicts between white and ethnic minority officers; crystallisation and coalition of resistance was expressed by officers. The widespread resistance of white officers towards black and ethnic minorities frustrates the efforts of minority officers, to be recognised and accepted into the culture of the police. The conflict within the police among white, and black and ethnic minority officers is a contemporary stumbling block in police organisations. There are doubts as to whether the policy of recruiting ethnic minorities is leading to decline in racism and prejudice within the police organisations (Martin, 1980; Shusta et al., 1995).

There is also evidence of police racial prejudice in the United Kingdom. The documentation of police racial prejudice in Britain predates by several years police allegations and study data of the over-involvement of black populations in crime. The arrest statistics of the police up until the early 1970s registered black under-involvement in crimes in proportion to their population. Lambert (1970), in his study of 4 areas where "coloured" immigrants' lives were observed, concluded that the housing market was structured in a way that immigrants, especially "coloured" immigrants resided in areas where there was significant crime and social disorder, both in occurrence of crime incidents and where perpetrators were residing. These areas, according to Lambert, were mostly overcrowded and lacked the basic amenities, where most of the population was mobile – 25% of the population moved away preceding the sample census of 1966. He concluded that the types of criminal activities in these areas such as drunkenness, petty theft and fighting between landlords and tenants, reflected the instabilities and dysfunctionalities of such areas. However, he also asserted that black and other visible immigrants were evidently less involved in criminality and disorderliness in their neighbourhoods than their white counterparts in other neighbourhoods (Lambert, 1970; Reiner, 2010).

Studies conducted on city police forces in the 1960s by Cain (1973) indicate an overwhelming prejudice against visible immigrants by rank and file of the police. Attitudes among officers were that black people were as violent, criminal, suspicious of the police and difficult to deal with. Cain found that police officers categorised the public into "roughs and respectables" (p. 81) with the criminals and immigrants falling in the first group. Lambert, (1970) in his study of the Metropolitan Police wrote about the scarcity of visible immigrants in the rank and file of the police, and found that white policemen did not accept the idea of black

or ethnic minority officers. However, the majority of high-ranking police officers indicated their approval of such an idea. The police hostility and racial prejudice was similarly documented by Reiner (1978) who, in his 1973 and 1974 study of the Bristol police force, found evidence of suspicion and racial prejudice against black people; this view was spontaneously expressed in his interviews with police regarding their work (Reiner 1978, 2010).

Simon Holdaway, (1983) in his study of Hilton (the name he conferred to an area with a large population of West Indian origin) confirmed the prevalence of police racial prejudice and suspicion towards the black communities. In addition to negative perceptions, he also observed derogatory language, such as "nig-nog, nigger, and wog, animal" (p. 67) and on the like. His study points out that these words are not entirely the product of police culture alone, but in arise in combination with the wider society, as claimed by Clarke et al., (1978) and the Institute of Race Relations, (1979). Holdaway (1983) concludes that the negative attitude of police officers from Hilton police stations towards black people was a reflection of British society on black people's positionality within society. The evidence of racial prejudice and hostility towards black and ethnic minorities is studied and well-documented in Britain especially in the 1980s when there was heated political debate regarding black crimes and race.

The overt expression of racist views by police officers appears to have decreased over the years (Foster et al., 2005; Reiner, 2010). Loftus (2008), in her study of police culture and racial prejudice within a northern England police force finds that due to new police rules and emphasis on tackling racial prejudice within the police force, officers are now managing their racist rhetoric and the way they address ethnic minorities. She stresses that the decline in the use of discriminatory language points to a significant change in the culture of police in Britain. Nevertheless, she concludes that racial prejudice among white male officers persists in everyday culture; these officers are resistant to new reform and changes within the police force, she claims (Loftus, 2008; Foster et al., 2008). The decrease in police expression of open racial prejudice, according to Reiner (2010), is not unconnected with the alteration of the demographic nature of the police force. Increased recruitment of ethnic minority officers, and the emergence of black and other minority police associations, has helped ethnic minority officers to challenge racial prejudice and inequalities in their constabularies. The fact that more officers with higher education are being recruited, due to demands for professionalism and higher standards by the police force, is also a positive factor in cultural changes (Lee and Punch 2006; Punch 2007). An emphasis on the need for change, and the recommendation for

multiculturalism training as well as a formal force code by the Scarman Report of 1981 and Macpherson Report of 1999, has been a turning point in the cultural tone of the British police (Macpherson, 1999; Rowe and Garland, 2003, 2007; Loftus 2009).

There has also been a transformation in experiences by black and Asian communities, as more of them are forming part of the criminal justice system, though they are still under-represented, especially at the senior level within the police (Henry, 2007; Bowling et al., 2008). The recruitment of ethnic minorities into the police force in the 1970s and 1980s, according to Gray (1995), was not without problems, as they faced racial prejudice and received hostile treatment from their white colleagues. In his study of police racial prejudice, Gray reports as shocking the language used by white police officers in describing Asian and black people in general, and concludes that the culture of racism within the police serves to marginalise, alienate and discriminate against officers of ethnic minority backgrounds (Gray, 1995; Bowling et al., 2008). There has been evidence from studies of police culture that some senior and supervisory officers fail to sanction and discipline officers who make racist comments against their ethnic minority colleagues (Scarman Report, 1981; HMIC, 1999; McLaughlin, 2007). Ethnic minorities remain under-represented in the police force despite their recruitment increasing from 0.7% in 1986 to 3.4% in 2005, as this figure fell below the 4% target of 2004 (Ministry of Justice, 2007). The changes to the ethnic composition of the police force were challenged by the BBC's "The Secret Policeman" where Greater Manchester Police recruits, amongst others, were filmed by an undercover reporter, and seen to be exhibiting racial intolerance and prejudice against ethnic minorities. This documentary raised questions and caused controversy on the failure of post-Macpherson recommendations, police reforms and changes within the British police (McLaughlin, 2007; Holland, 2007). The two successive inquiries post-Macpherson, namely the Morris Report for the Metropolitan Police Authority (2004) and the Calvert-Smith Report for the Commission for Racial Equality (2005), cited the failure of Macpherson's recommendations to effect anything other than cosmetic changes to the UK police (Morris Report, 2004; Calvert-Smith Report, 2005, Reiner, 2010).

4.6 Summary

This chapter has dealt with Dutch police organisational structure and recruitment, and with Dutch police culture. It also explored contemporary UK and US contexts of police occupational culture and addressed occupational culture in historical (classic) and

contemporary contexts, as well as the factors responsible for this culture. The first part of the chapter focused on the organisation of the Dutch police and its modernisation and transformation to the current day. The second section illustrated through existing literature the educational requirements of admission to the Dutch police, and the recruitment process, highlighting the difference between the Netherlands and the UK police, where the latter does not have a police academy and the entry requirements for joining the police are less exacting. The third section dealt with the key studies and context on police occupational culture and the historical aspect of police culture. It also shed light upon how the idea of police culture evolved and issues responsible for this evolution. It looked at contemporary police culture and to what extent the historical police culture has survived, and why this may be the case. The fourth part described how the study of police culture has been transferred into the context of Dutch policing. This explains how scholars in the Netherlands have tested the Anglo-Saxon police culture in the Dutch policing environment for any similarities. The literature differentiated between some aspects of the culture relevant to the US and UK police, especially with regards to violence and the use of force and the issue of solidarity among officers – with the Dutch having less solidarity among their officers and the UK police manifesting less violence due to the absence of firearms in the policing environment. The Dutch literature found other aspects of police culture such as conservatism, suspicion, machismo and solidarity to be less visible within the Dutch police culture. The fifth part of this chapter discussed the core characteristics of police culture as perceived by Reiner and other early scholars who studied police culture and concluded with a discussion of contemporary studies and findings regarding those core features of police culture. The next chapter will examine the research questions and the methods used in conducting this research.

Chapter 5 Methodology

Research methodology is the way that a researcher uses the most appropriate method to approach a study effectively (Alkandari, 2015, p. 1). Alkandari explains that research methodology can incorporate many layers such as approach, philosophy, methodological choice, techniques and strategies. These layers can, in turn, contain more layers. Methodology, according to Taylor et al. (2015), is the way in which we approach problems in order to seek answers. Silverman, (2005, p. 99) explains methodology as "choices we make about the cases to study methods of data gathering and other forms of data analysis, etc., in planning and executing a research study". This chapter describes the methods used in the study of African experiences of policing in the Netherlands. It describes the study design, sampling, the study population, participants' recruitment, ethics and data protection, and the negotiation of access to the Dutch police. It also includes, but is not limited to, how the study was conducted.

5.1 Aim and Objectives of this Study

The aim and objectives of this study are the research of African-Dutch people's experiences of policing in the Netherlands; to explore through ethnographic methods, the African communities' experiences and perception of policing in the Netherlands; and to explore through participants' observations and semi-structured interviews, the police experiences of policing minority ethnic communities especially those from African communities. The aim is to use intersectionality as a theoretical framework to provide a multi-lens analysis of policing race in the Netherlands.

5.2 The Study Population

The study population is all sub-Saharan Africans living in the Netherlands; age and gender are not relevant.

5.2.1 Inclusion Criteria

The samples are Africans living within the borders of the Netherlands, they can be of first, second or third generation, provided they are from sub-Saharan Africa.

5.2.2 Exclusion Criteria

People that are not from sub-Saharan Africa are excluded from this study, as they not are the focus of this research.

5.3 Participant Recruitment

The role participants play in qualitative research is important as highlighted by several authors (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003; Warne and MacAndrew, 2008; Saunders et al., 2012). The choice of research participants can be difficult, as it requires having access to, and sometimes requesting permission from, organisations and individual participants (Gummesson, 2000). The start of all research involves the identification of the population one wishes to focus on, and the need to recruit people belonging to the chosen population (Quraishi and Philburn, 2015). The recruitment of African respondents and Dutch police officers in the Netherlands for this study was of immense importance from the outset. In December 2015, my co-supervisor at the University of Salford provided me with contacts in the Netherlands, and assisted me with the recruitment of Dutch participants. My initial plan was to gain access to police officers in order to interview them and observe them on duty. I then intended to recruit African-Dutch participants myself as I am from the Netherlands and of Black African-Dutch origin.

I was introduced to a professor at The Police Academy of the Netherlands. I was fortunate enough also to be introduced to Paul (a pseudonym) who is a Chief Inspector of Police, one of his PhD students and one of the officers in charge of the National Police Alliance Dialogue Team (NPDT), which was established three years ago in the major cities of the Netherlands. This team was especially created by the police to engage all African-Dutch communities in dialogue on issues affecting them.

I was instructed to write an official request to the NPDT (Appendix 6 and 7) and subsequently granted access to this group nationally through Paul and his colleagues. The group normally had meetings once every 6 weeks (Appendix 8). I attended most of their

meetings during my research period where I had the opportunity to speak to the African community and the police representative about my research. I was very cautious about my approach, having discussed the matter with my supervisor. I made sure I was not formally introduced to the African community by Paul or any other policeman in order not to jeopardise the cooperation of the community I sought to research.

At the second NPDT meeting, I gave a detailed presentation of this study, and explained with the help of a set of slides, the reason for the research and the target population. I distributed the information sheet to all those of African heritage present at the meeting. Included in the information was my email address, telephone number and the details of my supervisor for further contact. I asked anyone interested in granting me an interview to contact me through the details given on the paper. The potential participants that showed interest were screened for eligibility and were scheduled for interview sessions.

I was approached by the police team after the dialogue meeting and asked for more information regarding the research. I provided information via a pamphlet and explained the aim and objectives of the study. The police officers indicated interest in the research and introduced me to the district public relation officer of the police force, who in turn introduced the police profiling awareness sergeant. The profiling awareness officer whom I called Ronald (pseudonym**)** explained to me that he was in charge of training police officers and speaking to the African communities on the issue of ethnic and racial profiling. Ronald gave me his contact card and indicated interest in the research. The police team promised to grant me interviews regarding challenges of policing the African communities. I received an email from the Police Alliance Team, requesting official information regarding the research and I sent them some information sheets. I received an email confirming the receipt of the research information sheet and was assured of the team's cooperation in granting interviews at the commencement of the interview schedule.

In the course of my attendance of the dialogue meetings in the Netherlands, I was approached by Joe (pseudonym**)** a well-known community leader who expressed interest in my research. He took in some of the information sheets and distributed them to a church congregation along with my contact details. Joe was later to become my gatekeeper in the community and beyond, due to his connection within the African communities in the Netherlands.

My second contact in the Netherlands was an academic with interest in sub-Saharan African arts; he too had considerable contact with the African communities. He facilitated by contact with diverse African groups, especially people from Somalia and Sudan, this then snowballed into access with NGO contacts working with sub-Saharan African communities . The study was advertised on the site and Facebook page of African NGOs, and potential participants contacted me and were screened for eligibility with subsequent interview meetings scheduled. I was able to get access to a section of the Somalian community through my son, who had contacts through his football team, and my niece who also had contacts in her circle of Somalian friends. This was an important opportunity as access to Somalian communities is considered problematic; my gatekeepers and contacts had earlier alerted me that I might anticipate difficulties in recruiting participants from the Somalian communities. who are known to be closed and would only grant an interview in exceptional cases, or if facilitated through a known person.

The third group of participants were the cadets and lecturers at the Police Academy in Apeldoorn. Access to this group was been made possible by my contact at the Dutch Police Academy. I was granted permission to interview 10 cadets and 5 lecturers, but unfortunately, at the time of the data collection, my emails went unanswered. My point of contact later apologised profusely on behalf of the Police Academy; while I had been granted official permission to conduct interview, he could not explain why his team failed to see this through. Studies show that access is a negotiated task which might be offered, and then later withdrawn with no reason being given to the researcher (Taylor, 2014). Access in research as suggested by Quraishi and Philburn (2015) is subject to negotiation, reaching compromise, and at times is simply a matter of luck.

5.3.1 Sampling

Sampling is a necessary procedure in choosing, identifying and gaining the desired access to relevant data in research; it needs to be relevant and useful to the research aims and objectives (Mason, 2002). The qualitative research method benefits from the use of a non-probability sample in the selection of people for study. The samples are deliberately selected in order to reflect particular features or groups of people within the population (Ritchie and Lewis, 2006). This research uses a criterion of purposive style of sampling (Patton, 2002; Mason, 2002). The sample used in this study were chosen because they have specific features

and characteristics that could answer the research questions, allowing the researcher to explore African experiences of policing in the Netherlands and an understanding of the police position in policing the African communities. Criterion-based sampling allows the researcher to explore and understand the themes needed to study roles, behaviours, and experiences of a study population; this in research is called judgemental sampling (Honigmann, 1982; Burgess, 1984). The choice of who to sample in this research was based on the research question of this study, which is understanding African-Dutch experiences of policing in the Netherlands.

To date, the majority of studies conducted on police racism in the Netherlands have been undertaken in a single city. In an effort to fully understand the African experiences of policing, samples for this study were selected among Africans in two major cities and two towns in the Netherlands. These cities and towns were selected for the fieldwork due to their being home to the largest concentrations of African-Dutch residents. In over 15 months of the research period, I met a range of individuals and community activists in the big cities, most of whom reside in predominantly black neighbourhoods in the Netherlands.

These neighbourhoods in both cities were large and the main activities were commercial, with shops and stores dealing in foreign foodstuffs, textiles, money transfer, and other commercial activities. These communities were surrounded by residential areas, schools and social amenities, where the majority of the residents were of foreign descent; they were ethnically diverse, and spoke different African and South American languages, as well as Dutch. These communities have been the site of in-migration for years, especially from Africa and South America. There are areas where high crime rates are recorded, but overall the rates have dropped in the past few years which has been attributed by some to the opening of extra police posts and improved engagement of the police with the communities. The majority of those living in these communities are of lower to working class, and their professions range from domestic workers to high skilled professionals. All 25 participants who took part in the research interviews were selected based on their identification as Africans, across three generations in the Netherlands, with or without Dutch nationality. Some were born in the Netherlands, others had lived in the Netherlands for over 40 years. The respondents, whose family origins were in Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Somali, Congo and so on, were from a diverse age group, educational background, and identified Christianity or Islam as their main religion. Respondents from the two less urbanised locations, though few in number, shared the same characteristics as their urban respondents except that they lived in more affluent areas where the majority were white natives. All respondents were confirmed to be

aged 18 and above. There was no mention of any specific police contact, but they were asked to participate if they ever had any experience with the police. I did not mention a particular type of police contact because I was interested in people's wider experiences of police contact and relations rather than any specific or particular experience in the African communities, such as arrest or stop and search. This approach resulted in a wide range of respondents granting me interviews, though some of these interviews snowballed into meetings other participants within the communities. The three most important forms of contact were police-initiated contacts, contact with victims of crime, and contact with the police as professionals and volunteers. The African participants reflected and talked about a wide range of social–economic issues, objective categories of class, and national identities. Also included in the African-Dutch respondents' group were community leaders, NGO founders and African-Dutch business owners.

The police samples were selected from diverse backgrounds and from different locations and cities in the Netherlands. The locations were selected because of the concentration of African-Dutch people there and the officers' experiences of contact and policing the African-Dutch communities. I interviewed 12 police respondents, both male and female officers from diverse ethnic backgrounds, such as native-Dutch, Surinam, Antilles, mixed-race and Ghana. The research samples were taken from officers across various departments of the Dutch police and included homicide police, non-uniformed detectives, training and policy officers, uniformed community police officers and police–civilian liaison workers. The ranks of police officers interviewed ranged from police constable Level 2 to chief inspector Grade 1, and included an officer from the Justice ministry with the rank of an inspector. The level of education of participants ranged from secondary school to university postgraduates. Though more emphasis was laid on community police officers who had contact with the African communities, in most of the police stations the station commanders determined the officers to be interviewed, but I emphasised an interest in speaking to community police officers with contact with the African population. Speaking to officers ranked higher than community police officers was advantageous as it provided opportunities to speak to police detectives and homicide officers dealing cases involving African suspects and victims of crimes. As earlier mentioned, I was also able to interview an Officer of the Justice, who is usually appointed by police at inspector-level or above to check if arrests and booking of suspects made by police conform to rules and regulations. Through this officer, I gained an insight to their jobs and experiences with the Africans booked-in at the police

stations. The other category as earlier mentioned were samples of police officers from ethnic minority backgrounds, this category was negotiated with my gatekeeper by the police. I was interested in knowing if their own experiences of policing, the African communities are different from their native-Dutch police colleagues.

5.3.2 Negotiation of Access to Dutch Police

Initially when I was introduced to Paul, he promised to assist me with access to police officers for both interviews and observation. The set-up changed a few weeks into the scheduled interviews with Dutch police officers. Having been in frequent contact with Paul, and having met him both at his office privately and at the NPDT meetings, it was agreed that he should be my gatekeeper in accessing police officers for the purpose of interviewing and observing them on patrol of the neighbourhood. I contacted the Paul, who suggested we both speak on the telephone. On contacting Paul on the telephone, he suggested I share my data on the African experiences with him, since he himself was studying the ethnic minorities experiences of policing in specific neighbourhood in the Netherlands, and he was struggling in getting people from the community granting him interviews.

This led to conflict of interest and ethical issues. I explained the implication of such action according to the ethical norms and approval of my university. I reported this issue back to my supervisor who confirmed I was correct in resisting this imposition. After much negotiation, back and forth, with the assistance of my supervisor I was able to find a way around the problem. I suggested helping Paul on a Sunday to interview five ethnic minority respondents, but in a different area from where I interviewed respondents. I intentionally avoided frequenting locations where I was granted interviews to avoid issues of mistrust from people I had interviewed. This agreement to help Paul with the collection of his data enabled my access to interviews and conduct observations with the Dutch police around various locations in the Netherlands. I had tried contacting other respondents within the NPDT previously, and also during the period when the issue with the police inspector was still ongoing, but received no response to any the emails I sent. My intention was to try and seek access through an alternative route, to interview and observe police officers. Notwithstanding, police access was arranged as soon as I agreed to assist Paul with his research; coincidentally I received an email from my police contact with the NPDT just a day after I struck the deal with the police inspector. She apologised for not replying to my email due to her being on

holiday, which was rather circumspect considering that I had been trying to contact her for almost three months. We both scheduled dates for interviewing police officers in her district; when I asked about arranging observations, she told me that it was subject to approval of the station commander and could not be guaranteed. The approval for observing patrol officers in the community and in patrol vehicles was fortunately approved by the police area commander following my request.

5.3.3 How the Study was Conducted

In total, field study and data collection took over a year from January 2016 to March 2017. I spent between January 2016 to December 2016 in African-Dutch communities negotiating access, attending meeting with African-Dutch people and the NPDT. The intensive observation and interviewing of both African-Dutch and Dutch police officers took over 6 weeks between January 2017 and March 2017. The first 3 to 4 weeks were spent interviewing the respondents from the African community. The first week did not go as anticipated because most of the respondents scheduled for interviews called to cancel or reschedule appointments. It was rather frustrating due to the fact that I had to travel a considerable distance to the interview location, and some respondents cancelled at the last moment. I met Joe (see 5.3) for advice on this issue. He suggested that I change all existing interview appointments to weekends, explaining that most Africans in the communities work on weekdays, and the best time to interview them was the weekend. I called most of the respondents and requested to reschedule the existing interviews to weekends, which they agreed to. This approach worked as most of the respondents attended interviews as planned.

I was travelling from Manchester to the Netherlands every weekend (leaving Manchester on a Thursday morning, having finished a night shift, and returning on Sunday nights). I would pick up my rented car at Amsterdam or Rotterdam airport and travel an hour and a half to Tilburg where my son lives, and where I stayed during the fieldwork. I travelled to whichever part of the Netherlands where I had arranged to interview respondents. I arranged most of these interviews in cafés or *buurthuis* (community centre). Most of the interviews were conducted in a quiet part area of the cafés or *buurthuis*. The respondents were provided with the research information sheets and a consent form. Interviews commenced as soon as a respondent was informed about the purpose of the research and the consent papers were signed

by the interviewee. The interviews lasted between 40 and 90. The African respondents' interviews took 4 weeks in total to complete.

The police interviews were conducted within two weeks of residents' interviews and started at the beginning of March 2017. The interviews were pre-scheduled with the help of Paul, my gatekeeper, across police stations in cities across the Netherlands. The interviews were conducted at the police stations, where I was provided with a private room to interview police officers. In some of the police stations, I was asked to sign a non-disclosure form of, indicating that I would not divulge any information I might hear while conducting interviews at the police stations. All police officers interviewed were chosen by the station commandants and sent to me at the interview rooms, except for those officers whose access was directly negotiated for me by Paul. These categories of police officer respondents were of ethnic minority backgrounds, as I had hoped to speak to ethnic minority officers on their views and experiences of policing the African communities. I anticipated that their experiences might be different from the white Dutch police officers, and was aware as a researcher, that it could be problematic requesting interviews with ethnic minority officers from the station commanders. My gatekeeper, being an ethnic minority officer himself. was able to facilitate this arrangement through his contact with diverse police ethnic minorities' organisations such as Police Caribbean Network. All police officers and African-Dutch respondents were provided with the research participant information papers and consent forms before the commencement of the interviews (see Appendix 2 and 3).

Part of this research was conducted using participant observation, in observing police officers while performing their duty in the community. I observed police officers on patrol across three shifts over two days. This was scheduled by station commanders at the police stations where the observation was conducted. I had to wake up at 3 a.m. to prepare and drive at least an hour and half to get to the station in the cities where the observations took place. The morning shift started at around 6 a.m. and, after briefing from the shift commander, I was able to join the patrol team in the first response car, which is the first police vehicle that receives radio information of any incidents within and outside the police district. I observed the police across three shifts, with the afternoon shift starting around 2 p.m. and the night shift starting around 10 p.m. I observed across the morning and the afternoon shift on the first day of observation, and alternated across the shifts including the night shift for the rest of the observations. The choice of participant observation of the Dutch police in this study, was to give an insight into the daily policing work in the African-Dutch communities and to observe

the relationship between these communities and the community police officers. The use of participant observation in this study allowed me to observe both groups in their natural settings where they were located. It allowed this study and the researcher to gather impressions of the African Dutch and participating Dutch police officers, and to watch, listen, feel and observe pattern of behaviours of Dutch police officers and the policed African-Dutch communities.

5.3.4 The Qualitative Approach

Qualitative research is important and exciting. It can also be rewarding because it engages one with issues that matter in important ways. One can explore a wide range of the social world, including issues of everyday life, the experiences and imaginations of the study population and importance of the meaning generated (Mason, 2002). Qualitative methods are useful as tools in descriptive account of events; in exploring ideas, feelings and reactions to specific issues; and in helping to generate hypotheses (Belson, 1986; Dawson, 2009). One of the undeniable advantages of the qualitative method is the ability to help the researcher to be fully involved with participants from whom the data are being collected. Allen (1991) argues that in studies where there is a need to explain social phenomena and past events, qualitative methods become a useful lens because of their ability to provide views of individuals or groups involved (Allen, 1991). I used qualitative methods in this study because of their effectiveness in engagement and help in responding to the research questions. This method is closely associated with the interpretivist social tradition and it has been used in many police criminological studies, especially in investigating social phenomena and real life experiences. Eijckman (2010), Çankaya (2012), and Mutsaers (2014), for example, have all used the qualitative approach in their studies of the Dutch police and ethnic minorities.

The qualitative approach is a preferred and appropriate method in the investigation of social issues and in the narration of the significance of social dilemmas (Green and Thorogood, 2004). This method has been of immense benefit to this research since it has afforded the opportunity to use semi-structured interviews and the observations of the police, to interpret the experiences of the African communities in the Netherlands. Qualitative methods allowed me to study issues in detail, and provided the opportunity to engage in the collection of data, without constraints of predetermined categories in analysis, which contributed to the openness, depth and the details of the analysis in question (Patton, 1990).

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5.3.5 Semi-Structured Interviews

This research was conducted with the use of qualitative, semi-structured interviews for both the African-Dutch and police participants. Interviewing is one of the most effective techniques for collecting experiential data. It is useful in explaining phenomena in an efficient way, and used in discovering specific information and new factors (Saunders et al., 2012; Dawson, 2013). The qualitative research method was defined by Denzin and Lincoln as "The studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials ... that describe routine and problematic moments and meaning in individuals' lives" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003, p. 3). Silverman (2013) argues that doing research interviews is the most natural thing in the world, while Denzin and Lincoln (2005, p. 205) defines a semi-structured interview as providing "greater breadth than do other types given its qualitative nature". The aim of using a semi-structured interview method in the context of this research was to afford the African-Dutch communities a voice and to be able to access their perceptions and experiences of policing in the Netherlands. This method is deemed appropriate as African-Dutch communities have not previously been engaged with on this issue in the Netherlands. It was important as an exploratory project to capture their experiences. Since the central research question is about experiences, this is necessarily subjective and, therefore, more suited to qualitative methodologies. The use of semi-structured interview was appropriate to this study because it also encouraged the members of the African-Dutch communities and police officers in the Netherlands to give a whole account of their opinion and experiences. As stressed 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, p. 51). This method is of importance to research because of the aim of understanding the experiences of the African-Dutch communities on encounters with the Dutch police officers. The history of police relations with the ethnic minorities, especially the black communities, has been portrayed by dominant police narratives and the denial of reports of discrimination and oppression of the black communities.

The semi-structured interview I used commenced with demographic questions in the first section (Appendix 6), such as age, nationality, date of arrival in the Netherlands, educational background and so on. This demographic question was followed by an opening

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prompt question: "Have you or any of your family members had any interaction with the police?" This prompt question was asked in order to lead and guide the African respondents through a set of questions designed to explore their experiences of police contact and was quite effective in doing so. The African experiences of policing developed chronologically through this method and flowed throughout the interview intersecting with their experiences and life history. The risks of leading questions and predetermined responses were avoided by asking questions in an open manner, where a clarifying or follow-up question was required (Patton, 1990).

The police interviews were conducted in much the same way. The demographic question (Appendix 7) elicited their age, country of birth, ethnicity, and their generation if from an ethnic minority background, their motive for, and year of joining the force, and so on. The demographic question was followed by a prompt question: "In your line of duty have you ever had any interaction with members of the African communities?" This prompt question was initiated in order to guide the police respondents through a set of questions that focused on their experiences of policing the African communities. This prompt question was again useful in opening up the interview and prompting the police officers to openly discuss their experiences and incidents witnessed within the African communities. The last section of the interview guide contained questions regarding police training, specifically on the management of ethnic minorities / police relationship, and issues of ethnic and racial profiling. I included the ethnic and racial profiling question to allow me an insight into the level of training received by police officers; this was as a result of my meeting with the ethnic and racial profiling officer tasked with training police officers on racial profiling. All interviews were written in a notebook and audio recorded with the permission of participants. In line with previous qualitative studies, such as that of Anouk De Koning (2017) on diffuse policing and the production of inequality in Amsterdam, my initial interviews served as setting the scope and permitting refinement and reflection to identify common themes, issues and tensions which could be explored in further interviews.

5.3.6 Observation

This research benefits from ethnographic observation of the Dutch police. Mason (2002, p. 85) suggests that "Knowledge or evidence of the social world can be generated by observing", while Pearsall, argues that "any research in which a human scientist faces an

equally human subject necessitates both observation and participation" (1965, p. 37). The rationale for observing police officers in this study was to widen my understanding of police work and their relations with people in the African-Dutch communities. Quraishi and Philburn (2015) suggest that issues which lay emphasis on experiences of people, daily interaction and issues of racism, and processes of racialisation, demand direct engagement with the real world. Waddington argues that to explain the action of the police, rather than solely condemning their behaviour on the streets, we should look not into what the officers say in their canteen environment or to researchers privately, but at the situations in which they act (Waddington, 1999). The opportunity to observe police officers in the Netherlands for the purpose of this research, has allowed me an insight into police work and an understanding of the types of vocabularies they use at work in regards to the public, especially the African-Dutch communities.

Observations were conducted across three police regions in the Netherlands. They provided me with much-needed opportunities to familiarise myself with the local police districts, working habitats, and the organisational and the technical aspects of police work. Saunders et al., (2009, p. 288) stress that "If your research question and objectives are concerned with what people do, an obvious way in which to discover this is to watch them do it". I followed an intensive 3-day observation of police across three police regions; sometimes starting at 6 a.m. and continuing until midnight, and on other occasions starting with the night shift at 8 p.m. until midday the following day. It was impossible to conduct a long-term observation due to time constraints and the fact that the observation was initially intended to have an insight into police work in the communities and observe the way police officers categorise or speak about the African Dutch in their communication with the control rooms and other patrol teams. I was aware of the limitations of short-term observation before the commencement of this study. Brockman stresses the issues and advantages with short-term observation in his study of apprentices in motor vehicle retail in Germany and England. In his ethnographic study and observations he points out, that short-term observation could impact the quality of data collected from such observation, but argues that short-term observation provided an enormous insight into his study and the construction of meaning where they are positioned. He stresses that short-term observation allows a situated conversation between informants and the researcher (Brockman, 2011).

At the beginning of the observation, I was allocated to a patrol vehicle with two officers by the shift sergeant; I gave the officers the information sheet and consent form for their

signature (see Appendix 3) before we stepped into the patrol vehicle. I would arrive an hour before the commencement of each shift to spend time at the station, familiarising myself with police officers at the station and having a coffee with them. This enabled me to observe all aspects of police officers' daily routines as they prepared for their work. I had the privilege of observing the first response vehicle, and was provided with a bulletproof jacket before I could enter the vehicle which the duty sergeant told me had to be worn by me at all times, while on patrol with the officers. A failure to wear the jacket meant the response officers would drop me off on the road should they be required to respond to an emergency call. The use of a bulletproof vest made me realise the danger faced by the police in their daily duties, it also made me reflect about the danger and the risk being taken by me as a researcher. I was equipped with an observation notebook on every field observation and took notes on incidents, observations, conversations, communications with the control rooms and other patrol vehicles, and the process of stop and searches conducted within the communities. My note-taking skills improved and so did my experiences as an observing researcher.

Alhough there was limited police contact with African-Dutch people while I was on patrol, my time afforded me the opportunity to liaise with Dutch police officers in their work environment. I was able to observe the dynamism and the daily risks taken by Dutch police officers on patrol. The duration of the observations was shorter than expected due to the officers being somewhat reticent to express much other than discussing their daily routine. Nevertheless, they were cordial and at times keen to know what exactly I was looking for in the observation. In light of there being no African-Dutch–police encounter during the 3-day observation, I took the decision to discontinue police observation for lack of further data and information on African-Dutch people.

5.4 Reflexivity: The Researcher's Positionality as Black Dutch

This research was borne of an interest in granting the African Dutch the opportunity to share their experiences of interactions with the Dutch police, especially against the political climate in Europe and the Netherlands in which many politicians are moving to the right with anti-immigrant rhetoric. My position as a black African researcher and a Dutch national has contributed significantly to the quality of this study and much to the access granted me by both the African-Dutch respondents and the police officer respondents. My identity as African Dutch from an English university, coupled with other aspects of my identities, such as my

sexuality as heterosexual, middle-class, male PhD student, brings me in line with typical police culture and unwittingly afforded me greater access to the Dutch police. The ambiguity as an insider (African Dutch) and outsider (African-Dutch academic from an English university) also availed me familiarity, through my command of the Dutch language, more access to the Dutch police as it reflected my alignment through the Dutch language. The latter afforded me extra access as Dutch police officers were not likely to perceive me as a threat due to my outsider status. My profession as a researcher was also an advantage as I am neither a police officer nor a lawyer from the Netherlands and, therefore, not perceived as a direct threat.

The reflectivity and awareness as a researcher in relation to my study participants is of importance in developing knowledge from minority perspectives in order to understand the minority's experience of criminal justice, offending and victimisation. The preference and the rationality of black criminologists conducting studies of black community experiences, is the advantage and legitimacy this brings to the sub-field and ability to understand more the experiences of these communities (Ferdinand, 1994; Young and Sulton, 1996; Philips and Bowling, 2003). The starting point for a black criminologist is to reconcile criminological data with the subjectivity and lived experience of the minorities (Philips and Bowling, 2003). Jhappan (1996) argues:

> Our material situations, life opportunities, social positionality, and dominant discourses do profoundly mould our experiences and understanding of the world and our places in it', and it is this which provides some measure of authenticity to our articulation of minority experiences (p. 30).

She shows that researchers, regardless of race and ethnicity, can be of immense benefit to minority perspectives in the study of minority experiences (Jhappan, 1996). Being a black African researcher has afforded me the privilege of gathering rich data for this study, yet I acknowledge the very same biography could have limited my engagement with white Dutch respondents. Biography has been proven to both enable and limit qualitative research, Quraishi, in his study of Muslim prisoners, encountered issues with suspicion from the prison officers as a Muslim researching the experience of Muslim prisoners (Quraishi, 2008). I was well aware that the white Dutch police officers might be suspicious of my motives. My position as an African with knowledge of African cultures and behaviours, has been of immense benefit, especially in understanding the African-Dutch respondents' needs, customs and expressions that comes from conversation with them. These respondents shared most of their lived experiences with me because they perceived me to be one of them, and also because I

communicated with them in languages they understood, making them more comfortable to express their experience, needs and, at times, frustrations.

It has been suggested that the legitimacy of research may be enhanced with the use of ethnically and racially allied researchers within the studied community. Research on gangs in the United States, for example, was conducted by students and former members of such gangs (Joe, 1993; Mieczkowski, 1988). Dunlap et al. (1990) suggested researchers should try to identify with participants both culturally and ethnically, where needed, and be street wise if required by research. This approach was fairly useful in this study, as it would have been difficult to interview most respondents from the African-Dutch communities were it not for my identity and position.

Members of the African-Dutch communities may be very suspicious, not only of the police, but sometimes of outsiders whom they cannot identify as part of the community. This occurred at the initial stage of contact with the African-Dutch communities, during my first attendance of the NPDT meeting. The African Dutch were quite cautious in dealing with me; upon introduction as a researcher in the community, Jide, who is African Dutch asked me about my motivation. He asked why it was important for me to know what was happening to the African-Dutch communities, all the way from United Kingdom. He also asked me who was sponsoring the research. After the session, I was approached by Bobola, also African Dutch, who asked: "What prompted the research and your reason for choosing the Netherlands?" (**Research field note, 18/03/2016**) My field notes for this observation record comments made by Chioma, who later became my gatekeeper in the community. Aware of the situation, he expressed his views on the suspicion that had been expressed.

> Chioma advised that it was not going to be easy collecting my data without a gatekeeper from the communities. He stressed the need to win the trust of the communities. He told me that people are willing to talk about issues with the police, but they need to be able to trust me first, and later offered to assist me with the data collection. (**Research field note, 18/03/2016**)

Later in my research, I had instances where people refused to acknowledge me or speak to me until my gatekeeper told them I was one of their 'brothers'. In such cases, my gatekeeper vouchsafed for me which garnered me interviews for almost an hour, sometimes more. I was aware of suspicion more within the Somalian communities and that when access was granted it was my African-Dutch identity that had struck a chord, as well as the assurance of my gatekeeper's assurances. I had an initial concern that my identity could influence the participants

to prioritise only the negative experience of their contact with the police, but this was addressed by expressing a request for positive and well as negative experiences with the police

My positionality as a black African-Dutch researcher also had an advantage with the police, despite conclusions that part of police culture has been found to include suspicion (Reiner, 2010; Loftus, 2010; Çankaya, 2012). Suspicion was, indeed, conveyed at my initial contact with the police at the police station. This police suspicion also became noticeable during my first appearance at the African Community-Police Dialogue meeting. The police present at the meeting sought audience with me afterwards and, according to my field notes: "They all wanted to know through whom I got to know about the meeting, and the sponsor of the research …" (**Research field note, observation at the African Community-Police Dialogue meeting, 18/03/2016**). I went on to observe the following after being introduced to the Chief Inspector of Police and the station commander who invited me to future meetings at the district police station: "He told me that they are trying to improve relations with the community. He later called a sergeant and introduced him as the coordinator of the police ethnic profiling team …" (**Research field note, Observation at the African Community-Police Dialogue meeting, 18/03/2016**).

The police suspicion towards me was again observed at the police station on the commencement of my interview of police officers at one of the district police headquarters. The station commander welcomed me and said:

> I am of the opinion that we have nothing to hide. You are free to investigate whatever you want. I quickly reminded the station commander that I was conducting research and not an investigation … (**Research field note, Observation at the District Police Headquarters, 02/03/2017**)

Similarly, there were many questions from the officers at the station during the police interview about my interest and why I had travelled all the way from United Kingdom to conduct research in the Netherlands. Peter, a community police officer, and one of my interviewees said: "So Charles I couldn't understand the aim of your research and what you want to know from me." (**Research field note, Observation 02/03/2017**). Even after detailing the aims of the research and showing him my ID card, he asked: "Is this the only station you will be visiting in the city, how did you get access to interview us? Hahahaha (Peter laughs)" (**Research field note, Observation 02/03/2017**).

I was very cautious in disclosing too much about my background as a Dutch national, because I was not sure if that would have made the police more suspicious of me. The reprieve came when my gatekeeper put a call across to the station that I was a Dutch national and that they should feel free to speak Dutch to me. This lowered the level of suspicion among the officers, and I noticed their immediate willingness to grant me interviews and they started communicating with me in Dutch. The majority of police respondents told me they preferred to speak Dutch in the interviews they granted me, citing convenience and the need to express themselves better as reasons. I later understood from one of the sergeants at one of the stations, that being a Dutch national was instrumental in the approval by the station commander for me to observe the police on patrol. They were initially reluctant to allow me to observe patrolling officers, citing the need for official approval from the force headquarters. The other area where my positionality as a black African-Dutch researcher made an impact for this study was with regard to my contact with the ethnic minority police officers. They appeared trusting and open in sharing their experiences with me; my ethnicity as an enabling factor could not be ruled out. They touched on certain issues and aspects of policing the African-Dutch and other ethnic minority communities which the native police officers did not speak about. I acknowledged that such discussions, rapport and 'trust' were reflective of my position as a black researcher with Dutch nationality.

5.4.1 Informed Consent

The avoidance of injury and harm is an essential cornerstone of ethical issues for those performing research; the manner in which consent is obtained has the capacity to harm participants. Saunders et al., (2009, 2012) explain that the consent to participate in research might have issues attached and may not be straightforward. They stress that while respondents agree to participate in research, it does not necessarily mean they are consenting to the way the data from that research is used. I therefore provided an informed-consent form for both the police officers and African-Dutch respondents which was prepared and approved by the ethics committee at the University of Salford, prior to the commencement of the data collection for this research (see Appendix 1 and 2). The consent form was attached to the information sheet explaining the purpose of the study and why participants had been invited to take part in the study. The information sheet also informed participants that participating in the research was optional, that they did not have to participate and could withdraw at any stage of the interview and that in such an event, all interview data would be destroyed and their names removed from

all study files (see Appendix 1 and 2, pp. 1–2). There was an additional consideration given to participants who were not yet 18, to seek parental consent, in which case both they and their parent or parents had to consent, and sign the consent form, before participating in the research. Explaining the ethical requirements to this age group is crucial before allowing them to participate in research (Cree et al., 2002). I was faced with this issue when a 17-year-old from the Somalian community agreed to grant an interview, I informed him that his parents' consent was crucial before the interview since due to his age. He agreed to take me to his mother to seek her consent for the interview. She refused to give her consent, and declined to give me a reason for her decision. This youth later escorted me out of their house, and suggested that he could still grant me the interview. I declined this offer despite my desperation to interview respondents from the Somalian community at that juncture. I also took time to explain to the boy, the reason for declining his offer, citing the university ethical considerations.

The information and consent sheets were written in clear and straightforward English, and all necessary information was provided to ensure the respondents giving their informed consent were doing so having understood the appropriate information (Bogolub and Thomas, 2005). I also explained this information in Dutch to those who were struggling to, or could not read, or understand English. Participant consent of all police officers observed was also sought and obtained at the beginning of every shift before setting out for patrol. Officers were informed in the consent form that I would not be audio recording or filming them, and that all recordings would be written observations in my notebook.

5.4.2 Data Protection

Personal data is defined as "Any information relating to identified or identifiable persons" (Saunders et al., 2009, p. 197). The issue of confidentiality, anonymity and the data protection of participants in this research was of utmost importance. As such, where confidentiality had been assured, the data collected from participants was to remain confidential and fully protected (Saunders et al., 2009). The protection of data includes, but is not limited to, personal information such as names, addresses, social security numbers and place of work in certain cases (Economic and Social Data Service, 2007). Using interview-based techniques in exploration of qualitative data requires a researcher to be vigilant of ethical issues (Easterby-Smith et al., 2008). The risks and issues surrounding the protection of participants' data was given due consideration at the beginning of this research, and through

the process of seeking ethics approval from the University of Salford, due to the nature of the research and the method adopted for the study.

The participants used in this study were provided with information regarding the protection of their identities and all data relating to them, except in cases where criminal activities were detected, which could be harmful to a person or the public (Appendix 1–3, Section 2, No 5). They were informed that I would only use anonymised data from the study for any future publications, presentations and conferences. This was in compliance with the Data Protection Act (1998) and the University of Salford Ethics and Data Protection Policy, and all ethics conditions upon which approval was given for this research. Participants' identifiable information was managed with care: all contact details and personal data collected were kept until the end of the data collection exercise in an encrypted electronic system. The contact details of participants who opted out of interviews or did not respond further to my call were immediately destroyed after the assessment of interviews manuscript. All electronic research documents were locked in encrypted computer files, while all hard copies were locked in the university cabinets. All documents and data collected will be destroyed after 36 months in compliance with the University of Salford Data Policy.

5.4.3 Potential Risks

The qualitative method of research is not without risks. I completed a risk assessment with the assistance of my supervisor, the risk assessment plan was certified and approved by the University of Salford ethics approval panel (Appendix 1 and 2, Section 3). One of the potential risks of a qualitative interview is the participants becoming distressed by interview questions or by the recollection of past events. This issue, according to Sekaran (2003) could be dealt with by exercising caution so that the researcher's behaviours remain within ethical lines and acceptable practice. He explains that in qualitative interviews, researchers should avoid asking respondents over-zealous questions or pressing participants for responses (Sekaran, 2003). In case of respondents becoming physically and emotionally distressed during or after interview, the British Society of Criminology's Code of Ethics lays much emphasis on the need for researchers in the field to protect respondents in the field (Mirza, 1998; Wright, 1997; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). The participants in my research were informed in the information sheet that they did not have to answer questions they were uncomfortable with; according to Cooper and Schindler (2008), interview participants should be informed of their rights to

decline answering any question they are not comfortable answering. The researcher should stop the interview immediately if such occasion arises. I was fully aware that some of questions could bring back past memories and events, since the interview was about their past experiences. Were my questions to cause any distress, I would terminate the interview and offer the participants assistance through the Victim Support Unit in the Netherlands.

Another potential risk is the discovery or disclosure of criminal activities during interview. Participants were informed through the information sheets (Appendix 1 and 2, Section 6) that I would be reporting such activities to the police or the appropriate authorities if such activities posed harm to the respondent or other individuals. I had considered that this ethical disclosure might prevent some respondents from revealing their criminal past, but this was not expected to be an issue regarding reliability and the quality of the interview as this discosure was not about their criminal past per se, but about their experiences of the Dutch police. The ethnographic observation of African-Dutch people was expected to allow more information into the African-Dutch experiences in the studied communities. The potential risk of observing misconduct among police participants was referred to in the information sheet (Appendix 3 Section 6) that where misconduct, abuse of power or discriminatory experience were observed, the researcher was not obliged to keep such misconduct confidential and may be prompted to inform participants' supervisors. In other words, in line with professional research ethics, I was only able to provide confidentiality on a conditional, rather than absolute basis.

There was also the risk of my safety during the interviews. This was minimised by conducting planned interviews in community buildings, where wardens were present during opening hours. Other interviews took place in cafés and public buildings where there was public presence. Observing the police working in the community was not without potential risk – assessed at the initial stage of applying for ethics approval (Appendix 4). These risks included my safety while in the police vehicle and on patrol with officers in the community. The researcher was allowed to observe the first response officers, these were specially trained officers that respond to serious incidents and drive particular response vehicles. I was also provided with a bulletproof vest as a safety measure during the police observation. I was provided with induction on what to do in case of serious incident before the commencement of every observation. To reduce risk during observation, I was not to be involved in any covert or pro-active operations such as policing public disorder or protests, or narcotics and firearms operations, although all the officers I accompanied were armed.

5.4.4 Ethical Considerations

An important aspect of ethnographic research, according to Quraishi and Philburn, (2015) is that of ethical considerations. They explain that ethical considerations help in the management of research, from the beginning to the completion stage. Researchers, according to Israel and Hays (2006), need to protect their participants, build up trust with them, guard against malpractice and protect their research against practice that might reflect negatively on their research, institution or organisation. As a researcher at the University of Salford, it is mandatory to conform to the ethical rules and regulations. This research was granted ethical approval by the Research, Innovation and Academic Engagement Ethical Approval Panel at the University of Salford on the 23 December 2017 (Appendix 17). The ethical issues of my research were taken into consideration throughout this study.

Sieber (1998), Berg (2001) and Punch (2005) argue that ethical practice requires much more than keeping to set of guidelines, such as those provide by university or professional bodies; a good researcher needs to have the skills to address any issues regarding ethical dilemmas that may emerge while in the field. I was well informed and prepared before the commencement of this research, and the experience and support of my supervisor during fieldwork were invaluable. One of the issues that I documented in my research diary arose while in one of the African-Dutch communities. I was introduced to a gentleman of Ghanaian background who indicated his readiness to grant an interview. He asked me what was in it for him before the interview commenced; when asked to clarify, he asked if I could give him money or buy him a beer. I explained that it would be ethically wrong to pay him or buy him beer before agreeing to interview. I decided to cancel the interview due to the insistence of the interviewee on a gift before interview notwithstanding that some research allows payment for respondents or people to participate. Another significant ethical consideration is that of the police inspector and my gatekeeper, which I have described in section 5.3.2.

5.4.5 Analysis

The desire to apply some form of organisation and order on generated data in qualitative research can be pressing when confronted with an overwhelming amount of interview tapes, transcribed interviews, diagrams, notes and so on (Mason, 2002). This research was analysed

through a qualitative method of thematic analysis. The qualitative data analysis as argued by Spradley, (1980) is a research method used in organising the information collected during research, with the aim of interpreting this information and making sense of it, to get result. The choice of using qualitative analysis in research studies tends to be determined by the research aim and question rather than researcher preference, the qualitative method of analysis is useful where there is desire for detailed understanding of a phenomenon or experiences, or where detailed information is needed for the issue being investigated (Maxwell, 2005; Richard and Morse, 2007). The use of qualitative method of analysis in this research was the most appropriate, despite other various methods, this was due to the research aim and objective of studying the African-Dutch experiences of policing in the Netherlands.

The transcription of interviews into verbatim accounts started at the end of the data collection in the field. These transcripts include all events, and communication and discourse markers, that took place during the interviews, such as acclamations, exclamations, laughter, hesitation markers and pauses. Data collected in the research field will not speak for themselves, they need analysis for dissemination, presentation and interpretation (Quraishi and Philburn, 2015). In any qualitative research the amount of data generated could be substantial, which all need to be analysed to make sense of the research.

The process of transcription took 6 weeks in total and this included manual translation of Nigerian pidgin and Dutch into English, as some of the respondents especially the police could not speak good English, or felt more comfortable granting me interviews in Dutch while some Nigerians preferred Nigerian pidgin. I interviewed this category of participants in Dutch and their preferred Nigerian pidgin language. Being trilingual, I felt that translating the data myself was the best option to enable me to understand the in-depth context and capture the totality of the data. This, I assumed would be better than handing it over to a professional translating services. I had originally planned to analyse the research data manually, but at the end of the transcription process, and looking at the amount of data generated in the field, I opted instead to use Nvivo. For speed and accuracy in searching coded data, Nvivo is a useful tool for researchers when interpreting, evaluating and explaining social phenomena using data from interviews, field notes and surveys. I attended Nvivo introduction and training sessions and undertook two intensive private training sessions by a university research assistant – not employed by the University of Salford. Nvivo supports analysis of qualitative data in key areas: managing data and keeping track of messy records; managing ideas and providing quick access to theoretical knowledge generated in the course of study; and helping to query data that are

relevant to answering research questions by retrieval from the systems information. Nvivo offers the option of a graphical model that helps to visually present ideas and relationships between them (Bazeley, 2010).

The weakness of this software is its inability to differentiate synonyms, Some researchers think Nvivo is central to the process of analysis while others feel it can result in wrong analysis. To achieve the best result "it is important that researchers do not reify either electronic or manual methods and instead combine the best of features of each" (Welsh, 2002, p. 8). There has been opposition from some researchers who have doubts on the use of software for qualitative analysis, and those who are averse to using technology for analysis (Bazeley, 2007, 2010) and, as Gilbert claims: "Tools extend and qualitatively change human capabilities" (Gilbert, 2002, p. 222).

The process of line-by-line open coding is "an important first step" in the coding and analysis of data (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, p. 179). The use of Nvivo software has helped in coding important themes that are of interest to me in the analysis of my data. This was achieved through thematic method of analysis.

> Thematic moves beyond counting explicit words, or phrases and focuses on identifying and describing both implicit and explicit ideas. Codes developed for ideas or themes are then applied or linked to raw data as summary markers for later analysis, which may include comparing the relative frequency of themes or topics within a data set, looking for co-occurrence, or graphically displaying relationship. (Namey et al., 2008. p. 138)

I used Nvivo coding in highlighting participants' words that were of value to the research and words that were potentially significant, or that were frequently used in the course of the interviews; this coding is used where participants words or expression are vital. This coding is then grouped under 'Nodes' which enable users to analyse and make links between the codes, categories and concepts, while analysing how themes are knitted to each other. Using Nodes this way enabled me to have an insight into various issues and experiences, for example, in interviews where the initial codes included words such as racism, immigrant, stop and search, suspicion, African and arrest, I was able to produce a theme in understanding African experiences and perceptions of the police. The use of Nodes allowed me to create emerging themes, and to analyse and conclude the results of my research. Mason and Crowley et al., (2002) stress that software does not have "artificial intelligence" and that it depends on how researchers use it (Mason, 2002; Crowley et al., 2002). The ability of Nvivo to manage huge

amounts of data was of immense benefit to this research; it was, however, recommended that results be complemented with manual scrutiny (Welsh, 2002).

5.5 Summary

This chapter illustrated a transparent assessment of the strengths and the weaknesses of my research. The time limit of this study and my subjectivity as the researcher, along with the timing of this research demonstrated that it is impossible to generalise to broad populations from the findings in this study. This chapter also considered my positionality as a black African-Dutch researcher and how this positively impacted on the quality of the data gathered during the fieldwork of this research.

I should stress that the relationship I was able to establish with both the African-Dutch participants and the Dutch police officers, afforded me a unique opportunity to gain an insight into the world of Dutch police and their relations with the African Dutch. My positionality enabled me to explore African-Dutch lived experiences of the Dutch police, and how their identities intersect – from their own views and from those of the Dutch police. This chapter explained how they negotiate between the subscribed and the police-ascribed parts of their identities. It also enabled me to have a contemporary insight into the issues, complexities, challenges and contradictions of policing ethnically diverse communities, particularly of African-Dutch backgrounds. The field locations of this study were particularly educating and fascinating, in the study of police–minorities relations. The following chapter engages and discusses the findings from this study.

Chapter 6 Policing a Community Labelled 'Dysfunctional' (Data Presentation Part One)

Chapter 6 illuminates crimes and deviance as a point of contact between the Dutch police and the African-Dutch in the studied communities. The focus of this study, and the first objective as laid out in the introduction, is African-Dutch experiences of policing in the Netherlands, while the second objective is to explore through intersectionality as a theoretical framework, the process by which the African Dutch experience the Dutch police. The third objective focuses on Dutch police officers views on policing the public and, especially, the African-Dutch communities. Reflections in this chapter are of crime and deviance as perceived by both the police and the African-Dutch respondents.

The Dutch police in this study were granted an opportunity to express their perceptions regarding policing of the African-Dutch community. This helped to establish a point of contact between them and the African Dutch, such as drug distribution, domestic violence, *snorder* (illegal taxis), advance fee fraud and so on. This also allowed insights into the kind of vocabularies used when speaking about the African Dutch and other sites for contested identities. The Dutch police, as observed in this study, have a particular vocabulary and particular sets of frames they have developed in their daily encounters and interactions with the African-Dutch communities. It should be stressed that there was no evidence or established use of derogatory words by the Dutch police towards the African Dutch in this study.

This study however observed that the police were using the word 'Africans' rather than African Dutch which denotes stereotyping and generalisation of African-Dutch people. It could be argued that if, as they claimed, the police were treating all members of Dutch society equally, there would have been no reason for them to refer to the African Dutch as Africans – indeed, most respondents in this study claimed to possess solely Dutch nationality. This observation does not imply that the Dutch police were biased or discriminatory towards the African Dutch, some vocabularly may have been used unwittingly, but it does supports the African-Dutch view that they are sometimes treated differently from the rest of the society especially in regards to their Dutch nationality and other identities. This claim exposes the intersectional nature of their contact with the Dutch police and the need for the Dutch police to be purged of these vocabularies and behaviours through training. This study is positioned on the subjective assumption that police officers working in ethnic minority communities should possess a basic understanding of the culture, specific needs and the community circumstances

of the diverse ethnic groups they police. By discussing issues of crime and deviance in the studied African-Dutch communities, and using different crimes and deviance in these communities, the sections illustrates the problems of crime in African-Dutch communities; how the police perceive various instances of crime and deviance; and how their perception contrasts with the views of the African Dutch, who view some of these crimes, such as snorder, as a necessity to supplement their low income.

These sections also illustrate how a lack of in-depth knowledge of African-Dutch traditions, culture and social circumstances, even by competent officers, hampers the policing of these communities and frequently leads to conflict and misunderstanding between the two groups. The Dutch police officers interviewed and observed in this study, however, indicated their thirst for knowledge and training in the policing of African-Dutch communities, explaining that most of what they knew about the African Dutch was learned on the job. It should be noted that this study did not set out to research African-Dutch crime and deviance per se, as it is not the focus. However, themes of crime and deviance within the African-Dutch communities unexpectedly surfaced during interviews and observations of both the African Dutch and the police. In the course of this study the researcher did, however, observe police-initiated and non-police-initiated contacts with various ethnic minorities, other than African-Dutch, some of which will be discussed in due course. The police in the narration of their experiences of policing African-Dutch communities, shared these experiences, where crimes and deviances from their perception, did indeed become themes as discussed in this chapter. The participant observation of the African-Dutch communities for over a year contributed to some of these themes, which were observed and recorded at police stations, NPDT meetings and within the communities. The table below presents demographic information of police officers that the researcher interviewed who work in the African-Dutch communities in the Netherlands.

Table 1: The Demography of Interviewed Police Officers

NAME	AGE	RANK	GENDER	ETHNICITY	LENGTH OF SERVICE
Theophilus	51	Sergeant	Male	Black	22 Years
Vincent	25	Constable	Male	Black	6 Years
Tony	30	Constable	Male	White	22 Years
Janet	45	Inspector	Female	White	18 Years
Micho	48	Chief Inspector/ Station Commander	Male	White	22 Years
Rene	38	Sergeant	Female	White	14 Years

Gino	58	Detective-Sergeant	Male	White	40 Years
Hans	50	Inspector/ District Attorney	Male	White	20 Years
Paul	35	Inspector	Male	White	14 Years
Kees	29	Constable	Male	Black	10Years
Pius	37	Chief Inspector	Male	Mixed-Race	10 Years
Silas	38	Chief Inspector	Male	Black	15 Years
Fidelis	40	Sergeant	Male	Black	12 Years

6.1 Illegal Immigrants and Undocumented Aliens

The issue of illegal immigration is a striking theme in the discussion of both African-Dutch respondents and police officers interviewed in the course of fieldwork for this study. This section on illegal immigrants and undocumented aliens is relevant to this study because of the context by which one finds the African Dutch residing in the Netherlands, and the fact that this study aims to look at the experiences of African-Dutch people in regard to Dutch police. The police are law enforcers; as part of the law, there is a blurring about immigration, crime law and 'crimigration' (Vasquez, 2015, p. 644), therefore, the enforcement of immigration status of visible minorities has always been a feature of policing, and this appears to be the case with the African-Dutch population in the Netherlands. This aspect of policing goes towards the construction of suspect communities; to question whether those individuals are legally in the country of residence. This ties with the criminogenic rhetoric around the deviance of some people who are perceived as not being in the country legally.

The population that this study is examining occupies a space in contemporary society where their very reason for being in the Netherlands is questioned in a far-right political regime in which political rhetoric is one of difference and of exclusion (Çankaya, 2012; Siebers, 2015; Van Leunen, 2017).One needs to understand this context of how the African Dutch in the Netherlands view their own sense of belonging, and in turn how the police view and construct deviance towards this population, which may question their very right to be in the Netherlands through phenotypical markers such as skin colours, languages and other intersectional aspects. This section will benefit from exploration of political factors responsible for police attitudes towards the African Dutch and the over-policing of immigration in the Netherlands. The political rhetoric of anti-immigration across Europe has by no means eluded politics in the Netherlands or the attitudes of the Dutch police towards ethnic minorities. Recent studies in

the Netherlands illustrate that political calls for stricter policies and enforced assimilation against immigrants has on several occasions trampled upon the basic human rights of those immigrants (Siebers, 2012; Ghorashi, 2014; Siebers and Van Gastel, 2015).

As discussed earlier in this section, both the African Dutch and police officers identify illegal immigration as a serious source of conflict between African-Dutch communities and police officers in the studied communities. The views of ethnic minority officers contrasts with their native colleagues and aligns with African-Dutch view that hunting down illegal immigrants in the communities has discriminatory connotations and is prioritised above more serious crime issues. This is evident in the reflection of ethnic minority police officer during interview: "The police tried to arrest people without documents, and they entered a flat here. There was a day that a few people jumped from the building or the flat and someone died." (Roger, 41, Police Constable, white native male). Here Roger acknowledged that the police target flats where illegal immigrants live, and that this has led to the death of certain individuals.

Pius, an ethnic minority police officer, had a vivid recollection of the above incident and narrated it in his own words:

> I think I have one incident I could discuss with you. Actually, I can call it a real incident. It was hard because in this part of Amsterdam we have a lot of refugees as well and people who don't have any documents, a few year ago … sometimes the police try to arrest people without documents, and they entered a flat here. There was a day that a few people jumped from the building or the flat, and someone died in the process. I don't know if you heard about this incidence yeah that is something I remembered really really well, so afterward it cause a lot of pain within the communities and it still does when we have conversation or dialogue a lot of people still mentions this incidence as a reason why they don't generally trust the police. (Pius, 37, Police Inspector, mixed-race male)

The Dutch police construction of suspicion of illegal immigrants is based on intersectional environmental factors such as their place of domicile, skin colour, Dutch language proficiency, accents, and at times their names. The Dutch police's use of these phenotypical markers in filtering African-Dutch illegal immigrants has contributed to distrust and acrimony within the African-Dutch communities. The view of ethnic minorities that the police are using these phenotypical markers in policing immigration among their communities may be as a result of discrimination suffered by ethnic minority officers themselves. Vincent, an ethnic minority officer, reflected upon these stereotypes in the treatment of the African Dutch, and spoke of his experiences with the African Dutch in the communities;

Yes there has been a lot of checking in the south-east because of the problem of illegal immigrants and people always ask me why the police always come to check in their neighbourhood, the people are illegal: "Why are they always chasing us?" They could chase criminals but they are always chasing innocent illegal people who just want to work for their money. (Vincent, 25, Police Constable, African-Dutch male)

Vincent appears to show understanding for African-Dutch in the communities who are worried about the police targeting of their communities.

Tony, an ethnic minority police officer in one of the communities of a metropolitan city in the Netherlands, spoke about the ways in which illegal immigrants with ethnic minority backgrounds were being targeted by officers in the 'Prior' team. This team, the researcher understands, are like SWAT teams that specialise in arresting and processing illegal immigrants with the assistance of the IND (Dutch Immigration and Nationalisation Department). Tony and other officers of ethnic minority background disagreed with the ways in which the illegal immigrants were being targeted and suggested this to be part of police discrimination and racism against people of ethnic minorities.

When you go to the district headquarters to interview officers there, ask them for Prior team. We call them hunters, because they are specialised in hunting down illegal immigrants in this district. I don't think that should be their priority, when we have criminals and burglars everywhere, the illegal immigrants should not be our priority, they should leave those folks alone and in peace. (Tony, 30, Police Constable, mixed-race male)

Tony and his other ethnic minority colleagues were free in disclosing police secrets and procedures to the researcher, which gave the impression that they disagreed with the targeting of the African Dutch for immigration policing.

The researcher had intended to approach the district commander, to verify the account given by Tony and request an interview with the Prior team. When this was discussed with Paul, who is also one of the gatekeepers in this study, it was decided it was too risky as this could expose Tony and other minority officers who spoke regarding the Prior team. Paul, on reflection further, said:

Charles I am not sure the guys will want to grant you interview. I am surprised you come to know about them, between me and you, the station commander is getting tired of their operation, but they are not directly under his command. We have a particular guy among them, that is fond of going to the community to arrest illegal immigrants, and then requesting assistance from us. The commander is so frustrated with this guy, that he has threatened not to offer him any assistance in the future. (Paul, 35, Police Inspector, white native male)

Janet, a native-Dutch Inspector of Police on how targeting and policing of illegal immigrants has affected the relationship between the police and the African Dutch explained:

> I am not having enough contact and because I want more contact with them, but I have the feelings that I have to invest more in that, but I have not really had the time to do that. I think the African communities thinks that more have to be done on the relations. I think all this have to do with trust, they are in their community and I think the most problem comes from people who are illegal immigrant and are suspicious of us. I am always very cautious in my approach in other to win their trusts because at the end of the day is not my job to deport people my priority is to help people and it does not matter if you are legal or illegal immigrant and I try to do that but the people already have a perception of the police that they should stay away from us. (Janet, 45, Police Inspector, white native female)

Ethnic minority police officers, according to existing studies, are subject to discrimination and suspicion themselves within police organisations (Uhnoo, 2015; Carbado and Richardson, 2018) and, so too in the Netherlands (Boogard and Roggerband, 2010; Çankaya, 2015). This could explain why the ethnic minority officers interviewed appear to be in solidarity with the African Dutch.

The problem of illegal immigration and policing of immigration in the Netherlands is by no means restricted to African-Dutch communities alone, but it has become a distinct problem because the majority of African-Dutch communities are concentrated in urban areas, due to their low incomes and socioeconomic status. Studies on immigration have found that immigrants are not evenly spread across countries but are in most cases concentrated in certain locations (see Tarumoto, 2018; UN Report, 2018). The location of the African Dutch in large Dutch cities and their intersecting identities and disadvantages has made them subject to immigration over-policing due to the environmental factors in which they are situated. There is perception from the African Dutch that the police construction of the African Dutch as deviant, and their concentration in areas which are subject to immigration policing, are factors that have made them susceptible to extra checks based on physical traits as discussed earlier in this section. This is evident in the proportion of police-initiated contacts in the communities, where the African Dutch have the perception that they are disproportionately stopped and, in most cases, requested by police officers to produce their ID card. The police in the Netherlands are known to request ID cards for identification without any probable cause; this power that has been granted to them under the Municipalities Act and the Weapons and Ammunition Acts, 1997, and its use is determined by the mayor of each city in the Netherlands. The African Dutch are of the opinion that such police power is evidently abused when dealing with their

communities. Recent studies on immigration have observed that national governments tend to leave immigration policies to local authorities (see Kashiwazaki, 2014; Tarumoto, 2018). While there is only one policy guiding immigration in the Netherlands, the issue of police use of stop leading to identification is left to the mayor of each city to decide. Studies on policing in the Netherlands have found the Dutch police to disproportionately stop ethnic minorities for their visible traits (OSJI and Dutch Amnesty International Report, 2012; Amnesty International Report, 2016).

There was a sense that the African-Dutch respondents in this study felt that the Dutch police would stop them on a minor issue or no issue at all, expecting to find a serious issue or violation. It is not unusual for Dutch police to stop and search ethnic minorities and despite not being able to find anything incriminating, to proceed to request their ID card or passport, hoping to be able to establish their residence status or violation of the immigration laws. Kunle on his experiences of such situation reflects:

> I don't think it's, eeh, somebody is driving you stop the person ok, when you stop the person the reason is to stop and search and go, but when you search you didn't get anything, you look everything you don't get, you are going into another thing that is not relevant. (Kunle, 38, African-Dutch male)

This experience is echoed by Bobby, an African-Dutch resident in one of the communities. In his recollection of various experiences with the police regarding the hunt for illegal immigrants and stereotyping of black people, he said:

> When four Blacks are in a car, you see them running across the car and stopping them, wanting to check them, sometimes you will see the car behind them going – it will be white folks and nobody will stop them. (Bobby, 28, African-Dutch)

There were various occurrences of Dutch police stopping and controlling the African-Dutch based on their intersecting identities of being black African and the areas in which they live. Ojo, an African-Dutch living in an urban area in the Netherlands, shared his experience of one such incident:

> I was coming from a party on this particular Saturday night, and saw a lot of policemen around my flat stopping and controlling the ID cards of everyone in the area. I was requested to produce my ID card for identification because they claimed, a crime has been committed in the area. I doubt the story because they are always patrolling my area, because the know a lot of illegal Africans lives here. I don't trust them. (Ojo, 45, African-Dutch male)

As Ojo's account of this incident reflects, the police on this occasion decided to mount a control post around his area, with the assumption or information that many undocumented

African-Dutch immigrants lived in the neighbourhood. This account suggests that the African Dutch are targeted by the police based on their colour and the possibility that African-Dutch people living in this area are undocumented. Ojo, on this occasion, narrated how he rejected the police view that all Africans in this area are illegal by showing them his Dutch passport and registering his grievances with the police.

The police attitude is further evident in Usman's account of his encounter with the police. Usman, an African-Dutch of Somalian descent, thought that the police stopped him based on his apearance as an African and a Muslim.

> I wanted to barb my hair after Friday prayer at the Mosque in Gaasperplas, and as I was looking for a parking space, I saw in the mirror that the police car was following me. I then realised that I passed them earlier on, and they have probably been following me all along. They stopped me and asked me where I was going and when I explained, they asked if I have car insurance, and when I said yes, they asked if I could identify myself. I told them I am Dutch, but they still insisted I show my ID, which I did. I bet this is all about my beard and my dressing or they probably thinking I want to blow the place up ah ah ah [laughs]. (Usman 37, African-Dutch male)

Here, Usman acknowledges how he is policed through cultural signifiers such as his mode of dressing and his beard as a Muslim male and other phenotypical markers such as the colour of his skin. Other studies report that black people of Muslim background are stereotyped for stop and frisk in the United States, particularly among the Somalian population (Smith et al., 2017; Ellis et al., 2018).

Diverse studies have found police to stop ethnic minorities on the pretext of violating traffic rules (Woods, 2015; Zhao et al., 2015; Ariel and Tankebe, 2018). The indiscriminate immigration checks of the African Dutch has, on many occasions, led to conflict and even multiple deaths in the Netherlands (dutchamsterdam.nl news online, 14/05/2009). The deaths of African-Dutch people during police raids in one of the urban African-Dutch communities consitute a significant issue for the respondents in this study. On this occasion, some illegal immigrants jumped down from a block of flats and died; this event almost led to the breakdown of public order.

The aftermath of these incidents caused severe damage to the relationship between police and the African-Dutch communities; ethnic minority officers in the community were asked to mediate between the police and the African Dutch. Studies have found the strategic use of ethnic minority police officers in arbitration between the police and ethnic minorities is not uncommon (Weitzer, 2015; US Department of Justice, 2015a). Although the tension caused

by these events appears to have decreased in the communities, the incidents have not been forgotten and tend to influence the level of cooperation and trust between the police and the African Dutch. This theme is relayed by Janet (above) who spoke of suspicion from the African Dutch towards the police and the need to improve relationships.

The issue of immigration is the singular most source of suspicion and hostility between the African Dutch and the police. If the police are serious about building trust and relationships with the African-Dutch communities, their policy and culture of singling people out through phenotypical markers will have to be changed. This view was shared by both the African-Dutch respondents and the ethnic minority police officers interviewed in this study who disapprove of the deployment of the Prior team. This team of 'hunters', as suggested by an ethnic minority police sergeant, does not garner much approval even among regular community police officers including the station commander, which illustrates that not all Dutch police officers agree with the policy of policing immigration through phenotypical markers such as colour. The lack of trust between the African Dutch and the police has comprehensively led to lower quality policing, as African-Dutch individuals consequently refrain from giving the police vital information in most cases, when needed to prevent or solve serious crimes in the African-Dutch communities.

6.2 Snorder in the Community

A dominant theme related to crime and deviance in the African-Dutch communities is the discourse around the use and operating of illegal taxis popularly known in big cities, and African-Dutch communities, as snorder. During the fieldwork, African-Dutch interviewees made passing reference to the clampdown on snorder by the police and how this affects them and the drivers trying to earn a living. The African Dutch were of the opinion that snorder have made life easier for them, as they charge a fraction of what licensed taxis would normally charge them. The African-Dutch perception of issues surrounding snorder, however, fails to grasp that African Dutch who operates official taxis are also economic victims of snorder. In the interview with the police, the operation of snorder is perceived as one of the main points of contact and friction with the African-Dutch communities. Operating snorder from the police perception is illegal., dangerous, and an avenue for tax evasion – a crime under Dutch law. Added to this is the fact that the operators of such taxis are not properly insured to carry passengers for commercial purposes. The police highlight the dangers of hiring an unregistered

taxi, as it is difficult to track the drivers, in cases of crime against passengers using such illegal taxis.

The African-Dutch operators of snorder share the sentiment that rather than committing a crime, drivers are trying to earn a living in a labour market in which they perceive themselves as disadvantaged. Those who use snorder are of the opinion that such transport makes life easier for them as they cannot afford licenced taxis – as evident from this account by Chima, an African-Dutch person who does not feel that operating snorder should be considered a criminal activity:

> Being black living here you are a suspect of crime, when you stand it's like you are a threaten to the society because of who you are, you see them sometimes chasing after the snorders, as if they have committed a big crime. (Chima, 34, African-Dutch male)

His perception of operating a snorder seems to be that of deviance rather than crime. This view was dominant among African-Dutch living in the community.

This view is shared by Kazeem who is a lawyer and human rights activist in is one of the minority communities. Kazeem held that the operators of snorders were just trying to make ends meet, but was quick in pointing out that the police perceive that the entire community is involved in criminal activities, which points to the Dutch police construction of African-Dutch communities as suspect communities. In in his reflection of issues surrounding the operation of snorders, he said: "Basically they [police] know some of the people do illegal things such as driving snorder to get their money, because of that they just generalise and think everybody is like that" (Kazeem, 33, African-Dutch male). Kazeem's acknowlegement that operating snorder is illegal., affixed to an economic rationale, reflects the acceptance of this behaviour in the community, as a way of surviving economic hardship.

The African-Dutch perception of their maligned social category and perception of unequal access to the labour market resonates with their perception of snorder as deviance rather than a crime against the state. This is evident in the reactions of respondents interviewed in this study; that the police should stop harassing the snorder operators and pursue instead, real and more serious crimes in the communities. Various studies have found deviance and delinquency to be prevalent among low- and maligned-social classes when subjected to excessive control (Goode, 2016; Hirschi, 2017; Tittle, 2018).

The police action categorisation of snorder as a crime is comprehensible, given the fact that they are there to uphold the law. Their approach in enforcing the law on snorder in the

communities appears only to further exacerbate the relationship with the communities and leaves the police prone to accusation of human rights violation and racism. The clampdown on snorder appears to have led to a cat and mouse game between the police and snorder operators, with the latter devising a way of rarely picking up anyone not known or not introduced by a contact, to avoid undercover police posing as customers. Bisi, a snorder operators, offered this insight:

> I know most of my clients and they have my phone numbers and I know most people in the community which is why I am careful before picking my passengers because the police do sometimes come as undercover to arrest us. (Bisi, 28, African-Dutch male)

As Bisi acknowledges, and as observed during this study, snorder passengers are complicit in illegal taxi hire as they often lie to the police when stopped, claiming that they are friends or family of the driver, to protect the drivers.

There are occasions when the police are successful in their clampdown on snorder operators, which eventually leads to accusations of police violation of African-Dutch rights. This manifested in the encounter that ensued between Tajudeen, an African-Dutch snorder driver, who alleged police brutality and assault, when undercover officers boarded his snorder and requested him to follow them to the police station.

> I asked them where they were going, and they said they were going to Holendrecht. I picked them and dropped them in Holendrecht and when they got out from the car, they walked away without any money transaction. So when they got out of the car they stand about 5 metres away from me, for a period of time before I drove back, so when I was driving back to my house there was suddenly a private car beside me so he removed his card and showed me that he was a police officer and asked me to follow him, I followed him and he brought me to hakenveld, that is a kind of building name hakenveld, so when we got there immediately other two policemen came and then they just switch off my engine asking me to come out and I said for what reason, they said come out, so I was trying to explain to them that or to ask them the reason for asking me to come out of the car before I realised they pulled me down and they handcuffed me, and they started dragging me on the ground, thereby injuring my back. (Tajudeen, 39, African-Dutch male)

Tajudeen's account highlights complaints from African-Dutch people that the police use excessive force on occasions when they appear to question or resist arrest. Tajudeen disclosed not cooperating with the police during his arrest, but denied operating a snorder. When asked by the researcher why he transported strangers in his car if he was not a snorder driver, he claimed to help people in the community occasionally. Tajudeen version of events was interpretated by the researcher as less than convincing for the researcher, who advised him

seek legal help, which he indicated to have done. More generally, however, the police have an expectation that black men will be non-compliant and express aggressive behaviours towards them (Bowling, 2008). The conception that the police respond in particular ways with force to those who do not comply with the the law, was evident in Dutch police contact with Tajudeen, who alleged police use of force and assault in his encounter. Studies have found police to use excessive force when confronted with uncooperative citizens, especially those of black other ethnic minority background (Hall, Hall and Perry, 2016; Weir, 2016; Beer, 2018).

The police in the Netherlands deny using excessive force to respond to law violations in the minority communities. Moreover, their views of the African Dutch and issues affecting their communities give the overall impression that they have no particular issue regarding crime and policing, save that the operation of snorder is a point of friction between them and the African Dutch. Despite this note of disharmony, it is a striking feature in this study that officers in the African-Dutch communities stated or implied that the majority of African-Dutch are hardworking and law-abiding. This sentiment is expressed by Micho, whose reference to cuisine as a positive descriptor may appear to be patronising, but nonetheless suggests a tolerant view of the African Dutch in the communities:

> They are good people and I am quite satisfied with them and the community. We do have issues with people who break the law such as the snorder drivers, but the majority are law abiding and I do like and enjoy their food. (Micho, 48, station commander, white native male)

Micho is well-respected by officers and people in the community, as he is perceived to be a fair person to both his officers and the community.Officers interviewed regarding this theme suggested that most African Dutch are hardworking and caring toawards their families and those back home:

> If I see the Africans, I know they are hard-working people they work hard and always caring for their relatives back home and that is most important reason they are working hard to get enough money to send back home to their families. I see them as a hard-working person that does nobody harm. (Richard, 36, sergeant, mixed-race male)

The suggestion by police officers that the African Dutch are hardworking is coherent with the perception and views of African-Dutch people themselves; that they are trying their best to survive and take care of their family, but that the police persecute them for activities such as operating snorder, which they consider to be a way of surviving. This study found that the African Dutch are deprived of the same opportunities as native Dutch people and are

disadvantaged in the labour market. Empirical evidence shows that ethnic minorities experience discrimination in the labour market, when compared to the majority (see Shama, 2016; Larsen, Rogne and Birkelund, 2018; Manduca, 2018) in the Netherlands (Huijnk and Dagevos 2012; Huijnk et al., 2014; Azghari et al., 2017).

6.3 Drug Dealing and Related Violence

Drug dealing, and related violence was a striking theme during interviews of police officers regarding issues and problems in the African-Dutch communities and during observation in the communities, and also at the African Community–Police Dialogue meetings. It should be noted that the communities in which the African Dutch reside are not entirely made up of African-Dutch people alone, but consist also of native whites and other Dutch immigrant groups of South American and Asian descent. Roger, a community police officer in one of the African-Dutch communities in an urban area, pointed out: "We are frequently called out to incidents of drug dealings and sometimes drug related violence in the community; that is part of our job in the community" (Roger, 41, constable, white native male).

Officers in the course of interviews in this study made passing references to drug dealing involving the African Dutch. The interviewed officers expressed the difficulty they experience in obtaining information from the African-Dutch communities in cases where there is drug-related violence. Rene, a community police officer in one of the African-Dutch communities in an urban area of the Netherlands confirms: "It is sometimes difficult to investigate drug related violence and death, because people in the communities are not talking" (Rene, 38, Sergeant, white native female). She mentioned various incidents of drug-related shootings in the community, and how people in the community were scared to speak to the police. The perception that ethnic minorities lack trust in the police echoes findings of Sharp and Atherton (2007) and Van Craen 2012). The reluctance of the African-Dutch community to report to police could also be connected to the fear of the drug dealers, as described by John, recalling a dilemma expereince by one African-Dutch person: "Another incident was of a guy that was shot here in the neighbourhood and he was scared to report to the police because he did not trust the police" (John, 43, Detective Constable, white native male).

This incident reflects the level of mistrust of the police in the African-Dutch communities. John in this instance explains how, with his experience, he was able to convince the victim to cooperate with the police:

> I was invited to take over this case and was able to solve it due to my experiences of dealing with African people. I was doing business in Africa after my retirement and was asked by the police chief to come out of retirement and to help in the community, because of the rise in crime, which could not be solved. I have the African experience ha ha ha [laughs].

The African-Dutch communities have, on rare occasions, assisted the police in solving drug-related deaths. One of these occasions was recalled by Theophilus a police sergeant in one of the area police station, during interaction and observation. He spoke of help given by an editor of a monthly African-Dutch magazine:

> I had a hard time trying to identify this young man from Nigeria, who died in the lift of one of the flats in the neighbourhood, with cocaine in his stomach. I had to ask help from a journalist who owns *The African* magazine, where I displayed his picture. It was then, that I had people calling in with information, which I used in identifying him. (**Research field note, Observations at a police station, 03/03/2017**)

Sergeant Theophilus stressed the need to partner with the African Dutch in maintaining order in the communities; he claimed it was vital in any community policing. However, he admitted that the police need to change some of their attitudes to gain the trust of the African Dutch in the community. He stressed that the issue with police–African-Dutch relationships is accusations by the latter, of police racism and prejudice. He recalled an incident in which the police were blamed for a drug-related death of a young African-Dutch male: "We had an incident where a suspected Nigerian drug dealer jumped to his death, by police drug raid in the community." (**Research field note, Observations at a police station, 03/03/2017**)

Theophilus, an ethnic minority officer himself, admitted failure of the police in the past to work on their relationship with the African Dutch in the community, but he pointed out that efforts were being made to improve the relationship through, for example, the NPDT forum, where the police engage the African Dutch on issues affecting the communities.

There is no available research to support any view that drug dealing or use is prevalent among the African Dutch, as this study did not research the issue of drugs in the community. However, studies have found drug use and dealing to be prevalent in low-income and disadvantaged urban areas (Reboussin et al., 2015; Boyer et al., 2017).

The researcher's observation of the police patrol team and police CCTV in one of the African-Dutch communities in an urban area, illustrated the difficulties faced by the police and the gravity of the drug problem in the African-Dutch communities. However, from observations, it appeared that drug dealing in the communities was more prevalent among the Dutch of South American descent. The drug dealers observed by the researcher did not appear to be perturbed by the police CCTV observation of their activities around the centre of the communities. The surveillance police officers indicated that the dealers were aware that they were being watched, but did not appear to care. There was an overall sentiment from police officers interviewed in this study, that drug use and dealing is one of the major issues in the African-Dutch communities. Since the prevalence of drug dealing in these communities is not part of this research, it could assumed that the socioeconomic status of these communities – with multiple and overlapping constraints in equal opportunities – is likely to be responsible for drug-related crimes in deprived neighbourhoods (Tilley, 2014; Allen, 2017).

The police are called out frequently to incidents of drug dealing and related violence in the community and are subsequently faced with the difficulty of finding witnesses to solve these crimes – which can border on drug-related death. The lack of cooperation and witnesses from the African-Dutch communities, as earlier discussed, is not unrelated to the lack of trust in the police. Though the police are trying to bridge this gap through initiatives such as the NPDT, where the police come together with the African-Dutch communities. That said, updated information shortly after this study concluded, from one of the gatekeepers in the African-Dutch community revealed that the NPDT initiative had broken down and was in crisis, due to issues between the police headquarters and the Pentecostal pastor organising the scheme in the African-Dutch communities. Nevertheless, one of the NPDT meetings observed during this study revealed the magnitude of the problem relating to the drug problem and the conflict in the African-Dutch communities. There is always strife within the community; when drugs are seized by the police and there is suspicion that someone has given information to the police regarding the seizures, this could lead to such persons being intimidated and their family leaving the community.

A significant incident was observed during an African Community–Police Dialogue meeting in one of the African-Dutch urban neighbourhoods, involving a feud between two Ghanaian families. One family attended this meeting because they were accused of giving information to the police in a drugs raid executed at the business premises of another family. The family alleged to have provided the police with information complained of intimidation in

the community, to the extent that their children were scared of attending school. Asamoah, the head of the family, addressed the Alliance meeting; his sentiment was recorded by the researcher thus:

> He asked the police chief if he could confirm how the police got information on drugs seized in Kwaku grocery shops. He told the police and the communities that his family was being accused of supplying the information to the police. He said his children could no longer walk to the school without fingers being pointed to them as grass. (**Research field note, Observation at Alliance Meeting, 23/09/2016**)

The community was addressed by the police chief, who stressed the need to exercise restrain regarding the issue, which he claimed the community police officer in the area had tried to solve on previous occasions. On this issue he clarified:

> The police do not disclose the source of their information, but I am reassuring the Kwaku and the communities that the drugs raid was intelligence-led and has nothing to do with the Asamoah family. (**Research field note, Observation at Alliance Meeting, 23/09/2016**)

This incident illustrates why the police are having difficulty in solving drug and other related crimes in the communities. The African-Dutch communities appear to have more loyalty towards each other than to the police or the law, this explains why the Asamoah family were perceived as traitors in the community. It is not unusual for a family to move out of African-Dutch neighbourhoods if they are perceived as informants to the police. This was evident in a comment made by Dokun, one of the gatekeepers in the community, while the commotion was going on in the meeting: "This family will probably have to move out of the community for their safety" (Dokun, 61, African-Dutch male).

Dokun did not elaborate on what might happen if Asamoah family remained in the community, but tried to explain that nobody was going to trust them again. Studies have shown minorities to show ethnic loyalty towards each other (Peterson and Uhnoo, 2012).

These conflicts, as observed during the African Community–Police Dialogue meeting, are sometimes left by the police and communities to community pastors to mediate between opposing families. Empirical evidence from existing studies suggests there is a tendency for African Dutch to attach importance to their religion and be obedient to their religion leaders (Abbink, 2014; Igwe, 2014). This was demonstrated in the instruction of Gyasi, one of the elders in the community, when the police were unsuccessful in settling the matter, which the researcher recorded: "That the issue should be laid to rest and suggest Pastor Elijah should be

involved in settling the feud among the families involved" (**Research field note, Observation at Alliance Meeting, 23/09/2016**).

The level of drug-dealing in the community was further noted during observation of the police first response patrol team, where the seriousness of this problem became evident. The researcher observed police officers stopping and searching an individual., who was later found to be in possession of a small amount of cocaine on his person. The arresting officer claimed to know the neighbourhood well and claimed to have an instinct for when something was not right. The police stressed the need to be able to profile suspects. This officer's behaviours mirrored wider studies that police need to possess a good cognitive understanding of their work environment to enable them to predict and deal with issues and behaviours of people with whom they come in contact (Holdaway, 1983; Rantatalo, 2013; De Maillard, 2018). It is, however, the abuse and overuse of this police power to stop and search, that brings them in conflict with the African-Dutch community. The police, from interviews and observations in this study, are quite familiar with some of the drug dealers in the communities. This study found that drug use and dealing in the communities is rampant, and the reluctance of African-Dutch people to give information about the drug dealers worries the police. In order to address drug crime, the police stressed the need to partner with the African-Dutch communities, most of whom are unfortunately suspicious of the police themselves.

6.4 Advance Fee Fraud

Advance fee fraud, as with drugs-related crimes, other crimes and deviance, emerged as a salient theme from police accounts in this study. The community police interviewed in the African-Dutch communities all indicated this form of fraud to be one of the most serious crimes the police have to frequently deal with in the communities. Advanced fee fraud occurs when victims are promised a large amount of money as a reward for a small upfront payment. This fraud could be set up in many scenarios; one of the most popular is where people are told that they are the recipient of a large estate or inheritance unclaimed somewhere in an African country, often via a letter claimed to have been drafted by a banker or government official. The victim is asked to send some money to bribe other officials who, it is claimed, are witholding millions of dollars from the victim (Economic and Financial Crime Commission Site, 2004).

This fraud originated in Nigeria decades ago and in an effort to curb it, the Nigerian

government introduced Section 419 of the Criminal Code Act to punish those caught committing this crime, hence the name '419' fraud. Advance fee fraud, though surfaced in the early 1990s in Nigeria, is no longer specific to Nigerian nationals, and it is not unusual for Ghanaian and other nationals involved in this crime.(Smith, 1999; Chang, 2008; Webster and Drew, 2017). Nigerian nationals in the Netherlands accuse the Dutch police of targeting them because of 419 fraud, but their experiences will be discussed separately in Chapter 7 of this thesis. It remains, however, that the issue of advance fee fraud was evident through interviews with both police officers and the African-Dutch communities and was also observed during the African–Police Community Dialogue meeting.

The police officers interviewed in this study indicated advance fee fraud as one of the most persistent crimes committed in the communities. Pius, a community police constable in the community, shared his opinion regarding this crime: "We have a lot of issues with advance fees fraudsters in these community, we try our best to investigate and bring those arrested to justice" (Pius, 37, chief inspector, mixed-race). Pius's account resonates with that of other officers, who implied that it is a very serious and prevalent crime, that consumes time and patience in investigating, most of the time by police financial specialists.

The police did not specifically mention Nigerians as suspects of advance fee fraud during interview, but the Nigerian counter-narratives of events contrast with that of the Dutch police. Vincent, a community police constable, when asked if the advance fee fraud was being committed by specific section of the community, avoided the question by referring to what other African-Dutch people say:

> It is different because you have different culture for example there is difference between Nigerian and Ghana. The Ghanaian people are always saying that Nigerians are criminals because of the 419 [advance fee fraud] so we see each other differently. (Vincent, 25, Constable, African-Dutch male)

Vincent's response is a typical example of police denial of targeting Nigerians or any other specific group, in regard to the advance fee fraud. Studies have found police and other dominant groups to deny racism and stereotyping (Van Dijk, 1992; Lentin, 2018).

The complexity in investigating this crime is that most victims blame themselves and will tend not to report this crime (Button, Nichols et al., 2014; Button et al., 2015). As earlier discussed, the issue of 419 prevalence in African-Dutch communities could partly be explained by the fact that people living in these neighbourhoods lack the opportunities of their native white peers, when it comes to education and employment prospects (Pieters, 2017; Renema

and Lubbers, 2018). It could also not be ruled out that youths are under peer pressure to engage in these fraudulent activities or as a way to get rich quick. John, a community police constable, shared this last sentiment and concluded that:

> Some of the youths in the community want to drive big cars and wear expensive dresses without working for it, these are the ones responsible for the 419 frauds with my experience as a police officer. (**Research field note, Observation at African–Police Community Dialogue meeting, 16/12/2016**)

The police argue that most of the arrests in regard to this form of fraud are youths who are desperate to get rich quick and are enticed to participate. The researcher observed during one of the African–Police Community Dialogue meetings, that a substantial amount of time was dedicated by police officers speaking with youths on the issue of advance fee fraud and the dangers of acquiring a criminal record through it. Fraudsters recruit youths to access their identity cards to collect money from 'Western Union' and banks. District Police Chief Antonio, during one of the observed African–Police Community Dialogue meetings, stressed the need for parents in the community to observe their wards and the type of company they kept. The message he conveyed to parents in the was recorded by the researcher:

> He conveyed his views on this to the communities and asked the parents to partner with the police because of recent rise in youth crimes across the country. He reminded them of the need to monitor their children and report any suspected criminal activities to the police. He shared with the communities the recent police report on the rise of reported and arrest of fraudsters in the communities, especially the 419 related crimes, and advised parents to report to the police if their wards are spending or buying things beyond their earnings. (**Research field note, Observation at African–Police Community Dialogue meeting, 16/12/2016**)

A debate followed among attendees from the community over moral obligations to turn their children in to the police if found with large amounts of money. Tobi, a prominent member of the African-Dutch community, who spoke to the researcher who recorded this observation:

> [He] doubted if most parents in the communities will want to report their children to the police, even if they see them with large amount of money. He said most parents will fear their children been criminalised and taken away, in case of minors. (**Research field note, Observation at African–Police Community Dialogue meeting, 16/12/2016**)

Tobi's view was shared by most parents in the meeting, who voiced their worries about their wards being criminalised by the police, and in some cases being taken away. This concern was taken on board by Antonio, the police chief, whose assurances were noted by the researcher:

Reporting their child does not always need to lead to the child's detention, he explained how fraudsters uses vulnerable youths in committing these crimes, such as asking them to use their ID cards to collect money from money transfer outlets, or help get a telephone contract with their ID. He advised the communities that the earlier these crimes are reported, the earlier the police are able to arrest these criminals and free their children from the criminal circles. (**Research field note, Observation at African–Police Community Dialogue meeting, 16/12/2016**)

The events and discussion that took place during this meeting illustrate how police and community efforts are paying off in addressing issues that of importance to the community. While relatively few young people attend, the parents are well informed by the police about youth-related crime in the community. It remains doubtful, however, whether most parents will turn their wards in to the police, due to the overall perception of the community that the police are unfair in their treatment of the African Dutch. During this research, it transpired that police-initiated contact within the community is a prevalent issue. Studies, especially in the United States, find that black youths are not given the same privilege as their white peers and are subjected to more police suspicion and perceived to be older than their age, making them more culpable for any crime committed than their white counterparts (Goff et al., 2014; Long, 2018). Diverse studies in the Netherlands also find disproportionate police contact and racial profiling of ethnic minority youth (Blom et al., 2005; Van der Woude, 2012). This police behaviour could discourage African-Dutch parents from reporting their concerns regarding their wards to the police, and the youths from informing the police about any suspicion, as police are not perceived as being fair to the community. This research suggests that the Dutch police need to improve on the relations with the youths in the community, to achieve their aim of reducing crime within the community.

6.5 Domestic Violence

The problem of domestic violence became a prominent theme in the course of interviewing police officers for this study. This issue was one of the most frequently mentioned by police officers, when asked the question of their experiences of policing African-Dutch communities. It was striking that not a single African-Dutch interviewee mentioned domestic violence as a concern or as a problem in their communities. The reason for the African-Dutch silence might not be unconnected to the fact that their sensitivity to domestic violence is at different level to one that is among the native Dutch. They, arguably, do not view some of these behaviours of violence as domestic violence. The issue of domestic violence was not observed during the fieldwork of this study in the African-Dutch communities. The only exception to

this occurred during observation of a first response police patrol unit attending a domestic dispute involving an Indian family (between a terminally sick gentleman and his care giver). The researcher took the decision not to pursue a line of questioning over domestic violence issues as the African-Dutch respondents did not refer to domestic violence as a problem within the communities.

The African-Dutch community's perception of domestic violence appears to contrast with that expressed by the officers who police them. The interviewed officers interviewed for this study indicated domestic violence as one of the most frequently encountered issues in the African-Dutch communities. When asked about crimes that are prevalent in the African-Dutch communities, one community police officer reflected: "There was some domestic violence of course but they are just general incidents in which I daily take part and solve it, yeah" (Hans, 50, Inspector, white native male).

Hans spoke on how the police have to solve domestic problems daily and at times make arrests; sometimes social services are called to remove minors from their homes. Hans reflected on the pain in making such decisions, as he has children himself, and would not want them removed. He stressed that the parents whose children are removed are angry at the police, as the police are seen as trigger for such removal. The problem of domestic violence became prominent as there was not a single police officer that did not mention the issue of domestic violence as an issue in the community. Kees, a police constable and a community police officer in the African-Dutch community, said: "We do have youths that had criminal issues and sometimes you have issues with domestic violence, but I am happy and satisfied with the African communities" (Kees, 29, Constable, Dutch black-Caribbean male).

It would appear from the police perspective that domestic violence is a common African-Dutch community problem. It is, however, the claim of the following police officer as to why domestic abuse and violence occurs, that is the most worrying. Paul a community police officer in the community, was honest and frank in his experience of other police officers' perceptions of African-Dutch domestic violence issues and other crimes in the community.

> You have imaginations about the African people and this imagination stays with you after some time if you have certain experiences and these experiences happened multiple times, then you may be start thinking that these are the ways African people are. I think these are biases that happen by my colleagues. We have a lot of issues in this area with domestic violence that the husband physically abuses the wife but we also experience it the other way round if that happens few times you could then start building up these images in your mind, if you then get a call at the station about domestic

violence somewhere, you could then start thinking 'ohh that will be the Africans again'. Yes, we have biases against the African people in all aspects it could be domestic violence or other things as well. (Paul, 35, Inspector, white native, male)

Paul's account of police bias and stereotyping of the African Dutch in the community regarding domestic violence and other crimes resonates with the counter-narratives of the African Dutch interviewed in this study, who claimed that being black, their African identities intersect with the discrimination suffered at the hands of the Dutch police. It remains, however, that Paul's claim of police bias against the African Dutch regarding domestic abuse cannot be substantiated, as no other police officer interviewed by the researcher claimed that this problem occured only among the African Dutch. Paul's account does shed light on the ways in which his colleagues stereotyped and imaged African-Dutch perpetrators of domestic violence, whilst they claimed to treat the public the same. Diverse studies on intersectionality have claimed that people will tend to suffer multiple discriminations based on other intersecting identities such as gender, race, colour, nationality and other intersecting aspects of their identities (Crenshaw, 1989; Carastathis, 2014). This study found that the African Dutch in the Netherlands perceive that they are disadvantaged on contact with the Dutch police due to their identity as black, as Africans, and as residents of their particular neighbourhood.

An incident of domestic disturbance (previously touched upon) was captured during observation with the first response team of the police patrol team. The patrol team were called to a flat, where a terminally sick Indian man resides. Andrew, a community police patrol officer indicated that they had been called to this particular flat on various occasions to deal with domestic disturbances. He described this case and the researcher made note of his comments:

> He told me that domestic violence and disputes is prominent among the calls they have to attend to on daily basis across the community. He explained that the particular incident I witnessed, where the owner of the flat had issues with his family and friend and wanted them evicted by police, was one of so many call out that week, to that particular address. He pointed out to me, that each time they asked the friends and family to leave, few days later the complainant takes them back in and give them back the key to the flat until they fall out again. (**Research field note, Observation of first response patrol team, 02/03/2017**)

This incident involved an Indian family, which suggest that the issue of domestic disturbance and violence (in contrast to Paul's claim) occurs across ethnic and racial lines in the community, and no evidence was found that this only occurs and prevalent among the African-Dutch.

The Dutch police respondents stressed that women are likely to be victims of domestic abuse, though they claim to have witnessed men also as a victims. The frequency of domestic abuse in the African-Dutch communities may be as a result of complex social issues revolving around socioeconomic situations, their finances, culture and changes to their environments. Studies have found that black women and other ethnic minority women tend to culturally accept violence as conflict resolution more than others (Gelles, 1985; Stockman et al., 2014; Caetano et al., 2017). Other studies have found empirical evidence that those who are impoverished and live in poor areas are susceptible to domestic violence (Slabbert, 2016; Morgan and Jasinski, 2017).

There could also be contributory factors surrounding polygamy among African-Dutch men as they are known to have relationships with multiple women at the same time. The study observed African-Dutch men with multiple partners during fieldwork. Limited studies on African men and domestic violence make the claim that issues of polygamy among African men is one of the causes of domestic violence among Africans (IDS et al., 2016; Sedziafa et al., 2016). The perspective of domestic violence is usually understood as female being victims of male violence, studies have shown men to also be victims of domestic abuse at the hands of females (Perryman and Appleton, 2016; Wright, 2016; Straus, 2017). The interviewed officers did not seem to understand the complexity of domestic violence in relation to the cultural background of the African-Dutch communities they policed.

Various studies have suggested that domestic violence by men towards women could be a response to their frustration regarding hindered goals (Moulding, 2016; Naylor, 2017). There is also the probability that the African-Dutch views on what constitutes domestic violence contrast with those of the police, due to cultural reasons. Limited studies have found domestic violence among African men as a way of maintaining a male-dominated social hierarchy (Hennessey, 2012; Jakobsen, 2016).

The issue of gender inequality has been found to be a core factor in domestic violence in Africa (see Jakobsen, 2014). The African-Dutch women who are at the receiving end of this violence are more like to stay in these relationships. Studies have found women often refuse to leave abusive relationships due to financial dependency on their partners or for the sake of their children (Hoyle and Sanders, 2000; Dare et al., 2013; Gonzalez-Guarda, 2016). Another argument for the apparent prevalence of domestic violence in the African-Dutch communitiesis that most African-Dutch women are likely to remain in abusive relationships for cultural

reasons, because they are scared to be labelled in the community as divorced or seen to be reporting their spouses. African women are inclined to remain in violence relationships or justify the violence against them (Ellsberg et al., 2015; Semahegn and Mengistie, 2015; Alesina et al., 2016).

6.6 Summary

This chapter has engaged with the Dutch police officer respondents and their perception of point of contact with the African-Dutch in the studied communities. It reflects how the police construct crime and order in these communities, and how the African-Dutch interpret these crimes as deviance and as a way of survival, due to their perceived disadvantages. It reflected on the issues of illegal immigrants in these communities and how the views of ethnic minority officers contrast with those of their white native colleagues regarding immigration police and the targeting of the African Dutch as suspicious, or illegal immigrants in the Netherlands.

This chapter substantiated the literature review of Chapter 1, which suggested that the African-Dutch police officers also suffer discrimination at the hands of their white colleagues. This could explain the reason why ethnic minority officers suggest that the African-Dutch community is being hunted by the police for their immigration status and pointed to the structures used in achieving this aim. The chapter reflected on how African-Dutch blackness, religion, residence and residence status intersects with the way they are over-policed through immigration policing by the Dutch police. This chapter also illustrated the police construction of snorder as a crime, while the African-Dutch community constructed it as deviance and as a necessity for their survival in the community. It touched upon the police perception on how snorder and other crimes affect the law and order within the community, and their struggle in maintaining this order in the communities studied. Chapter 6 drew upon Dutch police experiences of policing drugs-related and other crimes in the community, reflecting upon drug-related deaths and the cooperation of the African-Dutch community in giving vital information for the apprehension of violent drug dealers in the community. It touched upon African-Dutch and native-Dutch loyalty where the police need to build a more trusting partnership with the African-Dutch community.

The chapter analysed the issue surrounding the advance fee fraud in the community and this and other persistent deviance in the community leads to criminalisation of youths and

the use of disproportionate contact with the youths in the community. It also addressed how the Dutch police are trying to use the Police-Alliance to bridge a gap with the community, in improving the police–community relationship. The chapter concluded with the issue of domestic violence within the African-Dutch community, as one of the police-African-Dutch points of contact. It analysed the ways in which domestic violence is perceived as prevalent among African-Dutch by the police, and factors that could be responsible for this prevalence. This chapter though reflects what the police perceive as point of contact between them and the African-Dutch community, it does at times reflects the interview perception of African-Dutch regarding specific issues concerning them. In relevance to the aims and objectives of this study to gauge the African-Dutch experiences of policing in the Netherlands, this study found a negative perception from the African-Dutch communities towards the Dutch police officers. The relevance of space within the African-Dutch community becomes important as it also illustrates how police use space in the surveillance of other bodies such as the African-Dutch that occupy the community. The presence in a specific space has a negative consequence for blacks when compared with whites. These behaviours have been found in previous studies on police and ethnic minority interaction (Harris, 1997; Ahmed, 2007).

The next chapter illustrates the intersectional experiences of African-Dutch from their own perspectives at the hands of the Dutch police.

Chapter 7 Intersectional Experiences of a Racialised Community (Data Presentation Part Two)

This study set out with the pioneering aim to study African-Dutch experiences of policing in the Netherlands and its eventual impact on the African-Dutch community. In the absence of any research that has directly or indirectly focused the African-Dutch experience of policing in the Netherlands (from the perspective of both the African-Dutch communities and the police themselves), this chapter will discuss the integrated findings and discussions from African-Dutch perspectives through interview and participant observation of the African-Dutch community. With Chapter 2 laying the theoretical framework and methodology for this thesis, this chapter will consider whether African-Dutch identities intersect in the ways they are policed and treated by the Dutch police. This issued will be evaluated through the counter-stories of African-Dutch research participants. This chapter will draw upon the work of CRT and intersectionality scholars, to argue that black people, through dominant systems of white supremacy, suffer not only from being black, but also from intersectional aspects of their identity such as class, gender, culture, nationality, religion and other social factors associated with them (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991; Harris, 2002, Parker and Lynn, 2002 and Carbado et al., 2013).

Chapter 7 will consider how the Dutch police used phenotypical and physical markers of race such as colour, hair, facial appearance and other attributes in policing the African-Dutch community. It illustrates how the African-Dutch community perceive themselves as over-policed through suspicion and excessive subjection to stop and search through ethnic profiling. It considers the diverse discriminations suffered in the community and the specific experiences of special policing of Nigerians and their businesses. This chapter draws upon counter-narratives of the African Dutch and deals with accounts of the policing of their accents and language proficiency, while attention is given to the gendered aspect of policing Nigerian women.

This chapter also considers the issue of African-Dutch identities and how they navigate through their subscribed and ascribed identities and the coping mechanism of the experiences of racism and discrimination in their communities.

7.1 Living in a Suspicious Community

The research findings of this study reveal that suspicion is not a phenomenon that is experienced only by the policed, especially black or ethnic minority communities, but also by the police who are policing the communities. Suspicion has been affirmed by scholars as a core characteristic of police culture, which thepolice claim enables them to perform their job in a dangerous environment (Holdaway, 1983; Kemp et al., 1992; Reiner, 2010). The issue of police suspicion towards the African-Dutch communities was a prominent finding of this study as evident in the high level of police-initiated contact with African-Dutch communities. One of the core findings, which resonates with previous research on ethnic minorities, is the construction of ethnic minorities as a suspect population, this is the core rhetoric within the contemporary literature, and the present study adds to that. In this study we can see the numerous ways in which the African Dutch are conceived as belonging to 'suspect communities', both in their self-articulation and also in the way the police, whom the researcher observed on several occasions, perceive the African-Dutch communities. The suspiciousness of police officers towards the African Dutch was well-documented across all generations of African-Dutch in the Netherlands, though the first generation appears to be the focus of most police suspicions. Police suspicion and police-initiated contact with the residents of African-Dutch communities takes place mostly in the urban communities where the Africans live. This study suggests that the police suspicion of the African Dutch appears to be based on various intersectional factors.

The account of this first interview with Kofi, a 29-year-old second-generation of African Dutch in the Netherlands, illustrates police contact on various levels. Kofi perceives that the police suspicion towards him is based on phenotypical markers such as being black, his youthful age, his physical appearance as African and probably the fact that police suspect illegal African-Dutch people to be living in his area. He describes how these intersecting identities made him susceptible to police suspicion in the community. He describes also how daily suspicion from the police impacts on the daily lives of the African Dutch. Recalling incidents on this theme, Kofi narrates:

> There was this police guy on a motorcycle across the street, and then I saw him pass by and come back again, I saw him go back again so I was just standing, and I was just standing there and was like why he is going back and forth. Eventually he approached me, and he was like yeah, what are you doing here? I answered him, why do I have to tell you why I am here? I live here if you want to know, and he was like but yeah what is the reason for standing here, don't you need to be at home? I was like yeah, I am

going somewhere so can't I just be here? Then he said he just needed confirmation that I live in the flat, because I was acting suspiciously when he drove by. I was like why, what did I do just standing still on my phone talking to my friend that is what you call suspicious? He got angry because he thought, he said I was like raising my voice, I was pissed because I was just standing there, I have the right to stand there so I don't understand why he approached me in the first place and asked me what I was doing there? He has no right to ask me that so he was like yeah I should watch how I was talking to him and if I don't take care he would like eeh he would arrest me, that is what he said actually and I got really mad, and I just wanted to walk away and then my friend came you know. I just stepped in the car and we drove off leaving him behind, and he didn't follow us anyway because he knew he was like in the wrong anyway, yeah yeah that was one scenario."(Kofi, 29, African-Dutch male)

This finding resonates with other findings that ethnic minorities are perceived by the police as 'dangerous others' (Vasquez, 2015), while other studies in the Netherlands find Dutch police to be suspicious of ethnic minorities (Van de Leun, 2010; Van de Leunen and Van De Woude, 2011). Kofi described how a mere gathering together with peers, or standing alone, could ignite police suspicion and contact. Kofi described how basic activities such as walking to the shop, playing with peers in the street or merely commuting to places such as school, could lead to police-initiated contact. He described how standing in front of his flat waiting for a friend to pick him up led to confrontation between him and a motor patrol officer. The police officer, he explained, wanted to know why he was standing in front of the flat and demanded his ID card, which he refused to hand over according to him, because he had not committed any offence by standing in front of his flat. Kofi stressed that he was able to reject the police ascribed suspicion by entering his friend's car when they arrived, and claiming the officer could not act, because he knew he was wrong. The action of the respondent as described above resonates with existing literature, that the public has been known to undermine police authority if the decisions of the latter are found to be illegitimate or discriminatory (Tyler, 1990; Stone and Pettigrew, 2000).

As observed, police suspicions towards the African Dutch was fairly evident and in interviews granted by respondents from these communities; respondents pointed to police suspicion of Africans as the most problematic issue within their neighbourhoods. The issue of illegal immigrants among Africans appears to be a key trigger for police suspicion in these communities. Studies conducted in the Netherlands have suggested that African-Dutch and other immigrant groups are disproportionately under police suspicion and are known to be targeted by Dutch police (Dutch National Ombudsman, 2009; KLPD, 2010; Mutsaers, 2014). Margaret, an African-Dutch respondent, describes an incident in which the police knocked on her car window while she was chatting with a friend after church service. She was asked to

present her ID card, and when she and her friend questioned the police motive, the police said they were looking for drug dealers in the area:

> I remember I had an encounter with the police while sitting with my friend in the car we were just sitting there and were having our converse after Church service, everything was fine. We also saw some other people in their car also talking and before we knew there was like eight or nine police officers, probably there was a raid going on with drug addicts up and down, they were just knocking on the window very hard and I was just like what is going on? They then asked us why we were sitting in the car and we told them we just finished from the Church and were having a conversation. They kept asking me and my friend question upon question and all of a sudden I told them I worked for ministry of Justice when I made that known they looked at me somehow and I told them yes I worked for the Justice Ministry and know exactly what you guys are doing so take it easy. They then took my identity card and checked but based on the fact that I said I worked for Justice Ministry and they checked and saw that I worked for the Justice Ministry they were like just backed off but for my friend it took a while before they let her go because, she got agitated like what is this, we were just sitting there, so I think at that moment looking at my colour if I did not say that I was working for Justice Ministry, I think we would have had more interrogation from the police. (Margaret, 35, African-Dutch female)

The police, according to early studies, are known as part of their culture to use perpetual shorthand in characterising suspects (Skolnick, 1966; Reiner, 2010). The Dutch police in Margaret's case decided to make arrests in the area where an African-Dutch congregation had just attended a church service. She argued that the police are not always honest in their dealing with the African-Dutch community. She suspected they were just looking for illegal residents and found the church gathering to be a good opportunity. As described by a respondent in Chapter 6, it is not unusual for police to stop African-Dutch people based on their appearance and dress. This study suggests that a church setting afforded the Dutch police a context in which to profile the African Dutch based on their religious profession, clothes, appearance and their residency within certain areas of the community to formulate suspicions over immigration status. These intersecting identities of the African Dutch positioned them as suspected illegal immigrants in the community. It was observed that most African-Dutch congregants attended the Pentecostal service in distinct African dress, which further confirms the respondent's narration that he was stopped and asked to show his ID card on his way back from the church due to his attire. This was also evident in account given by a Somalian respondent (Chapter 6), who claimed the police followed his car probably because of his beard and clothing. Margaret in her assessment of police behaviour argued that owing to the nature of their job, the police should know the description of their suspect. This incident left the respondent with the impression that the whole African community is perceived by the police as drug dealers, a

reoccurring claim by Africans in the course of this study. Margaret's strategy of rejecting police suspicion based on her race and intersecting identities, was to identify herself through her work ID as working for the Ministry of Justice. This was further evident in her description of how her friend struggled with the police questions as she was not able use the same strategy as Margaret.

This research suggests that it is not only when you come across the police in the community, that you become victim of police suspicion. Pastor Joshua, a prominent journalist and minister in the African-Dutch community narrates his experiences of police suspicion. Here, he was called by the family of a prominent community businessman arrested on suspicion of dealing in drugs:

> The only thing the police have to work with is an old black and white picture photograph that for us as African we knew that he was not the person, but for the Dutch police they said he was the person because the person had glasses on, and they said he looks like him. That was quite an experience with the police it wasn't pleasant. (Joshua, 51, African-Dutch male)

Pastor Joshua narrated how the businessman was detained for six months in isolation without access to his wife and children. He was eventually released by the judge, as he was able to prove that he was in Turkey on holiday when the crime was committed. Pastor Joshua was clearly making reference here to an ongoing legal process. He was, however, of the perception that this case originated with the police. In this particular case, the police, by law, could not detain a suspect beyond three days, but the African Dutch hold the opinion that the police arrests are the gateway to the justice system, and should know better from evidence that the suspect could not have commited this crime from the available evidence.

This finding supports the view that police, as part of their culture, are suspicious of the public particularly in the ethnic minority neighbourhoods; categorisation and stereotyping have been found to be connected to police work (Bowling and Philips, 2007, Miller, 2010). The police are also known to use suspicion as a weapon in keeping tabs on their territories, and as social control of usual suspects (Rubenstein,1973; Marx, 1988; McConville et al., 1991; Choongh, 1997; Matza, 2017).

The issue of suspicion by the police towards the African Dutch and lack of trust was a reoccurring theme throughout this study. The reciprocal lack of trust and suspicion by the African Dutch towards the police was also well-documented in this study. This could have a variety of causes; as earlier discussed in this chapter, one of the factors has to do with police

suspicion towards the African-Dutch communities themselves and disproportionate police-initiated contacts with the African-Dutch communities. Police suspicion and disproportionate contact with black and ethnic minority groups has been found by other studies (Reiner, 2010; Mutsaers, 2014; Çankaya, 2015; Gerstein and Prescott, 2015). The second factor is not unrelated with the issue of illegal and undocumented immigrants within the African-Dutch communities. The function of the police in conjunction with the IND in the arrest of illegal aliens in the African-Dutch communities has been a significant factor for lack of trust and increase in suspicion towards the police and vice versa, as we saw in chapter six on the issue of illegal immigrants in the African-Dutch community. Various studies have established that the cooperation of police immigration departments in enforcing immigration leads to community's lack of trust in police (Theodore, 2011; Meissner et al., 2012; Wong, 2012; Theodore and Habans, 2016). The police in the Netherlands are well-documented for using race, nationality and other phenotypical markers in constructing suspicion (Boekhoorn, 2004; Jennissen, 2009; OSJI, 2009; Eijkman, 2010).

This study suggests, overall, that African-Dutch immigrants suffer from subjected intersectional police-discrimination, suspicion and inequality due to variety of reasons, such their race (being black), ethnicity (being African), sometimes in relation to their religion (being Somalian Muslim) and suspicion of being illegal or not fully documented (immigration status).

7.2 Subjection to Racism and Discrimination

One of the numerous ways in which the African-Dutch communities experience inequality within Dutch society, is their perception of subjection to racism and discrimination by the Dutch police. This is a very prominent theme within all participants' narratives, without exception, both in the course of interviewing and observing the African Dutch and the police in the studied communities. The perception of this problem varies based on individual experiences and the level of over-policing experienced in the community A reccurring prominent theme in the interviews with African-Dutch respondents, is the allegation that the Dutch police discriminate against them based on their race and other intersecting aspects of their identities. A high level of police-initiated contact with the African Dutch was well-documented during interviews with African-Dutch respondents and police officers in this study. Most of these contacts occurred in the African-Dutch communities, and notable in the interviews was that the police contacts with the African Dutch occurred in the cafes, shops and

restaurants owned by people from this community, though there were numerous instances where these contacts occurred on the streets within the communities.

For the African-Dutch respondents in this study, their personal experiences of policing in their community, both in the context of being a suspect or while seeking assistance from the Dutch police in their community, were astoundingly negative. Such experiences of Dutch policing were not the only factors that made impact on their perception of unfairness in the way they are policed, nevertheless, policing in the African-Dutch community remains the most compelling factor in determining personal perception of the Dutch police. The African-Dutch interviewed and observed in this study were unaware, in their counter-narratives, of how their identities intersect in the ways they suffer racism and discrimination, and in their encounters with the police. Their experiences in this chapter relate how they are singled out and policed in the community based on their race, outlook, gender, accent and language proficiency, dress, immigration status, culture and religion.

This extract from Ade, an African Dutch living in one of the studied communities, reflects his perceived subjection to racism and discrimination at the hands of police:

> I think my years of experience in this country tells me that our police, eehm ehhm, that is, ehhm, have different ways; the way they deal with African ethnic groups and the way they deal with other people are different, see they are running after them. (Ade, 34, African-Dutch male)

Ade suggested being treated differently and subjected to discrimination was due to his race and African-Dutch ethnicity. The researcher, in a bid to capture Ade's perception of being an African and if Ade thought he suffered any intersecting disadvantage, asked him further about what he meant by African ethnic group. Ade further made reference to how police perceive them differently from other blacks such as the Surinamese and the Antilleans.

> They know us from our outlook when they see us because we look and sometimes dress differently from them. They are always running after us for our ID. (Ade, 34, African-Dutch male)

Ade's account of police-initiated contact, based on an African outward appearance and dress implied over-policing of the African Dutch by the Dutch police based on their race, outward appearance, ethnicity, culture and the assumption that most African-Dutch immigrants do not possess a residence permit. Much of the subjection of African-Dutch people to unfairness and racism occurs through disproportionate police checks of African-Dutch ID cards or residence permit documents. Ade narrated how those without residence documents manage

to avoid the police by contacting and informing each other on mobile phones in the event of police checks in the community: "People are always helping each other in the community. If there are any police checks, guys are always calling those without papers on the location of the police" (Ade, 34, African-Dutch male).

Police discrimination and behaviours against the African Dutch is further attested to in Osagie's description of the discrimination based on various intersecting factors. He expresses his frustration at the ways in which the African Dutch are treated by the police, which he describes as unfair. He refers to the police slogan, that they are your service, but expresses the opinion that most African-Dutch people do not feel the police are doing them any service.

> Black, just black, even they call you a Dutch man, they still call you African man or Nigerian man. If you go to an office now and you give them your ID, they see it there that you are a Dutch, but they still ask you, where are you from? Your ID says you are Dutch, but they will still ask you, where are you from? Imagine psshh. (Osagie, 50, African-Dutch male)

Osagie's description outlines how his being black, African, Nigerian in conjunction with a refusal to acknowledge him as a full Dutch citizen places him in a disadvantaged position and adds to his frustration and complaints. Osagie stressed how the police perceived him based on the above factors, and the refusal to ascribe him the subscribed identity that he desired.

Emmanuel, African Dutch of Sierra Leonean origin, shared his experience of police treatment, and his perception of how the African Dutch in the community are treated. In his reflection on this.

> No no so long you are black. African, South American as long as you are a foreigner Turkish, Moroccans, they discriminate against them … it comes across continents as long as you are not white. If you are white, no problem, but blacks because of our skin and we easily noted anywhere and you can be singled out, but if you are Turkish man or a Moroccan man some of them you cannot single out, they still have to think but for a black man it's easy. (Emmanuel, 33, African-Dutch male)

Emmanuel's description and his perception of the treatment of the African Dutch attributed race and being a foreigner as the basis for police discrimination. He narrated that the African Dutch are easily picked out because of their race (Black). Although he pointed out that the Turkish and Moroccans are sometimes difficult to single out, he neverthelsees indicated that they too suffer discrimination, Emmanuel was of view that one suffers discrimination at the hands of the police as long as one is not white.

This perception also mirrored the researcher's observation during interaction with police officers in one of the largest African-Dutch communities in the Netherlands. One of the police officers told the researcher in a discussion on police-initiated contacts that he disagreed with the perception of disproportionate policing of the African Dutch in the community.

> Charles, they always complain that we are always stopping them, if you look at this community 80% of the community are blacks, so tell me who do you want us to stop? Ah ha ha [laughs]. (Gino, 58, white native male)

Gino's assessment of this situation shows his lack of understanding of the predicament of the African Dutch, and how disproportionate policing of this group impacts negatively on their daily lives and on their relationships with the police.

Pius, an ethnic minority police officer in the community, has a contrasting view of discrimination against the African Dutch. This is how he describes his awareness of the situation.

> I have seen behaviours that would qualify as racism and racist behaviours, but on the other hand I won't say everyone by the police is racist, but I won't deny the fact that there are racist elements within the police, and they get away with racist behaviours. The higher management of police sometimes deny the existence of racism within the police force and because of these denials, it becomes a circle it continues sometimes it grows and sometimes it takes very bad forms and a shameful form. I am like be very honest about the racist behaviours it is shameful, for example you make jokes racist jokes and people laugh about it, not only jokes with your own colleagues but also in your own behaviours towards citizens and then be corrected, I find that as racism as well. (Pius, 38, mixed-race male)

Pius was of the opinion that racism towards the African Dutch exists. Not only did he indicate that this is being perpetrated by certain elements within the police, he also suggested the denial of its existence by higher management of the police. Roger, also an ethnic minority officer, shares Pius's view.

> I know there are racists by the police and that the racism could be sometimes unintentional, that officers could say sometimes that it was just a joke that is no joke there is always an element of racism in such joke. Can I say the police are racist I can't say that because I don't know but I know that racism within the police exists and that there are not enough efforts to tackle it. (Pius, 38, mixed-race male)

The shared experiences of African-Dutch and ethnic minority officers in this section serves not only to reinforce a communal narrative in the African-Dutch communities, but essentially to reveal everyday discrimination and racism, that the African-Dutch have to live within their communities.

The findings in this study resonate with other findings on police racism and prejudice towards blacks and other ethnic minorities (Williams and Murphy, 1990; Crank, 2003; Reiner, 2010; Robinson, 2015). Various studies in the Netherlands found police discrimination against black people and other ethnic minorities (Winkel and Koppelar, 1986; De Beer, 1986; Çankaya, 2012; Signorazzi, 2017). The issue of police discretion in initiating contact with the African Dutch, which was perceived as a problem in the policing of their communities, was discussed during the researcher's observation of police officers at a police station in one of the big cities in the Netherlands. In a conversation with a police sergeant, the latter expressed the fact that every Dutch police officer has the right to use their discretion in stopping or questioning anyone within society, and that officers do not require a warrant or permission to do so, as long as the officers have grounds for reasonable suspicion. He explained that this power had been strengthened with the increase in terrorism-related threats in Europe.

This study found police use of disproportionate discretion to disadvantage black and African-Dutch people in their communities; this practice is used to check mostly residence status. Dutch law permits the police to request ID cards or proof of residence permit on contact with the public. The African Dutch are found to be victimised by the police via this law. This study finds, however ,that the African Dutch are not using the available complaints procedure provided by the Dutch state, to make complaints against the police in cases where their rights are violated. The National Ombudsman is established by the Dutch Constitution (Article 78a) to deal with complaints about all aspects of public service including the police (National Ombudsman Site, 2019). The African-Dutch respondents in this study either indicated lack of willingness to pursue such avenues, or did not know of the exsistence of this facility. There is also the National Police Internal Investigation Department that deals with police use of force and firearms. This body investigates police use of force and advise the state prosecutor accordingly (Groenhuijsen and Jansen, 2016). Studies found that police target ethnic minorities and use discretion as a discriminatory tool against ethnic minorities (Reiner, 1985; Waddington, 1999; Bronitt and Stenning, 2011; Gerstein and Prescott, 2015) other studies have also found this in the Netherlands (OSJI, 2009; Van der Leunen and Van der Woude, 2011; Dutch Amnesty International Report, 2012).

7.2.1 Policing Accent and Language Proficiency

A prominent theme that arose in this study, during the interview and observation of the African Dutch, was the use of Dutch language proficiency and accent, by the Dutch police, to police and discriminate against the African Dutch. Respondents interviewed in this study claimed they were subject to extra police checks and disadvantaged when they needed help in their interactions with the police. They claimed this was due to their low proficiency levels in the Dutch language and at times due to their accents. The difference between police treatment of first-generation African-Dutch people from the second and third generations was indisputable from the experiences of African-Dutch citizens. It was a prominent theme among the first generation of the African Dutch interviewed, that they were willing to learn the Dutch and would do anything possible to attend Dutch language classes. The issue of not speaking Dutch adequately, and the police not understanding their accents when speaking English, was a major factor in conflict and misunderstanding between first-generation African Dutch and the police. This section will explore counter-narratives of victims of racism and discrimination, and consider how the African Dutch are disadvantaged based on their race, their command of the Dutch language and their accents when they initiate contact with the police or during police-initiated contacts. An intersectional framework is applied to respondents' experiences of Dutch police, in which they are policed based on diverse aspects of their identities.

The Dutch police are able to differentiate between the first-generation and the second-generation African Dutch through their command of the Dutch language and their accents. This feature of their intersecting identities has made first-generation African Dutch prone to intersectional discrimination by the police. The idea of using the concept of intersectionality in this study has benefited this research in highlighting the hidden discrimination and disadvantage experienced by African-Dutch people with low competency in Dutch and with distinctive accents. It became apparent during interviews with the first-generation African-Dutch that the police sometimes dismiss their complaints or that they are disadvantaged when making a case before the police. Police officers assume they are not Dutch or may be illegal through their accent and the command of the Dutch language, and sometimes claim not to understand their English accent, as evident with the experience of Chioma an African-Dutch gentleman who lives in one of the African-Dutch communities in an urban area of the Netherlands.

We are always at disadvantage because they say we don't speak the language, and could not understand us even when we speak English, and when we want to learn the language at school, they are asking for our stay permit, what exactly do they want from us? (Chioma, 33, African-Dutch male)

Chioma, who claimed to stop attending Dutch language evening classes because of police checks in the language school, spoke of problems with his stay permit. He spoke of various encounters with the police and how he escaped being deported on various occasions through police checks. Chioma shared the opinion that not being able to speak good Dutch, or speaking with an accent could trigger police suspicion that one is undocumented or living illegally in the community.

Furthermore, as evident from interviews in this study, the first-generation African-Dutch are likely to have their residence permit requested by the police on contact due to their accents and low Dutch language proficiency. Studies on intersectional discrimination of minorities in relation to their immigration status and other disadvantageous attributes have shown that they are likely to suffer marginalisation and miss out on vital government services when grouped under a single-axis framework of racism (Crenshaw, 1989; Crenshaw, 1991). As outlined in this chapter, there were claims by some African Dutch of obstacles by government policies preventing them from learning the Dutch language. Therefore, contrary to populist assertions that immigrants do not wish to 'integrate', a contributory factor is the bureaucratic hurdle required for immigrants to access Dutch language services. The situation with immigrants, especially illegal immigrants, presents a double-edged sword: Dutch language schools require immigrants to show their residence permits before admission (as part of government policies for controlling immigration) meanwhile, the African Dutch assert that the police randomly visit language schools to check the legal status of immigrant students.

Ignatius reflects on how Africans are picked upon by the police because of their deficiency in speaking the Dutch language, and sometimes treated disrespectfully.

Our community here is like everybody is keeping individual pains on his own, nobody wants to come out and talk because when you are talk you have become a suspect that you can end up deportation or something or they will be after you. Most things I see like how long are we going to be afraid of it? It's time that if we want to die we die, if we want to live we live. It has been to a system that every white man that went to Africa has the freedom, even the government spent time to guard them, but when we are here we don't get that fair treatment also. If we don't understand the language there must be a room that you create to educate the person okay, you are handling a case of somebody who has not been to school, somebody who don't know his left and right, for example when I was even here I wanted to go and learn the language. What stop me from

learning the language anymore because I was in the class there was police control [police check] that they are coming inside the class to see people who don't have paper, so for me I just decided that is no need of that. How can you go inside the classroom to go and check somebody who is studying then went there person is in the street market, what will you do? So you can compare all those things, there are lot of things wrong before, but it's changing now but we want more effective changes because most of the young ones [new police recruits] who enter in the first, they don't have the idea well how it works. The old ones are good because they know how to treat you know when they see you they know how long they have stand here, but all these younger ones when they see you like inside the car even with bicycle, they will be looking at you. I don't know greetings there some when you greet them, they would come like can I as in greetings cannot involve in answering to know what is happening in the community, yeah because we are no police informants. Yeah, for example, if you can speak good Dutch nobody can ask you can I see you ID? So, the language barriers make you that you are like a visitor. (Ignatius, 42, African-Dutch male)

Ignatius' description illustrates how race and the command of Dutch language, shapens African-Dutch encounters with the police, and how lacking a command of the Dutch language could trigger the police to request one's ID card. He also described how police perform checks on those attending Dutch-language schools to arrest illegal immigrants, and expressed his frustration with the system that requests language learning and then decides to check for immigration status. Ignatius was of the opinion that older policemen are better in the treatment of African-Dutch communities than the young recruits. Ignatius pointed out how the police in the community seek out information on illegal immigrants through greetings. Ignatius' account of police in this interview was evidently negative.

The issue of police targeting the African Dutch emerges as a prominent theme for this study as all respondents indicated that their command of the Dutch language and accents comprised a determining factor in whether the police were going to request their ID or allow them to go on their way. Ade recounts his experience with the police and how he thinks the police treat him differently because of his inability to speak the Dutch language.

If you are growing up and you are no longer a small child, the body language will immediately tell you about what this person is talking about, just like what I told you that when somebody is talking to you and the person is not looking at you or listening to you, just looking around watching around and, then he is telling you that he does not trust what you telling him, just checking I just need to do my job, just let me do my job because I cannot even understand the type of English you are speaking, let me just do my job and continues looking around, then you will be nervous. (Ade, 34, African-Dutch male)

Ade's reflection of his police experience during a police raid in a restaurant, resonates with other African-Dutch perceptions that the police treat them as suspect and without respect the moment they establish people as African without, or with less command, of the Dutch

language. The combination of their race, outlook, language proficiency, accents and the area of residence intersect in their construction as a suspect community. Studies have found police to stigmatise ethnic minorities based on command of local language (Giles et al., 2012).

Ibrahim, who is African Dutch of Somalian origin, on his perception of this police behaviour and how this affects Africans in the community, stated:

> At first sight they might think you know nothing because you are an African. A good example is when you wind down your car window and they ask you if you speak Dutch; they don't ask a white guy if he speak Dutch because most people here are supposed to speak Dutch so you see how they approach you. They approach you like an African and ask you if you speak Dutch and ask you to show your passport or driver's licence then to them you are a Dutch, a Dutch man, but I have the theory that first you are an African until you prove you are a Dutch guy, you will stay African. (Ibrahim, 28, African-Dutch male)

Ibrahim's account of his contact with the police and the issue of Dutch language reflects that he was profiled first as an African, before being asked if he spoke Dutch. Ibrahim was of opinion that the police do not ask the native Dutch if they speak Dutch. He was convinced that whatever Dutch Africans do, they will remain African from Dutch police perspectives.

The second-generation African Dutch spoke of prejudice when stopped by the police. They reference physical traits as supplementing police perceptions of all African Dutch as immigrants. People of this generation share experiences that illustrate the time wasted by the police in initially profiling through physical traits, and then an adjustment to unaccented, impeccable Dutch. This generation supports the view that Dutch language proficiency and accents are picked upon by the police in policing the minorities and discriminating against African Dutch with no, or little, command of Dutch language and who speak with an African accent in their interaction with the police. Nazeem, a second-generation African-Dutch male, whilst acknowledging that the first-generation are picked upon by the police for lacking command of the Dutch language, also stresses that the first-generation should do their best to learn the Dutch language.

> If they asked you to show your identities and you give it to them, if they see your paper and they leave you alone most of the time if you have not committed any offence they will leave you alone and most of the time. If you speak the language, they think you are a Dutch guy, but if you don't speak the language they will tell you to learn the language and sometimes they will ask you why you don't learn the language; you are not one of us until you learn the language and that is true. You have to learn the language of where you live. If I go now to China, I will have to learn the Chinese if I want to live in China; that is a fair demand, I think but I think they accept you are a Dutch guy if you speak Dutch, I think so. (Nazeem, 32, African-Dutch male)

Nazeem's account supports African-Dutch narratives that people from these communities are policed on immigration status and other reasons, based on their command of the Dutch language and accents. However, in Nazeem's case, he was of the opinion as the second-generation African Dutch should learn the language of where they live. It could be argued that the experience would be different for the first-generation African Dutch who are frequently stopped and checked based on their appearance, accents and language proficiency. Indeed, diverse studies have found police stereotypes lead to discrimination against ethnic minorities based on culture, language and other ethnic minority traits (Windle, 2008; Porat and Yuvel, 2012; Dukes and Gaither, 2017).

7.2.2 Stop and Search Through Profiling

An important theme in the interviews and observations of African-Dutch respondents and Dutch police officers, is the problem of ethnic profiling and disproportionate stop and search of African-Dutch and other ethnic minorities by the police in the Netherlands. This study finds that one of the key factors that brings the police into conflict with African-Dutch communities is the use of ethnic profiling when dealing with them in the communities. The police's disproportionate use of stop and search and ethnic profiling of the African Dutch was noted by respondents and observation of police officers and the policed in the studied communities. Though not physically witnessed by the researcher during this study, the data from African-Dutch respondents suggest feelings and perceptions that they are ethnically profiled daily by the police in their communities and that this negatively impacts on the relationship of police officers with the African-Dutch population.

The Dutch police, as seen in 1.4 (literature review) need the permission of the city mayor to perform stop and search in designated areas, but do not require permission to ask for ID card from anyone over the age of 14. Most police contact with the African-Dutch in this section of the thesis pertains to police traffic stops. Despite this, the African-Dutch respondents in this study were of the perception that they were subjects of disproportionate enquiries from the Dutch police, especially in regards to producing their ID cards for identification. Police stereotyping, and categorisation of people have been found in other studies (Bowling and Philips, 2007, Miller, 2010; Swain, 2018).

Being stopped disproportionately by the police was evident in Kazeem's account of his experience with the police. Kazeem, a lawyer in the African-Dutch community of an urban area recalled an incident from his student days.

> When they saw me as a student driving a good car then every time, they will be stopping me and asking for the car documents, which they know that I have because when they are behind me, they could check everything on the computer data system in their car, even if your car is stolen. (Kazeem, 33, African-Dutch male)

Kazeem was of the opinion that his intersecting identities as a young, black African male student, and the community in which he lived, were responsible for the disproportionate stop by the Dutch police. Being stopped by the police in the African-Dutch community is an experience common to all respondents' accounts in this study. Kazeem told the researcher he had lost count of the times he was stopped by police in the community, though he conceded that the stops have reduced since becoming a lawyer. He stressed that he had clients who has visited him for advice on how to deal with the issue of police stopping them disproportionately. When asked about the reason for these stops, Kazeem stated:

> They are always suspicious of us when we Africans drive good car, especially when you are young, because they think everybody is involved in criminal activities. I have clients who come to me ask for advice because they complain that the police are always stopping controlling [checking] them in the community. (Kazeem, 33, African-Dutch male)

Kazeem suggested that the police could always check a car's roadworthiness and driver documents from the patrol vehicle's computer. From this, it is understandable that police stops become problematic when an individual stopped does not agree that the police possess a legitimate reason to stop them. This unfortunately is the perception of the African-Dutch community. Disproportionate police stop and search may explain the problematic relationship between black people and the police (Bowling and Philips, 2007; Parmar, 2011, Russel et al., 2013).

The researcher suggested that checking of car documents could be seen as part of the police's job of maintaining order in the communities: the Road Traffic Act in the Netherlands empowers the police to stop and search any vehicle and request for the vehicle papers, failure to produce such papers automatically leads to escalation to request further identification. However, as argued by a lawyer who is also a victim of such ethnic profiling in the community, the police will stop you if you are black and driving a good car. He told the researcher of a situation where he was stopped so many times in a single month that he decided to visit the

station commander to complain personally of disproportionate stops. As suggested by Kazeem, the Dutch police appear to abuse the Road Traffic Act: nine stops in a month is, he asserted to the researcher, tantamount to abuse of their power against the African Dutch.

There was overwhelming accusation by African-Dutch respondents that the police, after checking and verifying documents, look for other pretexts for arrest. This was evident in Kunle's recollection of such incidents in the community when he and his friends were stopped by the police on a night out. The police could not find any grounds to hold them, and so asked for the friends to identify themselves. Kunle believes their race and appearance as Africans, coupled with their age, played a significant role in the officer's decision to ask for ID.

> I don't think it's eeh somebody is driving you stop the person okay, when you stop the person the reason is to stop and search and go, but when you search you didn't get anything, you look everything you don't get, you are going into another thing that is not relevant. (Kunle, 36, African-Dutch male)

Bobby too, an African-Dutch respondent, reflects on being stopped based on his colour and on the presence of four black males in the car.

> … when four blacks are in a car have given you the power that you can just come running across the car and stopping them, that you want to search, sometimes you will see the car behind them going it will be white folks and nobody will stop them. (Bobby, 42, African-Dutch male)

This sentiment was shared by Mohammed. Of Somalian origin, Mohammed was of the opinion that his race and religion intersects in police decisions to frequently stop him.

> I think the most people they picked on are the minorities the Muslims for one hundred percent eehm race are you from Morocco or are you from Africa the chances are great that they will look at you eehm, if you are white the chances are almost zero that you will be left alone, asked the most whites in this country they will say for example in a research that was conducted a white guy said he drove for almost 40 years and has never been stopped by the cops. I have my driving licence for ten years and I could tell you that I have been stopped maybe for more that million times [laughs] it is unbelievable because he is White, look the most people drive carefully and don't make mistakes with their driving, the most time I was stopped to show my driver's licence there was nothing to warrant the stop, I was just driving carefully not through the red traffic light nothing at all, not driving too hard, my car lights were okay. The majority of the times that I was stopped by the police and requested to show my driver's licence is only to show my driver's licence, just to show it, that is the reason I find it very strange that someone drove in this country and never had to show his driver's licence not even only once in 40 years and that is the difference and you see what ethnic profiling really is. (Mohammed, 29, African-Dutch male)

Mohammed's account of his experiences of stop and search reflects that he is stopped for diverse aspects of his identities which intersect. He holds the opinion that he is stopped most

of the time not for contravening any traffic rules but based on his identities. He was of the opinion that the white native Dutch are mostly not subjected to these stops. Mohammed claimed that his friends from Morocco experience the same treatment at the hands of Dutch police. There have been other studies that confirm the ethnic profiling of Muslims and their disproportionate stop and search by the police especially since the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the introduction of anti-terror legislation across Europe (Mythen et al., 2009; Spalek, 2010; Lambert and Githens-Mazer, 2010; Choudury, 2013).

The issue of ethnic profiling and disproportionate stop and search by the police appears to affect ethnic minorities across race and religion in the Netherlands. The ethnic profiling of black people, and their disproportionate stop and search while driving, using traffic offences as a pretext has been found by other studies (Harris, 1997; Barlow and Barlow, 2000; McDevitt and Farrell, 2000; Lichtenberg, 2006) and in the Netherlands driving while in a good car (Jennissen, 2009; Eijkman, 2010; Çankaya, 2012; Van Leun, 2017).

Police respondents in the communities also agreed that the issue of ethnic profiling and disproportionate stop and search of the African-Dutch does occur in the Netherlands. What is striking is ethnic minority officers' criticims of police profiling and disproportionate stopping of African-Dutch people. This was evident in the confirmation of this practice by Theo, an ethnic minority officer.

> It is multi-factor what we know in the police force, reports and statistics is that the combination with the facts for example in certain areas a lot of people get stopped as Africans and they think is legal to search specifically people with those traits. (Theo, 36, mixed race male)

Theo's claim that officers and the police organisation are aware of the problem, and that certain officers think it is legal to arrest people according to their traits and race, confirms the accounts of African-Dutch respondents, that they are profiled according to certain traits in their identities. Vincent, an ethnic minority officer, when prompted on his opinion regarding ethnic profiling of African-Dutch said the following.

> Sometimes you see it yourself, I have sometimes worked with a white colleague who saw a black guy driving an expensive car and then turned around and asked me how the black guy could afford such a car? You know? If he can't afford such a car how could he drive that car? My question was, so because he is a black guy, he can't buy an expensive car or maybe he has a good job you don't know or maybe he is a footballer or something else so that for me confirms racism at that moment. (Vincent, 25, African-Dutch male)

Kees, another ethnic minority officer also supports this view.

> No, I don't think they are always fair, no, and I think they have the wrong perception of what is criminality and what is our jobs: is it our job to be in contact with the community or just to drive around and stopping people and searching their car? (Kees, 29, Caribbean-Dutch male)

The opinion of ethnic minority officers regarding the use of ethnic profiling in the African-Dutch communities seems to resonate with that of African-Dutch respondents. Eric, also an ethnic minority officer, spoke of institutional problems and the lack of willingness to accept that the issue of ethnic profiling is a problem within the Dutch police organisation:

> I think in any case you can give it whatever reason you like to and I don't think our organisation is ready maybe now a bit but a few years ago were not ready to face the reality, to reflect on the events and ask the question if the police were racist or not eehm was there a racist intention with the stop or not? Even if they have done that and discovered there was racial intention, they would never have accepted but would have found a way to explain the situation yeah. That is hard, but I am just being honest I think that is the way a research should be done [laughs]. (Eric, 32, mixed-race male)

Ethnic minority officers have been found by other studies to denounce police racism and negative treatment of ethnic minority civilians (Holdaway and Barron, 1997; Cashmore, 2001; Cashmore, 2002), while other studies find that ethnic minority citizens respond positively to ethnic minority police officers (Cochran and Warren, 2011; Bhugowandeen, 2013).

There seems to be a division of opinion between white native officers and ethnic minority officers on the legality of using ethnic profiling for stop and search of African-Dutch people. An ethnic minority police officer described (above) how white native officers think a black male cannot afford a specific car. His comment was exemplified by Jerome, a white police constable in the community.

> I am of the opinion that they asked for it the moment they are so young, and driving around in such an expensive car, and that sends the alarm bell ringing by me. (Jerome, 29, white native male)

Jerome believed young black youths were responsible for police suspicion towards them, the moment they were observed to be young and driving expensive cars. Several respondents told me of televised reports of a footballer who was stopped and arrested by the police because he was driving a Porsche. This is coherent with the narratives of African-Dutch and ethnic minority police officers: that ethnic profiling is a problem within the Dutch police.

The Dutch police organisation are not unaware of the problems regarding ethnic profiling and disproportionate stop, and sometimes search, of African-Dutch and other ethnic minorities in the Netherlands. The Dutch police organisation appears to be making efforts to address these issues, with the training of police officers on the awareness of the problems, and ways to curb these behaviours among police officers. The police chief introduced the sergeant in charge of the ethnic profiling training in his team to the researcher. In the researcher's discussions during interviews with police officers, on issues regarding ethnic profiling, it became a salient theme, that police officers were mentioning the introduction of ethnic-profiling training as a positive step towards addressing these issues. The interviewed officers suggested the researcher speak to the ethnic profiling ambassador, as they call him. The sergeant in charge of the training, an ethnic minority officer himself, explained to the researcher that the issue of ethnic profiling has reached an epidemic level especially in big cities in the Netherlands. (**Research field note, Observation of African–Police Community Dialogue meeting, 18/03/2017**)

The prevalence of ethnic profiling and stop and search of black and other ethnic minorities, especially in socially disadvantaged communities in big cities, is captured by the current study, and it is a common feature in exisiting studies (Fagan and Davies, 2000; Delsol and Shiner, 2006; MacDonald et al., 2016). Notwithstanding, the profiling ambassador noted that the communities were happy, and the police organisation was also happy with the progress made regarding this issue. The effect of the ethnic-profiling training on police officers in the studied communities could not be gauged through the claimed happiness of the police organisation or the claim that the communities are happy, as the use of ethnic profiling and stop and search by the police remain prominent features in all interviews and observations of both police and African-Dutch respondents in the studied communities.

7.2.3 Nigerian Women and Dutch Police

This, and following sections, will lay more emphasis on intersectional discrimination of the African Dutch as observed and recorded through an intersectional lens. This research, with the use of intersectionality as a theoretical framework, attempts to examine the phenomenon of racially constructed policing through an intersectional lens, and finds the African Dutch to be suffering from intersectional discrimination, which distinguishes them from other ethnic minority groups, or other nationalities. The use of a racism framework, as

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earlier argued in the theoretical framework section of this study, has been used time and time again, and would not be adequate for capturing all aspects of discrimination in the relationship between the African Dutch and the Dutch police. While the use of intersectionality is not very common as a theoretical framework in the study of policing and police culture, other scholars within the traditional fields of sociology and criminology have established intersectionality to be of great value in understanding social inequalities (Anderson, 1996; Quraishi, 2005; Collins, 2007; Cho and Ferree, 2010).

This study found that Nigerian women suffer discrimination at the hands of the Dutch police through the intersection of their race, gender and nationality. The Nigerian women's responses to questions and narratives on their experience of policing in regard to the discrimination suffered by them was intersectional. The prominent theme in their experience of policing reflects intersectional discrimination and, at times, suppression and inequality. Studies on the experiences of minorities using intersectionality as a tool, have found that sections of society can sometimes be classified not only as different from others, but marginalised and in other cases positioned as troubled (Staunaes, 2010). This study also uncovers among Nigerian women under the intersectional lens, how they negotiate their self-identities and those ascribed to them by the Dutch police.

The purpose of intersectionality as a framework in this study was to explore the ways a specific group suffer disadvantage due to their identities, race, gender, ethnicities, nationalities or other visible or invisible criteria. The experiences of Nigerian women in this study demonstrate that they suffer intersectional discrimination. A diverse range of studies have used intersectionality as a tool and have found that it is not limited only to race, gender, ethnicity or class alone, but also applies to other types of injustices and inequalities (Hancock, 2007; Cole, 2009; Choo and Ferree, 2010; Costa, 2018). A prominent narrative among Nigerian women interviewed in this study is the assertion that they are a target by virtue of being Nigerian female to which is added the assumption that they are prostitutes or drug mules. The issue of Nigerian female prostitution was dominant in the Netherlands during the 1990s, and there were various incidents of prostitution cartels from Nigeria arrested for trafficking young girls from Nigeria specifically to the Netherlands and Italy, and at times to other European destinations (Van Dijk, 2001; Carling, 2005; Siegel, 2012).

Nigerian women interviewed in the study hold the view that the Dutch police constructed Nigerian women as suspicious, regarding prostitution and other illegal activities. Eunice reflected upon the stereotype in her treatment by the Dutch police.

> You know these issues of black people and Nigerians it's a lot of story, so it's not easy and it's everywhere, the experience it's too horrible it's too much … When you hold a Nigerian passport and they know you are a Nigerian ooh my God! It's just as if you come from another planet. There a lot of complaints about the way we are treated, I mean when you are a Nigerian. (Eunice, 46, African-Dutch female)

Eunice's view on her treatment by the Dutch police when they establish her identity to be Nigerian. She also pointed out that there are lot of complaints made against the police as a way of responding to these stereotypes.

There are some other aspects of identities that intersect with race, this is well-documented in the experiences of Nigerian women interviewed in this study. The Nigerian women claimed, in their perception of police contact, that the police respond to them differently compared to other women, or perhaps to any other typical black women. Various studies have criticised criminologists for ignoring the experience of black females (Crenshaw, 1989; Daly and Stephens, 1995). Eunice with her sister Monica in the following extract spoke of their experience with the Dutch police and in Norway while travelling on business trip.

> Here in the Netherlands, see if you are a Nigerian and you are female oooo! This also happened to me in Norway as well, the same harassment, I even pulled my clothes off and made a lot of problem with the woman [customs officer]. Once you are a Nigerian female, you are suspected of prostitution and everything under the earth. (Eunice, 46, African-Dutch female)

Eunice and Monica narrated how being a Nigerian and female exposed them to extra policing at the hands of the Dutch police and their Norwegian colleagues. This information was, however, not pursued further, as the focus of this study was on Dutch police. The perception of Nigerian women by the Dutch police seems to be that of a suspect. As indicated by the respondents, the intersectional discrimination against Nigerian women is a phenomenon across continental Europe. They were of the opinion that they are subjected to ancillary checks at the borders. Their experiences are coherent with their narratives that they are suspected as prostitutes and drugs mules by the Dutch police, and as suggested by Eunice, this sentiment is shared by police in the rest of Europe.

The Nigerian women interviewed in the course of this study stated that the Dutch police stereotype and discriminate against them as a Nigerian females. They spoke of the difficulties associated with regulating their residence documentation, and held the perception that they had to struggle twice as hard when compared to other women, and women of colour, in the procedures for obtaining and presenting documents. This is illustrated in Rosemary's account of her attempt to establish her residence status after marriage.

> I was refused my stay permit despite the fact that I am married to a native Dutch and have a daughter from him. They advised me to go back to Nigeria to regulate my papers, they then called my husband into a different room and told him why Nigerian lady of all people. I went to Nigeria and spent three years trying to come back with my daughter who was born in the Netherlands and is a Dutch citizen. (Rosemary, 44, African-Dutch female)

Rosemary illustrates the difficulty in being a Nigerian woman in the Netherlands. Her account reflects police meddling in her marriage and an attempt to convince her husband that he could have made a better choice of wife. Dutch police and immigration officers, as claimed by a Nigerian woman in this interview, when the opportunity arises, discourage Dutch men from marrying Nigerian women due to the stereotypes discussed earlier in this section.

Nigerian women interviewed in this study spoke of police harassment and illegal detention by the Dutch police. In the narration of their ordeals, there was an accusation against the Dutch police that they do not always follow due process and would violate Nigerian women's rights, if they thought they could get away with it. Martha, a Nigerian female, who was arrested on suspicion of not possessing a residence permit for the Netherlands, reflected on the position of Nigerian women.

> I was not treated well. No of course not, even when I was asking them the reason for arresting me, they refuse to give me a reason. There was even one lady that was arrested there, how I wish the lady is here to explain to you, the lady wanted to travel to Nigeria the following day before she was arrested, with her Nigerian passport and her ticket. She even called someone to bring her documents and her ticket to show the police because she was arrested when she went to visit someone and she was arrested in her host residence. I met this lady at the police station, and we were in the same detention suite for one week, the lady despite explaining she was leaving for Nigeria with her ticket shown to the police officers, they still refused to let her go. We were both in Schiphol detention centre together for one week before she was finally released to travel. She was not deported because the lawyer said she was not supposed to be deported, she was not even supposed to be detained till the following day according to the lawyer, the lawyer said she was supposed to be released that very day as she had her ticket to travel the next day. So, I don't know what happened. (Martha, 38, African-Dutch female)

Martha's account of her experience in police detention points to the complaints made by other Nigerian women interviewed in this study, that the Dutch police do not respect them, as they would other women or black women of other nationalities. Martha did admit to the researcher that she was operating an illegal restaurant in the community when she was arrested. She claimed she had to do it to survive and send money to her children in Nigeria. She claimed to have a Spanish residence permit, which allowed her to live within any EU country. Martha was deported back to Spain and came back to the Netherlands after a few weeks of staying in Spain. Her account of how another Nigerian lady was detained for a week, despite her lawyer's assertion that the police did not have the right to detain her more than few hours, is consistent with the African-Dutch and Nigerian female respondents' claims that the Dutch police ignore due process in dealing with them. It was noticeable that most of the Nigerian women encountered in African-Dutch communities during this study, undocumented or not, were operating illegal restaurants, hair styling services, or working as assistants in various shops within the community. Though it could not be ruled out that there are Nigerian women who work as drug mules and prostitutes in the Netherlands, this study failed to establish that prostitution and drug trafficking was prevalent among the Nigerian women interviewed.

The empirical evidence of this study suggests that Nigerian women do experience intersectional discrimination and prejudice because of their identity as black and Nigerian and their gender as female, in relation to the issue of women trafficking by Nigerian cartels. The issue of Nigerians trafficking of girls for prostitution, as mentioned earlier does occur, but other studies find that this is not restricted to Nigerians alone, but other countries such as Ghana. Indeed, recent studies assert that trafficking in women and prostitution in the Netherlands is more prevalent among East-European populations than amongst Nigerians (Outshoorn, 2012; Spapens and Rijken, 2014; Van Liempt and Chimienti, 2017).

The police officers interviewed in this study made no mention of issues with prostitution, nor did they indicate it was a problem in the communities. There could be two reasons for not mentioning prostitution: the first could be that there are no significant problems of prostitution in the communities; the second is that this study did not specifically enquire about prostitution, though police officers were asked about issues affecting the communities. However, there is enough empirical evidence to suggest that Nigerian women suffer intersectional prejudice and discrimination regarding this subject. The other studies on usage of intersectionality as a tool in generating the experiences of the disadvantaged, especially those of black women, has led to important knowledge-gathering which is needed for testing

theories on how they are affected by their experience (Crenshaw, 1991; Hancock, 2007; Nakhid et al., 2015). This study has added to existing studies in using an intersectionality lens, to gauge the experience of the socially and racially marginalised African-Dutch communities in the Netherlands.

7.3 Nigerian Experiences of Discrimination

A prominent theme among Nigerian respondents in the course of data collection of interviews with the African-Dutch and the observation of a major human rights organisation executive, is that Nigerians are subjected by Dutch police to racism and discrimination not experienced by other black and other African-Dutch people in the Netherlands. The Nigerian respondents in this study hold a common perception that they are stereotyped by the Dutch police; that an average Nigerian in the Netherlands is a fraudster or likely involved in unscrupulous businesses. This issue quickly became prominent in this study, with a perception from interviewed and observed Nigerians of subjection to extra policing due to their nationality as Nigerian.

Osagie, a musician and an instrumentalist in a Pentecostal church in the community, reflected on his experience of being under constant suspicion and harassment from the police, and how the police took his identity as Nigerian into consideration on contact.

> Yes, yes, they know who you are based on what you give to them, who you are. They treat you as A Nigerian they know you are a Nigerian. They categorise you as a Nigerian criminal or as a 419. In fact they treat you most time very hostile. They try to provoke you, then you also you will be forced to say one or two things that you are not supposed to say. (Osagie, 50, African-Dutch male)

Osagie, in his interview, enumerated the questions asked when the police established the identity of African-Dutch people as Nigerian. He shared the view that many frustrating questions were asked, which he perceived as police tactics of provoking Nigerians in order to have grounds for arrest. Studies have suggested police fabrication of evidence to facilitate arrest (Van den Hoven, Miller and Pogge, 2016).

There was a sense of police stereotyping them as fraudsters by the Nigerians interviewed in this study. This is perceived as being directly responsible for the disproportionate policing of Nigerians in the African-Dutch communities, especially with regards to stop and search and irregular ID checks . The Nigerians understand the police

stereotypes to have a negative impact on them as potential suspects in crimes they have not committed. Their perception was that they were suspected in the context of being black, African and of Nigerian nationality. Studies on police culture assert that suspicion and stereotype of the minorities are part of the police occupational culture used in predicting danger and conduct of people they meet. This is affirmed in the literature on police occupational culture in Chapter 4 of this thesis (Kemp et al., 1992; Holdaway, 1983 Reiner, 2010).

The treatment of Nigerians by Dutch police was reflected in Kehinde's experiences of policing in his community.

> They don't even have to do that they just ask you for your passport, and then they take your passport and cross check it in the computer, and then just to be sure because sometimes, for example, I for one when I give them my passport they say, okay you were born in Igbanke, and then the next thing because they don't know where Igbanke is. They would then ask me where Igbanke is and when I tell them Nigeria, ohh then it will come down to what they were thinking ohh is a Nigerian. So that gives them a kind of impression of who you are or how to go about dealing with you or relating to you. You know? So I am sorry to use this word but being a Nigerian now seems to be a stigma all around us but it is the country where we were born. It is the country we know, nobody is going to accept us the way Nigeria has accepted us, so whatever they do we will still try to keep our names and not try to be who we are not, but still try to be who we are and why we still trying to be who we are we show that Nigeria is not all about negativity. (Kehinde, 40, African-Dutch male)

Kehinde, who is a university graduate and a hotelier in the African-Dutch community, conveyed his impression of police contact with Nigerians. He stressed that the police do not see him as a graduate and a successful businessman on contact with them, this he claimed was due to their perception of Nigerians as fraudsters. He relayed the impact of this stereotype, as he has to keep explaining that he is a hotelier and a linguistics graduate. The process of identification of categories as suggested by Aspinall and Song (2013) occurs without the consent of the observed. The experience of Kehinde and other African-Dutch interviewess in this study echoes how colour, nationality and other African-Dutch identities could be a factor for the Dutch police in the construction of their suspicion in the police- minority context.

The Nigerians interviewed in this study claimed the situation was so severe that Nigerians are expected to spend double or triple the amount of time spent by other African-Dutch nationals with the police via regular police checks, in explaining sometimes what they do for work. The moment one is stopped by the police and identified as Nigerian, one is instantly categorised as being part of a risk group. Banky, an African-Dutch bicycle repairer in

the community said: "the moment police see your Nigerian passport, you are classified as extra suspicious or person of interest ah ah ah [laughs]" (Banky, 52, African-Dutch male).

The African-Dutch respondents in this study were of the opinion that it was also not unusual for police to raid events where a Nigerian show or other large gathering was taking place. This theme was prominent in the interviews even among non-Nigerians who were using this issue as evidence that police will target specific groups if they are perceived to be deviant. Chima, of Nigerian origin, who resides in the community recollected a police raid during a Nigerian comedy night.

> They came there, and they raided the place everybody there was a suspect, they were looking for 419, but till today I don't know whether they got even one, to tell the world about, that people who were there were not 419, but we are labelled, the people there were not 419, when you go and watch a comedian then you become a 419. That is what I have learnt because for most people that day, there was a disaster in the Zuid-Oost. There were very rapid arrests that went on, that people were shouting is not good is not good, how the case went till today nobody can give account, they deported lot of people for no reason, for the sake of you having criminals there. Who were the criminals there? No one can recount the police recovering anything or evidence, so till today we don't know what happened and many lives affected because of that issue, so for me I don't think it's right yeah. (Chima, 34, African-Dutch male)

Chima's claim of experiencing a massive police raid during a Nigerian comedy show was supported by other respondents in this study. In fact, almost everybody from an ethnic minority group the researcher came across during fieldwork, mentioned this incident because the Osuofia, who was performing on the night of the raid, is a popular comedian. Chima said that despite the police claim that fraudsters were in the show, they could not provide any proof. However, he indicated that many lives were disrupted as a result of this raid and many people were deported to Africa. Chima's account of the police raid remains coherent with African-Dutch claims that the police will raid areas in the community where they suspect illegal immigrants could be. This case mentioned here took place in 2007 and prompted a debate within Dutch society and the media; this appeared to have an impact on police–minority relations where lessons were, apparently, learned.

These narratives above have been reflected in the views of prominent human rights organisations in the Netherlands. Kora, an executive at Dutch Amnesty International, revealed that not a great deal is known about Dutch police–African experiences due to a lack of research. However, she spoke with the researcher about news reports in which 13 Nigerians arrested by

the Dutch police were subsequently released by the judge for lack of evidence (**Research field note, Observation of interaction with Amnesty International executive, 25/01/ 2016**)

Various studies have found police to be prejudiced in their dealing with specific groups of people especially blacks and Asians (Smith and Gray, 1985; Bowling, Pamar and Philips, 2008; Skinner and Haas, 2016; Spencer, Charbonneau and Glaser, 2016). This study argues that Nigerians suffer discrimination at the hands of the Dutch police based on the intersection of their race with their nationality as a Nigerian in relation to the stereotyping of that nationality. The framework of intersectionality as a lens in interpreting the experiences of Nigerians at the hands of the Dutch police, has afforded this study to conclude that the Nigerians suffer intersectional discrimination in the Netherlands based on their race and nationality. Furthermore, if discrimination or racism against Nigerians were to be examined under a single-axis framework of racism, Nigerians would no doubt be missed out regarding the types of discrimination they experience, or perhaps may have been omitted or neglected altogether. Studies on intersectionality have found that the use of single framework identitiy erases the experiences of the intersectional disadvantaged (Crenshaw, 1989; Crenshaw, 1991; Dhamoon, 2011; Hochreiter, 2014).

7.4 Subjection of African-Dutch Businesses to Discriminatory Practices

The Subjection of African-Dutch businesses to discriminatory practices became a prominent theme in the course of this study, as African-Dutch businessmen of Nigerian origin in the community complained of being targeted and over-policed. The police experiences of businessmen within the African-Dutch communities mirrored the experiences of the wider African Dutch in the community, especially the Nigerians. The targeting of African-Dutch businesses for lack of cooperation with the police, in giving information as part of police intelligence gathering, and for reporting police violation of individual rights were prominent in the interviews of business owners in the African-Dutch communities. The presence of police and frequent targeted checks on businesses within the communities appears to disrupt African-Dutch patronage from customers. Though the business owners interviewed in this study were African-Dutch of various nationalities, their experiences of policing in the community do not differ from each other.

Ade, a Nigerian businessman with a restaurant in one of the African-Dutch urban neighbourhoods, discussed how he was subjected to frequent checks and his restaurant was disproportionately policed, as a result of being a Nigerian and the perception of the police, that his restaurant was visited by undocumented customers. He reflected on how behaviour of the police negatively impacted on him and his customers.

> I am a business man, I also have interaction with the public or, so our businesses are targeted and target in the sense that the police knew that their presence in the McDonald's if it is constant, the people will turn around and look what is going on, you understand? And at the end of the day in this kind of organisation police don't parade themselves around to scare their customers, clients and so on, but in our business it is totally different ehmmehmm the police have fluxed into our business it's not that sometimes when they do that, that they don't have a sort of result that is negative to us and positive to them and we allow them to prove to the government that look when we go there see what we discovered, which has being giving them more authority to continue in that manner. We, our business is small in this community and when the presence of the police is kind of frequent you will see that the customers has been driven off, and most of our customers are undocumented, but because they want to have their own kind of food, they want to have their own kind of things, they want to have their clothing and they like having fun in the club house and so and so forth, so in that area I may ask for more tolerance.
>
> When our people finds out that the police are coming to your business all the time, then they are not coming anymore and we still have to keep paying the tax we have to keep paying the rents and we have to keep living and that is so hard on us who have taken the path to work in honesty and patriotic to where we live. We work here we pay tax and for fact that you have a business and you have been aligned with certain people in the country that mean you can't survive, you can't pay your rent, that is eehm you can't pay your food, that means you will not be in the system of support from the government, you are totally on your own so if anything in anyway vents that is the plan of your income then you are totally on your own. So, for that reason the relationship of the police with our business is not very friendly, but they know that too and I see it as a kind of key or system to keep us in control.
>
> You know this Nigeria issue and police suspicion, that we are involved in 419 deals. I cannot vow for every of my customers, that they are not 419, but majority of them are highly trained professionals with their own job. It is unfair to treat us this way. What do you think?. (Ade, 47, African-Dutch male)

Ade draws upon his race, ethnicity, nationality and residency permit as reason for police disproportionate policing of his business, and how this drives away his customers as some of them are illegal immigrants. This study notes that while illegal immigrants within the African-Dutch communities avoid areas frequented by the Dutch police, there is also a tendency for legally resident African-Dutch people to avoid business where police carry out regular checks.

Existing studies have shown illegal immigrants to fear the police and avoid their areas of operation (Theodore and Habans, 2016; Armenta, 2016). Ade's experience reflects how his race intersects with his other identities as African and Nigerian, in making him and his business suffer discrimination and disadvantage in the community.

Mukisa, another restaurant owner from Uganda, told the researcher that his business had similarly been disproportionately checked by the police. He too was of the opinion that his business was over-policed as a result of him being an African. Mukisa was of the opinion that Africans in the community are treated differently in a negative way from other minorities.

> They don't parade other businesses the way they parade ours. They don't parade other businesses like that; I don't see them in McDonald's, maybe if I mention McDonald's it may be too big, we have Chinese restaurants, we have other restaurants, but we don't see things like these. They have a mutual relationship with them. If they need to control our workers or anything like that, they know the way they go through the normal procedure, which is, the manager is involved, and he is going to make sure that all his workers are documented. He can present that and if they need to confirm it, they can just say we need to confirm all these people that are working with you. They can do that that is ehmm on a platform that will be fitting our own interest but if is not done that way and if they just burst in and park their car outside, the moment they do that and we are people with ehhm with ehhm how do I say it, I don't want to use any insulting words [expletive] on my own community of so but our reaching out is so fast that if a policeman park car here, the information will spread like a wild fire , that my restaurant has been raided by the police, it is a sad story. (Mukisa, 52, African-Dutch male)

Mukisa's reflection portrays police inequality in the ways they deal with African-Dutch business owners. His experience points to how his race intersects with his ethnicity as an African. Mukisa was of the opinion that the Africans are treated negatively and differently from the proprietors of Chinese restaurants and McDonalds franchisees. Studies in the Netherlands have found categorisation of different ethnicities as more accepted than others. The Chinese, for example, under Dutch categorisation are not perceived as ethnic minorities due to their assumed relatively prosperous social-economic situation (Rath, 1993; Penninx, 2004).

Due to the closeness in the communities, police presence in any shop, especially in African-Dutch businesses, becomes problematic, as news spreads throughout the neighbourhood and beyond regarding police presence. The illegal African Dutch, as mentioned earlier, avoid any business with frequent police presence and this may mean a fall or in income for such business owners, and in some cases closure of the business due to lack of patronage from African-Dutch clientele.

The experience of Kehinde, an African-Dutch grocer of Nigerian origin, sheds light on police intimidation and rights violations.

> They kept on coming into my shop constantly for weeks, trying to intimidate me and my customers. They even took our pictures few times, telling my customers I am not allowed to sell alcohol, this because of issues and complaints, I made against them. (Kehinde, 40, African-Dutch male)

Kehinde shared with the researcher a history with the police and how he was arrested on suspicion of drug dealing, and wanted in Germany. He said he was detained in isolation for six months, and later released by the judge for lack of evidence. Kehinde's case appears prominent in the Netherlands, as everyone interviewed in this study made mention of his case, and asked me to interview him, citing his experience as a typical example of Dutch police racism and miscarriage of justice. Kehinde said he recently wrote a book on his trauma at the hands of the police. He claimed this led to the police visiting his grocery shop and subsequent disproportionate policing of his premises. This view appears consistent with other business owners that the Dutch police use disproportionate policing to keep them under control. Studies on police misconduct have found police to use discretion illegitimately in achieving control over person or place of interest (Young, 1971; Harmon, 2012).

Kehinde counter-narratives reflect how his race intersects with his nationality as a Nigerian, which resonates with his negative experience of racism and discrimination at the hands of the police. The discussion above reflects the African-Dutch respondents' perceptions of disproportionate police policing of the African Dutch. Kehinde's claim of detention for six months cannot be corroborated as the Dutch police does not possess the power to detain suspects beyond three days. Kehinde's view of the police can be understood in the context of seeing the police as part of the justice system and as a gateway to the justice system.

Odemi, an African-Dutch restauranteur of Nigerian origin, narrated his negative contact with the police. Odemi, who claimed to be a graduate of mathematics, detailed how his business, then an employment agency, was raided on suspicion of supplying illegal workers and drug dealing. He was also asked by the researcher why he though he was targeted by the police.

> Just because the way they did it, first of all if you are busting someone, do you need to go to the company where he works? No you came to my office you searched my office, you searched my house you did not find anything, if you don't find anything you try to investigate, you don't go to office where I supplied labour personnel to

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work and getting my daily bread, they say one or two things and they send everybody home. This is what I feel; I don't want to have anything with them.

It's all about being a successful Nigerian businessman, they don't believe we can do anything legal to make money. Even where I lived, the white neighbours used to peep through the window and wondering how I could afford living there with my family. Charles, I used to control millions in my company's account, now look at me, I have been in the kitchen for the past few hours. (Odemi, 42, African-Dutch male)

Odemi's counter-narrative points to how his race intersects with his ethnicity and nationality, and how he thinks this was instrumental in the discrimination he suffered at the hands of the police. Odemi, from the extract, was of the opinion that the police should not have gone to the company nor to his other clients after raiding his office, until their investigation was complete. He believed this affected his business, as the companies hired other agencies to supply their workforces after this incident, in which no evidence of wrong doing was found.

They just went to the company and told the directors, that my company is being investigated for human trafficking. You know this people don't want to get involve with you the moment they hear such things. That unfortunately became the end my business. Imagine ... (Odemi, 42, African-Dutch male)

Odemi's experience of the Dutch police chimes with other African-Dutch perceptions, that the police think they should not be driving expensive cars in the community. These findings replicate the 'driving while black' profiling (Harris, 1997) and 'flying while Arab' profiling of minority groups (Baker, 2002). Odemi claimed the case against him was dismissed by the high court. He claimed not to be interested in damages against the police, as he believed this would not bring back his business.

An argument could be made on behalf of the police, that they are doing their job, for example when checking on the legality of workers used by the African-Dutch businesses or generally checking on the businesses for security issues. The Dutch-African business owners, as discussed earlier on, argue that the police could come in an unmarked car and discreetly check the status of their workers, if they need to conduct checks. They claim that it is not unusual for police to raid African-Dutch events or restaurants on the pretext that they are investigating organised crime. The rhetoric from the African-Dutch respondents in this study suggests that African-Dutch businesses are disproportionately checked and over-policed to the detriment of such businesses. The police visits to businesses in the African-Dutch communities, apart from driving away customers, could also raise the African-Dutch community's suspicion

of conspiracy between such business owners and the police, as people could start suspecting their information might be passed on to the police due to police pressure on such business owners. There were claims by African-Dutch businessmen that the police tended to pick on their businesses sometimes for non-cooperation over issues such as passing on intelligence information or reporting the police for violation of their rights.

The discourse in this study suggests that the Dutch police use indiscriminate checks, over-policing and abuse of power to control African-Dutch businesses, or even to deploy them as a tool to do their bidding and policing of fellow African-Dutch people. Issues of institutional racism of police and abuse of power have been found by other studies (Macpherson, 1999; Smith and Alpert, 2007; Bowling and Philips, 2007; Newburn, 2015; Akinlabi 2016) whilst previous studies in the Netherlands have found police abuse of discretionary powers (Svensson and Saharso, 2013; Mutsaers, 2014; Svensson and Saharso, 2015).

7.5 African-Dutch Subscribed and Ascribed Identity

A dominant theme in this study is the construction and perception of the African Dutch regarding their identities. While a noticeable proportion of interviewed African-Dutch respondents possess Dutch nationality either by birth or naturalisation, there is an overall sense of self-subscription to identities that revolve around their ethnicity rather than nationality. A prominent finding in this study is the affiliation of the African Dutch living in the Netherlands with their African heritage. African Dutch interviewees spoke of multiple layers to their identities, and in terms of prioritising their identities, perceive themselves first as black African, and then mentioned their country of origin or that of their parents – for people who were born in the Netherlands. Dutch nationality was perceived as the least significant aspect of their identities. The reason for prioritising their race, ethnicity and nationality over other aspects of their identity, such as the Dutch nationality, were found to be connected to the racism and discrimination they perceived they were suffering at the hands of the police and Dutch society in general. Obina, living in an urban neighbourhood, discussed prioritising of his identity based on his contact with the Dutch police.

> Up till now I could tell you that prior to my coming in contact with the Dutch police I have always seen myself as a Nigerian and a Dutch at the same time, but after my experiences with the Dutch police I know that the Dutch people and the Dutch police will never accept me as a Dutch person. You know? So, my perception has changed to

being a Nigerian but of course I still possess the Dutch nationality and it's only for convenience sake. In the first instance I am living in their society and secondly travelling with the Dutch passport is more convenient than if I have to travel with the Nigerian passport, so my possession of the other nationality is more for conveniences, but deep in me I know I am still a Nigerian because I will never be accepted. If I was accepted, then maybe my notion will change. (Obina, 43, African-Dutch male)

Obina's experiences define how he identifies himself as a Nigerian due to negative police contact, and due to his perception of his non-acceptance as a Dutch citizen. Obina stressed that his acceptance of the Dutch nationality was for convenience sake, as it makes it easier for him to travel to several countries without a visa. Diallo, from Sierra Leone, echoed Obina's sentiment.

I usually tell my children that they are from Africa and not from the Netherlands. My small daughter always tells me, but we were born here. I tried to explain to them that being born here doesn't make them Dutch. I hope they understand, but they will definitely do in future.

Diallo assumes that his children will understand why they are not Dutch in the future, when they experience discrimination and un-acceptance from the Dutch society. Diallo explains his efforts in the education of his children.

We always make sure we travel with the children to Sierra Leone at least once in four years. We would have loved to that every year, but we cannot afford that. We hope this will encourage them in the future to affiliate with their roots. (Diallo, 36, African-Dutch male)

Diallo's situation explains the importance being given to their African heritage. This could be explained as a result of his own experiences of discrimination or strong cultural affiliation with their African identity.

African self-identity was strongly affirmed by all of the African-Dutch respondents in this study. An example of this is seen in the expression of an African-Dutch Ghanaian: "Fully blood Ghanaian and black. Even though I have a Dutch passport, I still see myself as Ghanaian" (Kofi, 29, African-Dutch male). Kayode, too, spoke of the importance of his race and ethnicity as an important aspect of his identity:

I am a Nigerian and an African yeah and heehm a world citizen and living away from where I was born so I have learnt to see myself as a global person relating with people. I have learnt over the years that when we travel we seems to do better than when we are back at home, for instance when I meet a Black person we don't start with the question of where were you born, we perceive ourselves first as Black people and a sort of connection and then the closer it becomes the better it is when In got to know that you are a Nigerian and again when I get to know that you are a Yoruba so I still see myself

as Dutch since 2000 when I got the Dutch citizenship and I do my best to be a good Dutch citizen, to comply with the law but my identity has not changed being a Nigerian and an African. (Kayode, 37, African-Dutch male)

Kayode's expression of his identity holds his race and ethnicity as very important, though he claimed to also hold Dutch nationality and has been a good Dutch citizen, he maintained that that his identity has not changed as a Nigerian and as an African. Studies have found African identities to be important and of symbolic value (Bekker, Dodds and Khosa, 2001).

Religion as identity was also found to be prominent among both Muslims and Christians interviewed in this study. It became a striking part of African-Dutch identities, when all respondents mentioned religion as very important part of their identities. Chima, for example, identifies himself as Christian first before any other aspect of his identities, though he indicated that he would not identify himself as Dutch.

I will identify myself first as a Christian, as an African but not Dutch, when you answer Dutch your name is in the system, but you are not really Dutch. You are black you are a Black. (Chima, 34, African-Dutch male)

Similarly, Mohammed's conception of his identities was first his religion as Muslim before any other identities. This reflects overall perception of African-Dutch regarding their identities. "First I am a Muslim, then Black African, husband and Dutch" (Mohammed, 29, African-Dutch male).

Meanwhile, Ada, an African-Dutch housewife, on her perception of her identity, said: "I am Black and a Christian, I am a student and a housewife and an African" (Ada, 43, African-Dutch female).

Dutch Africans rarely speak about their identities without linking to their religion, ethnicity and other aspects of their perceived identities. In the case of this study, this was chiefly either Christianity or Islam. This practice was observed during tours of various communities, with one of the Ghanaian respondents introducing the researcher to a street preacher from Ghana. It was noticeable that people put stickers of their church or mosque on business windows and cars. This behaviour was also observed at shopping centres where one is routinely offered pamphlets on church services or the opening of a new church. The issue of the African Dutch and the affiliation of religion with their identities will be discussed in depth in Chapter 8. Religion has been found by other studies to be a crucial mechanism through which immigrants adapt and assimilate into their adoptive countries, and as method of mediating

between themselves and society (Wuthnow, 2008; Massey and Higgins, 2011; Lyck-Bowen and Owen, 2018).

This study found that the African Dutch construct their identity giving priority to their race, ethnicity and religion; other studies have also found this to be the case among immigrants (Jakubowicz et al., 2014; Fouka et al., 2018). There was sufficient evidence in this study to suggest that the Dutch police consider African-Dutch intersecting identities when dealing with them, and that the outcomes of these encountere are mostly negative. This consideration has various reasons in the context of police suspicion such as race: on the assumption that black people are aggressive, temperamental and difficult to police (Graef, 1989; Erfani-Ghettani, 2015). Generally held stereotyping of black people is suggested by studies to be part of police culture (Skolnick, 1993; Crank, 2003; Reiner, 2010). This was found by this study to impact on the ways the African Dutch are treated by the Dutch police. Other studies in the Netherlands have also found the Dutch police to possess this culture (Çankaya, 2010, 2012; Mutsaers, 2014; Siebers 2017). This study finds that the police ascription of other identities to the African Dutch (rather than those they themselves ascribe to) such as the non-acceptance of their Dutch identity to be on an equal footing with native whites Dutch people, is deeply frustrating to the African Dutch. This issue sometimes becomes a factor in how the African Dutch prioritise and perceive their identities, and their experiences of Dutch police perceptions of them.

7.6 Negotiating "Race", Class and Identities

A dominant narrative among the African Dutch interviewed and observed in this study is how they negotiate through class identities and categories. There is a contrast between the self-determined identities and self-categorisation of the African Dutch, and those ascribed to them by the police, state and Dutch society. The self-subscription of African-Dutch identities and category orientate around their ethnicity, class and self-perception of their social position within the Dutch society. As discussed in the preceding theme on African identities, some of the factors responsible for the African Dutch prioritising their ethnicity over their Dutch nationality and affiliation with the Dutch culture, is not unconnected with the complexity of their relationship with the police, Dutch society and the state. This study found evidence, that the identity ascribed to the African Dutch contrasts with the one subscribed to by the African Dutch themselves. This ascription of other identities over self-subscription, affects African-Dutch people's sense of belonging to Dutch society. This position remains dominant across the

first generation of African Dutch to the third generation, and surprisingly, with both the higher educated and less educated respondents. Various studies have found evidence of immigrants' subjection to other identities than that of the majority, and to that to which they wish to subscribe (Vasquez, 2010; Vandeyar and Van Vandeyar, 2015; Yu, 2017; [and in the Netherlands] Duyvendak and Slootman, 2011; 2014;Van Heelsum, 2013; Van Heelsum and Koomen, 2016).

There are multiple layers of African-Dutch identities, class and category, depending on how the African Dutch subscribe to these, or how they are ascribed to them by the state and society. A dominant theme found in this study, reveals the African Dutch to be victims of intersectional discrimination and categorisation in the Netherlands. The African Dutch who were born in the Netherlands, or those who were naturalised, are not ascribed the expected Dutch identities, by the police, the state or Dutch society.

The African Dutch perceived not being accepted as Dutch based on their colour, they spoke of perceiving themselves as Dutch, until discriminatory incidents with police or native Dutch, makes them think otherwise. There is an overall assumption by the African Dutch that the native Dutch do not accept them as Dutch, and that this is based on their colour and ethnicity. There is also an overall African-Dutch perception that these attitudes occur across Dutch society. This section attempts to address the African-Dutch intersection of race, class and social position in explaining the negative responses the African Dutch receive from the Dutch police in their communities. Through an intersectional lens analysis of African-Dutch counter-narratives, this study will challenge the police narrative; that they treat all citizens the same regardless of race and other intersecting aspects of African-Dutch identities. The African-Dutch interviewed in this study spoke of class and their social position, in comparing their experiences to white natives, who they perceived as having more advantage than them, in a capital, cultural and economic sense. There was a perception by the African Dutch that the community where they live mostly defines their position in the society. The African Dutch then tend to negotiate this position by moving out of the community, when circumstances permit.

Jude, an African-Dutch computer programmer of Ugandan origin, spoke of his experience of discrimination and non-acceptance by Dutch police and the native Dutch. He had the view that the native Dutch perceive the African-Dutch as illiterate on contact with them: "You talk to them as Dutch, but they still ask you where you originally come from, what level of education did you have there" (Jude, 31, African-Dutch male).

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Jude, whom I met in one of the African-Dutch bars, told me he now lives outside the community after gaining a job in a multinational company but visits the community to see his brother. The above extract illustrates his experience with the police while living in the community. He claimed now to live in an affluent area 40 miles from the community. On his experience after leaving the community he reflects: "I can say things are better now with the harassment, but I still have occasions where people or police assume you are a drug dealer because of your colour or the way you look" (Jude, 31, African-Dutch male).

The overrepresentation of African-Dutch and other minorities in housing estates and other areas of socioeconomic deprivation in the Netherlands could be a factor in police perceiving them as criminals. Jude account of his experience while living in the African-Dutch community suggests he is stereotyped through the intersection of his race with his class and social position living in the community. Studies have suggested that when low socioeconomic areas are ordered through the colour and race of the inhabitants, the race link is connected in the imagination of the police (Carrington, 2009; Kawalerowicz and Biggs, 2015).

Shaba, an economics graduate who arrived in the Netherlands from Sierra Leone just over a year ago, reflects on his social position living in the community:

> You know, I think they immediately knew who I was. They knew for example that, this is Shaba from Sierra Leone he came in this year, you know, and he is black yeah eehm because here you live here right? You know when you are black and walking together with a white man yeah? They would say there was a Dutch man and a black man you know this is how I think they perceive my identity" (Shaba, 27, African-Dutch male)

Shaba was of the opinion that being black and living in the community placed him within a low class within the Dutch society. He held the opinion that he was seen first as a black man when compared with a white native Dutch, irrespective of holding Dutch nationality. Shaba told the researcher he hopes to establish his status, get a better job and move out of the community. This sentiment is shared by Abdul, a African-Dutch of Somalian origin, who asserted that being educated improved one's chances of being accepted as Dutch citizen by the native Dutch.

> If you study and finish your study then you are a Dutch man. Moroccan, Somali, African it does not matter then you are Dutch, but if you do something bad, they don't want to know, you are then an African. (Abdul, 28, African-Dutch male)

Ali, a lawyer doing his masters in Rotterdam city and also of Somalian origin, aligned with Abdul's opinion. He spoke on how he negotiates his identity and the stereotypes of police and the Dutch natives daily.

Okay I will talk about the Somalia people how they view the Somalia people eehm they think we are financially really unstable, eehm don't work, so we get a lot of social benefits eehm don't speak the Dutch language, have big families, stay within their own communities, I think that is it.

Ali's reflections point to how the police and the Dutch people perceive the Somalians living in the Netherlands as not working and on benefits. He spoke more on his encounter with the police.

There was a day I was stopped in Rotterdam by the police, they then went on asking me all sort of stupid questions and when they asked me what I do for a job and I told them I am a lawyer, you could see their face dropped, and struggling for words. I was allowed to go on my way. They should not have stopped me in the first instance, maybe it was my look or perhaps my new car that attracted them. (Ali, 33, African-Dutch male)

Ali's experience depicts police profiling based on Ali's appearance as black, African and probably his outward appearance in combination with driving a new car. Ali's narration of his experience reflects what black professionals in the Netherlands go through at the hands of the police, based on how their being black intersects with other factors. In Ali's case his ethnicity, outward appearance as Somalian (nationality), religion, and the type and age of his car marked him out for suspicion. The police stopped him based on these factors without considering that he could be a lawyer or even a policeman.

Observations of the African Dutch in the community, and during Police–African Alliance meetings, afforded this study opportunity to gain more experience of how the African Dutch negotiate class and identity in the Netherlands. A conversation with Gabriel, a barber of Togolese origin, led to issues in the community and his customers. Gabriel narrated the diversity of his customers from cleaners to professionals who come into the community on weekends for African cuisine or to visit family. He expressed his views on why people move out of the community only to visit occasionally or on weekends.

A lot of people have moved on from the neighbourhoods, to other affluent areas or outside the city, on getting better jobs, and even sometimes after establishing a legal stay status or after marrying and starting a family**. (Research field note, Observation of African–Police Community Dialogue meeting, 15/12/2016**)

Gabriel's view in this conversation is that the African Dutch attach class importance to living away from the community, the moment they get a better job or on receiving their stay permit. This study evidently suggests that illegal immigrants move to urban African-Dutch communities, as they feel safer there and are able survive with help from the community. A community police officer interviewed in this study told of how people in the community help

those without residence permits to buy season train tickets. The illegal African-Dutch immigrants tend to move on to more affluent areas the moment they establish their status.

Chima, one of the elders in the community, who was a gatekeeper in the course of this study, reflected on how people come into the community and moved out when their job prospects improved. He pointed to a doctor we met at a Nigerian end of year party and said: "He used to live in the community, when he first arrived in the Netherlands. He moved out of the community years ago after passing his exams and getting married" (**Research field note, Observation at a Nigerian end of year party, 12/12/2016**).

The Dutch police, too, are aware of members of the African-Dutch community leaving their neighbourhoods. Bob a station commander said: "A lot of residents have moved out of the neighbourhood in the past few years." When further asked on the reason for their departure, he said: "Most of them have got better jobs due to establishing their legal status or finished studying and got better job offer and moved away from their parents" (**Research field note, Observation at a district police station, 02/03/2017**).

Bob's view on why African-Dutch people left the community replicates other respondents' views that the African Dutch move the moment their prospect of job improves, or other class-related factors occur. The African Dutch living in these communities, who were not illegal immigrants, indicated that they lived there because of cheap housing. Studies have found low-income earners to concentrate in low-income urban areas (Diane, McDade and Dumlao, 2010; Kalugina, 2016).

This study found that the African Dutch living in the studied communities, particularly the professionals, are constructed in reference to the low-class areas in which they live, and that this reflects in the way they are disproportionately policed. The non-acceptance of the African Dutch and their categorisation is dominant across race and the intersection of their colour, ethnicity, nationalities, religion, and their area of residence. There is an overall perception by African-Dutch Muslims of discrimination against them by Dutch society, based on their religious affiliation; this is coherent with narratives from African-Dutch Muslim respondents, as evident from the discussion with Ali, a lawyer doing his masters at one of the large universities in the Netherlands. The Dutch perception or stereotype of African-Dutch Muslims is that of a malign group of people who do not speak the Dutch language, that are largely dependent upon social benefits, with large families, and who will never integrate into Dutch society, preferring to stay within their own communities. Studies in the Netherlands have

found that immigrants, especially Muslims, are ascribed deviant identities and categorised as low class by the majority (Koomen and Van Heelsum, 2013; Vanparys, Jacobs and Torrenkens, 2013; Uitermark, Mepschen and Duyvendak, 2015). The African Dutch in the Netherlands negotiate and move through intersectional class categories from the self-defined and the externally ascribed class by the police and the Dutch state. There is frustration among African-Dutch people regarding the resistance to their inclusion as equal Dutch citizens. African-Dutch claims of doing everything possible to integrate and assimilate into the Dutch society are being met with resistance from the Dutch society.

Dutch society appears to be segmented across ethnic, class and religious lines, as evident from their political history of pillarization. Though the policy no longer exists, it is still very much a political ideology, where the country is divided not along religious lines as it used to be, but between the native Dutch and the ethnic minorities (Spiecker and Steutel, 2001; Schrover, 2010; Irad and Siddiky, 2015). The differences between social classes in Dutch society were evident during the fieldwork of this study. There was intersectional movement and negotiation to move away from maligned-class status and neighbourhoods by the African Dutch, as it was a dominant theme for respondents during interviews that they aspired either to have their stay permit, or to get a better job, and move out of the communities where these interviews took place. The African Dutch in these communities perceived their communities as maligned and categorised as 'low-class neighbourhoods', where residents negotiate their status and class, and once they are able to progress, they move out of the communities to more affluent areas. This movement through social class and categories could be based on getting a better job, a residence permit, higher education or even through marriage to someone of higher status, different class or a white native Dutch person. This process of moving through class and category is illustrative of the multiple layers in African-Dutch identities.

A noticeable theme in this study is the movement of illegal immigrants through social categories in these communities. The illegal immigrants appear to live in these communities for various reasons; one of these reasons is the affordability of housing, as they are able to share flats in multiple occupancy, and do not have to show their passport to landlords. The second reason is the amount of protection these communities offer them from immigration control, as most residents in these neighbourhoods are illegal immigrants, and less visible to immigration control and therefore able to blend in with the majority of immigrants. This is coherent with the complexity of policing in these communities, as the police and the immigration service suspect the majority of illegal immigrants live in such communities, which

then provides the justification for the over-policing and extra immigration controls in these neighbourhoods.

The majority of newly arrived African-Dutch people spend time in these communities until they are able to negotiate their social status and move away to a better or more affluent area. African-Dutch professionals, such as doctors, who arrive in the Netherlands on a work permit visa and will spend time in these communities until they pass their board exams and then move on to a more affluent area once in employment. The African Dutch are known to remain in these communities until they marry, as seen in the above themes, and move out once they are able to establish their legal status. The use of intersectionality has enabled this study to illuminate the vivid experiences of the African Dutch, particulary the professionals, as they try to negotiate and move from maligned identities to a better position, class and category through abandoning the maligned communities in which they live, and through counter-narratives of the police and Dutch society narratives. Other studies have found intersectionality useful in unlocking interlocking oppression of maligned and disadvantaged segments of society (Chun, Lipsitz and Shin, 2013; Cho, Crenshaw and McCall, 2013; Terriquez, 2015). As seen in the above theme. This study resonates with findings from other studies which claim that immigrants with different rights and opportunities from the majority, such as low income, immigration status and other social disadvantages, live in impoverished housing estates or deprived neighbourhoods (see Perry, 2012; Pemberton, Phillimore and Robinson, 2014; Vargas-Silva, 2018).

7.7 Summary

This chapter analysed and discussed the counter-narratives of the African-Dutch respondents through the lens of intersectional analysis of race, class, religion and ethnicity. It discussed the views of the African Dutch and their perception that the police use another yard stick for them than they do for the native Dutch. This study challenged the assumed idea of existing studies that police–minority relations and disproportionate policing of minorities can predominantly be analysed only through race and class-positioned explanations. Studies have found that regardless of subjective position, black people are categorised as lower class (Gilbert and Ray, 2016; Robinson, 2017).

This chapter has shown that African-Dutch communities experience police suspicion based on their race and other intersecting aspects of their identities. It showed how Dutch police construct their suspicion based on their assumptions or imagination, and on stereotypes of African-Dutch communities. Such behaviour reflects known literatures on police culture as seen in Chapter 4 of this thesis, that the police construct suspicion based on stereotypes (Chemey and Murphy, 2016; Brouwer, Van der Woude and Van der Leun, 2018) The experience of discrimination could only be described in depth by the victims of such experience. This chapter was enlightening in its reflection of the ways in which the African Dutch experience discrimination, and how their race intersects with other identities such as religion, gender, ethnicity and nationality – as seen in the case of Nigerians in the studied communities. The studied African-Dutch communities are known as foreigners or as people from 'black' areas, which from both residents' and outsiders' perceptions are construed as dangerous areas. These areas are over-policed, a practice that does not exclude business owners who claimed that the disproportionality of policing affects their business, even to the point of effecting closures.

Chapter 7 has outlined police racism towards the African Dutch and the diverse discrimination they claim to suffer at the hands of the police, and how their diverse identities and gender intersects with their race on contact with the police. Their race as black is a unifying part of their identity when confronted with racism and oppression from the police, which is a mainly white institution. There are, however, no uniform black experiences of policing. The data from this study suggests that African-Dutch experiences of Dutch police illustrate an intersecting oppression based on their various identities and gender. This study has illustrated the experiences of women of Nigerian origin and the discrimination that they suffer at the hands of Dutch police, based on the assumption that Nigerian women are involved in prostitution and drugs transportation or at times based on crimes police think they are likely to commit, or intend to commit. The data from this study suggest that Nigerian women's experiences of police contact is forged by the intersecting oppression of their race, first as black, and secongly their gender as women. The work of (Crenshaw, 1989; Collins, 2000, 2015) gives an insight into how these intersecting maltreatments are structured in relation to a dominating power. Through the community counter-narratives, this study was able to illustrate how the police use the power of discretion granted to them for the ethnic profiling of the African Dutch in the community; such practice was demonstrated in assumptions by the police that the African Dutch could not afford specific cars – this, despite the fact that black professionals are known

to live in or visit these communities. This chapter engaged with how diverse identities, classes and categories made the African Dutch susceptible to intersectional discriminations at the hands of a mainly white-dominated Dutch police force.

Chapter 7 also discussed the subjection of the African Dutch to racism and other discriminatory practices by the police, and how their communities are over-policed and systematically under-protected. The data revealed how the race of the first-generation African Dutch intersects with their command of the Dutch language, which includes their accent, and the way Dutch police use this in immigration policing of this group. These factors are responsible for the police stereotypes and suspicions towards the African-Dutch communities; which in most cases lead to harsh treatment from the police and make them frequent targets of over-policing. The aim and objectives of this study were addressed with a reflection, in this chapter, on African-Dutch experiences of policing in the Netherlands. It was found from the data that the African-Dutch communities suffer from disproportionate and over-policing by Dutch police officers through phenotypical markers and other social identities associated with the African-Dutch communities. The identities of the African Dutch were discussed in this chapter; data suggests that they are very conscious of their identities, which in most cases is not static, as they tend to negotiate and move between those identities.

The chapter concluded with the analysis of how the African-Dutch, and specifically African-Dutch professionals, attempt to negotiate class and move away from the identities ascribed to them by the police and Dutch society (the reviewed literature in Chapter 1 illustrates this relationship). The black African-Dutch professionals were at times successful in the negotiation of these class identities and categories, either by moving out of these 'maligned' communities, passing their professionals exams or in some cases getting married to native Dutch partners. The analysis of African-Dutch experiences of Dutch police suggests that their experiences are not the same; rather they are dependent on the intersecting part of their subscribed or ascribed identities. The experiences of black people are not the same under a dominant white power (Collins, 2000; Bowleg, 2013; Collins and Bilge, 2016).

Chapter 8 Conflict and Harmony from Dutch Police Perspectives (Data Presentation Part Three)

This chapter attempts to discuss the findings from interviews and observations of Dutch police stationed and working in the African-Dutch communities. Due to the nature of police work, and the denial of racism and discrimination by the police, it was highly doubtful that examples of the police treatment of African-Dutch communities would be captured through an intersectional analysis of their stories and their experiences of policing the African-Dutch communities. However, this study was able to capture an unanticipated positive and mutual understanding between the Dutch police and the African Dutch, through their religious identities as Christians. The capturing of this positive intersection of African-Dutch race with religion became a noticeable and prominent theme, when it formed a bridge between the African Dutch and Dutch police in managing disputes and misunderstandings in the community, thereby opening way for harmonious dialogue.

The issues affecting the Dutch police as an institution and officers working in the African-Dutch communities are analysed in this chapter, which touches upon aspects of police occupational culture and how these shape the behaviours of individual police officers and group behaviours. This includes racism towards ethnic minority officers by native Dutch officers. Studies on police culture highlight that ethnic minority officers are well-documented to suffer racism at the hands of their native colleagues (Hollis, 2014; Szeto, 2014). Drawing upon African-Dutch views of the police officers in the studied communities, this chapter reflects on the issue of police training, and how the African Dutch view the level of police training regarding management of ethnic minorities as inadequate, and at times, completely lacking (8.4). Though all interviewed officers indicated not having training in the management of minority communites, most attested to having learned about the African Dutch from the community itself. Meanwhile, the African Dutch insist that police knowledge of their communities remains deficient and needs to be improved on. This chapter concludes by reflecting on police residency within the African-Dutch communities they police; this issue led to interesting observations during interviews with the Dutch Africans. Diverse studies have shown police do not reside where they work (Silver, 2014).

8.1 Mutual Partnership Through Religious Identity

The issue of religion was an unanticipated theme in this study, though issues of religion kept occurring during interviews with African-Dutch respondents, as they claimed religion to be an important part of their identities. Religion also came up in African-Dutch Muslim descriptions of how their faith negatively intersects with their race on contact with the Dutch police. The positive intersection of the African-Dutch race with the Christian faith, in relation to mutual affiliation with Dutch Christian police officers, however, gained salience during this study. The first occurrence was during an observation of both African-Dutch attendees and police officers at an African Community–Police Dialogue meeting. Chima, a prime gatekeeper of this study in the African-Dutch communities, expressed his view that certain police officers had the interest of the African-Dutch communities at heart. He spoke passionately about a policeman who will be called 'Silas' in this study, and whom he claimed was one of the pioneering founders of the dialogue meetings.

> Silas was our community police officer here, though he has been transferred out of the community, he was God sent. He had the interest and the issue affecting our communities at heart and was one of the pioneer founders of the Police–African alliance. He dealt with the communities as a Christian with fear of God in him. (**Research field note, Observation at the African Community–Police Dialogue meeting, 18/03/2016**)

The gatekeeper disclosed how Silas policed the community with "humanity and fairness". His view was substantiated by Kojo, another African-Dutch individual who was sitting listening to this conversation and offered his opinion.

> Not all the police in the communities are bad, the Christians among the police understand what the African are going through. I suggested you meet Silas, he is a good man, how I wish all the cops in the community could be like him. (**Research field note, Observation at the African Community–Police Dialogue meeting, 18/03/2016**)

Kojo's view here affirms Chima's impression of Silas as a gentle and well-respected police officer in the community. Afther the meeting Chioma introduced the researcher to to Bilewu, a community leader who also held Silas in high regard.

> Our communities are thankful to Silas, it was Silas that pioneered and came up with the idea of the … alliance dialogue to facilitate what you are seeing now. I prayed for Silas that God will bless him wherever he is, our communities have been able to engage with the police on issues affecting the communities. (**Research field note, Observation following the African Community–Police Dialogue meeting, 18/03/2016**)

Research field notes record yet more discussion of the positive attributes of another Christian officer. Salewa, a community elder, who was also a pioneer member of the African Community–Police Dialogue programme joined mentioned Fidelis, a police officer whom he found to be fair in his treatment of the African-Dutch community.

> Fidelis is another officer that should not be forgotten, I don't know if you have met him. He came last meeting if you were here. He is tall, a mixed blood. You cannot miss him. He is what I called a policeman with the fear of God. (**Research field note, Observation following the African Community–Police Dialogue meeting, 18/03/2016**)

The African-Dutch respondents in this study were of the view that the Christians among the police officers treated them with respect and dignity, understood their plight and were more responsive to their needs in the community. The views of the African-Dutch respondents (above), that they could find common ground with some police officers in the community, whom they claimed were fair in their dealings with the African Dutch, was in contrast with an assumed ethnic minority perception of a typical police officer. The general perception of respondents in this study was that Dutch police officers on contact spoke to them in a particular way, that reflected the arrogance and behaviour of the white middle class. This unexpected theme of respect suggests that the intersection of African-Dutch race with religion resonates positively with the Dutch Christian police officers, potentially leading to more harmonious relationships in the community. While there has traditionally existed a link between the Dutch police and churches, especially in the African-Dutch communities, the affinity expressed by African-Dutch Christians with Christian Dutch police officers emerged as an unanticipated theme in this study.

The cultural and spiritual values of the African Dutch are found in this study to be of importance to their daily lives, such values were also found among Christian police officers in the community. The researcher considered it of importance to interview the officers who were commended by the African Dutch for their sense of fairness, and with whom, it was said a common and harmonious ground could be found. The researcher travelled to interview Silas who had been been posted out of the community during the course of the study. Silas corroborated the African-Dutch views of his religious affiliation and reflected on his relationship with this community.

> Charles I am a Christian and believe in treating everybody equally and fairly, without fear or prejudice. I believe we are all equal in the eyes of God and we have a short period on earth after which we will all return to God to give account of our deeds. I did

enjoy working in that community and knew most of the people in the community. (Silas, 38, inspector, Caribbean-Dutch, male)

Silas explained how he was able to affiliate with the African Dutch and still maintain order within the community.

> I do not have any problem arresting anyone who violates the law within the community as that is part of my job description. However, what remains important is accountability regarding the treatment of those I police. My motto as a Christian is to treat everyone equally and fairly with the 'fear of God'. (Silas, 38, inspector, Caribbean-Dutch, male)

Silas's explanation of his thoughts regarding accountability and treatment reflected here, while stressing that he would treat the African Dutch fairly, also elucidated his willingness to arrest offenders when that fell within the ambit of the law.

The positive intersection of race and religion, namely the fair treatment of the African-Dutch by Christian police officers, was further affirmed by Fidelis another officer whom the African Dutch held in high regard.

> I do attend church service with the Africans in the community, most of them know me from the church, and I am able to relate with them better. They always help me with information when needed. (Fidelis, 40, sergeant, Caribbean-Dutch, male)

Fidelis's account of his affiliation with the African Dutch through his faith reflected his opinion that this affiliation helped him with information for his community police work. Fidelis was further prompted on how he managed his profession in relation to his religion and the African-Dutch in the community.

> I always treat the African people with the fear of God; that is what God requires from us as Christians. When you respect them, they respect you. I think it works both ways, don't you think? (Fidelis, 40, sergeant, Caribbean-Dutch, male)

Fidelis was of opinion that to treat the African Dutch fairly is part of his religious obligation, and that treating them fairly make them reciprocate by showing him mutual respect. Studies have shown ethnic minorities' willingness to cooperate with police, when treated fairly or when they perceive fair treatment by the police (Murphy, 2011; Murphy et al., 2018). The empirical evidence in this study suggests that African-Dutch respondents are of the view that Christian officers treat them better than non-Christian officers and understand their plight and needs. Although they understand that these Christian officers will arrest them if they contravene the law, they are still of the opinion that they get better quality of policing from them when compared with other police officers.

Evidence of this view is illustrated in an interview with Alexander, a Christian and a community police officer in the African-Dutch community.

> … when I am in the neighbourhood everybody is greeting me especially the African-Dutch people because most of them know me from the dialogue evenings and in the church. You can see that in the police programme, when I was in the market place this was all real and live. I have been in the community for a while, there was a time we had a television programme here, it's been a while now maybe you could still see it on you tube. We were walking as I was patrolling, we saw a Surinamese man and he came to the front of the cameraman and said this officer is a good police officer, he is honest and helps you when he can, live on television of course everybody could see that. He just said that about me unexpectedly people know me of course I can make mistake but if I do I always apologise to people, let's say sometimes if a police officer makes mistake and even if he is not there at that moment I apologise on his behalf because I am a police officer because if we made a mistake or we could have done better with something then I will say well if that really happens I am very sorry because that is not who we are. (Alexandra, 39, sergeant, Caribbean-Dutch, male)

Alexander's impression is that the African-Dutch and other members of the communities are always happy to see him and know him from the church and the dialogue meetings. He suggested that good community policing involves apologising to people when one is wrong and claimed to do this even on behalf of colleagues when they make mistakes and are not there to apologise for themselves. This reflects how Alexander's job as a policeman intersects with his religion and helps in what he perceives to be fair policing of the ethnic minority community in which he works.

An association with religion was reflective of findings in this study; the African Dutch were found to be closely associated with their Christian religious leaders in the communities. There is a great level of respect accorded to Pentecostal pastors and church leaders in the visited communities. The researcher's access to these communities would have been impossible without the help of these pastors and religious leaders. Studies have found that the Church has an immense moral distinctive authority among the African Dutch (Van Dijk, 2002). Church leaders are known in the communities to play a social service role, and in times of conflict, are known to be mediators among the African Dutch (Van Dijk, 2000, 2001). Evidence of this was well-documented during observations in the alliance meetings, where the pastor was asked by the police chief to help mediate in a serious family feud. The role of religion as found by this study, illustrates how it intersects with the identities of the African-Dutch communities and how it has been of influence in the relationship between African-Dutch and Christian police officers. This association has led to maintaining order in these communities through the church pastors and leaders.

The African Dutch within the context of this study illustrate that their culture and spiritual values are of importance to them and these values are transmitted to police officers with whom they have a religious affinity. This explains their willingness to work with police officers in the maintaining of order within their communities. The Netherlands, however, is a secular society, with no evidence of Dutch police affiliation with religion (Van Der Veer, 1999). Nevertheless, the police, in a bid to maintain order in African-Dutch communities, seem ready to work with the communities through their spiritual leaders, but without adequate efforts being put into this. The researcher learned that the African Community–Police Dialogue and similar initiatives developed problems soon after this study concluded. This was due to conflict between the police organisation and the Pentecostal pastor facilitator from the African-Dutch community.

The alliance meetings need to continue taking place as a bridge in maintaining order and relationships with the African-Dutch community. The problematic relations of the Dutch police with the African-Dutch communities could be improved if more attention were given to adequately understanding the cultural and spiritual needs of African-Dutch communities and how religion intersects with their identities. It is imperative that more resources be put into this relationship. Studies have found that spirituality is a good source of social support and promotes emotional and psychological support for predominantly African American and Black Church congregations (Miller, 2008; Valera and Taylor, 2011; Courtney, Harvey and Ricard, 2015). This study's finding, that the African Dutch evidently use their religion as a source of their cultural and spiritual, needs to be paid further attention. This study suggests that Dutch police should put more effort into alliance dialogue and encourages Christian officers to make use of the intersecting Christianity identity of the African Dutch. Empirically, this study found that not all experiences of the African Dutch regarding Dutch police are negative, quite plausibly through the religious affiliation of the African Dutch and the Christian police officers in the community. This study found the Dutch police response to the needs of the African Dutch to be inadequate, and that the African-Dutch intersecting identity as Christian is not well managed due to a lack of knowledge regarding African-Dutch needs, as well through negligence of this community in government policies and the police organisation's lack of motivation for exploring ways of managing their relationship with this group. If the African Dutch pay heed to their spiritual leaders, and maintain a dialogue with the police through this channel, if they further intepret quality policing through affiliation with Christian police officers, then this avenue is a potentially productive approach to community policing.

The police organisation should respond to the need for better polcing by encouraging more dialogue between respected Christian officers and the African-Dutch communitiesThe police organisation should also allocate more resources to this course of action and encourage the establishment of a policy that recognises the intersection of African-Dutch race with religion. The African-Dutch communities should be policed with due consideration given to their spiritual needs and how their spirituality transmits into better relationships between them and the police. Through the unanticipated theme of positive religious affiliation between the African Dutch and the Dutch Christian police, an insight was availed into African-Dutch experiences and illustrated how religion could bridge the gap in minority–police relationships. There exists, of course, literature which critiques the capacity for community police to be meaningfully immersed in the community because the function of policing and community interest do not always align. Indeed, community policing has been accused of simply delivering surveillance and intelligence gathering using different skills (McFadyen and Prideaux, 2014; Bullock and Johnson, 2018). This study found overall a failure of the Dutch police organisation to establish a satisfactory relationship with the members of the African-Dutch communities and create a better quality of policing through this opportunity of religion affinity.

8.2 An Institution in Crisis

This section will discuss issues arising within the Dutch national police and daily experiences of police officers within the Dutch police. It needs to be clarified that the Dutch police were a focus of this study, but that more emphasis was upon the African-Dutch populations since they have been particularly under-researched. Moreover, experiences of the African Dutch could not have been thoroughly studied without examining those of the police and factors responsible for the behaviours of police officers towards the African Dutch. There will also be focus on experiences of ethnic minority police officers, which mainly deviate from those of their native Dutch colleagues, especially on issues of racialised policing and the treatment of African-Dutch and other minorities in the Netherlands. The conclusions of this chapter were drawn from interviews and observations in this study, where issues of discrimination and intersections of race with culture were well-documented. The views of the African Dutch as well as those of the Dutch police respondents in this study, cannot be representative of the Dutch police as a whole, and this study does not aim to evidence such a

claim. The findings in this study do not in any way portray the Dutch police as a whole organisation.

There is no doubt that police organisations the world over are facing crime challenges, especially with the increase in terrorism, human trafficking, cyber-crime, fraud and so on. (Johnson, 2010; Hutt et al., 2018). The police, as an organisation, always have exceptional and difficult decisions to make, putting into consideration that not all problems can be a priority when there are competing concerns to attend to, for example, emergency response, neighbourhood policing, level of officers, dealing with police racism and prejudice, and the list goes on. This study found that the Dutch police have their own challenges just like any other European police force. However, this study also found that the experiences of immigrants in the United Kingdom and other European countries cannot be transferred into the context of African-Dutch experiences of policing in the Netherlands. This is due to the African-Dutch historical context and the perception of the Dutch state regarding Dutch minorities. This study did find that the attitude of Dutch police officers towards the African-Dutch resonates with the political rhetoric of contemporary Dutch politics (Bos and Brants, 2014; Simon and Beaujeu, 2018). This study concedes that efforts are being made within the Dutch police organisation to improve relationship with minority groups, as earlier discussed, with projects such as the African Community–Police Dialogue. A Chief Inspector of Police, interviewed in this study, discussed the availability of the 'free in free out' project that guarantees undocumented African-Dutch people the facility for reporting crime or presenting as a victim of crime without fear of being detained for visa violations. The Dutch police force, without doubt, needs organisational reform within its rank and file with regards to the treatment of the African-Dutch and other immigrants living in the Netherlands.

8.3 Ethnic Minority Officer's Experiences

It became apparent during this study that ethnic minority police officers in the Netherlands are subjected to their own share of discrimination and racism within the police organisation. This was documented both during interviews with ethnic minority officers, and during observations at police stations and at police district headquarters in an urban area of the Netherlands. It should be noted that the subjection of ethnic minority police officers to racism and discrimination was not the focus in this study; as such, ethnic minority officers were not asked if they had experienced discrimination in the police force. Discrimination and racism

did, however, manifest as an unanticipated theme during interviews and observations in this study. It should be noted that only one African-Dutch police officer was encountered in this study, with less than ten in the entire district. Other ethnic minority officers encountered in this study were from Suriname and the Dutch Antilles; both Dutch colonies, while the rest were of mixed race with one of the parents of native Dutch heritage and the other from either Suriname or the Dutch Antilles. The increase in the recruitment of ethnic minorities into the police was perceived by policy makers as a way of improving police relationships with the minorities and as a way of reflecting the diversity of the communities (OSF, 2017; Bing et al., 2017). The police relationships with the ethnic minorities in the Netherlands, as discussed in Chapter 1 (1.4) of this study, was perceived by the Dutch police organisation as a key area of policy, implemented to improve the relationship between the police and the ethnic minorities in the Netherlands (Pieters, 2018; Gowricharn and Çankaya, 2018).

In the context of wider literature on police culture, ethnic minority police officers have been found to experience racism within police organisations (Todak, Huff and James, 2018; [and in the Netherlands] Çankaya, 2015; Siebers, 2017). The findings in this study support such a view and found ethnic minority police officers to suffer discrimination during their duties as a police officer. The following event was coincidentally observed by the researcher at an organisational level meeting in a district police headquarters of the Dutch national police force, while having lunch with Pius, a police gate keeper, and a minority police inspector. Vincent, the only African-Dutch officer encountered during this study, approached the inspector to complain about the police chief's refusal to approve his training for promotion. Pius told him he would discuss the issue with the chief, and that he was aware of his case. Pius then turned to the researcher and voiced his frustration.

> He told me that he has on various occasions spoken to the chief of police regarding the police officer, who happens to be the only African in the whole of the headquarters. He said he could not understand the reason for not signing the officer off for further training and promotion and stressed that other superior white officers have complained that this particular officer does not keep eye contact with them. Is this what they really want, that the only African we have in the whole command should leave out of frustration? (**Research field note, Observation at police district headquarters, 01/03/2017**)

The incident displays the police management's lack of insight into the culture and belief of ethnic minority officers, especially those who are African Dutch. The reason given by the police chief for not authorising this officer's promotion training was that other officers complained about his failure to maintain eye contact with them. This incident, and the decision

of the police chief not to send Vincent for promotion training, betrays the police's ignorance of the needs of the African Dutch. A refusal to recommend an African-Dutch officer for potential promotion on the basis of white officers citing his inability to maintain eye contact, correlates with other findings that the Dutch police do not take the culture and needs of ethnic minorities into consideration and, further, create boundaries between themselves and the minorities (Çankaya, 2015; Siebers, 2017). This incident reflects how Vincent became a victim of discrimination at the hands of his colleagues through the intersection of his race with his culture. This incident from the perception of the researcher as an African reflects how deficiency in the knowledge of African culture put the officer in a disadvantaged position. The researcher, from experience of his culture and upbringing, emphasises that it is taboo in African culture to maintain directly or protracted eye contact with an older person, or one who is in a position of authority. This could have been be a factor in Vincent's apparent inability to maintain eye contact with his superiors at work. Diverse studies have found that Africans will avoid eye contact as a sign of respect for someone in authority as they find eye contact disrespectful and confrontational (Molimina, 2014; Mngomen, 2015). The treatment of this African-Dutch officer correlates with the earlier findings in this study that African-Dutch people's race intersects with other aspects of their identities and made them susceptible to discrimination. The African-Dutch police officer, as documented in Vincent's intersection of his race with his culture in processing him for discrimination by colleagues, illustrates that minority officers are not exempted from this discrimination. Evidence of discriminatory experiences was captured in the following account of Lilian, a police liaison officer, recorded by the researcher

> She said there is a lot going on when it comes to treatment of ethnic minority police officers. She told me she has been a victim of discrimination on various occasions. She gave instances where she recently forgot her ID card in the office and has to ask for assistance to get back into the office. The white officer she claimed, told her to move her car away from the entrance, even when she explained to him that she works with police and that her colleague is in the office waiting for her. She claimed that she was still treated like a piece of shit. She was of the opinion that her white colleague would have been treated differently. (**Research field note, Observation of Lilian's account at police district headquarters, 25/01/2016**)

Lilian perceived from her experience that she would have been treated differently had she been a white native officer. The issue of discrimination against non-native officers was prominent both in the interviews of police officers and the African Dutch. Studies have found ethnic minorities in the police to suffer discrimination at the hands of white native colleagues (Reaves, 2015; Todak, Huff and James, 2018). African Dutch respondents relayed an incident

of two Moroccan police officers who were arrested by white colleagues on their way home; they were locked up, assaulted and asked for ID. This incident appears to have been popular in the media and was again narrated to by Lillian during her discussion with researcher;

> We've had instances recently where two Moroccans police officers were travelling home in a civilian cloth after their shift, they were stopped by white police officer, who requested them to produce their ID cards. An argument ensued, and these officers were locked and assaulted, before being rescued by other colleagues, Charles that is the situation of things here at the moment. (**Lilian, police liaison officer, non-native Dutch, female**)

Lillian's account illustrates the prevalence of incidents of discrimination of the police against its own officers. Lillian further recounts how she has been called on various occasions as liaison officer to mediate on issues regarding police misconduct.

> I was invited to mediate in this disturbance between police and the Moroccan boys bordering on issue of document check of a Moroccan boy by the police, by the time I got there the Moroccan boys were already gathering in groups trying to riot. We were lucky that we got there in time; there were complaints of police harassment in the neighbourhood from the Moroccan boys. Charles you have to see how the policemen were dressed with anti-riot police gear, with baton, teargas, shield and all sort of equipment. I have to tell them to retreat, in order to bring peace back to the neighbourhood. This is the kind of police intimidation of the minorities I was trying to explain to you. (**Lilian, police liaison officer, non-native Dutch, female**)

Lillian's account of issues bordering on police discrimination, both against her own person and the Moroccan community, remain coherent with the African-Dutch's narration of their own experience with the Dutch police.

The perception of discrimination against ethnic minorities in the Dutch police was found by this study to remain salient from minority officers' reflections. Evidence of this was found during the observation at a district police station in an African-Dutch community. Philips, a police sergeant of ethnic minority origin with over 30 years in the service, discussed how things have changed over the years. His reflections how it felt to be a minority officer in what he describes as a 'dark period' of policing were recorded by the researcher.

> He told me how he experienced a lot regarding discrimination in his over 29 years of service and told me of an incident in which a white colleague told him while at the table in the canteen, that the table belongs to the white folks, that he is not allowed to sit on it as a black person. Philip reported this incident to his superior, and the white colleague was disciplined. He told me of another incident in which a white colleague stood in the canteen and said jokingly to him in the presence of other colleagues, that he believes all black people are gorillas and he (Philips) is one of them. Philips said he reported this incident to the station commander, and this colleague faced a disciplinary committee

and was dismissed from the police force with the stipluation, that he could never join the police force in the Netherlands again. (**Research field note, Observation of Philip's account at a district police station**, **02/03/2018**)

Although the police organisation took appropriate action following both incidents, Philips experience of these racist incidents according to him, left him shaking. He expressed the view that such incidents had become less frequent within the Dutch police force, but believed racism within the police force was still much in existence. Studies of police culture have found white officers to make racist jokes and banter towards ethnic minority officers (Smith and Gray, 1983; Fielding, 1994; Loftus, 2016; [and in the Netherlands] Boogard and Roggerband, 2011; Çankaya, 2011). Although studies such as that of Waddington (1999) suggest police banter does not reflect officers' intentions, but are instead a medium for dealing with the stress of police work, this is a contested assertion by scholars such as Holdaway and Baron (1997), Cashmore (2001) and Uhnoo (2013).

The lack of trust that police officers of ethnic minority origin have in their white native colleagues was well observed during this study. This study found that officers of ethnic minority origin were in support of the African Dutch regarding their atrocious treatment at the hands of the police, as reflected in the discussion on discrimination against the African Dutch in Chapter 6. This study found issues, concerns and distrust among ethnic minority police officers towards their white colleagues. The minority police officers interviewed in this study made multiple references to the political climate in the Netherlands and concerns regarding Wilder's Party for Freedom and rhetoric. Philips spoke of a worrying environment and cited a poll conducted among police officers in the Netherlands.

> We have recent polls in the Netherlands among Dutch police officers regarding their party of choice, Charles believe me 33% indicated their willingness to vote for Wilders. What do you think about that? If you are a black officer, you will start being careful of white colleagues, won't you? (Philips, sergeant, Carribean-Dutch, male)

Philips was critical of the change in the political climate and the result of the polls. He asserted his love for policing and his willingness to work with white native colleagues, but also expressed being cautious in his relationship with them. Studies have found white police officers to be sensitive to their environment politically and conservative in their thinking, and have the tendency to vote for conservative parties (Skolnick, 1969; Reiner, 1979, 2010).

This study found well-documented evidence of discrimination by white native officers against ethnic minority police officers in the Dutch police. This might explain the reason for problems in recruiting ethnic minorities into the Dutch police. Studies have found police organisations to struggle in attracting ethnic minorities into the police force (Kaste, 2014; Bing et al., 2017; Linos, Reinhard and Ruda, 2017; [and in the Netherlands] Çankaya and Gowricharn, 2017; Siebers, 2017). Inspector Pius, who spoke of the difficulty in recruiting the African Dutch into the police force, expressed the following view: "We struggle to recruit these Africans into the police and the only one we have, is being frustrated by denying his training for promotion. Are we encouraging or discouraging him? I am not getting it Charles" (Pius, 37, inspector, mixed-race male).

Pius pointed out to the researcher that the force has fewer than ten African-Dutch officers in the whole district. The issue of discrimination against ethnic minority officers and the way it is being dealt with by the authority reflects complacency. The police organisation's lackadaisical attitude towards this behaviour indicates lower quality policing and discourages potential officers among the ethnic minorities from joining the police force – which is much needed given the diversity in Dutch society. The situation for ethnic minorities presently serving in the force presents a double-edged sword: the neither feel welcomed within the Dutch police force, nor are they given necessary support from their communities, who perceive the police as hostile to their communities. Studies have found minorities to feel unwelcome by both the police and their communities (Holdaway, 1991; Stone and Tuffin, 2000; Waters et al., 2007) The attitude of the police organisation and their response to these problems arguably reflects the sentiment in contemporary Dutch politics.

8.4 Level of Training

The absence of adequate police training on diversity and policing of ethnic minorities became a salient theme during the interviews of the African Dutch in their communities. During interview, several of the African-Dutch respondents made reference to the Dutch police's lack of knowledge of African culture and other issues affecting the minority community. It then became imperative to ask the police if they had received any training on ethnic diversity. The issue of police training on diversity became prominent as all interviewed police officers indicated not having reeceived formal training regarding diversity and ethnic minorities. The interviewed police officers, however, suggested having an understanding of the African Dutch

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from daily interactions with them. It became apparent in this study that the officers interviewed lacked insights into the needs, experiences and cultural features of this community. Jan, a community police constable, when asked if he had any formal diversity training answered: "No because when I was in the police school it did not exist" (Jan, 32, constable, white native male).

Jan's answer regarding this issue appears not to be an unwillingness of officers to go through this training but lack of the police organisation to see the need for delivery. The officers revealed that training on policing ethnic minorities and diversity was not in the syllabus when they studied at the police academy. Kees, a native Dutch police constable in the community, spoke of Dutch police institution negligence regarding this training.

> It is also an issue and the chief of police are now forced to look into this issue on diversity training within the police and also outside the police. They are now taught to think bigger eehm.(Kees, 29, constable, white native male)

Kees' response could have been as a result of police conflict with ethnic minorities in the Netherlands which has been well-documented in other studies (Svensson and Saharso, 2014; Bonnet and Caillaut, 2015).

This study initially set out to interview tutors and cadets regarding police training on diversity and management of ethnic minorities. However, as mentioned in Chapter 2, the Dutch police academy could not facilitate these interviews. Officers interviewed in this study made references to Africans but lacked an in-depth knowledge of issues that affect them and the reasons for their behaviours. Evidence of this was noted in discussions surrounding peer discrimination of Vincent based on aspects of his culture. The police officers' knowledge of African-Dutch cultural issues is found by this study to be grossly inadequate.

The need for police training on diversity and ethnic minorities cannot be over-emphasised within the Dutch police; evidence for this call to action was expressed by Pius, an ethnic minority Dutch police inspector.

> The society is changing, and police is facilitated very well for example if you get into an area you should not be agitated, you know? You should interact with people and know more about their cultural background and know more about their traditions and these are very important to facilitate the relationship with the community. We also want to build relations; we know that to build up relations we should get more on bikes, more walking and less in the car, less eehm less things you can use.". (Pius, 32, chief inspector, mixed-race male)

The police's lack of knowledge on diversity was stringly condemned by Anita, a police liaison officer of minority background, who also teaches cadets at the Dutch police academy.

They are too ignorant to know that, they don't know anything about my identities. I have been teaching at the police academy; they don't even know what Islam is or what Hinduism is, not even what Christianity is. We are teaching white people what Christianity is, but you have to understand that the educational level of police is not very high, the normal national educational level is low and their social skill are not up to date so we teach them and ask them things but they don't know anything nothing. (Anita, 46, North-African Dutch, female)

Anita's comments reflect a lack of knowledge on diverse issues that affects the ethnic minorities. She is also of the opinion that the educational level of cadets is not high. This study failed to establish or support this view. The minimum entrance requirement to join the police is MBO, which is on a par with UK A-levels. The police officers that were observed during this study all had a minimum of MBO or MTS; the technical equivalent of MBO, with some officers having completed a masters.

The Dutch police, as suggested by Pius, need to build relationships with the African Dutch through training officers on the cultural background of Africans and through increased interaction with them in the community, by walking and cycling instead instead of driving around in cars as frequently observed during this study. This study established, through interviews and observations, that one of the most important factors responsible for the conflicts and animosity between police and the African Dutch is a lack of training and, at best, superficial knowledge of African-Dutch cultures in the studied communities by those who police them. This became evident in Pius' reflection of his contact with Africans in the community.

I was involved in a lot of dialogue sessions, but as a police officer on the street in the south-east I think I can remember some situation where some African guys got fined or got arrested that is for sure yeah. What I remembered was that eehm it was very difficult to communicate with each other because there were both different perspective on how to communicate with each other, so from the police perspective we have a different point of view and different opinion on the situation. We could not get a good communication with these people, sometimes a lot of cases get escalated and the situation becomes tense because African people speaks hard and loud or sometimes they don't even want to speak at all or look at your face, and then some police officers who are not very familiar with the African people gets a different perception of the issues and behaviours of the African person. (Pius, 32, chief inspector, mixed-race male)

Pius touched on why some African Dutch do not look at officers directly in the face, or speak loudly, or do not speak at all. These behaviours could be misinterpreted by officers lacking knowledge of African-Dutch culture. Certain African behaviours are inferred by to be an acceptance of guilt, while in African culture they imply respect for authority. In the Dutch context, averting one's gaze could be construed as guilt, whereas broader anthropological

studies have found that in certain African and Asian cultures it is seen as a sign of deference; here direct eye contact is viewed as inappropriate, disrespectful and confrontational (Moallemian, 2014; Mngomen, 2015; Uono and Hietanen, 2015).

It was noted during this study that some officers believed they learned the trade of policing while on the job and had different views of the necessity to have special training on African-Dutch issues. Paul, who is a community police officer, for example when asked if he had training on minority cultures, reflected instead on how he learned to follow his instinct, when something was not as it ought to be.

> No. But, for example, if I see somebody driving a very expensive car, we as police always have the feelings to observe are not adding up or have the feelings if something is good or not good. You develop this over the years I have been with the police for over 10 years, so I should know what I am talking about. In these years you learn people's behaviour to know if something is good or not, or if you have strange feelings about something. (Paul, 35, inspector, white native male)

This behaviour reinforced existing studies that have found police officers claim to pick up most sub-cultures while on the job (Paoline, 2014; Crank, 2015). Paul explained how he could determine if something was not right when somebody was driving an expensive car. If this particular officer uses stereotyping to determine suspicious behaviour, this correlates with the pejorative assessment by African-Dutch communities, that the police are prejudiced against them. Police officers have been found by other studies to be prejudicial in their judgement and use phenotypical markers in stereotyping members of ethnic minorities (Nordberg, 2016; LeCount, 2017).

It was also found during this study that some of the officers claimed to learn African-Dutch culture while on the job. Tony, a community police constable of minority background, was asked about formal diversity training.

> No, I didn't have any such training [laughs] but from being who I am like growing up in this community and growing up in the other part of Amsterdam with the Moroccans and the Turkish community I can get along with everybody. I know the differences in culture and the habits especially I don't need a training made by a white man telling me on how to deal with diversity, no. (Tony, 30, constable, white native male)

It was observed during this study that all interviewed minority police officers, claimed that due to their ethnic backgrounds, they were able to understand the African culture, which they said helped them in better policing of the community.

I am from Ghana and I know how to handle the relationship. I have lived within the community I know how to relate with every ethnic minority community, so for me is not hard to talk with a Moroccan guy or a Suriname guy, I know how to approach them because I have lived my whole life within the community and know how to approach them. (Vincent, 25, constable, African-Dutch male)

Vincent's reflection mirrors that of Paul (below), who in this case happens to be native Dutch and claims to have knowledge of the African-Dutch culture.

I have noticed that people from Africa could sometimes have a very high level of emotion and it's sometimes very difficult to handle or deal with that. On contact with the African community as a policeman you have to take your time to calm them down so that you could have a good conversation with them ehhm that was in the beginning when I started working at this police station. I have worked in different part of Amsterdam, I worked in the centre of Amsterdam and there you don't have much contact with the African people. That was a reason for me to calm down and think about how best to get along with these people. I took my time and I find the situation now normal and it's now been two years in the community. I now have good contact with the community, and I know exactly how to step in and handle the situation, so it's going very well. (Paul, 35, inspector, white native male)

Paul's reflection illustrates how he learned to deal with the Africans on the job, despite lacking formal training on policing diversity. This coheres with existing studies on police occupational culture; that most of the negative behaviours of police officers are learnt on the job (Holdaway, 1983; Reiner, 2010; Loftus, 2016), although in Paul's case, the training he received on the street helped him to achieve a positive outcome.

This study holds that lack of knowledge and training about the African-Dutch culture is a major determinant in the discord between the police and the African-Dutch community. The police officers interviewed in this study shared the sentiment about the need for training police officers on policing ethnic minorities with diverse cultures. The minority officers interviewed in this study, however, all comprehensively identified themselves as not needing special training to police the ethnic minority communities. The interviewed ethnic minority officers in this study believed, having grown up among diverse cultures and religions, that they had no problems policing these communities, and possessed all the crucial knowledge to deliver satisfactory community policing.

This research suggests that ethnic minority officers understand more aspects of African-Dutch culture than their native white colleagues. Some studies have suggested that diversity within the police could defuse tension in ethnic minority communities (Weitzer, 2015). This

study found no issue with the educational capability of the Dutch police officers, but an overall need for training on diversity regarding cultural beliefs and needs of ethnic minorities especially the African-Dutch, and the management of police and ethnic minority relations. Studies have found police to perform better with adequate training of officers (Bykov, 2014; Anderson and Gustafsberg, 2016). The Dutch police organisation seems to be aware of the issue with its policing of minorities, as there is already an ethnic profiling awareness officer in the communities tutoring police officers on issues surrounding ethnic profiling. This study found that much of the negativity affecting police–African-Dutch relations could be avoided by giving police officers adequate training on the management of ethnic minorities at the police academy.

8.5 Police Officers: Residing in the Communities

Expanding on previous research, studies have found the police not to be resident in the communities being policed by them. For instance, DiGiovanni (2015) found two-thirds of police officers in urban areas of the United States to be living outside the communities they police. This study found this to be the case in the Netherlands, as all interviewed police officers (with the exception of one ethnic minority officer) lived outside the studied African-Dutch communities. It became a dominant theme during this study that several references were made by the African Dutch of the fact that the community police officers did not in their community. There were particular complaints of the police officers' generalisations of Africans and not knowing the people in the community and what they do. This issue was touched upon by Kazeem, a lawyer with his own NGO, during an interview on issues affecting police–community relations.

> No, I don't think it is fair the way police treat us. I was not treated fairly because eehm they just generalise every time you can see the police that are working in this neighbourhood, are not from this neighbourhood, you understand? Because that one it won't work you know if I am a police officer they would never allowed me to work in the place that I live, you understand because you know a lot of people and people will not respect you, but people that are working here are not blacks they are all white, you understand? They are not black like us they are all white. (Kazeem, 33, African-Dutch male)

Kazeem's view on police not residing in the community reflects how he thinks this affects him and others who are professionals. He claimed that the police generalise everyone in the community based on their assumptions. This narrative remains coherent with those of

other African-Dutch professionals, who spoke of how their race intersects with other aspects of their identities, and how they become victims of Dutch police stereotypes, in being viewed as criminals in the community. Kazeem shared the sentiment that the police perception of him is obscured because the police do not live in the community. The police, he claimed, would know more about residents and their occupations, if they lived in the same community as them.

There were claims that the African Dutch are disrespected by (predominantly white) community police officers who do not live in their community, and therefore, do not know them well enough to understand their needs. This study produced empirical evidence that highlights a key source of mistrust towards the police by African-Dutch is their perceived lack of residency and familiarity with the needs of the community. Diverse studies illustrate that police residing in the community they serve, are known to be connected to better relationships with those communities. (Cordner, 2014; Ungar-Sargon and Flowers, 2014)

It could also be argued in this study that the issue with African-Dutch perceptions of police discrimination and over-policing is consistent with police officers residing in the mainly white affluent arear, where people have other perceptions of immigrants, and the African Dutch in particular. Yisa, of Somalian origin, believes the police have a negative perception of Africans due to the fact that they form their opinion of Africans in the mainly white communities where they live. He was of the opinion that the police should live in the community they police to gain a better understanding of the community.

> Most policemen working in our communities are white and don't live in the communities, so what I mean with that is, beside the work, they have their own community and within their own community of course some people have different views about other ethnicity for example … If they don't live among us, how are they supposed to know us without all the stereotypes? I mean most of the things they know about us, they hear in their white community and the media. They then drive into our community with those assumptions. (Yisa, 28, African-Dutch male)

Yisa's reflection invokes the notion of police stereotypes due to lack of their residency within the African-Dutch community. Diverse studies have found white police officers living outside their work environment to be less responsive to the needs of the policed communities (Goodyear, 2014). This view was reinforced by Veronica, a African-Dutch of Nigerian origin, who thinks the preconception of police towards the African Dutch is as a result of their residency separation from the community. She recalls being woken up at night by the police on suspicion of cultivating marihuana.

It was not justified I think the reason was that sometimes they miscalculate, and their other thinking is she is from Africa because I live in a street where there are different cultures, Antilleans, Netherlands and other nationalities, why must it be my own house that they suspect. This officers don't even live in our neighbourhood and don't know me, and at the end they came in and disturb my sleep, they disturb my family and was unable to find anything not even a trace of marihuana and the story died like that, no compensation so I think their first thought is, if they said something is happening in this street let us go to this African person first. (Veronica, 45, African-Dutch female)

Veronica shares the same sentiment as other African-Dutch respondents that the police's lack of residency paves the way for prejudice and disproportionate policing. She suggested that the police would know her better if they lived in her community. The police, too, acknowledge issues arising from residing way from minority communities. Kees, a community constable said: "You see most police officers cruising into the community from the suburb at the beginning of their shifts and cruising out at the finish of the shifts and that includes me. I am just being honest" (Kees, 29, constable, Caribbean-Dutch male).

Kees' view on this issue further confirms the narration of the African-Dutch regarding the residency of community police officers in their community. This illustrates the severity of this issue and how this affects the police and African-Dutch relationships in terms of getting to know each other. A reflection on the issue of police residency in the community came from observation at a region police headquarters, where Pius, a police inspector shared his view with the researcher.

Charles, some of these new recruits don't have the required experience to police the ethnic diverse cities, some of them had little contact with ethnic minorities before being posted here, as they live outside these communities, and they think they know it all. They forgot that most of these ethnic minorities has better education than them and were born here, you then don't go around asking them their papers. I have on various occasions being called out to help de-escalate a situation where young ethnic minorities boys have refused to show new police recruits their ID card on the ground that they have not violated any law, to warrant showing their ID. You see these are our frequent experiences. (**Research field note, Observation at police district headquarters 25/01/2016**)

There is wide acknowledgement by police officers, that most police officers have little contact with the African Dutch through residency, except via the police-initiated contacts on suspicions of crime. This study provides insight into how lack of police residency within the African-Dutch communities alienates them from attending to, or addressing, the needs of the African Dutch, this then contributes to animosity between the two sides. This finding correlates with existing studies that claim police officers are more likely to live in more affluent areas, away from where the low socioeconomic classes are resident (Logan and Oakley, 2017). It can

be argued that if the white middle class are living in more affluent areas away from relatively impoverished African-Dutch neighbourhoods, then the white and also middle class officers should not be expected to be resident in these areas either. Diverse studies have found black people to be living in areas of greater poverty and higher crime, when compared with white native populations (Adelman and Mele, 2015; Becerra et al., 2016). As mentioned earlier in this section, the only officer living in the community is of African origin and has only been in the force for a few years. It could be argued that his residency in the community is coherent with his affiliation and acceptance of his African-Dutch identity, or that he will move away to a more affluent area in the future, as his salary increases.

8.6 Summary

This chapter, in relationship to the aim and objectives of this study on African-Dutch experiences of policing in the Netherlands, and Dutch police views on policing the African Dutch, has analysed the narratives of both groups through an intersectional analysis of their race and religion, and how this has led to positive and mutual understanding between them. This theme, though unanticipated, challenges the idea of a secular Dutch police and society, and established a new finding that could move criminological knowledge forward, regarding how religion could forge a mutual relationship based on religious affiliation. Drawing on interviews and observations of the African Dutch and the police in the community, this study illustrates that the sharing of Christian faith between the African Dutch and the Christian police officers was key in forging an alliance to help address conflicts and disunity in the African-Dutch community.

This study did not set out to gather the experiences of Dutch police. It was, however, deemed fit in the interest of fairness to allow the Dutch police a voice, in explaining their experiences of policing the African-Dutch communities and the challenges they face in doing so. This chapter examined the challenges faced by the Dutch police institution and other issues in contemporary policing especially with threats arising from terrorism and other advanced crimes, though the rise in these crimes has led to police being given extra power, such as stop and search under terrorism legislation. The arrival of this extra power, it is claimed, has contributed in police violations of human rights, particularly, among ethnic minorities (Parmar, 2017).

Drawing on the work of Reiner (2010) and Waddington (1999, 2008), the police possess an occupational culture, which includes racism and, according to Waddington (1999), a canteen culture where officers behave in certain ways before their peers, which could include racist banter and humour in the presence of black and other ethnic minority peers. This chapter, with a discussion on the experiences of ethnic minorities within the police itself, reflected on how they minority police officers suffer racism and discrimination at the hands of white colleagues. It reflected on various ways in which the ethnic minority officers perceive themselves to be at the receiving end of discrimination, either through police racist banter in the canteen, as expressed to the researcher, or through the pretence of ignorance by white native officers. This study found such behaviour and aspects of police culture to be present within the Dutch police, and that it offended the ethnic minority officers in the Dutch police.

Further this chapter illustrated the deficiency of Dutch police training of its officers regarding the policing of diversity within the society and how African-Dutch particularly were of the opinion that the police lack of training on diversity and their culture tends to position them in a disadvantaged position. The lack of understanding of African-Dutch's culture and identity made them susceptible to over-policing and intersectional discrimination by the Dutch police. Studies on the intersectionality of race and social identities hold that, people of ethnic minority backgrounds suffer intersectional discrimination based on the intersection of their race with other aspects of their culture, such as language, customs and other factors (Blanchet, Klinger and Harry, 2009).

The chapter concluded with the issue of police residency in the African-Dutch communities. This issue became prominent with the African-Dutch respondents claims of negative stereotyping by the police due to lack of knowledge of African cultures and other issues affecting them by not living in the community. This African-Dutch view was substantiated by Dutch police respondents. There was an overall feeling expressed by the African Dutch, especially by the professionals among them, that the police officers' choice not to live in the community contributes to an inability to relate to, and interact with the African Dutch regarding their profession. Studies show that when the police reside where they work, there is better information dissemination and improved represention of minority interest by the police (Murphy and Worrall, 1999).

Chapter 9 Conclusion

This conclusion elaborates on the contribution of this study to existing knowledge in criminology on policing minorities, specifically on policing the African-Dutch community in the Netherlands. This chapter also discusses the research credibility and shared thoughts on the theoretical framework for this study; on how intersectionality as a tool and analytical lens was a major factor in the understanding of the African-Dutch community, in regard to policing in the Netherlands. This PhD journey set out to make sense of African-Dutch experiences in the Netherlands, through their lived experience of the Dutch police in their respective communities. I was confident as a black researcher that I would gain the trust of the African Dutch; that they would narrate their lived experiences to me, without hesitation. What I came to understand was that my blackness did not exclude me from the suspicion exhibited by this community, and that my access would entail more than being black.

This study was challenging due to the nature of the subject being researched. Most scholars hold that police organisations are not the easiest organisations to study (Smith and Gray, 1983, 1985; Belur, 2013; Braga and Weisburd, 2015) especially in regards to ethnographic studies on their relationships with ethnic minorities. Levels of suspicion towards researchers and attempts to protect the police organisation from outsiders, is not uncommon, and was not peculiar to the Dutch police. Another obstacle, not initially anticipated in the study, was the high level of suspicion from the African-Dutch communities towards the researcher who was not perceived as a member of their community, and also due to other reasons explained in Chapter 4. As a black African-Dutch criminologist, and as a scholar, the researcher was able to negotiate barriers to both the police organisation and the African-Dutch communities, and was able to access the police organisation and the African-Dutch communities. Considerable time was spent using combined qualitative methods such as semi-structured interviews and ethnographic observations to examine the experiences of the African-Dutch and the police officers in the communities, as well as interactions during African Community–Police Dialogue meetings which the researcher attended for a whole year. This study also observed the Dutch police community officers in the communities and in the first response police patrol vehicles, where the researcher was granted some insight into officers' decision-making processes regarding suspicion, and stop and search protocols.

This study set out to give the African Dutch living in the Netherlands a voice through which to narrate their lived-in experiences of Dutch policing. It also afforded Dutch police

officers the opportunity to narrate their experiences of policing the African-Dutch community from their own perspectives. The study undertook a qualitative approach within a CRT perspective, with intersectionality as a framework, through which the counter-narratives of African-Dutch regarding their experiences at the hands of Dutch police in the Netherlands were interpreted. Drawing on data from interviews and observations of African-Dutch people across three generations, in their communities, and from their 'minority perspectives' (Philips and Bowling, 2003), the research developed a critical intersectional lens in gauging their lived-in experiences of Dutch policing and how their race on contact with the Dutch police intersected with other aspects of their identities.

The research set out with the aim of addressing the following questions. What is the African-Dutch experience of policing in the Netherlands, with intersectionality as a tool to evaluate if the African Dutch experience any type of discrimination? On the issue of discrimination, does perception of intersectional discrimination alter the relationship between the African Dutch and the Dutch police? If not, is race the only explanation for discrimination against them? Lastly, what are the Dutch police perceptions of the public especially their experiences of policing African-Dutch communities?

The project examined the lived experiences of African-Dutch people living in the Netherlands. This was considered important because while earlier studies had been conducted on other ethnic minorities in the Netherlands, this was the first on African-Dutch experiences of policing in the Netherlands. The study sought to examine how the African-Dutch residents' perspectives of experiences of interaction departed or accorded with the perception and experiences of Dutch police officers. This study contains both a sample of Dutch police officers as well as that of respondents from African-Dutch communities; research was undertaken within a contemporary climate of hostility towards migrant population in Europe, and a shift towards far-right politics.

The researcher drew on key theoretical strands, one of which is previous policing research, and specifically police occupational culture, which comprises a base level of a shared value system, and shared perspectives and practices across police forces around the globe. Principally, much of the literature on policing was drawn from the United States and United Kingdom and adversarial systems of justice. In the Netherlands, police occupational culture is under-researched; there is much to contribute to the use of ethnic profiling by the Dutch police and the use of intersectionality as a framework for a holistic account of experiences of police

suspicion and to study adopted intersectionality as a framework, to see if it is an effective way for providing deeper comprehension of the lived experiences of the African-Dutch community in the Netherlands. There has been limited study on police and minorities using intersectionality as a framework, and none recorded in the Netherlands to date.

9.1 Contribution to Existing Knowledge: The Usual Suspects

The study found the vocabulary used for where there are key stress points between the police and the African-Dutch, although not held to be representative of the Netherlands as a whole, is nevertheless exploratory and indicative of a general negative comprehension of the police from African-Dutch respondents. Moreover, the study found that vocabulary that the Dutch police themselves used, indicated stereotypical notions of crime, law and disorder. There was conflation between immigration policy and crime control known as 'crimigration', there emerged also, from an intersectional lens, individuals who themselves felt they were subject to discrimination, not necessarily because of their phenotypical ethnicity or their race, but because of their lack of full, or no, command of the Dutch language, or their accent. This study also found well-documented evidence of perceptions of police discrimination towards the African Dutch based on intersections of gender and ethnicity, with regards to the experiences of Nigerian women. There was also documented evidence of perceptions of police discrimination against African-Dutch Muslims based on their religion, though this study was not specifically on the experiences of African-Dutch Muslims. Some African-Dutch Muslims in this study hold the view that they were stopped on several occasions because of their appearance, clothing or the style of beard as part of their religious obligations. As with previous policing studies, the findings do support the view that police occupational culture around issues of racism was evident in the Dutch police. It resonates with previous studies in the United Kingdom and the United States (Reiner, 2010; Loftus, 2010, 2016). The study illustrates that there are occupational cultures that account for police practice, which repondents felt were discriminatory.

This thesis captured a complex criminological arena, which is the intersection between race and policing. Policing does not operate in a vacuum; policing is often symptomatic of structural division, cultural, religious and socioeconomic divisions within society (Dottolo and Stewart, 2007; Thompson and Kahn, 2016). The composition of the police is largely at odds with the marginalised groups in the society. Many police, depending on where they are in the

world, are by the virtue of their position, in a more powerful position in their relationship with the policed (Samuels, 2000; Barnet 2004; Newburn, 2015). In western, developed industrialised nations, there are police occupational cultures that, despite variations in the composition or function of a given legal system's status, possess a core which seems to resonate in all police forces. This comprises suspicion, sexism, homophobia, us versus them, machismo, masculinities, cynism, racism, and canteen and gallows humour. This study found that the bulk of the research undertaken to formulate the theories on police occupational culture are in western industrialised nations; chiefly, the United States, the United Kingdom and other European countries.

The Netherlands is in a state of flux, in terms of its sociopolitical pressure along with swings to the right in its attitude towards migrant populations and visible minorities. There has been some police-based research on what could be considered high-risk issues, principally counter-terrorism, therefore that discourse is being anchored upon Muslim populations such as the Turkish, Moroccan, and other north African migrant populations. To a significant degree, the African-Dutch population's interaction with the Dutch police has been neglected so far. The police and the African-Dutch nationals in the Netherlands, occupy multiple-complex identities, and sociological research shows that the likelihood of an individual being a victim, or not, of discrimination depends on their status and intersections between a range of factors such as class, gender, religion, race and other socioeconomic factors (Weitzer and Tuch,1999; Lambert, 2018). This study found the bulk of the established US and UK police culture to be present within the Dutch police; the empirical evidence collected in this study found evidence of racism, suspicion, solidarity, conservatism, machismo and sexism, and a strong sense of mission to exist in the Dutch police culture.

This study revealed that police racism and discrimination is not an anomaly experienced solely by disadvantaged African-Dutch people, but persists across gender, professions and even among the police ethnic minorities. This research finds anecdotal evidence that ethnic minorities in the police are subject to racism and discrimination at the hands of their white native Dutch colleagues. As suggested by US and UK studies, minority officers do tend to experience discrimination from white colleagues (Holdaway and Barron, 1997; Waters et al., 2007; Smith, Johnson and Roberts, 2014).

The reasearch is an exploration of how a community becomes the subject of police suspicion within a Dutch context, and how the police themselves operate unwittingly or

consciously with racialised attitudes towards crime type, geography, ethnicity and practices, which are discriminatory towards African-Dutch residents in the studied communities. This study again captured the suspicion aspect of police occupational culture within the Dutch police organisation and argues that this resonates with the police occupational culture of police in the US and UK contexts (Holdaway, 1983; Kemp et al 1992; Morrow, White and Fradella, 2017). The African Dutch captured in this research expressed a self-reflective marginalised position and felt subject to extra scrutiny. They felt that they were primarily defined in the eyes of the white majority by their phenotypical marks, race and nationality. They expressed a strong affinity to their country of ethnic origin, and also a strong religious identity as manifested in their collective worship under the Pentecostal Church.

There are some crimes which have become racialised in the Dutch context, because of a distortion, but also because of precipitation of activities, which have become aligned to a particular group such as the operation of snorder (illegal taxis), crimigration regarding immigration issues and advance fee fraud (known as 419). These are highlighted as a source of conflict in minority neighbourhoods. The final unanticipated aspect of this study is an affinity between police officers who are Christians and black Pentecostal congregants, in the bridging of the perceived differences through an imagined, shared religious identity. Though this study did not pursue this unexpected theme in depth, it was an important discovery given its potential for better community–police liaisons. Nevertheless, it reflects a lived religious identity that seems to be part of community-based policing, and a factor that needs to be explored further especially with regard to the Muslim population. Dutch attitudes and the image of the Dutch state is also important for understanding the different trajectories of post-colonialism. The British example is one, and what it means for citizenship and the Dutch example is another, where we have a very different history of pillarization (*verzuiling*) and de-pillarization. The question remains if that actually leads to a particular benefit or loss to contemporary African-Dutch situations.

In summarising the contribution of this research to existing criminological studies on police–minority relations, the following central points are worth highlighting. Firstly, this pioneering research as indicated throughout this thesis, is an attempt to lend a voice to a neglected African-Dutch population with regards to their experiences of policing in the Netherlands. Existing literature in the Netherlands suggests that most ethnic minorities' experiences of policing in the Netherlands, has been studied. However, a hitherto neglected population has now been included via this study and given a voice on their experiences of the

Dutch police. The African Dutch have been given a voice through this study on issues that bring them into negative contact with the Dutch police and other issues of interest that affect their relationship with the Dutch police. The study gives them expression on the intersectionality of their ethnicity with other aspects of their identities and how these intersections sometimes impact negatively on them upon police contact. This study relayed their experiences on the daily negotiation of their identities with the police and how their subscribed identities contrast with police-ascribed identities. This study further relayed how people from this minority group perceive their non-acceptance as Dutch citizens; despite being Dutch nationals, they are still referred to in police vocabularies as 'Africans'. Their stories represent significant counter-narratives to the dominant narratives of the Dutch police in their contact with the African-Dutch communities.

Secondly, this study will provide much-needed knowledge on African-Dutch–police relations in the Netherlands, which could be of importance and relevance to academics, policy makers and the Dutch police organisation itself in managing the effective and fair policing, and for the training of police cadets in the Dutch police academy. Furthermore, this study, in contrast to other police–minorities research in the Netherlands, is the first to date to use the CRT perspective and intersectionality as a lens to gauge the police–minority experiences in the Netherlands. The only other known study that used intersectionality in policing, was to test the experiences of female police officers within the Dutch police force. The use of intersectionality as a perspective in gauging African-Dutch experiences afforded this study the opportunity to contextualise how various aspects of African-Dutch identities and other social factors put this group at risk of police discrimination, and how racialised policing operates within the Dutch police organisation.

Thirdly, as argued in Chapter 7, this study challenges the idea that race is the dominant base for police racism and discrimination towards ethnic minorities.. By adopting intersectionality, this study attempts to look beyond race as the only factor in the African-Dutch experiences of Dutch police. The research found that the African-Dutch experiences of Dutch policing is intersectional and illustrates how various aspects of their identities intersect with their race to make them susceptible to racial policing at the hands of the Dutch police. The African-Dutch experience of policing in the Netherlands is not homogenous, indeed, the research delineates how the African Dutch are policed and that the reason for police suspicion towards them depends on how their race intersects with other aspects of their identities.

Finally, while this research did not set out to study the religious identity of African-Dutch people, it emerged as an unanticipated key theme. In Chapter 8, Christianity was found to be an intersecting aspect of African-Dutch identities, as indicated by respondents and during interviews and observation in this research. Christianity was noted to form a medium of mutual and positive affinity between African-Dutch Christians and Dutch police officers who also identified as Christian. The African Dutch in the studied community indicated that they were treated fairly by Christian police officers in the community, while the Christian police officers substantiated the existence of a mutual and harmonious relationship. The Christian police officers interviewed elucidated that this religious affinity has enabled them to form better relationships with African-Dutch Christians, which they claim allows them access to information of vital importance to perform better within the community policing agenda. This study holds that similar work or findings in the criminological sphere, including studies in countries such as the United States or the United Kingdom (where the majority of studies on police–minority relations have been conducted) remain sparse. This new theme on religious affinity between the African Dutch and Dutch police officers represents an original contribution to existing criminological and sociological studies regarding relations between the police and the policed minorities. From this theme, new insights may be derived into how religion could become a medium through which the police–minorities relations in a secular setting might be improved.

9.2 Theoretical Implications: Intersectionality of Race and African Identities

The concept of using intersectionality in police–minority relations explains the experiences of the minorities, regarding the description of the discrimination they suffer from their perspectives. In illustrating their experiences, they provide a counter-narrative which opposes dominant narratives. The dominant narratives in relation to the diversity agenda of post-MacPherson policing situate police racism as a thing of the past. The reviewed classic and contemporary literature in Chapter 3 of this thesis presented an empirical insight into the nature of BME lived experiences of policing (Quraishi, 2005; Qureshi, 2007; Barret, Fletcher and Patel, 2014; Souhami, 2014). The experiences regarding police racism of the African Dutch in this study reflect the reviewed literature in Chapter 3, but the adoption of intersectionality enabled the study to detect and understand the centralisation of 'race' and the mechanism of racialisation, and how race intersects with various African-Dutch identities on police

encounters. Intersectionality as a theory illustrates the police perception of the African Dutch and the kind of vocabularies used in describing them. The Dutch police use of 'Africans' reflects generalisation of the African Dutch, which contradicts the Dutch police claim of equal treatment of the policed in the Netherlands. Intersectionality as a theory lays bare how the Dutch police construed the African Dutch and the sites for contested identities, especially in regards to African-Dutch people who possess only the Dutch nationality alone, but do not receive that recognition from the Dutch police who associate being Dutch with being white.

This study challenges the Dutch police claim of neutrality and denial of discrimination and racism towards the African-Dutch community. It also challenges the confidence conferred by wider Dutch society in the fairness of the Dutch police (Schaap and Scheepers, 2014; Van Hulst, 2016; NL Times 28/05/2018). The intersectional lens has provided this study the opportunity to establish how the police maintain power in relationships with the African-Dutch communities. There are manifestations of Dutch police dominance generally within the society, the police are important conjoins between the state and civilians, but due to the fact that majority of police officers are white, the police is in a way reflecting dominance imbalance. This mean that issues of diversity and equality in solving racism within the police are doomed to fail. The police treatment of the policed community with fairness appears impossible for a police organisation that presumes a segment of the community to be suspicious and dangerous others (Alpert, 1994; Wolfe and Nix, 2015). As long as the colour of skin acts as a "symbol of inferiorisation and suspicion" (Mapedzahama and Kwansah-Aidoo, 2017, p. 91) the African Dutch will continue to be viewed from the police perception as a 'community under suspicion'.

In addition to the above, the use of intersectionality in this study helps challenge the sentiment of race-based explanations for the over-policing of the African-Dutch community by the police. The study of African-Dutch experiences through the intersectional lens supports the evidence that race intersects with other aspects of African-Dutch identities on police contact, and demonstrates how this disrupts their life in the community. The police, according to existing studies on police culture, operate by mapping their territory according to class, power and risks, and through this the determine who becomes police property (Holdaway, 1981; Reiner, 2010). The police perception of individuals and the community is used in defining how racialised a community becomes. The use of intersectionality in this study helps identify the reason for over-policing of Nigerian women and how their race intersects with their gender and ethnicity, in how police determine their level of contact with them. Further, the intersectional experiences of the African Dutch through their counter-narratives were laid bare by the way in

which Dutch police, from their perception of non- or heavily accented-Dutch language speakers, were able to police immigration. Through the findings of this study, the issue of the police's occupational culture of suspicion was highlighted when it came to how Nigerians' race intersected with their ethnicity and how, from the police perception, this group was frequently suspected of advance fee fraud. This suspicion was no limited to a single class; African-Dutch professionals living or visiting the community narrated their lived-in experiences of disproportionate police contact based on their race and ethnicity as Nigerians.

The intersection of race with religion became evident in this study under an intersectional lens, this occurred in both a negative and positive way. The first is the intersection of African-Dutch race with religion, as African-Dutch Muslims narrated being stopped by the police due to their visibly 'Muslim' appearance. The perceived intersectional discrimination suffered by African-Dutch people disproportionately impacts on their lives in a negative way, though intersection of race and religion. Im contrast, this was also found to impact positively on the lives of African-Dutch Christians and those of Christian police officers, through affinity and mutual understanding which was used in bridging gaps and forming harmonious community relations. As this study has shown, the experiences of the African Dutch regarding the Dutch police is not uniform, and based on their race and intersecting aspects of their identities. The experiences of black people are not uniform, when their intersecting identities are put into consideration (Bowleg, 2008; Stewart, 2008; Armstrong and Mitchell, 2017). The intersectional identities of the African Dutch have not only been shaped by the way Dutch police and the society see them, but also how they see themselves. Their lived-in experiences of being African Dutch and as immigrants, coupled with their identities and loyalty towards society is a contributing factor to their police contact.

9.3 Research Credibility and Limitation

This research, despite being a small-scale project, has highlighted discourses not documented in existing criminological literature, regarding police–minority relations, and other areas for further research. This research has highlighted issues regarding police– African-Dutch relationships, which illustrate police racism towards the African Dutch; how the identities of the African Dutch intersect; and how the police construct suspicion based on race and these intersecting African-Dutch identities. The theoretical framework supports the lived experiences of the African Dutch, while the data is sufficient in numbers (n=37) to arrive at

meaningful qualitative findings. The qualitative approach, with semi-structured interviews and observations of both the African Dutch and the police in the studied communities, helped draw out experiences of African-Dutch–police contact, through narration of their counter-stories in support of their experiences. It also enabled the police to narrate events from their perspectives on the African Dutch and issues that were of concern in their relationships.

The research planning for the study entailed a proposal to sample 25 African-Dutch respondents from three large cities in the Netherlands, and 12 police officers across all police departments from three cities. As explained in Chapter 5, the recruitment of participants proved very difficult at the initial stage, until the intervention of gatekeepers from both the African-Dutch communities and the police. Some participants in the study were also recruited through established contacts with an African-Dutch NGO in the Netherlands. Though some youths were interviewed in this study, most of the participants from African-Dutch communities were adults aged 30 and above, predominantly professionals – many of whom fall outside the age typically linked with police contact. This mixture of age groups became advantageous in illustrating and understanding the ways policing experiences have or have not altered over time. In comparing the experiences of the first, second and third generations, consideration was given to the ways they both experience policing particularly in regard to disproportionate policing based on the Dutch language proficiency and accents. The age disparity also explains why the younger generation refuse, at times, to show police officers their ID cards on demand, due to the claim of being able to interpret the law and an awareness of when their rights are violated. However, the relatively low number of second and third generation youth participants in this study is acknowledged to be a limitation, based on the experience of their frequent contact with the police.

The data in this study includes African-Dutch perceptions and those of the Dutch police officers. Their personal accounts of events may be biased or not completely accurate, but overall the experiences of the African-Dutch community in this study were perceived to be credible through repetition of similar experiences by other respondents. This study was, however, not able to gather information regarding the legal stay status of respondents, to probe if their negative perception of Dutch police reflects the legality of their stay status in the Netherlands. This was ethically considered as intruding on personal information, and questions of this nature were avoided so as not to distress respondents; this is perceived as a limitation in this study. The issue of African-Dutch race intersecting with Islam or Christianity was uncovered in this study, however this research did not have sufficient access to the African-

Dutch Somalian community to examine if they suffer disproportionate policing due to their faith or if they perceive stereotyping due to high-profile policing for terrorism. This factor is perceived as a limitation in this study. Similarly, the study could not pursue or examine the issue of religious affinity from Muslim perspectives, as found in the theme with Christian affinity between African-Dutch Christians and Christian police officers in Chapter 8, due to an insufficient sample of African-Dutch Muslims participants. Another limitation in this study was the lack of police records of stop and search conducted in the African-Dutch community; this would have enabled light ot be shed on the level of police stop and search and confirm its disproportionality. The police sergeant in one of the studied communities explained that the police do not have a policy regarding recording police stop and search, and do not issue a stop and search record form to those who have been stopped and searched.

The lack of access to both the Dutch police cadets and their tutors at the Dutch police academy is also a limitation in this study. This research would have benefited from interviews of both the cadets and their trainers, especially on diversity issues and the management of the ethnic minorities in the Netherlands. In addition to eliciting possible improvements to the way minority communities are policed, the researcher would have been able to confirm why serving police respondents are lacking in training on diversity as police respondents, as per their own accounts. The response of police officers to an ethnic minority researcher could also be considered a limitation in this study; as police officers' responses and reflections on racism and discrimination might have been guarded due to the researcher's ethnic minority positionality. As indicated in the parameter settings in Chapter 4, the issue of time is a limitation in this study as there was limited time to probe further into other areas such as the unanticipated theme of religious affiliation.

This research represents a pioneering study in African-Dutch experiences of policing in the Netherlands, through the critical analytical lens of intersectionality. It will be used on completion to move knowledge academically, through books and peer reviewed publication and presentation during academic conferences. The findings of this study will be further presented to the Dutch police institution and other police bodies, due to its potentiality to contribute to police and training knowledge on how the minorities perceive the police and how their attitudes contribute to these perceptions. It will also enlighten them about how the relationship with ethnic minorities could be improved with finding a common ground to construct a relationship, for example, through shared religious values.

9.4 Research Recommendations

This section provides tentative recommendations from this study; for policy makers, communities and future researchers on African-Dutch communities' experiences of policing in the Netherlands. Firm policy recommendations were not a remit of this study. Were they to have been, the potential to formulate such recommendations was hampered by lack of access to the cadets and tutors at the police academy of the Netherlands, which would have afforded more opportunity and insights into training and subsequent recommendations. Nevertheless, this study can proffer recommendations prompted from the findings.

9.4.1 Police Training and Recruitment

This study recommends the education and training of Dutch police officers on different aspects of policing the ethnic minorities, and especially the African-Dutch communities, taking examples from UK police diversity training. The training would involve challenging commonly held stereotypes and unconscious biases and would extend to issues of vocabulary, terms of reference, and how officers interact with ethnic minority people.

This study recommends increased recruitment and representation of African-Dutch applicants into the Dutch police force as this would greatly benefit both the Dutch police and the African Dutch. Police respondents in this study were inclined to favour more African-Dutch officers which could be achieved through collaboration with community leaders, churches and mosques. Links offered up by religious affinity could be of benefit in this recruitment drive; Christian police officers could certainly harness affinity to enlighten the African-Dutch youth on the benefits of joining the Dutch police to help the Dutch state and their different communities.

9.4.2 Police Practice and Accountability

This study recommends the monitoring of police discretion and the use of police ID checks and other stops of the public, especially relating to the minority population. This study suggests documenting these procedures so that police officers can take responsibility for their actions. The police should be duty-bound to issue check record receipts to members of the public when requested. This would not only make officers take responsibility for their actions

but also establish a paper trail for police monitoring of complaints regarding disproportionate use of stop and search, and additionally provide evidence for academic and research purposes. A further recommendation of this study is to implement a separation of immigration police from community policing wherever possible, except on occasions where police assistance is required for public order related issues. This separation will potentially allow the police a more harmonious relationship with the ethnic minority communities and will lead to less suspicion from both the Dutch police and the African-Dutch communities. This study recommends the use of shared religious affinity between the African-Dutch Christians and the Christian Dutch police as this has the potential to help the police achieve their aim of inclusive and diversity-embracing policing. This should also be considered with regard to the Muslim population and the Muslim police officers be given the opportunity to ascertain if the same affinity might be formed for better policing. The downside to this could be opposition from police officers who are not religious. The issue of police living in ethnic minority neighbourhoods could also be considered in order to help them to associate more with the communities they police and avail them of familiarity with issues affecting the communities.

9.4.3 Police Discipline and Victims' Legal Redress

There is also the need for information and awareness of the complaints process; although the National Ombudsman exists to receive complaints made against the police, the ethnic minorities need to be made aware of this facility, as a segment of the African-Dutch communities claimed not to be aware of this medium. Awareness could be raised in dialogue gatherings and other police information meetings. There is need for a mechanism for valid complaints to be investigated especially in regards to allegations of police discrimination and unequal treatment. In cases where a police officer is found guilty of misconduct, they should be disciplined according to statutory regulations and the outcome of the disciplinary panel fed back to the victim. The victim should also be compensated financially. The public should be supported financially to further seek legal redress in appeals against the available complaints' medium. It was evident from the interview of the African Dutch in this study that some victims of alleged police misconduct felt they could not financially afford to proceed with litigation and had to drop the case and accept the Ombudsman's decision.

9.4.4 Further Academic Research

This research is qualitative in nature and captures experiences that may resonate, but further research would be beneficial among cross-figure populations in different parts of the Netherlands to capture more substantial populations. These areas require careful focus, investment and time in research, to clarify in greater depth the experiences of the African Dutch in the Netherlands. The research could plausibly be broadened to include extensive evidence-based information from both qualitative and quantitative data and be expanded in different contexts and geographical areas of the Netherlands. As earlier elucidated in this thesis, the opinion of both the police and the African-Dutch respondents in this study cannot be assumed to be representative of the Netherlands as a whole. Furthermore, the findings in this study do not depict the Dutch police organisation as a whole. Nevertheless, it is hoped this study will now prompt the historical neglect of this population to be further addressed.

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Appendix 1 Ethical Approval Letter from the University of Salford

University of Salford MANCHESTER

Research, Innovation and Academic Engagement Ethical Approval Panel

Research Centres Support Team

G0.3 Joule House
University of Salford

M5 4WT

T +44(0)161 295 2280

www.salford.ac.uk/ethics

23 December 2016

Dear Charles,

<u>RE: ETHICS APPLICATION HSCR16-87</u> – 'African Communities' Experiences of Policing in The Netherlands'.

Based on the information you provided, I am pleased to inform you that your request to amend application HSCR16-87 has been approved.

If there are any changes to the project and/ or its methodology, please inform the Panel as soon as possible by contacting Health-ResearchEthics@salford.ac.uk

Yours sincerely,

Sue McAndrew
Chair of the Research Ethics Panel

Appendix 2 Participant Information Sheet and consent form African-Dutch

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Interview Sub-Saharan Africans.

Title of study: African Communities' Experiences of Policing in The Netherlands

Name of Researcher: Charles Arewa

Invitation paragraph

> This is an invitation for interview on African communities' experiences of policing in the Netherlands. This study is being done to find out how the African communities relate to and perceive the police in the Netherlands.

What is the purpose of the study?

> The overarching theme is to explore the African communities' experiences of policing in The Netherlands. This study is part of educational requirement for a doctorate degree of philosophy in criminology.

Why have I been invited to take part?

> You have been invited to take part in this research because you are an African that lives in the Netherlands.

Do I have to take part?

> You do not have to take part, taking part is entirely up to you and is voluntary.

What will happen to me if I take part?

Nothing will happen to you. All the interview and data collected from you are safely kept, and you will remain anonymous throughout the interview. The interview will take between 30 minutes and 1 hour depending on how long you are willing to speak to me. The interview could be conducted in Dutch or English according to preference. The interview will take place in the neighbourhood building and you can take a break anytime you wish.

Expenses and payments?

There are no expenses or payments attached to this research.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

There is risk of you getting distressed from recollection of past event or incidents. In the event of distress you could get support from (Victim Support) Slachtoffer hulp Nederland onTelephone 0900-0101

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

There is no direct benefit for you in taking part, but it allows academics to study the effect of policing on African communities, and advise policy makers on ways to improve policing of African communities in the Netherlands.

What if there is a problem?

Please contact my supervisor-Muzammil Quraishi: m.quraishi@salford.ac.uk tel 01612953552. If you remain dissatisfied please contact Anish Kurien Research centre manager on +4416155276. Email a.kurien@salford.ac.uk.

Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential?

Your taking part in this study will be highly confidential. All data gathered in this research are stored safely and protected according to Data protection Act 1998.You will remain anonymous.

Nothing will happen. You are free to withdraw from this study at any time. In case you have granted me an interview, all data collected from you will be destroyed and your names will be removed from all study file.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results of the research study will be published as my PhD thesis at the University of Salford, and probably published in the journal of academics.

Who is organising or sponsoring the research?

This research is self-sponsored.

Further information and contact details:

Charles Arewa: c.arewa1@edu.salford.ac.uk. Tel +447910032387/+31649680906

CONSENT FORM

Title of study: African Communities' Experiences of Policing in The Netherlands

Name of Researcher: Charles Arewa

Please complete and sign this form **after** you have read and understood the study information sheet. Read the statements below and yes or no, as applicable in the box on the right hand side.

1.   I confirm that I have read and understand the study information sheet   Yes/No

version ……………………., dated …., for the above study. I have had

opportunity to consider the information and ask questions which have

been answered satisfactorily.

Yes/No

2.   I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to

withdraw at any time, without giving any reason, and without my
rights being affected.

Yes/No

3.   If I do decide to withdraw I understand that the information I have given, up

to the point of withdrawal, may be used in the research. The timeframe for

withdrawal is one month after interview

Yes/No

4.   I agree to participate by (Please add – e.g. – by being interviewed,

participating in a focus group, etc.)

5. I understand that my personal details will be kept confidential and not

   revealed to people outside the research team. [If appropriate -However,

   I am aware that if I reveal anything related to criminal activity and/or something that is

   harmful to self or other, the researcher will have to share that information

   with the appropriate authorities]

   Yes/No

6. I understand that my anonymised words will be used in the (researcher's thesis/

   research report) other academic publications and conferences presentations.

   Yes/No

7. I agree to take part in the study:

   Yes/No

_____   _____   _____

Name of participant   **Date**   **Signature**

_____   _____   _____

Name of person taking consent   **Date**   **Signature**

All projects must include a risk assessment. If this summary assessment of the risk proves insignificant: i.e. answer no to all questions, no further action is necessary. However, if you identify risks you must identify the precautions you will put in place to control these.

Please answer the following questions.

1. What is the title of the project?

African Communities' Experiences of Policing In The Netherlands

2. Is the project purely literature based? NO

If YES, please go to the bottom of the assessment and sign where indicated. If NO, complete question 3 and then list your proposed controls.

3. Please highlight the risk/s which applies to your study

Hazards	Risks	If yes, consider what precautions will be taken to minimise risk and discuss with your Supervisor
Use of ionising or non ionising radiation	*Exposure to radiation NO*	*Obtain copy of existing risk assessment from place of research and attach a copy to this risk assessment summary.*
Use of hazardous substances	*Exposure to harmful substances NO*	*Obtain copy of existing risk assessment from place of research and attach a copy to this risk assessment summary.*
Use of face-to-face interviews	*Interviewing;*	*NB. Greater precautions are required for medium & high risk activities*

Interviewees could be upset by interview and become aggressive or violent toward researcher	*Own classmates=Low risk **Yes**Other University students=Medium risk **no*** *Non-University personnel=High risk **yes***	*Consider:* *There is a dedicated mobile number for this research interviewees will have access only to this number and the official university of Salford mail.* *Location of interviews – Interviews will only be granted ina neighbourhood building known as (Buurthuis)in the Netherlands. This buildings have securities and staffs during opening hours, and interview rooms can be arranged with the management on request.* *What support will be available- There will be support from the staffs at the buurt huis, and can be called upon in the event of distress from both the interviewer and interviewee.* *How to deal with aggressive/violent behaviour- There are security staffs at the Buurthuis, and this will be notified immediately in the event of distress during the interview. A superior police officer and the police authority will immediately be notified in the event of bad practice by police officers.*
Use of face-to-face interviews *Participants or* *interviewees could become upset by interview and suffer psychological effects*	*No*	*Consider:* *What initial and subsequent support will be made available for participants or interviewees?* *What to do if researcher uncovers information regarding an illegal act?* *What/who will be used to counsel distressed participants/ interviewees, what precautions will be taken to prevent this from happening?*
Sensitive data	*Exposure to data or information which may cause* *upset or distress to Researcher NO*	*Consider:* *What initial and subsequent support will be available to the researcher*
Physical activity	*Exposure to levels of excerption*	*Consider:*

	unsuitable for a individuals level of fitnessNo	Health Questionnaire/ Medical declaration form / GP clearance. Trained First aid personnel/ Equipment.
Equipment	Exposure to faulty unfamiliar equipment. No	Consider: Equipment is regularly checked and maintained as manufactures instructions. Operators receive adequate training in use of. Participants receive induction training prior to use.
Sensitive issues i.e. Gender / Cultural e.g. when observing or dealing with undressed members of the opposite sex Children	Exposure to vulnerable situations/ sensitive issues that may cause distress to interviewer or interviewee No	Consider: Use of chaperones/ Translators. What initial and subsequent support will be made available for participants or interviewees? Adhere; to local guidelines and take advice from research supervisor
Manual Handling Activities	Exposure to a activity that could result in injury No	Adapt the task to reduce or eliminate risk from manual handling activities. Ensure that participants understand and are capable of the manual handling task beforehand. Perform health questionnaire to determine participant fitness prior to recruitment

If you have answered yes to any of the hazards in question 3, please list the proposed precautions below:

Signature of student…………………………………….   Date…   14th of December2016……………………..

Signature of Supervisor ………………………………… Date ………………………..

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET
Participant Observation of Police Officers.

Title of study: African Communities' Experiences of Policing in The Netherlands

Name of Researcher: Charles Arewa

Invitation paragraph

> This is an invitation for participation on my study of African communities' experiences of policing in the Netherlands'. This study is being done to find out how the African communities relate to and perceive the police in the Netherlands.

What is the purpose of the study?

> The overarching theme is to explore the African communities' experiences of policing in The Netherlands. This study is part of educational requirement for a doctorate degree of philosophy in criminology.

Why have I been invited to take part?

> You have been invited to take part in this research because you are front line police officers, and I will be interested in how you police the African community. I am interested in knowing how you routinely stop people, and what triggers suspicion, especially with the African communities.

Do I have to take part?

> You do not have to take part, taking part is entirely up to you and is voluntary.

What will happen to me if I take part?

> Nothing will happen to you. All the interview and data collected from you are safely kept, and you will remain anonymous throughout the interview. The observation will last for the duration of your shift. There will be no visual or audio recording, and all observation will be written in a diary and hand notes.

Expenses and payments?

> There are no expenses or payments attached to this research.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

> There is risk of you getting distressed from recollection of past event or incidents. In the event of distress you could get support from (Victim Support) Slachtoffer hulp Nederland onTelephone 0900-0101

Appendix 4 Recruitment Letter African-Dutch

Directorate of Social Sciences
University of Salford
Salford   M5 4WT
United Kingdom
t: +44(0)161 295 3552
f: +44(0)161 295 5335

Re: Members of African Communities Living in The Netherlands

Re: Doctoral Research: African Communities' Experiences of Policing in the Netherlands

I am a doctoral candidate at the University of Salford under the supervision of Dr M. Quraishi. I am undertaking research on Africans Communities' Experiences of Policing in the Netherlands.

I am posting this advertisement to all members of the African communities living in the Netherlands to request your kind assistance to take part in an interview in the above named research. I am doing my doctoral research on the above subject matter. The study adopts a qualitative methodology which comprises semi-structured interviews with respondents from African origin especially from Sub – Sahara Africa. The research will obtain full ethical approval from the University ethics committee prior to any data collection. All research participants will be afforded confidentiality, anonymity and informed consent to participate in the project. The study is an independent academic project and data will only be used for my doctoral research. I am interested in any experience you might have had with the police in the Netherlands.

If you are interested in taking part in this interview, please send me a text on any of the mobile telephones or alternatively send me a mail on my mail address underneath.

I look forward to your response.

Yours faithfully,

Charles Arewa BSc MA (doctoral candidate)

C.Arewa@edu.salford.ac.uk +447910032387 & +31649680906

Supervisor: Dr MuzammilQuraishi: m.quraishi@salford.ac.uk +44(0) 161 295 3552

Appendix 5 Recruitment Letter Dutch Police Officers

Directorate of Social Sciences
University of Salford
Salford   M5 4WT
United Kingdom
t: +44(0)161 295 3552
f: +44(0)161 295 5335

Politie Professie Alliance
Hoofd Bureau
Politie Amsterdam-Amstelland
Lijnbaansgracht 219
1017 PH
Amsterdam

7 February 2016

Dear Sir/Madam

Re: Doctoral Research: African Communities' Experiences of Policing in the Netherlands

I am a doctoral candidate at the University of Salford under the supervision of Dr M. Quraishi. I am undertaking research on African Communities' Experiences of Policing in the Netherlands.

I am writing to request your kind permission to conduct my research interview with Politie Professie Alliance Section of the Amsterdam-Amstelland. The study adopts a qualitative methodology which comprises interviews with serving officers and trainees. The research will obtain full ethical approval from the University ethics committee prior to any data collection. All research participants will be afforded confidentiality, anonymity and informed consent to participate in the project. The study is an independent academic project and data will only be used for my doctoral research.

I am attaching an example of the interview format for the research and information sheet for likely participants and will forward further details upon request. I hope this request meets with your kind approval. Please do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisor if you require any further information at this stage.

I look forward to your response.

Yours faithfully,

Charles Arewa BSc MA (doctoral candidate)

(C.Arewa@edu.salford.ac.uk +447910032387

Supervisor: Dr MuzammilQuraishi: m.quraishi@salford.ac.uk +44(0) 161 295 3552

Appendix 6 Interview Guide African-Dutch

University of
Salford
MANCHESTER

African Communities' Interview guide. (Note- these are not prescriptive questions but merely prompts to guide the semi-structured discussions)

Biography:

- How old are you?
- Which country are you from?
- What is your nationality?
- What is your place and country of birth?
- What is your ethnicity?
- When did you arrive in the Netherlands?
- How did you arrive in the Netherlands?
- Are you first, second or the third generation of immigrants in the Netherlands?
- What is your educational background?
- What is your profession or occupation?
- Have you got any children, if so how old are they?
- Do you have any other sibling or family living in the Netherlands?

    Interaction with the police
- Have you or your family had any interaction with the police?
- Did this happen in the community or outside the community?
- Can you please discuss what happened with me?
- Do you think you were treated fairly by the police on this issue?
- Were you satisfied with the treatment from the police?
- If not, can you tell me what action, you took?

- Why do you think you were treated unfairly?

- What other factors if any, do you think influenced this treatment from the police?

- Do you think your treatment by the police was justified or do you think other reasons might be behind it?

Perception of Racism

- What do you perceive as racism?

- Do you think racism is about race alone or do you think other factors might be responsible?

- Do you think Dutch police are racist?

- Why do you think Dutch police are racist?

- Do you think they are only biased against the ethnic minorities of African origin?

- Do you think they are not racist but just doing their job?

Perception of Identity

- How do you perceive your identity?

- How do you think the police perceive your identity?

- How do you think the society at large perceive your identity?

- Do you think you have multiple identities?

- What do you think is responsible for your diverse identities?

- Do you think the police are taking you're your identities into consideration when dealing with you?

Appendix 7 Interview Guide For the Police officers

University of
Salford
MANCHESTER

 Police Interview guide.   (Note- these are not prescriptive questions but merely prompts to guide the semi-structured discussions)

Biography:

- How old are you?
- Where are you from?
- What is your ethnicity?
- If you are not originally from the Netherlands, where are you from?
- When did you join the police force?
- What motivated you to join the police force?
- What is your educational level?
- What is your rank and department with the police force?
- How long have you been in this department?
- What is your marital status?
- Do you live in the community or outside the community?

Interaction with the African communities

- In your line of duty have you ever had any interaction with members of the African communities?
- Was there any particular issue or incident you would like to discuss with me?
- Was it here in the community or outside the community?
- Can you discuss with me what led to this interaction?
- Can you discuss how this issue or incident was resolved?

Appendix 8 African-Dutch–Police Community Dialogue Poster